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Hiroshige.

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Abstract

This thesis focuses upon the artistic and poetic subject of the *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang*, from its origin in the Xiao-Xiang region in the Hunan province of China throughout its dispersal in East Asian countries such as Korea and Japan. Certain aesthetics and iconography were retained from the early examples, throughout the *Eight Views*' transformation from the eleventh to the nineteenth century. The subject's close associations with poetry, atmospheric phenomena and the context of exile were reflected in the imagery of the painting and the accompanying verses. This thesis will discuss the historic, geographic and poetic origins of the *Eight Views*, along with a thorough investigation into the artistic styles which various East Asian artists employed in their own interpretations of the series. Furthermore, the dispersal and diaspora of the subject throughout East Asia are also investigated in this thesis. The work of Japanese artist Andô Hiroshige will serve as the concluding apogee. The *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* is an important East Asian artistic subject in both poetry and painting and contains many pervasive East Asian aesthetics.

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A note to the reader:

All Japanese, Chinese and Korean names are presented in the traditional order: family name followed by given name. All Chinese terms are spelled the modern *pinyin* method, as opposed to the former Wade-Giles method.

Contents	Page Number
List of Figures	6
Introduction	10
Chapter One	14
(i) Geographic and Historic Context	14
(ii) An Association with Exile	15
(iii) Creation: Song Di and Shen Gua	16
(iv) Poetic Influence: Du Fu	22
(v) Poetic Influence: Su Shi	30
(vi) Poetic Influence: Juefan Huihong	33
(vii) Earliest Extant Examples: Wang Hong	35
(viii) Important Theory: The Southern and Northern Schools	40
(ix) Important Theory: Transformation	44
(x) Conclusion	50
Chapter Two	51
(i) Introduction	51
(ii) Chinese Examples in Japan	51
(iii) Chinese Trade with Japan	54
(iv) Chinese Artist: Muqi	58
(v) Chinese Artist: Yujian	63
(vi) Aesthetic Analysis <i>Yu-xuan/Yûgen</i>	64
(vii) Japanese Examples	68
(viii) Other Japanese Artists	72
(ix) Japanese Artist: Kanô Tanyû	73
(x) Japanese Artist: Ikeno Taiga	75
(xi) Korean Examples	79
(xii) Korean Artist: An Kyon	82
(xiii) Other Korean Artists	86
(xiv) Japanese Artists in Korea	88
(xv) Conclusion	90
Chapter Three	93
(i) The Transformation of the <i>Eight Views</i> in Japan	93
(ii) Early Example: Yamamoto Soken	98
(iii) Andô Hiroshige	102
(iv) Education	104
(v) Atmospheric Techniques	108
(vi) Hiroshige's <i>Eight Views of Ômi</i> (<i>Ômi hakkei no uchi</i>)	110
Conclusion	131
Appendices	135

<u>Bibliography</u>	<u>144</u>
<u>Figures</u>	<u>152</u>

List of Figures

Wang Hong – *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* (c. 1160)

Fig. 1. *Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar*

Fig. 2. *Returning Sails from Distant Shore*

Fig. 3. *Mountain Market in Clearing Mist*

Fig. 4. *Fishing Village in Evening Glow*

Fig. 5. *Night Rain on Xiao Xiang*

Fig. 6. *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting*

Fig. 7. *Evening Bell from Mist-Shrouded Temple*

Fig. 8. *River and Sky in Evening Snow*

Image Source: Asian Art Collection at the Princeton University Art Museum

<http://etcweb.princeton.edu/asianart/selectionsdetail.jsp?ctry=China&pd=&id=1035437>

Muqi – *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* (thirteenth century)

Fig. 9. *Fishing Village in Evening Glow*

Fig. 10. *Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar*

Fig. 11. *Returning Sails from Distant Shore*

Fig. 12. *Evening Bell from Mist-Shrouded Temple*

Fig. 13. *Night Rain on Xiao Xiang*

Fig. 14. *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting*

Fig. 15. *River and Sky in Evening Snow*

Image Source: Former School of Fine Arts Library, University of Canterbury.

Yujian – *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* (thirteenth century)

Fig. 16: *Mountain Market in Clearing Mist*

Image Source: Lee, Sherman E., *A History of Far Eastern Art*, Fifth Edition, Thames and Hudson, London, 1997, p. 382.

Fig. 17. *Returning Sails from Distant Shore*

Image Source: Loehr, Max, *The Great Painters of China*, Phaidon Press, Oxford, 1980, p. 227.

Fig. 18. Shûbun – *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* Folding Screen (fifteenth century)

First Panel: *Evening Bell from Mist-Shrouded Temple*

Second Panel: *River and Sky in Evening Snow*

Third Panel: *Mountain Market in Clearing Mist*

Fourth Panel: *Returning Sails from Distant Shore* and *Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar*

Fifth Panel: *Night Rain on Xiao Xiang*

Sixth Panel: *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting* and *Fishing Village in Evening Glow*

Image source: Fisher Fine Arts Library Image Collection, University of Pennsylvania
http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/fisher/detail.html?id=FISHER_n2005030303

Kanô Tanyû – *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* Handscroll (seventeenth century)

Fig. 19. *River and Sky in Evening Snow*

Fig. 20. *Night Rain on Xiao Xiang*

Fig. 21. *Evening Bell from Mist-Shrouded Temple*

Fig. 22. *Returning Sails from Distant Shore*

Fig. 23. *Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar*

Fig. 24. *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting*

Fig. 25. *Fishing Village in Evening Glow*

Image Source: The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio.

<http://www.clemusart.com/Explore/artistwork.asp?creatorid=9575&recNo=0&woRecNo=0&view=more>

Fig. 26. Ikeno Taiga – *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* Folding Screen (c. 1760s)

First Panel: *Returning Sails from Distant Shore* (top) and *Night Rain on Xiao Xiang* (bottom, moving into second panel)

Second Panel: *Fishing Village in Evening Glow*

Third Panel: *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting* (top) and *Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar* (bottom)

Fourth Panel: *Mountain Market in Clearing Mist*

Fifth Panel: *Evening Bell from Mist-Shrouded Temple*

Sixth Panel: *River and Sky in Evening Snow*

Image Source: Fisher, Felice and Kinoshita, Kyoka (eds.), *Ike Taiga and Tokuyama Gyokuran: Japanese Masters of the Brush*, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, 2007, pp. 326-327.

Ikeno Taiga – *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* Mounted Fans (c. 1770)

Fig. 27. *Night Rain on Xiao Xiang* with accompanying poetry by Wu Su (1280-1354).

Fig. 28. *Returning Sails from Distant Shore* with accompanying poetry by Gu Songren (1620-1664).

Fig. 29. *Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar* with accompanying poetry by Dang Huaiying (1134-1211).

Fig. 30. *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting* with accompanying poetry by Bao Xun (fourteenth century).

Fig. 31. *River and Sky in Evening Snow* with accompanying poetry by Dong Qichang (1555-1636).

Fig. 32. *Mountain Market in Clearing Mist* with accompanying poetry by an unknown poet, originally inscribed on a landscape by Wu Zhishun (fourteenth century).

Fig. 33. *Evening Bell from Mist-Shrouded Temple* with accompanying poetry by Wang Shixi (thirteenth century).

Fig. 34. *Fishing Village in Evening Glow* with accompanying poetry by Wu Su.

The accompanying poems' calligraphy was transcribed by the artist, Ikeno Taiga.

Image Source: Fisher, Felice and Kinoshita, Kyoka (eds.), *Ike Taiga and Tokuyama Gyokuran: Japanese Masters of the Brush*, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, 2007, pp. 364-365.

An Kyon – *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* (fifteenth century)

Fig. 35. *Evening Bell from Mist-Shrouded Temple* (left) and *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting* (right).

Image Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

<http://www.cartage.org.lb/en/themes/arts/sculptureplastic/AsianSculpture/MoreDepartmentCollection/as19871.jpg>

An Kyon – *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* (fifteenth century)

Fig. 36. *Mountain Market in Clearing Mist* (top left) and *Evening Bell from Mist-Shrouded Temple* (top right)

Fig 37. *Returning Sails from Distant Shore* (bottom left) and *Fishing Village in Evening Glow* (bottom right)

Fig. 38. *Night Rain on Xiao Xiang* (top left) and *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting* (top right)

Fig. 39. *Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar* (bottom left) and *River and Sky in Evening Snow* (bottom right)

Image Source: National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

Image Source: Dongju, Lee, *The Beauty of Old Korean Paintings: A History and An Appreciation*, Saffron Books, Seoul, 2005, pp. 70-71.

Lee Jeong – *Four Seasons in Eight Scenes* (late fifteenth century)

Fig. 40. *Late Spring, Green Mountain, Blue Water* (left) and *Late Autumn, Red Mountain, Yellow Field* (right)

Image Source: Dongju, Lee, *The Beauty of Old Korean Paintings: A History and An Appreciation*, Saffron Books, Seoul, 2005, p. 108.

Fig. 41. Nobutada – *Eight Views of Ômi* Folding Screen (c. 1589)

Top Four Panels: *Evening Snow on Mt. Hira*, *Descending Geese at Katada*, *Night Rain at Karasaki*, *Clearing Weather at Awazu*.

Bottom Four Panels: *Returning Sails at Yabase*, *Evening Bell at Mii Temple*, *Evening Glow at Seta Bridge*, *Autumn Moon at Ishiyama*.

Image Source: Bruschke-Johnston, Lee, *Dismissed As Elegant Fossils: Konoe Nobutada and the Role Of Aristocrats in Early Modern Japan*, Hotei Publishing, Amsterdam, 2004, p. 119.

Yamamoto Soken – *Eight Views of Ômi* Handscroll (c. 1691-1693)

Fig. 42. *Clearing Weather at Awazu* with calligraphy by Konoe Motohiro (1648-1722)

Fig. 43. *Evening Glow at Seta Bridge* with calligraphy by Sonshô Nyûdô Shinnô (1651-1694)

Fig. 44. *Evening Snow on Mt. Hira* with calligraphy by Kujô Sukezane (1669-1730)

Fig. 45. *Evening Bell at Mii Temple* with calligraphy by Shimizudani Sanenari (1648-1709)

Fig. 46. *Descending Geese at Katada* with calligraphy by Konoe Iehiro (1667-1736)

Fig. 47. *Returning Sails at Yabase* with calligraphy by Nijô Tsunahira (1672-1732)

Fig. 48. *Night Rain at Karasaki* with calligraphy by Ichijô Fuyutsune (also known as Kaneteru, 1652-1705)

Fig. 49. *Autumn Moon at Ishiyama* with calligraphy by Takatsukasa Kanehiro (1660-1725)

All poetry is by Konoe Nobutada transcribed by the above calligraphers.

Image Source: The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University
http://beinecke.library.yale.edu/dl_crosscollex/SetsSearchExecXC.asp?srchtype=ITEM

Hiroshige – *Eight Views of Ômi* (*Ômi hakkei no uchi*, 1830)

Fig. 50. *Evening Snow on Mt. Hira*

Image Source:

http://www.hiroshige.org.uk/hiroshige/views_scenes/omi/images/Evening%20Snow%20at%20Mt.Hira.jpg

Fig. 51. *Night Rain at Karasaki*

Image Source:

http://www.hiroshige.org.uk/hiroshige/views_scenes/omi/images/Night_Rain_Karasaki.jpg

Fig. 52. *Autumn Moon at Ishiyama*

Image Source:

http://www.hiroshige.org.uk/hiroshige/views_scenes/omi/images/Autumn_Moon_Ishiyama.jpg

Fig. 53. *Evening Bell at Mii Temple*

Image Source:

http://www.hiroshige.org.uk/hiroshige/views_scenes/omi/images/Evening_Bell_Mii_Temple.jpg

Fig. 54. *Returning Sails at Yabase*

Image Source:

http://www.hiroshige.org.uk/hiroshige/views_scenes/omi/images/Returning_Boats_Yabase.jpg

Fig. 55. *Descending Geese at Katada*

Image Source:

http://www.hiroshige.org.uk/hiroshige/views_scenes/omi/images/Descending_Geese_Katada.jpg

Fig. 56. *Evening Glow at Seta Bridge*

Image Source:

http://www.hiroshige.org.uk/hiroshige/views_scenes/omi/images/Evening_Glow_Seta.jpg

Fig. 57. *Clearing Weather at Awazu*

Image Source:

http://www.hiroshige.org.uk/hiroshige/views_scenes/omi/images/Clearing_Storm_Awazu.jpg

Hiroshige – *Eight Views of Ōmi (Ōmi hakkei no uchi, 1834)*

Fig. 58. *Evening Snow on Mt. Hira*

Image Source: <http://hma.org.il/Museum/UploadFiles/PGallery/9242565536.jpg>

Fig. 59. *Night Rain at Karasaki*

Image Source: Oka, Isaburo, *Hiroshige: Japan's Great Landscape Artist*, Kodansha International, Tokyo, New York & London, 1992, p. 28.

Fig. 60. *Autumn Moon at Ishiyama*

Image Source: <http://www.shochian.com/ishiyama.htm>

Fig. 61. *Evening Bell at Mii Temple*

Image Source: <http://www.nihon-zen.ch/peinture/5478med.jpg>

Fig. 62. *Returning Sails at Yabase*

Image Source: <http://www.shochian.com/yabase.htm>

Fig. 63. *Descending Geese at Katada*

Image Source: <http://www.shochian.com/katata.htm>

Fig. 64. *Evening Glow at Seta Bridge*

Image Source: <http://www.shochian.com/seta.htm>

Fig. 65. *Clearing Weather at Awazu*

Image Source: <http://www.shochian.com/awadu.htm>

Introduction

The transformation of the artistic and poetic subject of the *Eight Views* spans from its origins as the *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* in eleventh century China to the *Eight Views of Ômi* in nineteenth century Japan. This subject spans nine centuries throughout China, Japan and Korea. This thesis will discuss elements of the artistic and poetic themes that are preserved intact, those that are re-interpreted and those that remain as reduced versions of the original sentiment. At each stage of the transformation process from eleventh century China to nineteenth century Japan, this thesis will examine the means of and the reasons for the transfer of these artistic and poetic themes and subjects. In this way, the thesis will study issues as diverse as politics, international relations and religion, as well as the prevailing aesthetic tastes of the time, people and places involved.

The artistic subject of the *Eights Views of the Xiao and Xiang* originally depicted the lush river region of the Hunan Province in Southern China. The first artist to create a series of works on this subject was Song Di (c.1015-c.1080), a cultured official who was wrongfully dismissed from office and exiled. He therefore imbued his artworks with the melancholia associated with his lamentable fate. The imagery in his scenes conveyed the injustice felt, as well as a strong desire to return to his former status. Song Di's series and the individual scenes were entitled by the poet Shen Gua (1031-1095). His titles were poetically inspired by the oeuvre of the poet Du Fu (712-770). These poetic titles reflected the scenes' imagery through expressions which indicated further underlying meanings to poets, artists and scholars. Contemporary poets and scholars such as Su Shi (1037-1101) were influenced and intrigued by this new subject in painting and poetry. Intellectual discussion and literature promulgated the

popularity of the subject and inspired later poets and artists such as Juefan Huihong (1071-1128) and Yujian (act. thirteenth century). In turn, their works stimulated more discussion and reproduction, and the subject of the *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* spread.

From its inception, the subject was intimately connected to poetry and the context of exile. These associations were expressed in the imagery of the artworks and in the supplementary verses. In both art forms, the imagery focused upon a vast landscape, where only a few or no human figures or features are delineated. The immensity of nature not only reflects Daoist and Buddhist thought, but also reinforces the overwhelming power of nature over mankind. Natural landscapes also highlight the natural order of the world, where people are subject to the *yin* (negative) or *yang* (positive) forces of the cosmos. The solitary recluse or traveler within a majestic natural scene emphasised these ideas and also the overriding theme of exile.

The subject's history can be traced from the eleventh century and it continued to inspire artists to create their own versions of the *Eight Views* until the nineteenth century. The subject was dispersed throughout China and other East Asian countries including Korea and Japan. Diverse artists interpreted it using different mediums and styles. Early Chinese and Japanese artists were exclusively influenced by the style and poetry of the early versions. They depicted the river region in diluted black ink (*sumi*) in the monochromatic ink painting (*suibokuga*) style. Early artists tended to portray their versions of the *Eight Views* in the Southern School style of painting which promoted artists' use of rapid brushstrokes that created a 'spontaneous' artwork thought to reflect their inner feelings.

Throughout the subsequent centuries, the *Eight Views* was also depicted in the Northern School style of painting, characterised by the use of colours and meticulous detail. Korean artists particularly preferred the Northern School style. Furthermore, later Japanese artists and poets such as Konoe Nobutada (1565-1614), Yamamoto Soken (act. 1683-1706) and Andô Hiroshige (1797-1858) transformed the series into Japanese versions of the *Eight Views*, where the Chinese Xiao-Xiang river region was substituted with the Japanese location of Lake Biwa in the Province of Ômi. The theory of transformation is central to the *Eight Views*, as it assists in our understanding of the historical changes that alter the subject. Through the process of transformation, the artist imbued the series with their own style, however certain aesthetic principles, theories and iconographical characteristics were retained. This is due to the theory of transformation's espousal of learning, imitating yet transforming the past examples and models. In this way, the *Eight Views* maintained close associations with poetry, exile, and the depiction of atmospheric phenomena such as mist and moisture.

Therefore, this thesis will discuss the historic, geographic and poetic origins of the *Eight Views* and investigate the styles which various East Asian artists employed in their own transformations of the series. The methodology used to assess, interpret and describe the transformation process includes ascertaining historical precedents in poetry and painting, analysing each examples' relation to the past and also considering the artists' own styles in the work. Furthermore, the dispersal and diaspora of this subject throughout East Asia will also be explored. The *Eight Views*

of the Xiao and Xiang is an important East Asian artistic subject in both poetry and painting and contains many pervasive East Asian aesthetics.

Chapter One

Geographic and Historic Context

The Xiao and Xiang rivers flow through the southern Chinese province of Hunan. This is one of China's wettest regions, where many tributary rivers supply the vast Lake Dongting.¹ The Xiao and Xiang rivers originate in the south: the Xiang from Guangxi and the Xiao from Mount Jiu-i.² Technically, the Xiao-Xiang region only extends from the rivers convergence (near Changsha) then travels two hundred and fifty miles northwards until the Cheng river joins the flow. However, paintings and poetry of the region include the entire landscape from the lush hills of the south to the low-lying marshy basin of the north. Therefore, artistically, the Xiao-Xiang region refers to most of the Hunan province.³ From approximately the fifth century C.E., the region's name, Xiao-Xiang, was also frequently amalgamated with other natural features such as Lake Dongting and its Grotto Court.⁴

The Xiao-Xiang region was renowned for its beautiful riverscape, with its aura of serenity and tranquility. Due to the region's picturesque splendor, the Xiao and Xiang rivers have been painted for centuries. The earliest known example of painting this

¹ Average annual rainfall measures 1320 millimetres.

² Before the tenth century, *xiao* was not a name, but an adjective that described the depth and clarity of the Xiang. A sixth-century note in the *Commentary on the Classic Waterways* states "As to *xiao*, it means clear and deep". See D. Li, "Xiang River" in *Shuijing zhu*, Taipei, 1974, p. 477. During the Eastern Han (25-220 C.E.), the river was identified as Shen. During the Eastern Jin (317-420) it was renamed Ying, a name that was retained through the Tang dynasty (618-907). Only in the Northern Song period (960-1127) did the Ying River officially become the Xiao. The nomenclature indicates that in the Tang "Xiao-Xiang" would have been understood as "the clear, deep Xiang". See A. Murck, "The Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang and the Northern Song Culture of Elite" in *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies*, Albany, 1996, p. 114.

³ W. C. Fong, *Images of the Mind*, Princeton, 1987, p. 214.

⁴ The Grotto Court refers to a cavernous hall which legends claimed to be located beneath the gigantic lake. There, the daughters of Yao were said to reside in an underground labyrinth that connected all corners of the empire. Legends told that the sisters lived on the mountainous island Junshun ('princess mountain') while seeking their husband, the sage-king Shun. After learning of his death, they drowned themselves in the Xiang and their spirits discontentedly roam the shores and depths of Lake Dongting evermore. See Murck, "The Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang and the Northern Song Culture of Elite", pp. 114-115.

location dates to the Tang period (618-907) when an amateur painter, Liu (act. eighth century), painted a scene of the riverscape on a screen. The Chinese poet Du Fu (712-770) surmised that the landscape on the screen may have depicted the two rivers. He wrote to Liu:

I have heard it said that you first painted the landscape of your home district, and that now you are yielding to your desire to paint interesting ideal landscapes... Confronted with this picture, spirit and mind are consoled, and one realizes that you have indeed put your heart into painting on silk... If this picture does not show part of the rocky Hsüan-p'u [Xuanpu] of the K'un-lun [Kunlun] Mountains, it may be taken from the region of the rivers Hsiao [Xiao] and Hsiang [Xiang] which now flow past here.⁵

An Association with Exile

Historically, the Chinese did not necessarily share in this vision of beauty, as the Hunan province was where political officials were sent into exile. Therefore, officials viewed the Xiao-Xiang area with disdain and despair. These negative connotations were compounded with tangible issues, such as rudimentary rural facilities and extreme climate changes, including regular floods. Sending unfavoured men into exile was a long-standing tradition, beginning as early as the ancient kingdom of Chu (1030-221 B.C.E.) which was historically located in the Xiao-Xiang area. Chu was a semi-Chinese kingdom with a tradition of shamanism. At the height of its reign the Chu kingdom dominated almost half of the Chinese empire and attempted to conquer the whole. Despite a remarkably stable royal house and an effective administration,

⁵ D. Fu, *Gedichte (Poetry)*, Cambridge, 1952, p. 73, cited in H. Brinker, *Zen in the Art of Painting*, New York, 1987, p. 138.

Chu was defeated in 221 B.C.E by the Qin, the state that succeeded in unifying China.⁶

As previously mentioned, the Xiao-Xiang region's association with exile began during the Chu kingdom's administration, and one occasion was historically renowned. A wise and competent statesman, Qu Yuan (343-278 B.C.E.), was slandered by an envious colleague and therefore fell out of favour with the King. After many attempts to regain the King's benevolence, Qu Yuan's advice on issues of foreign policy were considered as seditious,⁷ therefore he was banished. In exile, he wrote poems illustrating his plight: an honest man against corruption. These poems were compiled into the legendary volume *Chu ci (Songs of Chu)*.⁸ Ultimately, his lamentable fate and the increasing Qin invasion overwhelmed him, therefore, he drowned himself in the Miluo river, a tributary of the Xiang river.⁹ The legend of Qu Yuan warns against the misuse of power and corruption. Moreover, it sets the tone of the location in literary terms, as a place of sorrowful reclusion and furthermore adds to the aura of the atmosphere for scholars, poets and painters to exploit.¹⁰

Creation: Song Di and Shen Gua

The Xiao-Xiang region became known as the location of a famous series in East Asian art, referred to as the *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* (or *Eight Views*). This subject was devised by the government official Song Di (c.1015-c.1080) in Changsha,

⁶ Information on Chu from Fong, *Images of the Mind*, p. 214.

⁷ Qu Yuan advocated uniting with other states to combat the increasing behemoth Qin.

⁸ Poetry by Qu Yuan has been compiled into D. Hawkes (ed.), *The Songs of the South: An Anthology of Ancient Chinese Poems by Qu Yuan and Other Poets*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1985.

⁹ The Miluo River is similar to the Xiao and Xiang rivers, where two rivers converge and flow together; here the Mi and Luo rivers unite.

¹⁰ Fong, *Images of the Mind*, pp. 214-216.

the capital of the Hunan province.¹¹ He decided to separate his view of the region into eight scenes. He painted these scenes upon the walls of a terrace that overlooked Changsha and the river region. Although his paintings are not extant, contemporary scholars and poets wrote descriptions of them which convey their character. The poet Shen Gua (1031-1095) entitled the eight paintings as the *Eight Views*, and then each scene separately, with poetic titles.¹²

The earliest record of Song Di's *Eight Views* appeared in a compendium by Shen Gua. The title of the compendium, *Mengxi bitan*, refers to the name of Shen Gua's peaceful garden estate where he wrote the book. The title, translated as *Dream Brook Brush Talks*, he explained: "Because I had only my writing brush and ink slab to converse with, I call it Brush Talks."¹³ Shen Gua was a respected and highly cultivated individual, who called the *Eight Views* series Song Di's most successful achievement:

Assistant Secretary Song Di was a competent painter

He was especially good at level-distance landscapes.

The ones that are truly masterful, are

Geese Descending to Sandbar

Returning Sails from Distant Shore

¹¹ It is recorded that Song Di held two official positions during his early time in office. His first recorded position states that he was the Assistant Transport Commissioner in the Ministry of Transportation's regional office. He also became the Vice Director of Governmental Administration in Changsha. See Fong, *Images of the Mind*, p. 216.

¹² The poetic titles are as follows: *Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar* (*Pingsha yanluo*); *Returning Sails from Distant Shore* (*Yuanpu fangui*); *Mountain Market in Clearing Mist* (*Shanshi pinglan*); *River and Sky in Evening Snow* (*Jiangtan muxue*); *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting* (*Dongting qiuyue*); *Night Rain on the Xiao Xiang* (*Xiaoxiang yeyu*); *Evening Bell from Mist-Shrouded Temple* (*Yansi wanzhong*) and *Fishing Village in Evening Glow* (*Yucun lezhao*). See V. M. Ortiz, "The Poetic Structure of a Twelfth-Century Chinese Pictorial Dream Journey" in *The Art Bulletin*, New York, 1994, p. 260.

¹³ N. Sivin, "Shen Kua" in C. C. Gillispie, (ed.), *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, New York, 1975, pp. 369-70.

Mountain Market in Clearing Mist
 River and Sky in Evening Snow
 Autumn Moon over Dongting
 Night Rain on Xiao Xiang
 Evening Bell from Mist-Shrouded Temple
 Fishing Village in Evening Glow,
 He calls them Eight Views.
 Connoisseurs are talking about them.¹⁴

After viewing the works, Shen Gua composed these poetic titles separately, and the language that he used emphasized conclusion or imminent darkness. Phrases such as ‘descending’, ‘returning’, ‘snowy evening’, ‘autumn night’, ‘rainy night’, ‘obscuring mist’ and ‘setting sun’ suggest a melancholy mood. In poetic terms, the pattern of introduction, parallel description, and closure mimics the structure of regulated verse. The poetic titles are testimony to a concern with atmospheric phenomena in contemporary painting and poetry, which rapidly increased to a major theme for artists during the Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279).¹⁵

The numbered subject, *Eight Views*, draws further associations to poetry, exile, reclusion and contemplation. Certain numbers were associated with good fortune in East Asian societies therefore certain numbers, such as six and eight, were associated with sets of sages or immortals.¹⁶ An immortal, (C: *xian*, J: *sen*), was someone who

¹⁴ S. Gua, *Mengxi bitan jiaozheng (Dream Brook Brush Talks)*, Shanghai, 1987, p. 549.

¹⁵ M. Loehr, *The Great Painters of China*, Oxford, 1980, p. 225. The Northern Song and Southern Song styles of painting will be discussed further in this chapter.

¹⁶ The previously mentioned poem by Du Fu on p. 3 refers to the K’un-lun [Kunlun] Mountains. K’un-lun is the mythical *axis mundi* (site of the world’s creation) and the abode of immortals. The path through these mountains is called K’un-lun because of that name’s associations with immortality. Perhaps Du Fu mentioned the K’un-lun Mountains to further reinforce the association with immortals to the Xiao-Xiang region. See W. H. Nienhauser, Jr., *The Grand Scribe’s Records: The Basic Annals of Han China*, vol. 2, Bloomington, 2002, p. 250.

had reached bodily immortality, a transcendent who lived away from civilization, immune from disease, age and death. Originally associated with Daoist recluses, the term was also used to designate poets of such talent that they surpassed mere mortal status, and thus through the excellence of their poetry, would live forever. The number eight is prominent in Chinese culture, in part due to the fame of the Eight Immortals, who were associated with good fortune.¹⁷

Song Di was exiled after being falsely accused of arson. He served as the director of the Salt and Iron Monopoly in the State Finance Commission until 1074, when he decided to leave in order to become an administrator of a strategic prefecture in Eastern Gansu. Three months after leaving, a large fire swept through the State Finance Commission, and over five days it destroyed hundreds of rooms, archives and documents. The fire was said to have spread from an unattended stove in an abandoned hall of the Salt Monopoly that was formerly Song Di's responsibility. He was wrongfully held responsible and was dismissed from office.¹⁸ Song Di retreated to Luoyang (central China) which became the centre of the conservative opposition under the leadership of the historian Sima Guang (1019-1086). The group of conservatives or anti-reformers spoke of themselves as exiles. Sima Guang wrote a poem about Song Di, helped him purchase a plot of land and welcomed him warmly, urging him to forget the painful business of court politics:

Friends since youth, now we are white-haired,
Completely versed with official affairs, we love the deep and hidden;
Retiring on a modest neighbouring plot,
In old age we will often sit next to these walls;

¹⁷ Bruschke-Johnston, Lee, *Dismissed As Elegant Fossils: Konoe Nobutada and the Role Of Aristocrats in Early Modern Japan*, Amsterdam, 2004, p. 116.

¹⁸ Murck, "The Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang and the Northern Song Culture of Elite", p. 118.

Although happy that the new neighbour is a Yan Zi,
 I'm still ashamed that the one recommending the house isn't a Zhou Lang;
 How soon can you put the official carriage aside?
 Leaning on staffs, we'll greet each other by the road.¹⁹

There are many historical references in this poem. Firstly, Yan Zi (also referred to as Yan Ying, c. 500-c. 400 B.C.E.) served as Prime Minister of Qi during the Spring and Autumn era (c. 700-400 B.C.E.). By comparing Song Di to a man who was famous for wisdom and personal integrity, Sima Guang praised his honesty and implied that he was innocent in regards to the Ministry fire. Sima compared himself unfavourably to Zhou Lang (also referred to as Zhou Yu, 175-210 C.E.), who defeated the infamous general Cao Cao (155-220 C.E.) by sending flaming ships sailing into his fleet at the Red Cliff. By this comparison, Sima is lamenting that if he had been able to defeat his nemesis, Wang Anshi (1021-1086),²⁰ as Zhao Yu defeated Cao Cao, such disasters would not continue to befall worthy men, such as Song Di and his exile predicament.²¹

Song Di's *Eight Views* immediately attracted attention: they were praised for their poetic quality, were lauded in poetry, and for centuries were widely imitated by other painters. Most modern scholarship considers the scenes as exercises in atmospheric painting, yet the *Eight Views* show much more than mere studies in atmospheric phenomena. This subject touches upon different aspects of poetry, atmosphere, theory, style and aesthetics which will be explained further in this chapter. Song Di's

¹⁹ Cited in Murck, "The Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang and the Northern Song Culture of Elite" p. 119 from S. Guang, "Rhyming Ninshou Director Song Di Upon His Siting a House and Becoming a Neighbour of the South Garden" in *Sima wenzheng gong chuanjiaji*, Shanghai, 1937, p. 159.

²⁰ Wang Anshi was the chancellor who implemented Emperor Shenzong's (1048-1085, r. 1067-1085) New Policies. See F. W. Mote, *Imperial China: 900-1800*, Cambridge, 1999, p. 138-142.

²¹ Murck, "The Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang and the Northern Song Culture of Elite", pp. 119-120.

political career and the four-character titles of the eight paintings suggest that the *Eight Views* was a complex of ‘ideas from poems’ based on what Sima Guang called ‘poetry of grief’. This type of poetry was written by men “who saw their wishes checked and frustrated”.²² If the *Eight Views* were indeed related to ‘poetry of grief’ for Song Di, then the inception of the subject would have coincided with the end of his career, when he was exiled and truly ‘in grief’.²³

Ascertaining the correct date of the creation of Song Di’s *Eight Views* is difficult as there are conflicting pieces of evidence which lend weight to varying claims. It was stated that Song Di painted the first version of this series on a terrace whilst serving in Changsha in the early 1060s. This is based upon evidence that a Ming dynasty gazetteer discovered, which states that an ‘Eight Views Terrace’ was built in Changsha during the Jiayou era (1056-1064 C.E.).²⁴ However, the underlying message which associated the *Eight Views* with exile, suggests a later date. The scenes are laden with melancholy imagery which implies an official’s exile and therefore suggests that they were composed after Song Di’s dismissal from government in late 1074. The ‘Eight Views Terrace’ may have been created in response to the popularity of Song Di’s subject and to satisfy travelers’ expectations of seeing the celebrated paintings upon visiting Changsha. Later gazetteer writers possibly ascertained the date from the consideration of Song Di’s period of service in Changsha and then dated the terrace accordingly.²⁵

²² Murck, “The Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang and the Northern Song Culture of Elite”, p. 113.

²³ Ibid., pp. 113-114.

²⁴ Cited in Ibid., p. 143.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 143.

Poetic Influence: Du Fu

At the time of the *Eight Views*' creation, the poet Du Fu was popular amongst scholars, and therefore his poems could have been a textual source for not only Shen Gua's poetic titles, but also the imagery in Song Di's paintings. Many poems written by Tang dynasty exiles proclaim the innocence and loyalty of the banished officials and the desire for an imperial reprieve to restore their reputations and former status. Du Fu's poems best capture this sentiment. As we shall see, his poems also contain many similarities to the *Eight Views*' titles and aesthetics. Furthermore, as Du Fu wrote in the Xiao-Xiang region during the last two years of his life, his poems from this period are additionally significant. The following examination of the titles through Du Fu's poetic imagery will elucidate this claim.

Firstly, *Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar* implies a poetic metaphor for order and hierarchy, as the geese's inclination of flying in a V-shaped configuration implied retaining ranks. This concept could be applied by poets to both family and court, and more importantly, with exile. Du Fu used migratory geese as a metaphor for a noble and loyal official, separated from friends, family and colleagues, similar to a wild goose separated from his flock. Du Fu continually makes reference to his desire to return to the court in the north. "Lone Goose" illustrates this:

Wild goose, alone, neither eats nor drinks:

It flies crying out, voice longing for the flock.

Who is it pities that single shadow

Now lost in a thousand folds of cloud?

Gaze as far as you can - as if still in sight.

Many calls of lament - as though still heard.

Crows of the wilderness pay it no heed -

They squawk and caw in their multitudes.²⁶

In this poem, Du Fu empathised with the bird while experiencing his own anguish. Furthermore, in his poem, “Returning Geese”, Du Fu outlined his eagerness to return to the capital, yet also included phrases that are close in syntax and meaning to the title of *Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar*. A phrase in the third line, ‘One by one they turn their backs on me’ implies an affront, which furthermore reinforces the dejection associated with being exiled. If wild geese in flight expressed the hierarchy of court officials, when they descended, as in the title *Geese Descending to Sandbar*, Du Fu hinted that descending geese are metaphors for officials who have been disgraced by unjustified exile. Contemporary scholars would have recognized Song Di’s painting title of descending geese as an allusion to southern exile, with the unspoken implication that it was unjust.

For the next painting title, *Returning Sails from Distant Shore*, Du Fu used the ‘distant shore’ as a metaphor for the place to which an official was exiled. Therefore, a boat returning from a ‘distant shore’ referred to an official returning to court from exile. Returning to court became a major theme in Du Fu’s poetry. A poem written in the last months of Du Fu’s life, entitled “Boarding a Boat to Hanyang,” elucidates the context of *Returning Sails from Distant Shore*:

Spring dwelling abandoned, I leave.

Autumn sails hasten the traveler’s return:

The garden’s vegetables are still before my eyes,

The shore’s waves are already blowing my robe;

²⁶ Du Fu quoted in D. R. McCraw, *Du Fu’s Lament from the South*, Honolulu, 1992, pp. 135-136.

My life's pattern of drifting has been inept,
 My aspirations in twilight years are thwarted;
 On the Central Plain cavalry horses abound,
 On this distant circuit ordinary letters are few;
 Geese of the pass gather as the season advances,
 Crows on the mast fly at year's end;
 From here I will go to Deer Gate,
 And forever put a stop to Hanyin schemes.²⁷

References to 'sails', 'traveler's return' and 'this distant circuit' evoke the poetic title. Scholars would have recognized the title *Geese Descending to Sandbar* as an allusion for officials suffering unjust banishment and *Returning Sails from Distant Shore* as signifying a loyal official's desire to return from exile.

The *Eight Views*' third title, *Mountain Market in Clearing Mist* also parallels with poetry by Du Fu. In the Tang dynasty, Du Fu was one of very few poets to use the contemporary rural villages and mountain markets in poetry. In his late poetry, sparsely populated mountain villages were not sites of serenity, but typically the scenes of human suffering. In one poem Du Fu explains that an autumn harvest would be plentiful, however since everything had to be sent to the government, the local village would go hungry:

In dangerous times tax collection is frequent,
 Rough-hulled grain for you is squandered;
 Clasp hands, walking in the bean field,
 Autumn flowers dense and fragrant;

²⁷ A. Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China: The Subtle Art of Dissent*, Cambridge, 2000, p. 84.

But when the beans mature, they cannot be eaten -

Market produce will be sent to the capital.²⁸

The harsh conditions in a mountain village prompted Du Fu to write about the callousness of officials. In his poetry, the idea of market echoes his concept of court, for he held the government responsible for rural suffering. Therefore, contemporary scholars would have regarded the 'mountain market' as a negative connotation. Furthermore, the reference to 'clearing mist' could imply lifting a metaphorical veil off the harsh conditions of the mountain village and markets, revealing the situation to the wider public through poetry.

The fourth title, *River and Sky in Evening Snow*, contains ideas such as enduring adversity and acknowledging decline. Given the advanced age and political misfortunes of officials such as Du Fu and Song Di, a title which refers to 'evening' and 'snow' implies declining fortunes. By erasing familiar landmarks snow causes disorientation and conceals the natural hierarchy. It makes movement (or progress in a career) uncertain and dangerous. Du Fu wrote many poems which included references to snowfall, such as "Facing Snow" and "Late Clearing". In the latter, he described a landscape obliterated and cleansed by snow, where only black maples punctuate the monochromatic whiteness of the scene:

Lofty hall at end of winter, a heavy snow!

Old miasmas cannot return: all is dust and powder;

Cliffs are covered, valleys disappear: white pure white.

Boulders as if split, black maples pressed down.²⁹

²⁸ Du Fu quoted in Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China*, p. 86.

²⁹ Du Fu quoted in Ibid., p. 103.

Again, through Du Fu's poetry one may suppose that *River and Sky in Evening Snow* carries a negative view of the struggles of the exiled official.

The *Eight Views*' fifth title, *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting*, refers overtly to decline, as autumn is a time of deterioration into bleak winter weather. Furthermore, Lake Dongting was the subject of a poem by Du Fu. In 769, he climbed the Yueyang Tower, which was built by the Wu Kingdom advisor Lu Su (172-217 C.E.), and was strategically situated where the Yangtze River joins Lake Dongting. Any artworks depicting this fortress usually include the scenic riverscape area of the Hunan where the Xiao and Xiang rivers are situated. The Yueyang Tower could very well be the viewpoint from which artists sketched the river region. Du Fu's poem entitled "Ascending Yueyang Tower" begins in a tone of elation: he is a joyous traveler who has finally reached a long-sought destination, however, more troubling thoughts soon enter his mind:

Long ago I heard of Dongting's waters,
 Today I ascended the Yueyang Tower;
 Wu and Chu to east and south are cleaved.
 The whole world day and night floats;
 From friends and family, I have no word,
 Old and ill, I have only a solitary boat:
 Warhorses stamp north of the passes,
 Leaning on the railing my tears flow.³⁰

This poem deals with the expansive lake, a personal lament on a solitary life, and contemplation over the court and the country. Furthermore, the connection between

³⁰ Du Fu quoted in D. Hawkes, *A Little Primer of Tu Fu*, Boston, 1988, pp. 206-209.

Lake Dongting, the Yueyang Tower and the court was established before Du Fu wrote this verse. Poems by Meng Haoran (689-740) initiated the connection, and three centuries later, Dongting continued to inspire meditations on the state and official service. In 1045, politician and scholar, Fan Zhongyan (989-1052) wrote a commemorative essay on the occasion of the refurbishing of the Yueyang Tower. Fan Zhongyan and Teng Zongliang (990-1047), who commissioned the essay, were in exile following their failure to persuade the emperor to implement the Qingli reforms.³¹ The renovation of the building included wall engravings of the complete anthology of Tang and Song dynasty poems written at the Yueyang Tower. Unfortunately, the Yueyang Tower was destroyed in 1079, and stone engravings of many poems that were composed there were also destroyed in the fire. However, by 1085 the pavilion was rebuilt. Therefore, the title and image of *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting* evoked poetry composed at the Yueyang Tower and asserted the anti-reformers' claim inherent in the verses.

Again, the sixth title, *Night Rain on Xiao Xiang* implied an inauspicious decline. References to 'night' and 'rain' certainly suggest conclusion and sorrow. The legendary history of the Xiao-Xiang region could provide a noble facade for a miserable exiled official. As Murck stated: "The lament could be for the sage-king Shun, with the unspoken implication that a great ruler could not be found. Or the lament could be for Qu Yuan, the exemplar of the [slandered] loyal minister, and suggest that the government would suffer the consequences of ignoring a wise councilor's advice."³² Rain showers are often used in poetry to signify copious tears.

³¹ The Qingli reforms took place during 1043-1045. They attempted to reform the traditional way of conducting Chinese government. They were the precursor to Wang Anshi's reforms of the New Policies.

³² Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China*, p. 108.

Du Fu wrote, “Sadly looking across a thousand autumns, one shower of tears”.³³ Rain, especially the *yin* or negative implication of ‘night rain’, was an ideal means of expression for the scholar-official in exile, as bleak weather invited reflections on an unfulfilled career. Poetically, *Night Rain on Xiao Xiang* conveyed messages of lament from loyal exiled officials and questioned how promising careers and a flourishing state could dramatically decline.

Evening Bell from a Mist-Shrouded Temple is also rich suggests poetic images. Mists and clouds have many symbolic meanings in Chinese poetry: they are a manifestation of the earth’s vitality (*qi*), the breath of the mountain, the creator of rain, and a symbol of the wandering scholar. Clouds imply impermanence, and the ephemeral state of life. Clouds were also used as a metaphor for obscured vision and lack of understanding or enlightenment, as implied in the previously discussed title *Mountain Market in Clearing Mist*. However, the former part of the title, the toll of the ‘evening bell’, promises an epiphany. In Chinese literature a tolling bell often prompted reflection on one’s existence. Du Fu visited many Buddhist temples and befriended innumerable monks. In “Calling on the Chan Master at Zhendi Monastery”, he wrote:

A small temple high on a mountain,
Clouds and low hanging mist, layers of peaks;
A freezing spring flows over small pebbles,
Pure snow falls from tall pines;
Asking about the Dharma: I regard poetry as false,
Disciplining my body: I see wine as indolence;
I’m not ready to give up wife and children,

³³ Du Fu quoted in H. Frankel, “The Contemplation of the Past in Tang Poetry” in A. F. Wright & D. Twitchett (eds.), *Perspectives on the Tang*, New Haven, 1973, p. 359.

But I will site a house close to the front peak.³⁴

The first two lines evoke the location of the title. Du Fu then suggests that he is not ready to embrace a Buddhist life, however, he has made many attempts to alter his lifestyle. For Buddhists who created poems or paintings of the *Eight Views*, *Evening Bell from a Mist-Shrouded Temple* was connected to the religious life and a metaphor for Chan (J: Zen) enlightenment. For them, the implications of Du Fu's poetry suited the mood of the concerned scholar-official of the anti-reform persuasion but also reflected the wider religious sentiment of the subject.

The last title of the *Eight Views*' paintings, *Fishing Village in Evening Glow*, employs the image of exile as a fisherman or recluse. As Stephen Owen has noted, reclusion was the sole government-sanctioned alternative to service in the civil bureaucracy.³⁵

The poet outside the government was either a recluse wishing to be recruited or a discharged official enjoying the pleasures of 'retirement' while hoping still to be recalled to service. Within the rhetoric of exile, the topics of fishing and fishermen were highly esteemed. Fishing was an established euphemism for preserving oneself while waiting for better times. The lore extends back some three thousand years to the exemplar of Jiang Ziya (also known as Jiāng Taigōng or Lu Shang, act. c. 1060 B.C.E.), who was fishing when King Wen (1152-1056 B.C.E., r. 1099-1056 B.C.E.) encountered him on a tributary of the Wei River and recruited him to establish the Zhou dynasty.³⁶ By posing as fishermen, scholar-officials in retirement or in exile demonstrated their purity and their distance and detachment from worldly rewards.

Du Fu's poem "Old Rustic" contains visual motifs that are commonly found in extant

³⁴ Du Fu quoted in B. Watson (trans.), *The Selected Poems of Du Fu*, New York, 2002, p. 157.

³⁵ S. Owen, *Traditional Chinese Poetry and Poetics: Omen of the World*, Madison, 1985, pp. 28-32.

³⁶ S. Qian cited in W. H. Nienhauser, Jr., *The Grand Scribe's Records: The Hereditary Houses of Pre-Han China*, vol. 5, Bloomington, 2006, pp. 31-35.

paintings of *Fishing Village in Evening Glow*, such as fishing nets set out to dry and a boat moving through the last rays of the evening sun. The title only indicates that the poem was set in a remote place but also reminds the reader that the poet was outside the court bureaucracy. Du Fu composed a verse full of serene imagery, however, he also infused the poem with an exile's melancholy. The title *Fishing Village in Evening Glow* suggested that exiled scholar-officials were still thinking of the court even while cultivating the appearance of a detached and serene life of fishermen.

Poetic Influence: Su Shi

In this period of political turmoil, when even loyal officials were sent into exile, poets became weary of criticising serving officials therefore painting became an outlet for their feelings. In a painting, all kinds of symbols or images could be used to express anger, distaste or sorrow. To the court, Xiao-Xiang was a geographic name, however, to exiled officials, poets and scholars, the name had greater significance as the locale of a rich literature of exile. Moreover, the previously mentioned legend of Qu Yuan was notorious to poets and scholars alike. Contemporaries stressed the relationship of the *Eight Views* to poetry, which reinforced that these landscapes were not concerned with atmospheric effects alone, but also incorporated references to the literature of the region and raised concerns that the artist dared not speak aloud. A specific example of such suppression occurred in 1079 when the respected scholar, Su Shi (1037–1101) was put on trial for sedition.³⁷ He confessed to writing critical references in his poetry

³⁷ Su Shi's poetry was scrutinized at the Crow Terrace Poetry Trial of 1079. Officials working under the chancellor, Wang Anshi, believed that some of Su Shi's poetry had insulted them by praising poet Zeng Gong (1019-1083) and implied that his poetry was superior to their poetry. Su Shi acknowledged that the poem contained criticism and in his confession he wrote: "This criticizes indirectly the many unfeeling men that have recently been employed at Court, that their opinions are narrow-minded and make a raucous din like the sound of cicadas, and that they do not deserve to be heard. There is also [the final couplet] in which I created a metaphor for the expansive talent of Zeng Gong". See C. Hartman, "Poetry and Politics in 1079: The Crow Terrace Trial of Su Shih" in *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles and Reviews*, Madison, 1990, pp. 26-27.

and was granted a relatively light sentence of two year's house arrest in Hangzhou.³⁸

After this trial, poets and scholars edited their work to avoid a similar fate.

The combination of painting and poetry was a long-standing tradition in East Asian art. The idea that a painting should stimulate the viewer's imagination beyond the depicted forms was primarily discussed by Su Shi. Su Shi remains one of the most important theorists of 'picture idea' (*huayi*) or 'poetic painting'. In formulating the notion that "painting and poetry constitute originally one single discipline"³⁹ (*shi hua ben yi lu*), he explained that feelings and descriptions can fuse in mood only if a painting was composed as a poem. He wrote three poems on Song Di's *Eight Views*, in which he praised the paintings at two levels, the natural depiction that arouses the feeling of traveling into the real place, and the lyrical idea that resonates beyond the forms. Su Shi's poems read successively:

Journeying west I remember the southern kingdom:

In the hall your pictures of the Xiao and Xiang.

In dazzling vision cloudy mountains rise up;

Floating up to the horizon, wilds and waters stretch out.

The mind filled with former travels,

Then skillfully you forgot both hand and brush.

Should a traveler come from Henyang

And see these pictures, his thoughts would be a vast expanse of water.

How upright are your aspirations;

³⁸ The legal code at this time decreed execution for sedition.

³⁹ Ortiz, pp. 260-261.

Mountains and streams bend and twist.
 You first composed your painting mentally,
 Then you brushed it out with no difficulty.
 In the river market there are few families;
 In the misty village old trees grow in clumps.
 I understand you have a subtle idea;
 Let me carefully search for it.

There are many feet and inches [of painting];
 Cloudy or clearing, the view is not uniform.
 Paths coiling run toward the distant mountain,
 Waters converging flow into the nearby stream.
 You said yourself the idea was not mere imagination,
 You actually entered there by horses' hoofs.
 Some other year, on an official journey,
 Perhaps we'll talk west of Mount Swordgate.⁴⁰

At this time, the poem and the painting were conceived as a unity, with neither being an 'illustration' or 'explanation' of the other, and both ultimately supporting a view of the representation itself as limited, contingent and incomplete.⁴¹ This idea became common artistic theory in China and was further dispersed throughout East Asia. For example, several Chinese and Japanese versions of the *Eight Views* were compiled into a handscroll and all eight images bore adjacent accompanying poetry. The handscroll format was apt, as it combined poetry and painting flawlessly, and

⁴⁰ Ortiz, p. 261.

⁴¹ C. Clunas, *Art in China*, Oxford, 1997, pp. 119-120.

furthermore one could view all eight scenes in a flowing succession of panoramic landscape. The scenes were usually only separated by a misty and indefinite pause.

Song Di's *Eight Views* were circulated among the elite of society and also impressed Emperor Huizong (1082-1135, r. 1100-1126). The emperor was renowned for possessing exquisite taste and a passion for refined painting. He was enamored with the subject of the *Eight Views* and the aesthetics it upheld. He commissioned the court painter Chang Chien (act. early twelfth century) to travel by boat through the Xiao-Xiang region and record the scenery in eight scenes.⁴² The emperor himself painted a set of *Eight Views* and is said to have inscribed his sixth section with the following comment: "Having looked over Song Di's *Eight Views* I playfully took up my brush and made these. I call them *Eight Scenic Places*."⁴³ This appears in a miscellaneous notebook by the scholar Chang Cheng (d. 1139). He wrote: "Each scene carried a title written by the emperor and an imperial seal reading 'Imperial Painting Treasure'. The seal impression five inches wide was magnificent! It shows the emperor's keen enthusiasm."⁴⁴ Furthermore, two of Song Di's *Eight Views* series are listed among the works in the catalogue of the emperor's own collection.⁴⁵

Poetic Influence: Juefan Huihong

Contemporaneously, a Chan Buddhist monk named Juefan Huihong (1071-1128) composed poems on the *Eight Views*. Huihong was prompted by the comment of a fellow monk to compose verses on the *Eight Views*: "Song Di painted *Eight Views* of excellent quality. People say he creates language without sounds. Monk Yen playfully

⁴² Fong, *Images of the Mind*, p. 217.

⁴³ C. Cheng, *Hua-lu kuang-i (Miscellaneous Record on Painting)*, Taipei, 1975, p. 174.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

⁴⁵ Loehr, p. 225.

said that I make pictures with sounds. Therefore I have taken each scene and composed a poem.”⁴⁶ Whether Huihong ever saw Song Di’s actual paintings is unknown, yet he followed the sequence of titles in Shen Gua’s list faithfully. This anecdote shows the versatility of the *Eight Views*, from painting to poetry and *vice versa*. This dual use of the subject becomes stronger from the thirteenth century onwards, where handscrolls that contained paintings accompanied by poetry became popular. Moreover, aspects of the aesthetics can be conveyed between the two mediums. Imagery contained in the paintings can be transferred into poetry, and allusions in poetry can be portrayed in the pictorial composition. Therefore, aesthetics of paintings and poetry became intertwined in the *Eight Views*.

Huihong befriended exiled artist Huang Tingjian (1045-1105) in the Xiao-Xiang region in 1101 and later met the monk-painter Zhongren (d. 1123), who created a painting entitled *Xiao Xiang Level Distance View* for him in 1114. Huihong’s poems on the *Eight Views* not only introduced Buddhist ideas about perception and illusion into existing Xiao-Xiang imagery, but also brightened the melancholy topic with references to light and sound. Huihong also broadened the subject’s geographical scope with allusions to places in Zhejiang and Jiangxi. Subsequent painters drew upon the accessible imagery of Huihong’s poems, rather than the veiled allusions to Du Fu’s poems that may have initially influenced the *Eight Views*’ poetic titles. Nonetheless, the concealed theme of lament or complaint was retained and the subject continued to be painted by or referring to people who had been unjustly punished or exiled.

⁴⁶ Fong, *Images of the Mind*, p. 221.

Earliest Extant Examples: Wang Hong

The earliest extant Chinese example of the *Eight Views* was created by Wang Hong (act. c. 1131-c. 1161). Information on Wang Hong is scarce. According to Chinese art historian Xia Wenyan's (1296-1370) fourteenth-century painting catalogue, Wang Hong was a professional painter from Shu (modern Sichuan) and worked during the Shao-xing era (1131-1162).⁴⁷ The imperial seals affixed at the top edge of each of his paintings also suggest that he may have served at the court. The distinct gourd-shaped seals read 'imperialy inscribed' (*yu shu*), and these imply that an emperor once wrote poems or comments that were mounted with the paintings. However, these imperial inscriptions are not extant.

The *Eight Views* are the only known extant artworks by Wang Hong. (See Figures 1-8) They consist of two handscrolls, each of which contains four monochrome ink images and accompanying colophons on silk. They were painted in approximately 1160.⁴⁸ The images show signs of their age and therefore are quite dark, however, they provide a fascinating insight into an early example of the *Eight Views*.

Following the subject's precedent, Wang Hong portrayed the misty atmosphere in monochromatic ink and wash techniques to convey the climate and the region. As Wang Hong's works contain an eclectic mix of methods and techniques, it is difficult to select one style that explains his oeuvre. His brushwork, colourful foliage, architectural structures, and wintry mountains indicate a regional Sichuan painting style, a revival of the Fan Kuan (950-1032) landscape tradition, or a transitional style between Southern and Northern Song periods. His paintings adopt motifs, stylistic

⁴⁷ X. Wenyan, *Tahui baojian (Precious Mirror For Examining Painting)*, Jinxiang, 1365, p. 118.

⁴⁸ Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China*, p. 211.

elements, and techniques of previous masters such as Li Cheng (919-967), Gao Keming (act. c. 1008-1053), and Yan Wengui (act. 1000-1025).⁴⁹

Wang Hong's versions of the *Eight Views* were based upon Song Di's paintings, Shen Gua's poetic titles and Juefan Huihong's poetry.⁵⁰ Features of Wang Hong's images correspond directly to these poetic sources. For example, the second scene, *Returning Sails from Distant Shore*, illustrates references to the poetic title and Huihong's poetry. (See Figure 2) Through a forest of thick trees, a pavilion is positioned at the edge of the lake. Upon the balcony, a man leans on a railing and looks out across an expanse of water. Following the direction of his gaze, one can distinguish a tiny sail to the left of the distant shore. Herein Wang Hong illustrated both the poetic title and the distant view outlined by Huihong in his *Returning Sails from Distant Shore* poem:

An easterly wind suddenly turns into a whirlwind,
 I sit watching wave patterns like silk gauze;
 Setting sun illuminates the horizon: White Isle lies crosswise,
 River current swallows the sky: traveler's sail is distant.
 Leaning on a railing, threads of thoughts tangle in wind.
 Over a vast expanse, I suspect I see a wild duck or goose.
 Gradually aware of a mast emerging through the glare,
 This time adding or taking away, rely on the poem's eye.⁵¹

Whilst painting an almost invisible sailboat, Wang Hong visually echoed Huihong's reference to the story of two men who stood on a balcony and attempted to distinguish an object in the distance. Both men were deceived by vast distance, as the man from

⁴⁹ Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China*, p. 211.

⁵⁰ For a complete compilation of Huihong's *Eight Views* poetry, see Appendix I.

⁵¹ Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China*, pp. 281-282.

Yue called it a wild duck; whereas the man from Chu insisted it was a swallow.⁵²

However, Huihong asserts that it is a sail's 'mast emerging through the glare' in his poem.

Furthermore, Wang Hong's third image, *Mountain Market in Clearing Mist*, contains precipitous rock cliffs where a traveler climbs a path with a guardrail. The path turns and passes through thick woods to reach a village. There is an expanse of water on the left and a misty mountain range on the right. (See Figure 3) The high vantage point and extended recession combine to create a deep and broad panorama, in which the mountain village forms a small part. In order to convey the rusticity of the rural locality, the structures have been simplified. This image was influenced by Huihong's eight-line poem of the same name, *Mountain Market in Clearing Mist*:

Last night's rain is letting up, mountain air is heavy.
 Blowing mist, sun and shadow, light moves between trees:
 Silkworm market comes to a close: the crowd thins out,
 Public willows by market bridge; golden threads play;
 Whose house with flower-filled plot is across the valley,
 A smooth-tongued yellow bird calls in the spring breeze;
 Wine flag in vast distance - look and you can see:
 It's the one west of the road to Yellowbark Knob village.⁵³

Firstly, the location of a misty mountain market, as indicated by the painting's poetic title, is reflected in both Huihong's poem and Wang Hong's image. The sparse number of people in Wang Hong's market scene also suits Huihong's description of

⁵² The story was cited in a debate between Buddhists and Daoists to illustrate the principle that the same truth can have different interpretations. See "Discussions of Schools by Zhang Rong of Southern Qi", in L. Sengyou, *Hongmingji (Record of Spreading Enlightenment)*, Shanghai, 1936.

⁵³ Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China*, p. 282.

businesses closing for the day. The ‘public willow’ trees by the ‘market bridge’ in the foreground of the image were also taken from the same poetic source. Furthermore, a house with ‘flower-filled’ garden plot perched on the mountainside ‘across the valley’ was also adopted from Huihong’s verse. Finally, a wine shop ‘flag in vast distance’ is illustrated within the misty trees, almost out of sight, which further reveals Wang Hong’s debt to Huihong’s poetry. Wang Hong painted each of these minute details to fulfill his illustration of Huihong’s poem. As noted, Su Shi promoted the theory that poetic allusions can be translated into painting and imagery contained in paintings can be conveyed into poetry, and Wang Hong’s images provide a good concrete example of this.

Furthermore, motifs such as a bridge and the traveler upon a hill, often on a path with guardrail, became characteristic of this image’s iconography. Almost all twelfth and thirteenth century paintings of the theme, consciously or by convention, reflect the characteristics and positioning of landscape elements of Wang Hong and Huihong’s works. These features are present in the thirteenth century versions of the *Eight Views* attributed to Xia Gui (act. c. 1195-c. 1224) and Yujian (act. thirteenth century). The latter artist, who will be discussed further in the second chapter, wrote an accompanying quatrain, entitled, *Mountain Market in Clearing Mist*, which contains clear allusions to Huihong’s eight line poem of the same name.

Rain-pulled cloud wisps gather at Changsha,
Faint hint of rainbow carrying evening blush.
I like best Market Bridge beyond the public willows,
Wine flag flutters, a traveler thinks of home.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China*, p. 286.

‘Market bridge beyond the public willows’ and ‘wine flag flutters’ mirror Huihong’s imagery of ‘public willows by market bridge’ and ‘wine flag in vast distance’. The atmosphere of both poems also correspond; as Yujian mentions the ‘rain-pulled cloud’, which aligns with Huihong’s lines, ‘last night’s rain is letting up’ and ‘blowing mist, sun and shadow’. In the last line, Yujian mentions ‘a traveler thinks of home’. Perhaps he is referring to the ‘Yellowbark Knob village’ mentioned in Huihong’s poem. However, perhaps the poet is meaning ‘Changsha’ or the surrounding Xiao-Xiang river region that is ‘home’ to the *Eight Views*. Moreover, as a thirteenth century artist, Yujian, incorporated allusions from the eleventh century poems. Huihong was inspired by Song Di’s originals and later artists such as Wang Hong and Yujian were influenced by Huihong’s poetry, and subsequently their paintings further stimulated later artists to create their own versions of the *Eight Views*. Therefore certain aspects, features and aesthetics of the *Eight Views* were preserved through several forms of art, namely poetry and painting.⁵⁵

Despite Emperor Huizong’s advocacy of the *Eight Views* previously mentioned, some critics in wider society were less enthusiastic when writing about Song Di’s *Eight Views*. One critic, Teng Chun (act. mid-twelfth century), wrote a particular criticism based upon the darkness of the paintings. He wrote:

Song Di’s Eight Views are all evening scenes. “Evening Bell from Mist-shrouded Temple” and “Night Rain on Xiao and Xiang” are practically

⁵⁵ Moreover, the moon in Wang Hong’s version of the *Autumn Moon over Dongting* was not delineated in the sky. However, the moon’s reflection upon the surface of the water was illustrated. This became a characteristic feature of the *Autumn Moon* theme. Later artists, such as Muqi, do not illustrate the moon in the sky, but rather its reflection upon the water. Wang Hong could have been following the precedent established by Song Di, as he may have seen copied versions of the original artworks. Or perhaps Wang Hong invented this characteristic which later artists followed. Furthermore, in Wang Hong’s image, beyond large trees and foliage, a large lakeside structure was delineated. This building is most likely the Yueyang Tower, which further reinforces its significance in the *Autumn Moon* subject. Certain precedents and characteristics mentioned above endure throughout the theme’s historical trajectory and therefore certain aesthetics or features remain.

impossible to represent. The sound of a bell cannot be pictured. How much less Xiao and Xiang at night! Add to that the depiction of rain and what could possibly be seen? Most likely Fu-ku [Song Di] painted and afterward the titles were determined. The paintings are merely summary sketches of enveloping clouds, gloomy and dull.⁵⁶

The idea that the paintings were created before the titles was crucial to the emerging ideal of spontaneous creativity. If the subject matter of paintings was dictated by set titles, the painter's creative process was supposedly inhibited. These ideas on the creative process developed in later Northern Song period essays, most notably in the writings of Su Shi.⁵⁷ However, there is an opposing school of thought that not only espouses the work of the past as models, but also advocates that set boundaries may inspire an imaginative response to the subject. While some critics, such as Su Shi, believe that set titles stunt creativity, other scholars believed that when all artists are painting the same scene, each artist's individuality is clarified.

Important Theories: The Southern and Northern Schools

This brings the discussion to the crucial differences between artistic styles of Song China; the so-called Northern and Southern styles. The Northern School concentrated upon meticulous brushwork and an intensive use of colour, sustained by professional painters, whereas the Southern school was practiced by scholar-amateurs and exhibited brushwork primarily in a spontaneous or rapid style usually in monochrome ink.⁵⁸ The Northern School focused upon study and depiction of a carefully defined scene, whilst the Southern School illustrated the spirit's spontaneous rhythms, of the subject and the artist.

⁵⁶ T. Chun, *Hua-chi (A Continuation of Painting History)*, Taipei, 1974, p. 317.

⁵⁷ Fong, *Images of the Mind*, p. 218.

⁵⁸ Clunas, p. 160.

The Northern and Southern Schools were not based upon geographical locations, but were based upon the schism of the Chan Buddhist religion which occurred at the death of the Fifth Patriarch Daman Hongren (601-675). He conferred his patriarchal robe onto Dajian Huineng (637-712), a man of little learning but great character and intuition. The most learned and admired student among Hongren's pupils was Yuquan Shenxiu (607-706) who would not submit to the leadership of the new Sixth Patriarch. He gathered some followers and established a new monastery in Honan (modern Henan province).⁵⁹ Therefore, Chan Buddhism was divided into two separate schools. Chinese theorist-critic Dong Qichang (1555-1636) explained that: "the Chan sect of Buddhism was divided into Northern and Southern schools in the Tang dynasty. The Northern and Southern schools in painting also appeared at the same time."⁶⁰ The Northern branch of Buddhism, led by Shenxiu, maintained the 'gradualist theory'; meaning that through learning and practice, students would gain enlightenment. However, the Southern branch of Buddhism, directed by Huineng, advocated the 'sudden or spontaneous theory', rejecting ritual and all outward displays of worship.

The main point of division between the two Buddhist schools referred to the way of obtaining enlightenment. Both schools' philosophies were based on the *Lankāvatūra sūtra*, where two different types of mind are characterised: some people will obtain enlightenment only after a long practice of meditation pursued perhaps during many lives; to others it comes all of a sudden, apparently without conscious intellectual effort. However, according to some, the Northern School's gradual method was

⁵⁹ O. Sirén, *The Chinese on the Art of Painting*, New York, 1963, p. 103.

⁶⁰ Cited in Y. Xin, "The Ming Dynasty (1368-1644)" in Y. Xin, N. Chongzheng, L. Shaojun, R. M. Barnhart, J. Cahill & W. Hung, *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting*, New Haven & London, 1997, p. 233.

natural preparation for the intuitive experience, which was the aim of the Southern School.⁶¹

The painting school's also advocated these ideals. However, rigorous study of painting practice, such as brushwork and composition, remained necessary for artists in both schools. The Southern School especially promoted replication of past masterpieces. Artworks by selected master artists were seen as models of influence for the students to copy and emulate. In this way, the students learned the methods, techniques and styles of the ancient masters. After a certain amount of familiarity with these features, the students could paint 'in the style of' the master artists rapidly, or almost intuitively. Ultimately, the Southern School artists' aim was to become fluent in artistic methods, where the hand and brush responded directly to the artist's experience.⁶² After such training the students were encouraged to create artworks 'spontaneously', and through such action achieve enlightenment.⁶³

Both Northern and Southern School styles were dispersed throughout East Asia. Korean artists tended to adopt the Northern School's style and methods, whereas Japanese artists, especially during the Muromachi period (1333-1568) generally preferred the Southern School. Whilst Northern and Southern Schools prospered and declined in different areas, the two styles of painting contrasted with each other markedly, and yet both could be employed on the same subject of the *Eight Views*.

⁶¹ Sirén, *The Chinese on the Art of Painting*, p. 103.

⁶² J. Rawson (ed.), *The British Museum Book Of Chinese Art*, London, 1992, p. 355.

⁶³ To clarify, the division of two separate schools of painting and two separate schools of religion split by the Buddhist schism was a theory derived by Dong Qichang. To elucidate his delineation, according to Dong, Wang Wei (699-759) was the founder of the Southern School of painting whilst Li Sixun (651-716) was the founder of the Northern School of painting. Whereas Dajian Huineng (637-712) was the leader of Southern Buddhist School whilst Yuquan Shenxiu (607-706) was the leader of Northern Buddhist School.

Dong Qichang's theory is significant because these two schools of thought, methods and approaches to painting have been used by art historians and theorists to the present day to define the styles of art throughout East Asia. There are many versions of both Northern and Southern Schools' styles of the *Eight Views*, making examples of this subject diverse and interesting. Therefore, it is extremely important to understand the theories behind the Northern and Southern School painting styles in relation to the *Eight Views*.

Dong Qichang and his colleague Mo Shilong (1540-1587) used the theory of the Chan schism as a template for the historical development of Chinese painting styles. In order to connect Chan and painting, they argued that the two schools of painting also emerged during the Tang dynasty. As Mo Shilong died young (aged 47), Dong Qichang is commonly recognized for devising the theory. He wrote:

Li Sixun and his son of the Northern school did landscape painting, and it was carried on in the Song dynasty by Zhao Gan, Zhao Boju, Zhao Bosu, Ma Yuan and Xia Gui. Wang Wei of the Southern school painted with light ink, thus changing the way of doing certain strokes. His method was inherited by Zhang Zao, Jing Hao, Guan Tong, Dong Yuan, Juran, Guo Zhongshu, Mi Fu, and his son Mi Youren, as well as by the Four Masters of Yuan Painting [Huang Gongwang, Wu Zhen, Ni Zan and Wang Meng]. During the same period in Buddhism many of the followers of Huineng, the Sixth Master of Chan, including Maju, Yunmen and Linji, belonged to the Southern School of Chan. While many flourished, the Northern School declined.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Xin, p. 233.

The historical division may be seen to begin in the Song period, when theorists began to distinguish between professional and amateur painting. By the late Ming dynasty, when this theory was written, the assimilation of amateur literati styles into the orthodox tradition was achieved.⁶⁵ In the above passage, Dong outlines the chronology of the development of the literati painting style and identifies it with the Southern school. Dong believed that the Southern School of painting was linked with the Southern Buddhist School as the Buddhist concept of *dunwu*, meaning ‘sudden awakening’ was valued above learning.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, Dong produced a critique of painting which dominated Chinese aesthetic thought for nearly three centuries, from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries. His book, *Huashuo (Talking of Painting)*, contains a division of Chinese painting into historic and stylistic periods, as well as remarks on connoisseurship and on the classification of paintings.⁶⁷

Important Theory: Transformation

Dong’s classification of the Northern School was underlined with a scholarly disapproval of what he deemed to be decorative or superficial artwork. This is where his bias toward the Southern School is most clear. He believed that the Southern School encompassed the concept of ‘transformation’ which art historian Mary Tregear has explained as incorporating “both the painter’s expression of observed reality and also, within the general theory of the transmission of a tradition, the transformation of one painter’s vision by another”.⁶⁸ Dong clarified the theory of transformation further in a passage entitled ‘Conformity and Detachment’:

⁶⁵ Rawson, *The British Museum Book Of Chinese Art*, p. 118.

⁶⁶ M. Tregear, *Chinese Art*, London, 1997, pp. 165-167.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 165-167.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 165-167.

Even a great master of painting must start from imitation. In time there will be virtuosity and with virtuosity will come spontaneity. Once the method is mastered and digested by the painter he can go in and out of the method at will with his own variations and he can be completely free from his models.⁶⁹

Herein he explains the transformation process: Southern School painters should learn from the past masters, become accustomed with their approaches to painting and only then was the ‘true genius’ of an individual painter revealed. As a painter himself, Dong’s artworks conformed to this theory. In his paintings, he dissected and imitated the composition and brushwork of the Yuan masters.⁷⁰ His landscapes were views drawn from an intellectual perspective, borrowing from nature and the historical legacy of artists.⁷¹ Historical and artistic study forms the foundation of the Southern School of painting. Students use this base of study to confirm their abilities as artists and create ‘spontaneous’ works of art. The *Eight Views* was one of the most popular historical subjects for students to create their own versions.

In spite of its importance for Dong Qichang, this concept of transformation is perhaps the least understood among his major ideas. In the late Ming period, the imperial court’s power declined therefore different voices and ideas emerged and contributed to a new cultural climate. Although the literati theories were based on tradition, many of their ideas were innovative. One such innovation was this process of transforming or reinterpreting the past.⁷² As noted by Chu-Tsing Li, “Dong’s idea of literati

⁶⁹ Tregear, pp. 166-167.

⁷⁰ Yuan dynasty (1271-1368) masters, such as Huang Gongwang (1269-1354), Wu Zhen (1280-1354), Ni Zan (1301-1374) and Wang Meng (c. 1308-1385).

⁷¹ Xin, p. 233.

⁷² This notion also applies to the later Edo period *ukiyo-e* artists, such as Hiroshige, who will be discussed further in Chapter Three. Hiroshige transformed and reinterpreted the *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* into a new location (Lake Biwa in Ōmi Province, Japan) and a new medium (*ukiyo-e* woodblock prints).

painting was derived more from Yuan precedents than from Song. It was in the Yuan period that artistic expression became more important than formal likeness, giving rise to the development of personal styles that reflected the artists' individual temperaments.”⁷³

As James Cahill noted, Chinese artists appealed to learned viewers with clever allusions to earlier painters and styles: “They call upon an assumed mastery in their cultivated audience of an extensive store of esoteric references to their history and literature, as well as to the doctrines of Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism.”⁷⁴ This is a key aspect of the early Chinese painting practice; copying, learning and alluding to the past was seen as both scholarly and amusing. Furthermore, as Chinese paintings were aesthetically pleasing, on a purely visual level, they were also successful. Cahill stated further: “It is important not to take too literally the claims of Chinese artists that they are imitating the past, a claim that had the function of legitimizing their practice in the eyes of their original audiences.”⁷⁵ Here Cahill asserts that the Chinese artists only claimed to imitate the past in order to legitimise their practices for contemporary viewers, however, in reality they were actually imitating, learning and transforming the past in their works. Cahill declared that “an ‘imitation’ can be very free, to the point where its relation to the claimed model is difficult to discern.”⁷⁶ Cahill further explained a key aspect in Dong’s theory of transformation: while “studying and copying old masters was essential to a Chinese artist’s early development, some reached middle age before they emerged from this imitative stage to establish their

⁷³ C-T, Li, “The Artistic Theories of the Literati” in C-T, Li, and J. C. Y. Watt, *The Chinese Scholar’s Studio: Artistic Life in the Late Ming Period*, New York, 1987, p. 18.

⁷⁴ J. Cahill, “Approaches to Chinese Painting: Part Two” in Y. Xin, N. Chongzheng, L. Shaojun, R. M. Barnhart, J. Cahill, & W. Hung, *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting*, New Haven & London, 1997, p. 6.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 6.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 6.

own schools.”⁷⁷ Therefore, as noted by Cahill’s colleague, Yang Xin: “Artists study and learn the ancient master’s techniques then transform them into their own style.”⁷⁸ In this way, Dong’s theory of transformation not only explains the foundation of Chinese painting practice, but also expands the transformation trajectory of the *Eight Views* for later artists.

Transformation is a pervasive theory in the history of the *Eight Views*. For nine centuries, this subject was composed by various poets and artists in different styles and mediums throughout East Asia. During these transformations, the subject developed and evolved. Although later examples lack the immediacy of the underlying meanings intended by the early Chinese creators, the subject retained its close association to the early poetry, aesthetics and iconography. The artists who chose to depict the *Eight Views* became part of the subject’s history and legacy. When they transformed the subject into their own styles, they imbued it with further connotations and meanings. By transforming this historical subject, they rejuvenated it and therefore it survived as a relevant and popular series nine centuries after its conception.

Dong articulated further upon the fundamental qualities of the Southern School, as he advocated capturing the essence or the spirit of nature, rather than meticulously depicting its outward forms. Artists painting the *Eight Views* should not focus upon mimesis, but rather concentrate upon capturing the essence of the natural environment. One of Dong’s famous statements discusses the preparations artists must take before they can undertake creative work:

⁷⁷ Cahill, “Approaches to Chinese Painting: Part Two”, p. 6.

⁷⁸ Xin, p. 218.

There are Six Canons for the painter. The first is “spirit consonance should be lively and vitalizing.” But spirit consonance is not something that can be learned. We already know it when we are born, for it is endowed by heaven. There is, however, something that a painter can learn. Let him read ten thousand volumes and walk ten thousand miles. All these will wash away the turgid matters of the mundane world and help form the hills and valleys within his bosom. Once he has made these preparations within himself, whatever he sketches and paints will be able to convey the spirit of the mountains and rivers.⁷⁹

Here Dong is referring to the *Six Canons of Painting (Liu fa)* by Xie He (act. c. sixth century). Xie He was a figure-painter of relative stature, however, he is renowned for his elucidation of the *Six Canons of Painting*. This theory has been discussed and debated in East Asian art criticism for centuries, yet the importance of the text has never been debated. It is one of the earliest examples of art theory in East Asia and therefore is the foundation for many later theorists such as Dong Qichang. In the words of Xie He:

The first [of the *Six Canons of Painting*] is called ‘animation through spirit consonance.’ (*qiyun shengdong*)

The second is called ‘structural method in use of the brush’. (*gufa yongbi*)

The third is called ‘fidelity to the object in portraying forms’. (*yingwu xiangxing*)

The fourth is called ‘conformity to kind in applying colours’. (*suilei fuzai*)

The fifth is called ‘proper planning in placing’. (*jingying weizhi*)

⁷⁹ Li, “The Artistic Theories of the Literati”, p. 17.

The sixth is called ‘transmission through copying’. (*chanyi muxie*)⁸⁰

The first canon is extremely important to the aesthetic theory surrounding the *Eight Views* and Southern School painting in general. ‘*Qiyun shengdong*’ or ‘spirit resonance’ refers to the mood or spirit of the place depicted and the artist. This law does not restrict artists to mere mimesis, as this canon encouraged them to capture the essence or energy of a certain place or subject. Furthermore, artists who imbued their own energy or vitality into an artwork can also be incorporating the sense of ‘*qiyun*’ into their paintings. An artist must feel the intensity, emotion or energy of a place before they could paint it well. Only then will the *qiyun* of the subject and the artist flows through the brush onto the paper. Dong’s line of ‘help form the hills and valleys within his bosom’ recalls the ancient Buddhist mantra of ‘become one with the world’, which influenced painting preparation methods such as ‘when painting an object, become the object’.⁸¹ Furthermore, the sixth canon also relates to Dong’s theory. *Chanyi muxie* or ‘transmission of the past by copying’ was adopted by Dong in his theories, yet Dong altered this idea somewhat. He extolled to students, learn from the past, however, transform the past. It is not enough to imitate, a student must infuse the work with the *qiyun* of a place and themselves.

⁸⁰ J. Kuo, “Expressive Style and Quality” in S. Bush & H. Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, Cambridge, 1985, pp. 95-96.

⁸¹ Su Shi wrote: “When Yu Ko painted bamboos he was conscious only of the bamboos, and not of himself as a man... he left his body, which was transformed into bamboos of endless freshness and purity. As there is no Zhuangzi any more in this world, who can understand such as concentration of the spirit?” Zhuangzi refers to a legend of a musician who broke his lute when his only friend that could understand his music died. In this statement, Su Shi echoed the form of the words the musician spoke. Su Shi also instructed the painter: “grasp the brush; fix your attention, so you can see clearly (in your mind) what you want to paint; start at once, move the brush following what you see as the buzzard swoops on the jumping hare. If you hesitate a moment it is gone”. This last statement epitomizes the attitude adopted by the Buddhist painter. For Buddhist enlightenment was expected to be sudden, as was the painter’s intuition. See P. Rawson, “The Methods of Zen Painting” in *British Journal of Aesthetics*, vol. 7, no. 4, Oxford, October, 1967, p. 324.

Conclusion

The *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* is a complex subject. The geographic location provides a picturesque scene and natural environs which compliment the atmospheric phenomena that contribute and align with the poetics and aesthetic tone of the subject. Moreover, these also aligned with the artistic styles of the Song period. Since the schism of Buddhism in China, two schools of thought and two schools of painting separated not only worship, but also style and taste. Religion aside, the styles of these two schools defined the separation of study, methods, approaches and preparations to painting and declared their definition of taste. While the Northern School students, serious and studious, carefully rendered their depictions in colour, the Southern School chose study of ancient artworks as a foundation to spontaneously create monochrome paintings where atmosphere, spirit and mood were paramount. Dong Qichang's theory illustrates not only the delineation between style in Chinese art history but also explains differences in depictions of the *Eight Views*. The next chapter will cover the subject's dispersal throughout East Asia: from the later Chinese examples, to the Japanese and Korean versions of the *Eight Views*. Further delineations between the two Schools will be clarified by examples of the *Eight Views* in these East Asian countries.

Chapter Two

Introduction

The *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* subject was dispersed throughout East Asia from the twelfth century onwards. It rapidly spread through China and into the neighbouring Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago. Original artworks and copies were distributed between traders, gifted by the Chinese Emperor or bought by foreign rulers for their collections.¹ These early Chinese examples influenced the art of both Korea and Japan through various schools and styles, however fundamental features of the subject remained intact. The original set titles and atmospheric attributes were preserved and became challenges for artists to remain faithful to the originals of the past, whilst transforming and imbuing the series according to each artists' individuality. Despite the differences in style preferred by each country and different artists' transformations, the primary essentials of the subject continued to inspire and be influential for many centuries throughout East Asia.

Chinese Examples in Japan

The *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* (C: *Xiao Xiang bajing*) became a popular subject amongst Chinese artists during the Song Period (960-1279). It spread throughout China, with many artists painting their own version of the series. Renowned Chinese versions of the *Eight Views* remain in Japanese collections, which highlights the extent of the popularity of the *Eight Views* throughout East Asia. Indeed, the importation of Chinese culture into Japan was a common feature of Japan's pre-modern history. Chinese artworks were imported into Japanese ports such as Sakai and Nagasaki from the fourteenth century. As Cahill states, "Japanese written

¹ Here, 'foreign rulers' indicate leaders outside of China.

records suggest that these paintings were imported in large numbers, probably by the thousands, and extant examples in Japan still number in the hundreds”.²

These early Chinese paintings were traded, bought and gifted to the Japanese throughout many centuries. Japanese collecting patterns were documented in the *Muromachi-dono gyoko okazariki* (*Record of Display at the Muromachi Palace*) a record of the art held in the Japanese shoguns’ collections compiled in the fifteenth century. This compendium was created as an account of the art displayed on the occasion of the visit of Emperor Go-Hanazono (1419-1471, r. 1428-1464) to the residence of sixth shogun Ashikaga Yoshinori (1394-1441, r. 1429-1441) in 1437.³ Furthermore, the entire shogunal collection was also recorded in the *Gyomotsu on’e mokuroku* (*Record of Paintings Owned by the Shogun*) in the fifteenth century. Both of these records list many examples of the *Eight Views* created by Chinese artists such as Muqi (c.1210-c.1280), Yujian (act. thirteenth century) and Xia Gui (act. c. 1125-1230). Although these artworks are held in Japan, these records are invaluable for the study of Chinese examples of the *Eight Views*.

Art trading and collecting by the Ashikaga shoguns serves as an indicator of taste and culture during the Muromachi period. Japan traded with China intermittently throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, depending on the current shogun’s disposition. There is evidence that the first and second Ashikaga shoguns, Takauji

² J. Cahill, *Sôgen-ga: Twelfth to Fourteenth Century Chinese Painting as Collected and Appreciated in Japan*, Berkeley, 1982, p. 2.

³ The inventory has a commemoration at the beginning: ‘Go-Hanazono-in, Eikyo kunen jugatsu nijukunichi, Sadaijinke, Gyoko Okazari, Noa Ki’ which translates as: ‘In the time of Emperor Go-Hanazono, 1437, 10th month, 26th day, at the residence of the Minister of the left, an inventory of the possessions of the Honorable Ruler, as recorded by Noa.’ A colophon at the end of the scroll indicates that this version, compiled by Noa (Nôami) in 1437, was copied into the current form by his successor Soa (Sôami) and was transcribed by Shino Soon in 1530. See P. Stanley-Baker, *Mid-Muromachi Paintings of the Eight Views of Hsiao and Hsiang*, Princeton, 1979, p. 46.

(1305-1358, r. 1338-58) and Yoshiakira (1330-1367, r. 1358-67), both collected Chinese paintings, as they requested and received objects from the well-inventoried collection of Chinese paintings in the Engakuji's Butsunichi-an in Kamakura.⁴

The Butsunichi-an was originally founded as the burial temple of Kamakura shogun Hôjô Tokimune (1251-1284, r. 1268-1284) shortly after his death in 1284.⁵ He was an active member of the art community and invited many Chinese monks to Japan. He acquired a large number of artworks through trade and tributes from these visits. Like the previously mentioned records, the Butsunichi-an also compiled records of artworks, largely of Chinese origin. Its catalogue, the *Butsunichi-an komotsu mokuroku*, registers its first inventory in 1320.⁶ Unfortunately, most artists in this catalogue were anonymous, but occasionally colophon writers suggest the identities of the unknown artists. Among the mentioned artists, the Chan monk artist Muqi and the Song Emperor Huizong are the most prominent.⁷ The Butsunichi-an was therefore an important collection of Chinese paintings in Japan in the late thirteenth century. At this time, Chinese culture, especially ink painting, was becoming popular in Japan. Due to the religious and political turmoil that occurred after the fall of the Southern Song Dynasty, the number of visiting Chinese Chan monks increased. These monks taught the Japanese art students their ink painting methods and brought copies of the Chinese masters' artworks to serve as models for their Japanese students. Therefore,

⁴ C. Zainie, "The Muromachi Dono Gyoko Okazari Ki: A Research Note" in *Monumenta Nipponica*, Tokyo, 1978, p. 113.

⁵ Hôjô Tokimune was the eighth *shikken*; the regent for the shogun in the Kamakura shogunate. The *shikken* were separated from the Imperial family who also reigned irrespective of the various shoguns throughout Japan's history. See M. Collcutt, *Five Mountains: The Rinzaï Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan*, Cambridge, 1981. p. 57.

⁶ This collection was large and contained examples of calligraphy, decorative arts and thirty-eight paintings. The paintings were divided into categories according to subjects; landscapes, animals, birds, flowers, bamboo and portraits of important figures including Chan masters such as the Chan monk Budai (907-960) and ninth-century Chan monk-poets Hanshan and Shide. See M. Murase, "Farewell Paintings of China: Chinese Gifts to Japanese Visitors" in *Artibus Asiae*, Zurich, 1970, pp. 223-224.

⁷ Murase, pp. 223-224.

during the fourteenth century, competent Southern Song style ink painters emerged in Japan. The style and medium became more popular, reaching a zenith in the fifteenth century, when many Japanese artists created artworks in the Southern Song style and the reoccurrence of landscape as subject matter increased.

Chinese Trade with Japan

Active trade with China was re-established in 1342 with the first Ashikaga shogun Takauji's sanction of the *Tenryûji Bune* (Ships of Tenryûji).⁸ The successful voyage opened new trade relations with China of a partially official nature. Trade flourished and continued through the rule of the second shogun, Yoshiakira and expanded during the time of the third shogun Yoshimitsu (1358-1408, r. 1368-1394). Yoshimitsu was a Sinophile, a connoisseur of Chinese art and collector objects and paintings. He often wore Chinese garments, even when in the Japanese court.⁹ Although there is little information of Yoshimitsu's collection, there are thirty-five extant Chinese paintings that bear Yoshimitsu's seals of ownership, '*Tenzan*' (*Heavenly Mountain*) and '*Doyu*' (*Morality-preserver*; Yoshimitsu's Buddhist pseudonym).¹⁰ In 1401, Yoshimitsu sent his adviser, a monk called Soa and a merchant called Koetomi (Koizumi) to China, thereby establishing an open renewal of official trade relations.¹¹ The trade agreement allowed Japan to send periodical missions to China which gave a monopoly to the

⁸ The Ships of Tenryûji were two trading vessels sent to China in order to raise funds for the construction of the Tenryûji. Muso Kokushi (also known as Muso Soseki, 1275-1351) assisted in the design of the compound at the Tenryûji for the repose of the soul of Emperor Go-Daigo (1288-1339, r. 1318-1339) however construction ceased due to lack of funds. Ashikaga Takauji assisted the building of the half-constructed Tenryûji by sending these trading vessels to China in 1342. See Zainie, p. 113 and G. B. Sansom, *A History Of Japan, 1334-1615*, Palo Alto, 1961, p. 167.

⁹ Sansom, p. 172.

¹⁰ Zainie, p. 114.

¹¹ Sansom, p. 169.

Ashikaga *bakufu* (shogunal government). The missions were officially regulated the transport of tribute to China and gifts to Japan.¹²

After Yoshimitsu died in 1408, his son Yoshimochi (1386-1428, r. 1394-1422, 1425-1428) became shogun.¹³ In 1411, Yoshimochi refused to receive a Chinese envoy,¹⁴ and there was no official communication between the two countries. Yoshimochi was succeeded by his younger brother Yoshinori (1394-1441, r. 1429-1441). The Chinese Emperor persisted and sent a rescript in 1432 and invited him to follow the example of Yoshimitsu and send envoys to the Ming Court. Yoshinori responded promptly sending an embassy headed by a Tenryûji abbot named Dôen. Official trade resumed and Japanese exports increased until 1453, when it began to decline.¹⁵

Unfortunately, information about the trade relations between Yoshinori and China is scarce and this has left a gap in our knowledge of this important period of Japanese culture, when many aspects of Japanese taste in the arts were in their formative stages. Between Yoshimitsu and subsequent shoguns' reigns, there are only a few scattered citations in diaries such as the *Onryoken Nichiroku* that was kept by priests at the

¹² Japanese tribute consisted of gold, horses, fine paper, fans, screens, armour, swords, ink slabs in ornamental cases and quantities of sulphur. Chinese gifts usually included silver, copper, coins, brocades, fine silks, jade ornaments, pearls, incense, scented woods and fine furniture. Certain Chinese goods, especially silk fabrics, books and porcelain, brought an especially good profit when sold in Japan, as much as two or three hundred per cent. Both countries bought and received gifts of artworks and art objects through their trade, which flourished amicably without interruption until 1411. See Sansom, pp. 170-171.

¹³ Yoshimitsu surrendered his title of shogun in favour of his youngest son, Yoshimochi in 1394, yet he retained all of his power until his death in 1408. His son Yoshimochi only gained unfettered power at this point, despite acquiring his title fourteen-years previous. However, Yoshimochi retired in 1422 and his son Yoshikazu (1407-1425, r. 1423-1425) became shogun. Two years after this, Yoshikazu died and Yoshimochi was obliged to resume his office in 1425. However, after three years rule, he also became ill and died.

¹⁴ According to the *Zenrin Kokuho-ki*, a collection of diplomatic documents exchanged with China from 1118 to 1486, this was because Yoshimochi believed that his father, after succumbing to a fatal disease, had vowed never again to offend the national deities by receiving envoys from a foreign country.

¹⁵ Sansom, pp. 173-176.

Shôkokuji temple. Traditionally, it was widely believed that serious collecting of Chinese art did not begin again until the eighth shogun's reign. Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1435-1490, r. 1449-1473) possessed a large collection of paintings was inventoried in the *Gyomotsu on'e mokuroku*, and biographies of Chinese artists represented in his collection were entered in the *Kundaikan Sôchôki*.¹⁶

However, in 1979, a breakthrough of information elucidated the taste and culture of Yoshinori's reign and also illuminated his trade relations with China. The Tokugawa Museum in Nagoya displayed a handscroll, which may be one of the most important records of early fifteenth century Muromachi art and culture and the collecting of Chinese art during that period. The *Muromachi-dono gyoko okazariki* is an inventory of the collection of the sixth Ashikaga shogun, Yoshinori, as displayed in his Muromachi Palace in Kyoto in 1437. This catalogue is important not only as a documentation of the wealth and diversity of Yoshinori's possessions, but also is a record of the type of Chinese art that was available for collection and acceptable to Yoshinori's taste and standards. Moreover, it is an indication of the art objects available for study by mid-fifteenth-century Japanese artists.¹⁷

The *Muromachi-dono gyoko okazariki* lists more than five hundred of Yoshinori's treasures, the majority of which were of Chinese origin, including more than fifty paintings. The majority are hanging scrolls, although several are described as hand-

¹⁶ The *Kundaikan Sôchôki* (*Research Notes for the Monarch*) was a manner book for the Assembly Hall of the Muromachi government: a guide to how to furnish the room with hanging pictures or furniture. It was also Japan's first book of art criticism, in which painters were ranked and methods of arranging and displaying their artworks were explained and illustrated. Both records, the *Gyomotsu on'e mokuroku* and the *Kundaikan Sôchôki* were prepared by Yoshimasa's *doboshu* (art and culture advisors), Nôami (1397-1471) and Sôami (d. c. 1525). *Doboshu* retained responsibilities for the connoisseurship and display of art works and other valuables owned by the Ashikaga shoguns. They also compiled the catalogue of the Ashikaga collection. See W. E. Deal, *Handbook to Life in Medieval and Early Modern Japan*, New York, 2007, p. 26.

¹⁷ Zainie, pp. 114-116.

scrolls and several as screens. The paintings are attributed to Song Dynasty painters such as Muqi and Xia Gui; and Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368) artists, such as Qian Xuan (1235-1305).¹⁸ Half of the paintings' subjects are figures (mostly *doshaku-ga*, or Buddhist-Daoist figures); the remaining paintings are of landscapes, birds, flowers and animals. The styles of paintings and the range of subjects suggests Yoshinori had rather wide and diverse tastes in Chinese paintings. However, the selection also corresponds closely to the types of paintings collected by Yoshimitsu before him. Indeed, several extant paintings listed in Yoshinori's inventory also bear the seals 'Tenzan' or 'Doyu', and were therefore in Yoshimitsu's collection at one time. Furthermore, most of the paintings in Yoshinori's inventory also appear, in identical or very similar entries, in Yoshimasa's collection inventory, *Gyomotsu on'e mokuroku* compiled later in the fifteenth century. For example, three sets of *Eight Views* painted by Xia Gui, Yujian and Muqi, are included in the inventories of both Yoshinori's and Yoshimasa's collections. Of these, Yujian and Muqi's sets are extant; and sections of Muqi's scroll bear Yoshimitsu's 'Doyu' seal. This strongly suggests that some of the paintings were passed from shogun to shogun in the Ashikaga shogunate.¹⁹

The *Muromachi-dono gyoko okazariki* also records where sets of the *Eight Views* were displayed in the Muromachi Palace. The largest room in Ashikaga Yoshinori's abode was the *kaisho* (meeting place) where several versions of the *Eight Views* were displayed. The *kaisho* was completed in 1435, and was twelve *ma* in area.²⁰

According to the record, the set of *Eight Views* by Xia Gui was displayed on the north

¹⁸ Zainie, p. 117.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 117.

²⁰ At this time Japanese rooms were measured by how many *tatami* mats could fit into the room. *Tatami* mats were traditionally made from rice straw and soft-rush straw which is woven together. *Tatami* retains a regular size to become a standard measuring device for an interior Japanese room. The *kaisho* was measured at twenty-four-*tatami* mats in size which would have been measured as twelve-*ma* room, where two *tatami* mats equal one *ma* in Japanese measurement.

wall of the *kaisho*, while on the east and the west walls, examples of *Eight Views* by Muqi and Yujian were exhibited. These examples were most probably originally displayed in the handscroll format, but were individually separated by shoguns who desired to see the paintings simultaneously, regardless of the painter's original wish. Scholars assume that Xia Gui's set were also separated into hanging scrolls, especially since the set is described in the *Muromachi-dono gyoko okazariki* record as having been displayed together.²¹

Chinese Artist: Muqi

As previously mentioned, many paintings by the Chinese Chan monk-artist Muqi were held in Japanese collections. We must travel back in time to China during the thirteenth century to elucidate upon this enigmatic artist. Muqi is seen as a leader of an experimentation of landscape painting techniques during the Southern Song period.²² These pioneering efforts took place at the Jing-shan monastery, until Muqi established his own temple called Liu-tong-si, which became the centre of his 'school' of painting.²³ Details of his life remain enigmatic. He spent the early part of his life in Sichuan province in southwestern China. According to the *Songzhai Meipu* (*The Pine Studio's Plum Manual*) treatise by Wu Daisu (1341-1368), Muqi was trained at court but later suffered persecution for criticizing a court favourite, Prime Minister Jia Sidao (1213-1257), for bad administration.²⁴ He escaped to Yuan Jiu and then later became a monk at Jing-shan and Liu-tong-si monasteries.

²¹ P. Stanley-Baker, pp. 46-47.

²² T. Hoover, *Zen Culture*, London, 1978, p. 122.

²³ O. Sirén, *Chinese Painting*, New York, 1973, p. 138.

²⁴ Wu Daisu cited in J. E. H. C. Covell & S. Yamada, *Zen at Daitokuji*, Tokyo, New York & San Francisco, 1974, p. 93.

Muqi painted a range of subjects, with brushstrokes both skillfully controlled and deceptively casual. He became a master of the disciplined spontaneous technique and deliberately disregarded conventional and traditional painting techniques such as clearly defining specific subjects, lines, forms and composition. A contemporary record states: “The monk Fa-ch’ang, whose *hao* [artist name] was Muqi, was fond of painting dragons, tigers, apes, cranes, wild geese in rushes, landscapes, trees, rocks and human figures, and he did them all in a free and easy fashion, dotting with the ink. He expressed his ideas quite simply without ornament elaboration. His way of painting was coarse and ugly, not in accordance with the ancient rules, nor for refined enjoyment.”²⁵ Zhuang Su (act. late thirteenth century), in his *Huaji Buyi* (*Supplement to the Succession of Painters*) of 1298, wrote further criticism of the painter’s “failure to respect the tradition of ancient masters.”²⁶ This last phrase is the key to all Chinese criticism of Muqi: he did not respect tradition but created new trends, influenced by Chan Buddhism, which the orthodox scholar-historians did not appreciate. Covell & Yamada also mention, “Two other works of 1330 and 1365 criticize him for his lack of elegance”.²⁷

In Japan, however, Muqi’s versions of the *Eight Views* became known as the epitome of this subject. (See Figures 9-15) As noted by Covell & Yamada: “while the Japanese have accorded him the highest veneration, Chinese art historians... never ranked him highly.”²⁸ Japan’s predominant taste in art indicated an inclination towards Southern Song painting, as proved by the shogun’s collecting preferences.

²⁵ Sirén, *Chinese Painting*, p. 138.

²⁶ Zhuang Su cited in Covell & Yamada, p. 93.

²⁷ Covell & Yamada, p. 93.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

Southern Song painting became increasingly associated with the ‘splashed ink’ technique and Muqi’s paintings were the archetype of the *Eight Views* in this technique. Artists used this technique to create monochromatic scenes of the river landscapes where medium and subject interwove seamlessly. The flowing river became a flowing line of ink, the marshy banks became rapid dashes of black pigment and the fog became a misty wash of diluted ink. The subject and medium intertwined harmoniously in painted form. The use of ink for this series was most appropriate, as the ink flowed from the brush rapidly and depicted the aqueous landscape freely.

Muqi was neither the first, nor the last, to execute artworks in this manner. Ninth century Chinese artist Wang Mo (d. c. 805) also spontaneously splashed ink upon paper or silk to create his art.²⁹ In the ninth century, artists’ individuality often verged on eccentricity. Contemporary historian Zhu Jingxuan (act. c. 840) categorised some scholar-painters into an ‘untrammeled class’ (*yipin*). In his opinion they did not conform to any established rules and therefore could not be judged by such rules. One such artist was Wang Mo, who painted only when drunk. He would splatter ink onto a piece of silk, and as noted by Zhu Jingxuan: “He would kick at it, smear it with his hands, sweep his brush about or scrub with it, here with pale ink, there with dark. Then he would follow the configurations thus achieved, to make mountains or rocks, or clouds or water.”³⁰ In this way, the artist relied upon the direct response of hand to thought and intuition; creating images “with a godlike cunning”.³¹

²⁹ H. Kanazawa, *Japanese Ink Painting: Early Zen Masterpieces*, Tokyo, 1979, p. 199.

³⁰ Zhu Jingxuan cited in Y. Xin, N. Chongzheng, L. Shaojun, R. M. Barnhart, J. Cahill, & W. Hung (eds.), *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting*, New Haven & London, 1997, pp. 84-85.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

As a monk, Muqi painted as part of religious practice. Chan Buddhism is an esoteric religion that requires disciples to meditate upon their inner selves. In painting, feelings could be expressed freely onto a canvas. Any feelings of isolation or claustrophobia whilst confined in a monastery could be overcome when painting an infinite landscape. The life of a monk was not so different to that of an exile, as both had the similar limitations, such as reclusion and austerity, imposed upon their lives. Thus, there could be similar underlying meanings associated with their works, such as distancing themselves from the outside world and an appreciation of nature.

Muqi's versions of the *Eight Views* became classic examples of the subject, its aesthetics and the techniques of the Southern Song painting style. His works contain conventional iconography associated with the subject, sourced from earlier paintings and poetry. Muqi's *Fishing Village in Evening Glow* depicts two boats sailing upon a wide expansive lake with a fishing village nestled amongst trees and foliage, with a mountain range in the background. (See Figure 9) The entire scene is bathed in an atmospheric fog, enhancing the melancholic feel in the work. Mist also serves to blur foreground, middle ground and far distance. For example, the area between the lake in the foreground and distant mountains is covered in mist, disguising the spatial relationship between the layers of landscape elements. This technique of layers of mist is clearly seen in half of Muqi's *Eight Views*, namely *Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar*, *Returning Sails from Distant Shore*, *Evening Bell from Mist-Shrouded Temple* and *Night Rain on Xiao Xiang*. (See Figures 10-13) These scenes are almost empty, apart from the faint delineations of boats, trees and mountains submerged underneath a cover of clouds. The light layers of ink-wash spread over the entire scene. These paintings are fine examples of the *Eight Views* aesthetic, where

amorphous features of the landscape are concealed beneath the natural phenomena of clouds.

Muqi's *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting* also contains only suggestions of subjects, rather than detailed depictions. (See Figure 14) One lone boat sails towards an obscured village of huts behind a shelterbelt of trees. A rolling mountain range in the background balances the composition and confirms the landscape's limits, unlike in *Wild Geese*. This composition is balanced and harmonious. The brushstrokes are rapid and fluid and portray an aura of calm, perhaps reflecting the mind of its creator. The moon is depicted, yet not in the sky, but only as a reflection in the water. *River and Sky in Evening Snow* is much lighter than the others, as the clear white winter snow lightens the usually murky palette. (See Figure 15) In this scene, the mountains are covered in snow and the trees are emphasized by the white. The trees must be evergreens, as the leaves are clearly depicted by little dots and strokes merged into a mass of foliage. Although it is a monochrome painting, the viewers' eyes can easily replace the black ink with green leaves and crystal clear light blue lake water, without any colour present. Indeed, Hisamatsu Shin'ichi noted: "Monochrome painting in Chinese ink particularly accords with [Chan] in that the ink monochrome actually includes many 'colours'. It has been said that this ink colour possessed five tints."³² Furthermore, the black ink monochrome employed by monk-artists such as Muqi was highly valued, as it was able to develop an immense range of visual qualities, from transparent grey mist to dense blacks. In this way, black ink became known as 'the root of all colours, appearances and forms'.³³ The ink tones also amalgamated the subject matter into visual unity, where subjects emerge from the vast mist, thereby

³² S. Hisamatsu, *Zen and the Fine Arts*, Tokyo, New York & San Francisco, 1971, P. 21.

³³ Rawson, "The Methods of Zen Painting", p. 334.

reinforcing the artists' Buddhist beliefs of the interdependence of the universe. The unifying feature of evocative mist also expresses the Buddhist theory of the 'void' or *sūnyatā*, a basic principle espousing the mystic appreciation of Nature.³⁴ It is through these beliefs, aesthetics and the journey of the imagination that espouse Muqi's visions as the epitome of the *Eight Views*.³⁵

Chinese Artist: Yujian

Like Muqi, Yujian was another thirteenth century artist whose work was revered in Japanese collections. Yujian was a Buddhist monk who lived at the Jingzi temple by the West Lake in Hangzhou.³⁶ He learned from Huichung, a contemporary monk-artist and was supposedly the first to follow Muqi's painting style. Yujian's version of *Mountain Market in Clearing Mist* is a poem-painting; a painting with an accompanying poem on the same paper.³⁷ (See Figure 16) Yujian employed rapid 'splashed ink' brushstrokes to delineate abbreviated features such as a small mountain village with pavilions and a bridge covered in mist. This artwork does not correspond to the usual three-plane perspective of foreground, middleground and background; it is one plane alone. The space surrounding the main subject is empty, except for the poetry at the left. This accentuates the ink painting and also perhaps suggests that the surrounding mountain is covered in mist.³⁸ As mentioned in the first chapter, Yujian wrote the accompanying quatrain that contains several similarities to Huihong's eight-

³⁴ D. T. Suzuki, *Zen and Japanese Culture*, Princeton, 1970, p. 343.

³⁵ The eighth view, *Mountain Market in Clearing Mist* is not extant.

³⁶ The Jingzi temple was an important Caodong Chan (J: Sôtô Zen) Buddhist monastery. The monastery's full name was Jingsi paoenguang xiaosi and it became known as one of the 'Five Mountains' (Ch. *wu-shan*; J. *gozan*), the most prestigious Chan monasteries in China. See H. J. Baroni, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Zen Buddhism*, New York, 2002, p. 50.

³⁷ The Japanese refer to poem-paintings as *shigajiku*.

³⁸ Clunas, pp. 118-119.

line verse of the same name. Yujian's artworks are another example of characteristic features and imagery to be retained throughout the history of the *Eight Views*.

Yujian's version of *Returning Sails from Distant Shore* contains an eclectic approach to ink painting. (See Figure 17) In the right section of the handscroll, the painting is very dark. In contrast, the left section contains faint suggestions of hills and an extremely detailed depiction of a boat which two figures occupy. These mist-covered subjects were executed rapidly, whilst the darker side of the painting seems more laboured. This contributes to quite a chaotic vision. Furthermore, there is a faint depiction of a tower, lighthouse or pagoda on the extreme right of the painting which also unbalances the composition. Despite this unbalanced composition and the competing styles within the painting, this version remains an interesting example of the *Eight Views*, where an artist has taken commonly repeated theme and created a new and tumultuous vision, which challenges the rules of painting and the standard aesthetics associated with the subject.³⁹

Aesthetic Analysis: *Yu-xuan/Yûgen*

The atmospheric phenomena depicted by artists such as Muqi and Yujian in their versions of the *Eight Views* furthermore demonstrate the interconnection between poetry and painting. As previously mentioned, Muqi and Yujian's paintings often depict the aqueous riverscape of the *Eight Views* surrounded by mist and clouds. This atmosphere forms an aspect the aesthetic known as *yu-xuan* in Chinese and *yûgen* in Japanese. It is a complex aesthetic philosophy that was first conceived in relation to literature, namely poetry, yet spread into the realm of painting to become a classic

³⁹ Loehr, p. 227.

East Asian aesthetic. It finds beauty in the hidden or indistinct elements of painting. For example, a misty landscape scene, with mountains cloaked in clouds, can be explained through this aesthetic. The original meaning of *yu-xuan* in Chinese defined profundity.⁴⁰ As Muqi and this aesthetic were largely ignored in their country of origin, there are scarce citings in Chinese records, however, as Japan adopted and embraced both artist and aesthetic, one must rely upon the Japanese records and interpretations of this Chinese concept.

Hisamatsu Shin'ichi described with the Chinese definition of subtle profundity or deep reserve: "being both profound and subtle could be expressed as Deep Reserve, i.e. implication rather than the naked exposure of the whole".⁴¹ Using Muqi's *Eight Views* as his example, Hisamatsu stated further: "The forms are simple enough; but here all is not disclosed, something infinite is contained. Such works enable us to imagine the depth of content within them and to feel infinite reverberations, something that is not possible with detail painted minutely and distinctly. Here infinity, something far beyond the actual, painted forms, is expressed. In this unstated, unpainted content lies the quality of Deep Reserve, which in turn is accompanied by an inexhaustible profundity."⁴²

As Leonard Pronko also explained, this aesthetic is a conceptually difficult, but ontologically simple concept: "The primary meaning of *yûgen* is the 'occult', or as Waley translated it, 'what lies beneath the surface'. Other meanings are... transcendental phantasm, fathomless sentiment, transcendental insight, elegance, gracefulness, the subtle, the hint... *Yûgen* results in beauty of many kinds: physical

⁴⁰ J. Konishi, *A History of Japanese Literature*, Princeton, 1991, pp. 185-186.

⁴¹ Hisamatsu, p. 33.

⁴² Ibid., p. 33.

grace, elegance, quietness.”⁴³ It has also been defined as: “the beauty not merely of appearance but of the spirit; it is inner beauty manifesting itself outwards.”⁴⁴

The term soon developed and became used to describe mysterious scenes, obscured views and depth, not only in the pictorial sense, but also in the human sense, as in depth of perception. It is also associated with the Buddhist theory of the ‘void’ or emptiness. This theory implies the vastness of the universe, and therefore paintings of the limitless vistas of nature reflect these ideas.⁴⁵ This is directly linked to the depth, density, distance and mysterious quality of *yûgen*. Furthermore, Kusanagi Masao analysed the concept of *yûgen* and the existential implications of the notion of ‘depth’ contained within this theory. Kusanagi located *yûgen* within a metaphysical discourse, when he traced the concept through Daoist and Buddhist texts. Kusanagi discovered that the concept indicated the profundity of a Daoist and Buddhist truth and their theories.⁴⁶

Originally, the compound word *yu-xuan* indicated the colour “reddish-black”⁴⁷ in the art of dyeing and therefore this term was associated with darkness, literally in the beginning, aesthetically later. Deutsch states: “The term *yûgen* has no equivalent in English; literally it means ‘obscure and dark’, but it carries the connotations of half-revealed or suggested beauty, at once elusive and meaningful, tinged with wistful

⁴³ L. C. Pronko, *Theatre East and West*, Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1967, p. 86, cited in E. Deutsch, *Studies in Comparative Aesthetics*, Honolulu, 1975, p. 28.

⁴⁴ M. Ueda, *Literary and Art Theories in Japan*, Cleveland, 1967, p. 60, cited in Deutsch, p. 28.

⁴⁵ W. R. LaFleur, “Symbol and *Yûgen*: Shunzei’s Use of Tendai Buddhism”, in J. H. Sanford, W. R. LaFleur, and M. Nagatomi, (eds.), *Flowing Traces: Buddhism in the Literary and Visual Arts of Japan*, Princeton, 1992, p. 40.

⁴⁶ M. Kusanagi, “The Concept of Japanese Art” in M. Kusanagi *Yûgen bi no Bigaku*, Tokyo, 1973, pp. 61-116, cited in M. Marra, *Modern Japanese Aesthetics: A Reader*, Honolulu, 1999, p. 145.

⁴⁷ Konishi, p. 186.

sadness.”⁴⁸ It was first applied to poetry during the Song dynasty. Song poets used this term when the topic of the verse was intimated rather than expressly stated. As Chinese culture was imported into Japan, in the early Heian period (794-1184) and then Kamakura (1185-1333) and Muromachi (1333-1568) periods, *yūgen* was incorporated into several genres of poetry including *waka*.⁴⁹ There are many examples of poetry integrating subtlety, slight hints, vague suggestiveness and intense depth, which all signify the use of this aesthetic.

Yu-xuan became a part of an artist's lexicon during the Southern Song period. In visual terms, it was expressed through subtlety and suggestiveness, consistent with its use in poetry. This aesthetic is intensely psychological and philosophical and the original spiritual connotation also adds to the layers of meaning. Usually, if *yu-xuan* is employed, it is shown in a mysterious way, such as objects hidden or suggested behind the clouds, but not entirely out of sight. This aesthetic is especially employed in depictions of the *Eight Views* as the location and atmospheric phenomena are perfectly suited to the use of this aesthetic. In poetry and painting of the *Eight Views*, allusions to indistinctness, depth, alluring obscurity, limitless vista and imagination conjure up not only the visual representation but also the aesthetic influence of the subject. This illustrates the harmony between the location, the *Eight Views* subject, poetry and the aesthetic of *yu-xuan*.

Furthermore, the aesthetic of *yu-xuan* is associated with moisture (C: *shu qì*, J: *shiore*). Snow, mist or dew often shrouded a subject, in poetry and painting, therefore, the veiling effect of moisture is consistent with this aesthetic. With *yu-xuan*

⁴⁸ Japanese Classics Translation Committee, *The Noh Drama*, Tokyo& Rutland, 1955-1960, cited in Deutsch, pp. 28-29.

⁴⁹ Konishi, p. 186.

influenced by moisture, poets and painters could express the inexpressible, through suggestion and intimation.⁵⁰ Moisture is clearly central to the *Eight Views*, as the river environment, climate and atmosphere are obviously wet and misty. Not only is the subject saturated in moisture, but the way the subject was painted also evokes this aesthetic. The wet brush adds a literal dimension to this evocative atmosphere of dampness.

Yûgen was first mentioned in the Japanese poetry compilation, the *Kokinshû* (905 C.E.) two hundred years after the Chinese poet Du Fu first mentioned the Xiao and Xiang as the location depicted in the mysterious, misty and aqueous landscape screen painted by the amateur artist Liu. This suggests that the location and method of depiction, created in the Tang dynasty, gained status as an aesthetic in China and Japan two hundred years later. This could suggest that this certain tendency of taste had been developing and spreading between the two countries before flourishing in both locales. Not only did the artists paint the same location with the same atmospheric phenomena, but they also employed the same aesthetic which explained the beauty in misty, indistinct and indefinite scenes. *Yu-xuan* or *yûgen* illustrates a taste which evolved from the Tang dynasty and became the precursor of the pervading taste of Southern Song painting aesthetics which also dominated Japanese art in the Kamakura and Muromachi periods.

Japanese Examples

Japanese examples of the *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* (J: *Shôshô hakkei zu*) rely strongly on the imported Chinese artworks previously mentioned. As discussed,

⁵⁰ Konishi, pp. 430-434.

the Ashikaga shoguns preferred the Southern School style of art produced by Chinese artist during the Southern Song period. Gradual resolution of pictorial forms, fragmented and suggestive compositions, expansive use of ink washes, techniques of tonal gradation, and creation of misty atmospheres are common Southern Song stylistic features. The Southern School style itself was divided further into two schools, the Southern School Academy and the Chan Buddhist School, the former in the capital, Hangzhou and the latter based in the monasteries of the West Lake. The Academy style, represented by Xia Gui and Ma Yuan (act. c. 1190-1225) is typically characterized as ‘lyrical’, with asymmetrical compositions, evocative rather than descriptive modes, and the use of ‘axe-cut’ texture strokes. The Chan Buddhist painting style, represented by Liang Kai (c. 1140-c. 1210) and Muqi, is described as ‘intuitive’ and ‘spontaneous’, with an emphasis on rapid, calligraphic brushwork. Moreover, Chan Buddhist painters, in addition to depicting landscapes, also drew upon Chan Buddhist allegories for subject matter.⁵¹ Both Southern School styles were embraced and avidly collected by the Japanese shoguns. The shogunal collection represented the wider taste of the country and also indicated what artworks were available for selected court painters and scholars to copy.⁵² The Southern School styles of painting imported from China inspired Japanese artists, and the *Eight Views* became one of the major subjects of the fifteenth century.

During the fifteenth century, depictions of landscapes on sliding doors (*fusuma*) and folding screens (*shôji* or *byôbu*) increased. Although none are extant, there are

⁵¹ K. Hongman, “An Kyon and the Eight Views Tradition: An Assessment of Two Landscapes in The Metropolitan Museum of Art” in J. G. Smith (ed.), *Arts of Korea*, New Haven, 1998, p. 376.

⁵² Any court painters and scholars had to be selected and approved to view any artworks in the shogunal collection, due to the status and scarcity of the artworks. Japanese artists such as Kenko Shokei (act. c. 1478-1506) who studied under Geiami between 1478-1480, made copies of many of the works in the shogun’s collection at this time.

contemporary documents pertaining to *fusuma* paintings which reveal a large number of compositions depicted the *Eight Views*. The first definitive evidence of a set of *Eight Views fusuma* paintings is found in the poetry collection of Sei'in Shunsho (d. 1422), whose poem for the theme of *Returning Sails from Distant Shore* bears the note “*ga-sho*” (paintings for sliding doors).⁵³ According to the *Onryoken Nichiroku* diary, these paintings were commissioned by the shogun himself. Poems for another two views, the *Night Rain over Xiao Xiang* by Gaku'in Ekatsu (d. 1425), and the *Evening Glow over a Fishing Village* by Kiyo Hoshu (1363-1424) survive. These poems may have been composed for the same set of *Eight Views* paintings noted by Sei'in, although there is no mention of sliding doors by these monk-poets. Whether or not these poems were made for the same set of *fusuma* paintings, the custom of monks composing individual poems for a set of paintings, which became extremely common in the middle and late fifteenth century, was practised at this time.⁵⁴

After the assassination of Ashikaga Yoshinori in 1441, records kept by priests at the Shôkokuji temple lapse for sixteen years, and therefore there is little information about the art trade, purchases and commissions by the subsequent shogun. The renewal of the *Onryoken Nichiroku* diary revealed the new shogun Yoshimasa's taste in artistic culture. According to this record, in 1458, Yoshimasa selected eight monks to write poetry to accompany each of the *Eight Views fusuma* paintings which were destined for the Takakura palace which he was building for his mother Hino Shigeeko (1411-1463). The original list of monks is found in this diary entry and their poems are preserved in a document in the Shôkokuji called *Shôshô hakkei san* (*Eulogies on*

⁵³ Trans. by P. Stanley-Baker, p. 58.

⁵⁴ P. Stanley-Baker, pp. 57-58.

the Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang).⁵⁵ On the second day of the second month, the diarist notes:

The *Eight Views* sliding doors were complete. The previous order of *Mountain Village in a Clearing Mist* and *Sunset Glow over a Fishing Village* were to be changed, so this order was conveyed to Unsho [the eulogist for *Mountain Village*] and Shunrin [the eulogist for *Sunset Glow*]. . . . About the order of the poems, they are [to be placed] from right to left; the order came a day or two ago. This morning this order was announced: that Unsho should be changed to Zuigan.⁵⁶

The complete set of poems were presented to the shogun, when he visited the Jotoku-in, a sub-temple of the Shôkokuji. The list of poems recorded in the *Shôshô hakkei san* seems to represent an earlier list of poems, before any changes mentioned above were made. This document also provides details about the paper on which the poems were to be written: “*Shikishi* for the newly made sliding doors of the Takakura palace: *mizu-iro* [a pale blue] with a white cloud pattern.”⁵⁷ Therefore the calligraphy was composed on decorated *shikishi* papers, which were mounted on the *fusuma* panels. This practice appears to have become well-established by this time, and reinforces the union of the native Japanese ‘*yamato-e*’ style derived from traditions in poetic decoration of painting and the Chinese subject and style of the painting.

The *Eight Views* was often conflated with another subject, the *Four Seasons*. The *Four Seasons* as an artistic subject occurred in China, Korea and Japan, therefore the original source is unknown. However, it appears as though Chinese models revitalized

⁵⁵ The eight monks mentioned in the diary were Jiku’un Toren (d. 1470), Unsho Ikkei (d. 1462), Shunrin Shuto (d. 1463), Zuigan Ryusei (d. 1460), Togaku Chokin (d. 1463), Soko Somoku (d. 1467), Zuikei Shuho (d. 1473) and Tosho Shugan (d. 1462).

⁵⁶ Quoted in P. Stanley-Baker, p. 65.

⁵⁷ Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 65.

this subject once again in Japan and Korea. For centuries, many East Asian cultural traditions have centred around the changing of the seasons and art captured the changing light patterns, transforming foliage and contrasting climates. *Four Seasons* landscapes and the *Eight Views* were among the most popular series themes during the fourteenth century in Japan. Ultimately, *Four Seasons* landscape compositions came to be amalgamated with references to the *Eight Views* which came to be arranged in a seasonal order. Stanley-Baker attributes this unification to the influence of literary conventions, especially poetry.⁵⁸ Moreover, from the inception of the subject, Shen Gua's poetic titles suggest the seasons, by mentioning the 'autumn', 'snow' and 'rain'. From then on, versions of the *Eight Views* have employed seasonal features, yet none so overt as the examples found in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Japan and Korea.⁵⁹

Other Japanese Artists

The Japanese artist Shûbun (act. c. 1414-1463) created a set of *Eight Views* that was arranged in a distinct seasonal framework and contained many characteristics of the *Four Seasons* subject. (See Figure 18) For example, in the sixth panel of Shûbun's folding screen, the *Evening Glow* theme is illustrated by the fishermen ceasing work and resting by their thatched huts by the lakeside, over which is the *Autumn Moon*. In the fourth panel, the *Returning Sails* appear punctuating a large mountain background, whilst above, the *Descending Geese* are delineated. The winter scenery of the first two panels, with the temple high in the mountains, suggest the themes of *Evening Bell* and *Evening Snow*. The execution of these motifs provides an example of the allusive, poetic character of this subject. These motifs were intended to evoke the imagery of

⁵⁸ P. Stanley-Baker, pp. 72-80.

⁵⁹ Korean examples of the *Four Seasons in Eight Scenes* will be discussed further, later in this chapter.

the Xiao-Xiang region that was familiar to contemporary audiences in poetry and paintings. Moreover, the role of these motifs may be compared to that of *meisho-e* (paintings of scenic spots celebrated in poetry) in *yamato-e* traditions.⁶⁰

Yoshimasa commissioned another set of *Eight Views fusuma* paintings for his Higashiyama Palace. Kanô Masanobu (1434-1530) painted the *fusuma* in the *Eight Views* Room of the *tsune gosho* ('regular palace' or living quarters). Unfortunately, these paintings are not extant, but the date of their creation is surmised to be during 1483.⁶¹ According to the reconstruction of the ground-plan of the Higashiyama Palace, the *Eight Views* Room looked out over the southern verandah towards the lake landscape of the garden. Although work on the garden seems to have begun after this section of the *tsune gosho* was completed and decorated, the shogun's intention was clear: those seated in the *Eight Views* Room, looking out of the open doors, would have paintings of the *Eight Views* behind them and before them a view of lake scenery distinctly reminiscent of this renowned subject in poetry and painting.⁶²

Japanese Artist: Kanô Tanyû

During the sixteenth and seventeenth century, Kanô School artists created many examples of the *Eight Views*, as it had become a popular and major subject in Japan during this period. One such artist Kanô Tanyû (1602-1674) created a series of *Eight*

⁶⁰ P. Stanley-Baker, pp. 75-76.

⁶¹ According to Donald Keene, "The first structures to be completed in 1482 at the Higashiyama retreat were the gate and the kitchen, followed in the ninth month of 1483 by the *tsunenogoshô*, or living quarters... Hardly had the first building been erected than Kanô Masanobu set about painting on the *fusuma* the *Eight Views of the Hsiao [Xiao] and Hsiang [Xiang] Rivers*. Although Masanobu, the founder of the Kanô School of painting, had never visited China and therefore had no personal knowledge of the celebrated scenery along the two rivers, he was familiar with their features from Chinese paintings of the subject, and inspired by old models, he painted his conception of what the rivers were like. When he had finished the set of paintings, they were embellished by poems in Chinese describing the scenery, composed by monks." See D. Keene, *Yoshimasa and the Silver Pavilion: The Creation of the Soul of Japan*, New York, 2003, p. 102.

⁶² P. Stanley-Baker, pp. 82-84.

Views in monochromatic ink mounted in a handscroll. (See Figures 19-25) Tanyû was the official court artist of the Tokugawa shoguns. His style varies according to subject, but generally shows the influence of Kanô School masters such as Kanô Motonobu (1476-1559). Since Neo-Confucianism was regarded very highly by the Tokugawa shoguns,⁶³ Tanyû's subjects were often taken from Chinese history and literature, subjects such as the *Eight Views*.

His versions of the *Eight Views* stood in stark contrast to his bright, gaudy and gold-leafed Momoyama style paintings for which he was renowned. Nevertheless, Tanyû rendered the subject in diluted black ink upon silk with professionalism and skill, mirroring the early Chinese examples. His images evoke the 'splashed ink' style of Muqi and Yujian versions of the *Eight Views*. The most overt comparison is the treatment of the forms in the scenes. For instance, Tanyû's diluted brushstrokes echo the lyrical treatment of forms and subjects in the early Chinese examples. His version of *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting* contains a vast expanse of ink wash similar to Muqi's *Autumn Moon* scene. The surrounding features, such as the mountains, foliage and buildings, are insignificant, thereby emphasizing the autumn moon's reflection in the lake. (See Figure 24) Tanyû's examples furthermore reinforce the pervasive and enduring aesthetics and importance of the *Eight Views* in Japan.

Tanyû's works may be seen as an example of the intensive practice of copying which was characteristic of much painting practice during the early seventeenth century.

⁶³ The Tokugawa shoguns espoused a hierarchical structure of society which was based upon Confucian principles, particularly those formulated by Chinese scholars during the Song dynasty. These Confucian scholars perceived an innate harmony in the hierarchical structure of the natural world. Japanese scholars and rulers adapted these philosophies to the Japanese situation and embedded them into native beliefs such as the Shintô religion ('the way of the gods'). See C. Hartley, *Prints of the Floating World: Japanese Woodcuts from the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, London, 1997, p. 9.

Tanyû produced a large oeuvre of ‘reduced pictures’ (*shukuzu*) that simulated paintings brought to him for appraisal by varied collectors. In these reproductions, Tanyû transcribed inscriptions, signatures, and seals and recorded the historical details of the painting.⁶⁴ Therefore, his own painting style varied as he skillfully copied many of these appraised paintings. Perhaps, his versions of the *Eight Views* are also copies of appraised paintings. Furthermore, like Muqi, only seven scenes of Tanyû’s *Eight Views* are extant. Perhaps he desired to reproduce Muqi’s images therefore *Mountain Market in Clearing Mist* is missing, as Muqi’s version was not extant for Tanyû to imitate. This could be a possibility, as the Muqi’s versions of the *Eight Views* were inherited by the Tokugawa shoguns from the previously ruling warlord Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598).⁶⁵ As Tanyû was the official court artist of the Tokugawa shoguns and chief appraiser of early Chinese and Japanese artworks, he had access to the shogunal collection and the connoisseurs’ collections whose artworks he appraised.

Japanese Artist: Ikeno Taiga

Ikeno Taiga (1723-1776) composed paintings upon the *Eight Views* in several different mediums such as hanging scrolls, folding screens, and mounted upon fans. Taiga’s *Eight Views* folding screen united features of conventional iconography from all eight scenes into six panels following a right to left progression.⁶⁶ (See Figure 26) His overall compositional scheme was eclectic. The perspective varies from distant to

⁶⁴ Details such as the date that he viewed the artwork, the painting’s format, size, support, period, nationality, and the identities of the owner and painter. He also recorded evidence of prior connoisseurship found on or with the object and recorded his opinion regarding authenticity and market value. Some works he viewed as authentic (*seihitsu*), some he identified as copies (*mohon*), and others he found unimpressive or spurious. See G. P. A. Levine, *Daitokuji: The Visual Cultures of a Zen Monastery*, Seattle & London, 2005.

⁶⁵ Covell & Yamada, p. 93.

⁶⁶ Conventional *Eight Views* iconography includes distant sails punctuating the horizon in *Returning Sails*, a small flock of geese in *Geese Descending*, a small village in *Mountain Market* and figures walking amongst nature in *Evening Bell*.

near views, from misty rain to the crisp linearity of snow, from the blue-green tints of spring through the golden hues of autumn, and to the greys and white of winter.

However, the blue of the rivers provide a visual unity across the six panels. Amid the grandeur of nature, Taiga positioned a few indications of human presence: fishermen in their boats, figures approaching a moon-viewing pavilion, and the rooftops of a mountain village. While Taiga obviously planned the composition and brushwork carefully, the visual flow is smooth and natural and owes much of its success to the tradition of the handscroll, a medium closely associated with the *Eight Views*, where each section is contemplated in sequence. The screen is not dated, but judging from the painting and seals, it was created in the 1760s.⁶⁷

Taiga began his career as a painter of fans and he never abandoned the format. His album of *Eight Views* mounted upon fans consists of sixteen fans, half pictorial and the other half contained accompanying verses. (See Figures 27-34) This album is also undated, but, it reflects the subtle ink tones and brush modes of Taiga's late works of around 1770.⁶⁸ Taiga chose Chinese poems inscribed on Chinese paintings that are included in an encyclopedic compendium of poetic texts and references, entitled the *Peiwenzhai yongwushi xuan*.⁶⁹ He identified the authors of each of the verses at the ends of his calligraphy transcriptions.⁷⁰ Two images and accompanying poems serve as useful exemplars of Taiga's *Eight Views* mounted upon fans. His representations of *Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar* and *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting* display his use of abbreviated brushstrokes and ink-wash techniques, which were closely

⁶⁷ F. Fisher, "Catalogue of Works" in F. Fisher and K. Kinoshita (eds.), *Ike Taiga and Tokuyama Gyokuran: Japanese Masters of the Brush*, Philadelphia, 2007, p. 459.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 471.

⁶⁹ Z. Yushu, *Peiwenzhai yongwushi xuan* (*Dictionary of Composed Words and Rhymes*), Beijing, 1706, cited in Ibid., p. 472.

⁷⁰ For a complete compilation of the poems which accompany Ikeno Taiga's fan-mounted *Eight Views*, see Appendix I.

associated with Southern School examples of the *Eight Views*. Furthermore, the accompanying verses also expand upon the subject's complex theories.

Taiga's abbreviated expression of *Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar* is executed by varied washes of dark and light brushstrokes that delineated a sandbar covered in reeds. (See Figure 29) Geese descend in the central upper section of this fan, reflecting Taiga's abbreviated calligraphy of the image's poetic title. His two seals also resemble the setting sun and its reflection in the water. The accompanying poem was composed by Dang Huaiying (1134-1211):

The scenes so pure at this river village – all fine paintings models!

And in those paintings, poetic phrases, skillfully transmitted!

The fisherman may sober up, and then get drunk again:

He doesn't seem to realize that he lives in a painting.⁷¹

This is an essential poetic explanation of the relationship between the location, painting and poetry which encompass the *Eight Views*. The first line indicates that nature is the model for painting and poetry. The second line connects the location with these forms of art. In this way, the natural environment and poetic phrases, such as the poetic titles, influenced the painting. This forms the foundation of the theory of the *Eight Views* discussed thus far. The fisherman was also a long established figure associated with this subject. This poem extrapolates the structural hierarchy of models which guided the artists' depicting the *Eight Views*.

Taiga represented the *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting* scene by incorporating a flautist in a boat upon the lake. (See Figure 30) The artist employed thick abbreviated

⁷¹ D. Huaiying quoted in Fisher in Fisher & Kinoshita, p. 472.

brushstrokes that delineated the essential forms of these subjects. The horizontal lines of the boat and the flute mirror the lines of the water, which mirror the shape of the fan. The *Autumn Moon* is represented by the character for ‘moon’ itself. The lower left character in the four character poetic title in the upper section of this fan reads ‘moon’ and illustrates it as well. Herein, the unification of painting and calligraphy is entirely evident. The accompanying verse by Bao Xun (act. fourteenth century) reads:

Mist moistens the deserted forest, a blue-green mist now floats;

Island blossoms, plants on banks all sigh so mournfully.

Immortals must reside up there, where deepest clouds are found;

Men from this realm of mortals are only allowed to reach to the stone bridge.⁷²

This poem evokes typical aspects of imagery and aesthetics of the early Chinese examples of the *Eight Views* paintings and poetry. Firstly, the references to moisture and mist certainly reinforce the significance of the aesthetic of *yūgen*. The ‘the deserted forest’ also suggests the idea of a solitary traveler, a figure which became closely associated with this subject. The third line implies another aspect mentioned in the first chapter, namely the idea of immortals or sages such as the Eight Immortals who were thought to be allied with good fortune. The last line reveals the poets melancholy that ‘mortals are only allowed to reach to the stone bridge’. Perhaps this line is suggesting the limits of exile.⁷³

⁷² Bao Xun quoted in Fisher in Fisher & Kinoshita, p. 473.

⁷³ According to Kuwayama Gyokushu (1746-1799), Taiga went to Lake Biwa several times to sketch the surface of the water when he composed the *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang*. This is appropriate as Lake Biwa became the Japanese location for the ‘transformed’ versions of the *Eight Views*, which will be discussed further in Chapter Three. See G. Kuwayama, *Kaiji higen (Trifling Comments about Painting)*, in Sakazaki Shizuka, ed. *Nihon garon taikan (Survey of Japanese Art Theory)*, vol. 1, Arusu, Tokyo, 1927, p. 147, cited in Fisher & Kinoshita, p. 463.

Korean Examples

Korea has often been deemed a ‘transmitter’ of culture and ideas between China and Japan. Reducing Korea to this intermediary function has unfortunately resulted in an underestimation of the Korean contribution to East Asian art in general. Korea is also unjustly depicted only as an imitator of Chinese culture, and its art history has simply been overlooked in many cases.⁷⁴ However, due to Korea’s close cultural connections to China, the *Eight Views* were widely adopted and imitated in artistic circles. Korean versions of this subject reveal fascinating case studies upon comparisons and contrasts between country, period, style, aesthetics, iconography, medium and composition. Once again, we must travel back in time to twelfth century Korea to elucidate upon the impact and influence of the *Eight Views*’ trajectory throughout East Asia.

In the twelfth century, the *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* (K: *Sosangpalgyeongdo*) seems to have been well-known in Korean poetry and painting circles. King Myongjong (r. 1170-1197) commissioned a set of paintings to accompany a poem composed by a contemporary scholar-poet Mun Sun-dal (act. late twelfth century). According to ancient Korean records, the King appointed Yi Kwang-p’il (act. late twelfth century) to paint the poetry-inspired *Eight Views* scene, in approximately 1185.⁷⁵ Information on Yi Kwang-p’il is scarce. His father was the famous Korean painter, Yi Nyong (act. c. 1122-1146), who worked briefly in the Imperial Palace Academy of the Song Emperor Huizong. Records also suggest that many Koryo (918-1302) and early Choson (1302-1897) period scholar-poets wrote

⁷⁴ B. Jungmann, “Confusing Traditions: Elements of the Korean An Kyon School in Early Japanese Nanga Landscape” in *Artibus Asiae*, Zurich, 1995, p. 303.

⁷⁵ Hongman, p. 373.

poetry upon the *Eight Views*. Koryo scholar-poets, such as Chin Hwa (act. c. 1200) and Yin In-no (1152-1220), both composed poems entitled ‘*Song Di’s Eight Views*’.⁷⁶

The *Eight Views* seem to have been revitalized in the early Choson period, as evidenced by extant paintings and written records. Prince Anpy’ong (1418-1453) played a vital role in that process, as he was an eminent collector of Chinese paintings. In approximately 1442, Prince Anpy’ong saw a set of poems on the *Eight Views* by the Southern Song Emperor Ningzong (1168-1224, r. 1194-1224). He had the poems copied and the eight scenes painted in handscroll format and entitled it the *Poems of Eight Views*. He also added verses by the two previously mentioned Koryo scholar-poets Chin-Hwa and Yi In-no.⁷⁷ These poets also contributed colophons to a painting by Korean artist An Kyon (act. c. 1440-1470) entitled *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land*. This suggests that An Kyon may have been the painter of Prince Anpy’ong’s *Poems of Eight Views*.⁷⁸

According to a catalogue compiled in 1445 by Sin Suk-shu (1417-1475), Prince Anpy’ong owned many fine paintings, including a number of complete or partial sets of paintings on the *Eight Views*. According to the catalogue, the prince’s collection held two examples of *Eight Views* by the Northern Song academician Guo Xi (c. 1000-1090), namely *Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar* and *River and Sky in Evening Snow*. In addition, the catalogue also records one full set of *Eight Views* by An Kyon.⁷⁹ All of the paintings in this collection were made available to court

⁷⁶ Hongman, p. 373.

⁷⁷ Prince Anpy’ong also asked other contemporary scholar-poets such as including Manu (Ch’on-bong, 1357-ca. 1447), Pak P’aeng-nyon (1417-1456), Kim Chong-so (1390-1453), Chung In-ji (1396-1478), and Sin Suk-chu (1417-1475), to contribute verses.

⁷⁸ Hongman, p. 374.

⁷⁹ An Kyon was the only Korean artist listed in this catalogue with thirty of his paintings documented.

painters, such as An Kyon, therefore this collection was most probably the source of An Kyon's Northern Song style. Fifteen versions of *Eight Views* dating from the early Choson period have survived in complete or partial sets dispersed throughout Korea, Japan and the United States of America.⁸⁰

Another set of poems from the Choson period bear the title "*Paintings of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang, With the Imperial Signature of the Song Emperor Ningzong*". These poems were written by Kang Sok-tok (1395-1459), who also contributed a colophon to An Kyon's *Dream Journey*. He was the father of two famous scholar-painters of An Kyon's time, Kang Hui-an (1419-1464) and Kang Hui-maeng (1424-1483). If the paintings referred to in the title of Kang Sok-tok's poems did have any connection to Emperor Ningzong or his time, the poems would be some of the earliest pieces of literary evidence of such paintings in either China or Korea, together with the set of paintings executed by Yi Kwang-p'il in 1185 at the behest of King Myongjong.⁸¹

Many Korean scholars do not view the importation of Chinese culture as a positive phenomenon. They believe that Chinese ideology altered many views on Korean history and culture and that Korean arts were one of the main facets in the Korean community that were susceptible to this new wave of influence.⁸² According to Jin Heungseop's *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Korean Art History*, from Koryo to the early Choson period, Chinese paintings such as *Eight Views* and *Yueyang Fortress* were

⁸⁰ These works date from the mid-fifteenth to the mid-sixteenth century. See Hongman, p. 375.

⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 374-375.

⁸² L. Dongju, *The Beauty of Old Korean Paintings: A History and An Appreciation*, Seoul, 2005, p. 61.

introduced in Korean art.⁸³ Furthermore, the encyclopedia also mentions, that Korean painting convention began to imitate Chinese painting convention. It seems that Choson painting style was very similar to that of Chinese paintings. With the passage of time, the daily life and even the paintings of Choson became more entrenched in the Chinese way. These imitative efforts reached a peak with King Seongjing (1469-1494), by which time the Chinese influence could not be prevented.⁸⁴

Korean trade relations with Japan were similar to the previously described trade transactions between Japan and China. Relations, including mission exchanges, were far more numerous than one might imagine. For example, in the early Choson period, the number of Japanese visitors to Korea was once deemed to be more than six thousand annually.⁸⁵ Japan's interests in Korea were not limited to trade, for they were also concerned with the cultural import of documents, books, paintings and calligraphic works. Japan also endeavoured to obtain Buddhist scriptures and objects which were highly sought after by Japanese Buddhists. Despite Japanese piracy continuing to disturb the Korean coastline, the relationship between Korea and Japan during the early Choson period was closer than at any other time.⁸⁶

Korean Artist: An Kyon

An Kyon was an extremely influential court painter of the early Choson period, serving four kings throughout his thirty-year career. Many contemporary and later court and professional painters emulated his art. An Kyon's style was primarily

⁸³ As previously mentioned, the Yueyang Tower was usually included in depictions of the Xiao-Xiang riverscape and it could be the viewpoint from which artists sketched. Therefore the Yueyang Tower is an important feature of *Eight Views* iconography.

⁸⁴ Dongju, p. 61.

⁸⁵ A. Hwi-Joon, "Korean Influence on Japanese Ink Paintings of the Muromachi Period" in *Korea Journal*, Seoul, 1997, p. 196.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

influenced by the Northern Song artist Guo Xi. A pair of paintings that depict the *Eight Views* are attributed to him.⁸⁷ The paintings were mounted on two hanging scrolls and represent two of the eight views, namely *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting* and *Evening Bell from Mist-Shrouded Temple*. (See Figure 35)

Unfortunately, the scrolls were remounted for conservation and repairs, during which process they were washed, which resulted in a loss of depth, nuance, and shading in the ink. There is also evidence of repair to the silk and retouching along a horizontal crack in the upper part of the *Autumn Moon* scroll. Furthermore, the paintings contain no information regarding previous ownership; as the one piece of evidence, a seal placed in the lower left corner of the *Autumn Moon* scroll is now effaced. The silk has darkened with age, but its original physical condition would not have been much different to the present one, since the ink-wash would have provided the intended darkness and prevailing melancholy mood that these scenes of evening and night epitomise. Therefore the darkness of age only enhances the evening scenes and its associated aesthetics.⁸⁸

In *Autumn Moon* the moon is omitted, which is not uncommon, as previously mentioned. Two figures seated in the small pavilion became conventional iconography of this theme. Except for these tiny figures, however, the painting is devoid of any other human presence or narrative details common for this image. *Evening Bell* contains more sharply rendered contrasts of light and dark than the *Autumn Moon* scene. The simple scenery accentuates the misty and melancholy atmosphere. The painting contains two pieces of land dividing a river, and a mist-

⁸⁷ An Kyon's *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* are on display at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

⁸⁸ Hongman, p. 370.

shrouded village in the distant mountains. Tiled roofs are faintly visible through the mist, which suggests a monastery situated within the hills. A broad band of mist behind this monastery obscures the foothills of a larger mountain range that rises in the distance. The artist has not included any conventional signs of human presence such as figures, boats, a rustic bridge, a bustling mountain market, or even a well-trodden path which were standard characteristics for the *Evening Bell* theme. An Kyon captured an atmosphere of isolation, serenity, and contemplative mood of this landscape. When the artist omits usual human features, a wider spectrum of viewing the world is created on a universal level. This is compliant with the view of the world held by Buddhist or Daoist believers. Early Chinese artists such as Muqi also employed this idea, which may imply that An Kyon was influenced by such early Chinese techniques.

The pair of landscapes evoke the style of the Northern Song monumental landscape tradition, embodied in the Li-Guo style.⁸⁹ In *Autumn Moon*, the foreground is dark and spare; an empty boat is moored at the shore and a path leads to the hill on the right. The foreground hill with its simple pavilion and the surrounding foliage are reminiscent of the Li-Guo style. Furthermore, the distorted geological forms of the towering mountains and the overhanging rock is similar to the cloudlike rocks in Guo Xi's *Early Spring*. These features were conceived according to the relatively simple Northern Song principle of dominance and subordination.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ The Li-Guo style was named after the Chinese artists, Li Cheng (919-967) and Guo Xi. Li Cheng was a mentor to Guo Xi, therefore Guo Xi followed his style. Their styles became combined during the Yuan dynasty as they appeared similar, and therefore, the approach was unified into the Li-Guo style. See, R. E. Harrist, Jr., *Painting and Private Life in Eleventh-Century China: Mountain Villa by Li Gonglin*, New Jersey, 1998, p. 91.

⁹⁰ Hongman, pp. 377-380.

In *Evening Bell*, however, the artist has interwoven characteristics of the Li-Guo style. This painting displays more control and simplicity in composition. The foreground, for instance, is clearly marked by the two sloping banks that project into the shallow stream. Similarly, the composition seems rationally constructed, with a flat recession from foreground to background. Although the simple brushwork and ink-wash method used in both paintings follow the Li-Guo style, the result in *Evening Bell* is more atmospheric. The abbreviated style, ink-wash and the mist-enshrouded distant village suggest a Southern style influence rather than purely Northern Song landscape conventions. However, the verticality of the composition is a classic remnant of the Northern Song monumental landscape tradition. In this regard, the pair seems to represent a fusion of the earlier Northern Song monumental tradition with the style of painting that developed at the end of the Southern Song period in the monasteries of southern China.⁹¹

There is another set of the *Eight Views* attributed to An Kyon that are held at the National Museum of Korea. (See Figures 36-39) This set serve as useful comparative counterparts to the pair attributed to An Kyon displayed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. The National Museum paintings are relatively sparse, with small details placed in receding space covered with mist. In the foreground of these works, there are small rocks and light foliage centred around an open expanse of water, upon which small boats sail. The background mountains are lightly painted in between pauses of mist, which is a common *Eight Views* device. The National Museum and the Metropolitan paintings display similarities in composition, detail, style and technique, especially the darkened palette. Furthermore, notable features of the An Kyon style

⁹¹ Hongman, pp. 377-380.

are apparent in both pairs of paintings such as the cloudlike mountain forms and the pine trees; the dramatic interaction of solids and voids; the contrast between light and dark ink tones; and the skillful brushwork and ink-washes.

Other Korean Artists

Another Choson artist who painted versions of the *Eight Views* was the Chan monk-painter Munch'ong (act. c. early fifteenth century). He painted in a similar style to An Kyon. Munch'ong's paintings are extant in both Japan and Korea, and thus there has been long debate over his nationality.⁹² The paintings by Munch'ong can be divided into two categories: landscapes and portraits. Two examples of his *Eight Views* are extant, namely *Evening Bell from Mist-Shrouded Temple* and *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting*.⁹³ These double-folded landscapes contain conventional characteristics of the *Eight Views*, such as a temple surrounded in foliage and a misty evening scene of Lake Dongting. They display Korean painting characteristics, as they are in the style of the An Kyon School that developed out of the Guo Xi tradition.⁹⁴ The angularity of Munch'ong's brushstrokes is an example of this, as it evokes the Northern Song style associated with Guo Xi.

⁹² Two portrait paintings by Munch'ong remain at Daitokuji temple in Kyoto which suggests that he was connected to that temple and the Soga School. At that time, the Daitokuji was one of the five major temples in Kyoto and therefore played a key role in the artistic exchanges between Korea and Japan during the early Choson period. Some Korean art historians promote the unsubstantiated claim that Munch'ong was a Korean Buddhist monk-painter of the mid-sixteenth century. There is no evidence to indicate that he was active in the mid-sixteenth century and his painting style does not support the claim that he lived in the sixteenth century. However, the supposition that he was a Korean Buddhist monk-painter is plausible in light of the paintings attributed to him. See Hwi-Joon, p. 203.

⁹³ These examples of the *Eight Views* are owned by Takana Tokiji in Aichi Prefecture.

⁹⁴ Another art historian claims that the artistic styles rendered in the double-folded landscapes, *Evening Bell* and *Autumn Moon*, are too Korean to be regarded as works by a Japanese artist. Usually when Japanese artists adopted Chinese or Korean artistic styles, it was common practice to make modifications to suit Japanese sensibilities, as Korean artists did with the Chinese style. However, these paintings do not show any Japanese characteristics, they simply display only Korean styles.

Another noteworthy Korean artist was Lee Jeong (1578-1607), who was active during the mid-Choson period. The Lee Jeong Painting Album⁹⁵ contains a set of landscapes of the amalgamated subject of the *Four Seasons in Eight Scenes* (K: *Sasipalgyeongdo*).⁹⁶ Among Lee Jeong's *Four Seasons in Eight Scenes*, there are some examples that clearly relate to the aesthetics of the wider *Eight Views* subject, for *Late Spring, Green Mountain Blue Water* and *Late Autumn, Red Mountain Yellow Field* paintings capture many of its characteristics. (See Figure 40) Both of these scenes have dominant mountains in the background of the depiction and are bathed in layers of misty fog. *Late Spring* contains a boat on one of the two rivers depicted, the only sign of figures in the landscape, which is otherwise full of dense foliage. *Late Autumn*, however, has a middleground plateau where a central pavilion is situated within a fenced compound. This isolated building suggests human life in a remote clearing in the forested mountain range. Lee Jeong was clearly influenced by the Northern Song style of painting which also inspired An Kyon, for the treatment of the ink is clearly detailed becomes vapourous in the mountains.⁹⁷

An obvious difference to many other versions of the *Eight Views* paintings is the vertical format used in the paintings attributed to An Kyon. It is unknown what format was used by the creator Song Di, however, Southern Song painters who produced paintings of the *Eight Views*, including Wang Hong, Muqi and Yujian, all employed a horizontal format. The vertical format was particularly appropriate for representing the mountainous terrain of the Korean peninsula and has been favoured throughout the history of Korean landscape painting. In this way, Korean examples influenced

⁹⁵ The Lee Jeong Painting Album is a collection of artworks by Lee Jeong which was collected by Heo Misu (1592-1682).

⁹⁶ The *Four Seasons in Eight Scenes* are divided as follows: Early Spring, Late Spring, Early Summer, Late Summer, Early Autumn, Late Autumn, Early Winter and Late Winter.

⁹⁷ Dongju, p. 108.

Japanese artists as according to Hongman, Japanese versions of the *Eight Views* in the vertical format were regarded as inspired by Korean models.⁹⁸ One example, entitled *Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar* attributed to Shikan (also referred to as Sa-gam, act. early fourteenth century) was noted by Yoshiaki Shimizu, who wrote:

Before 1317, a painter named Shikan – perhaps an amateur painter, a monk in one of Kamakura’s Zen monasteries – painted a very different landscape in pure ink, very likely from a sequence of eight hanging scrolls. Shikan’s subject had nothing to do with Japan: each scroll celebrated the beauty of one of the *Eight Views of Hsiao and Hsiang*, a pair of rivers in far-off China. The misty spires of distant mountains in Shikan’s scroll find no parallel on the Japanese islands. Shikan himself had probably never seen such peaks, but learned of them through painted landscapes brought to Japan from Korea.⁹⁹

These works in Japanese collections not only draw on classical Northern Song elements such as vertical mountain forms and level-distance effects, but also recall Chan Buddhist paintings of the late Southern Song in their abbreviated and rapid rendering of some passages. These combined stylistic features have been identified as typically Korean. This strengthens the possibility of Korean examples of the *Eight Views* inspiring and influencing Japanese versions.

Japanese Artists in Korea

Japanese Buddhist monks played a major role in cultivating close relations between Korea and Japan. Principle and vice ambassadors, as well as key members of shogunal missions to Korea, were primarily Buddhist monks. During the Muromachi period, monks were included within the intelligentsia class in Japan. These monks

⁹⁸ Hongman, p. 384.

⁹⁹ Y. Shimizu quoted in Hongman, p. 384.

were also influential in Japanese artistic circles, as many of them were monk-artists. They had an opportunity to observe Korean painting style and the Korean landscape.¹⁰⁰ The Japanese monk-artist Shûbun visited Korea during 1423-1424. He served as the professional painter to shogun Yoshimitsu who established the so-called Academy School at the Shôkokuji. As the Korean envoys stayed at Shôkokuji during their visits, Shûbun would have had frequent contact with Korean art. According to the temple's records, his stay in Korea lasted for several months in 1423 and 1424. He was part of the entourage of the Japanese shogunal envoys, Keiju and Bonrei.¹⁰¹ The Japanese critic Matsushita Takaaki claimed that Shûbun was influenced by Korean art, as paintings executed after his visit to Seoul share the characteristic elements of early Choson paintings. Predominantly, the expansive spatial arrangement between the foreground and middle ground creates the 'perspective' visual effect that Korean painters often employed. Specifically, *Reading in the Bamboo Studio* is attributed to Shûbun that was created after his journey to Korea. This painting contains many correlations to the *Eight Views* attributed to An Kyon. Such elements as unilateral composition, scattered land forms, the inclined hill with pine trees in the foreground, the slanted main mountain, and expansive water and mist are features commonly shared by the two artists' paintings.¹⁰²

Another Japanese monk, Sonkai (act. sixteenth century) from the Daiganji in modern Hiroshima Prefecture, visited Korea in 1530. He received a Buddhist scripture and

¹⁰⁰ Hwi-Joon, p. 196.

¹⁰¹ Shûbun's ship arrived at Naeip'o port in Seoul in November 1423 and departed in February 1424. While in Seoul, Keiju and Bonrei made relentless efforts to obtain *Tripitaka* copper plates and, when they did not succeed in their mission, they attempted a hunger strike. However, before they departed for Japan, they seem to have reverted to a contingency plan whereby they forcibly appropriated the *Tripitaka* by attacking Choson with Japanese military ships in the event that their initial request was not accepted by the Choson court. Unfortunately details of their plan were leaked out and Shûbun seems to have been the informant. Because of this, Shûbun was mentioned in the *Sejong shillok* (*Annals of King Sejongjing*). See Hwi-Joon, pp. 199-200.

¹⁰² Hwi-Joon, p. 200.

returned with an *Eight Views* folding screen. He wrote his '*Diary of My Voyage*' on the back of this folding-screen.¹⁰³ This extant work, which depicts the *Eight Views*, contains mountain shapes, strongly bent rocks and high plateaus with tiny figures. On the seventh panel, *Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar*, a flock of birds fills the landscape. On the sixth panel, *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting*, a high mountain range formed out of repeating shapes is depicted in the background. Both formations of an overhanging rock in the middle ground and the sloping rock with two figures upon it are built through opposing diagonal movements. The painting tradition of a 'boneless'¹⁰⁴ (*mokkotsu*) technique can be clearly seen in this panel.

Conclusion

The contrasting styles of Chinese paintings collected by Koreans and Japanese indicates the differences in taste and aesthetics in these separate countries. Collection patterns and cultural preferences reflect the various natural environs of the individual countries and the circumstances of their cultural contacts with China over centuries. This is important as it influenced these countries' adoption and development of the *Eight Views*. The artistic relationships and exchanges between China, Korea and Japan during the early Choson were closer and more frequent than at any other time. Furthermore, despite China's desire for hierarchical domination, as the supreme 'Middle Empire' surrounded by lesser 'barbarian' neighbours, relations between China, Korea and Japan remained, through various avenues, for a comparatively long period.¹⁰⁵ The trade between these countries was not limited to goods, for ideas were also exchanged, which enhanced art and culture in all three countries.

¹⁰³ Dongju, p. 68.

¹⁰⁴ The 'boneless' technique describes diluted brushstrokes, where the artist did not delineate outlines of subjects or forms. This style of painting incorporates excessive use of the ink-wash method.

¹⁰⁵ Jungmann, p. 304.

The Japanese shogunal collection reflected the preferences of its owners for works by Southern Song Academy painters as well as by Chan Buddhist painters of the Southern Song and their followers in the Yuan dynasty. Because of this, fine Chinese artworks in this collection are extant. The catalogue of Prince Anp'yong's collection may be considered a suitable counterpart to the Japanese shogunal collection. It reveals the prince's definitive preference for the works of the Northern Song masters and their Yuan followers. Furthermore, the imported Chinese pieces reflect the native landscape traditions already respected in Korean art. These traditions show a predilection related to a native mountain tradition, even when it was primarily based on Chinese prototypes. Such elements as the vast expanse of mountain peaks depicted by angular motifs with parallel folds are Korean features that can be traced as far back as the Three Kingdoms period (57 B.C.E - 668 C.E.)

The contrast in collecting patterns and preferences emphasises the various approaches to art and culture in these countries. Korean painters created artworks based on the Northern Song monumental landscape formula which suited the depiction of Korea's mountainous topography and their own aesthetics of mountains. Japanese landscape painting, however, reflects the lyricism and sentiment characteristic of the Japanese approach to nature. The Korean penchant for angular rocky mountains and sparse foliage contrasts with the *yamato-e* tradition of Japan, which is characterised by softly rounded hills fringed with leafy trees and by an intimate, sentimental beauty. Aesthetically, the Southern Song style suits the Japanese taste and conversely, the Northern Song style seems strongly aligned with Korean predilections.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ Hongman, p. 397.

Despite the national differences in collecting patterns, artistic preferences and style, the *Eight Views* remained a major subject in landscape painting in East Asian art for many centuries. Despite various artists' transforming the *Eight Views* into different styles, fundamental aesthetics remained regardless of location, period, school or style. These dominant expressions continued to be poetically inspired, monochromatic, ink-washed, mist-laden landscapes. However, by the nineteenth century, the *Eight Views* was revitalized and reinvented in Japan in the woodblock print medium that was popular during the Edo period (1603-1868). Thereby, the *Eight Views* was transformed in medium and location, however, it retained close associations with poetry, exile and atmospheric phenomena established in the early Chinese examples. These associations were maintained in the work of Japanese artist, Andô Hiroshige (1797-1858), to whom the majority of the third chapter will be dedicated.

Chapter Three

The Transformation of the *Eight Views* in Japan

While the Kanô School taught their students to copy the Chinese examples of the *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang*, gradually the series was also adapted into a native Japanese location. The adaptation begins with the selection of the location of the Japanese version of *Eight Views*. Lake Biwa in Ômi Province (presently known as Shiga Prefecture) near Kyoto was chosen by Konoe Masaie (1445-1505). He was a Chancellor or *kampaku* (r. 1479-1483) under Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado (1442-1500, r. 1464-1500) and commonly known as a notably powerful *kugyô* or court noble.¹ He chose the sites for the first Japanese version of the *Eight Views of Ômi* series whilst visiting the Ômi area with his son Konoe Hisamichi (1472-1544).² It was recorded that they composed poems for the selected sights, however none are extant.

The earliest extant poems were written by the government official, poet, painter and calligrapher, Konoe Nobutada (1565-1614). At the Enman'in,³ there are two four-panel folding screens decorated with representations of Ômi with accompanying poems composed and inscribed by Nobutada. These folding screens, which date from the last decade of the sixteenth century, are the earliest extant works on the *Eight Views of Ômi*.⁴ (See Figure 41) It was Nobutada's great-grandfather, Konoe Masaie, who selected the locations of the *Eight Views of Ômi*. Nobutada composed the *waka* poems which became the standard verses to accompany *Eight Views of Ômi* works.

¹ *Kugyô* is a collective term for the few most powerful men attached to the court of the Emperor of Japan in pre-Meiji periods. These were individuals whose experience and background have brought each one of them to the pinnacle of a life's career and could be trusted by the Emperor.

² The Konoe family had been landowners in the Ômi Province for several generations therefore traveling in this area was commonplace for family members.

³ The Enman'in is a temple within the Miidera (formerly known as Onjôji) complex located in Ômi Province.

⁴ L. Bruschke-Johnston, *Dismissed As Elegant Fossils: Konoe Nobutada and the Role Of Aristocrats in Early Modern Japan*, Amsterdam, 2004, p. 115.

According to the entry in the diary *Rokuon nichiroku* dating to 1589, Nobutada asked the author of the diary to make three copies of a painting with inscriptions for scrolls with a Lake Biwa theme.⁵ While the date of the diary's entry is not entirely clear, it was approximately the sixth month of that year. This is significant because the sixth month marked the eight-year anniversary of the death of warlord Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582). Although in Japan the commemoration of seven-year anniversaries was more common because of their significance in Buddhism, from the perspective of this theme centering on the number 'eight', the timing of this is not coincidental. Therefore, the timing of the folding screen's creation certainly suggests that Nobutada produced poems upon the *Eight Views of Ômi* to honour Nobunaga, thereby imparting political significance onto this subject.⁶ Furthermore, as Nobunaga's Azuchi Castle was located on the eastern shores of Lake Biwa, the location of the *Eight Views of Ômi* would have been an appropriate tribute to him.

The eighteenth century author Ban Kôkei (1733-1806) transcribed a colophon from an *Eight Views of Ômi* scroll on which Nobutada noted changes that he had made in his poetry. According to Ban Kôkei's transcription, the original selection of locations were the *Autumn Moon of Mikamiyama*, *Evening Bell of Ishiyama* and *Descending Geese at Miidera*:

Since the emperor said that he intended to use the moon of Mikamiyama [for his own poem], I chose against it. I changed it to Ishiyama, and I changed the bell of Ishiyama to Mii, and the descending geese to Katata.⁷

⁵ T. Zennosuke (ed.), *Rokuon nichiroku*, vol. 2, Tokyo, 1961-1962, p. 318.

⁶ Bruschke-Johnston, pp. 116-117.

⁷ B. Kôkei, "Kanden Kôhitsu" in *Nihon zuihitsu zenshû*, vol. 6, Tokyo, 1927-30, pp. 518-519, cited in Bruschke-Johnston, p. 117.

Nobutada plainly modified some of the locations that were chosen by Konoe Masaie. However, he was obliged to alter the locations, as it might offend the emperor, presumably Emperor Go-Yôzei (1572-1617, r. 1586-1611), who was reigning at the time of the presumed creation of this artwork. In this way, one could correctly assert that all three Konoe family members; Masaie, Hisamichi and Nobutada, chose the locations of the *Eight Views of Ômi*. Kôkei also explained that Nobutada wrote these changes down so that he would not become confused during a sermon, or *hôdan*. This reinforces the theory that the text was connected with a religious ceremony, such as the eighth anniversary of Nobunaga's death.

All of the poetic titles of the original *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* and the *Eight Views of Ômi* comprise four characters, where two of the characters provide an indication of location. In the Chinese examples, non-specific places are preferred such as a mountain market or a fishing village. In Nobutada's poems, the actual place names in Ômi are mentioned. The other two characters of the titles generally provide a sense of atmosphere. Nobutada retained the original Chinese poetic imagery, although their transference to a Japanese context did result in some difference in both meaning and implication. For example, the Chinese character for *lan* (J: *arashi*) means 'mist' or 'vapour' in Chinese, but 'storm' in Japanese.⁸

Each panel of the *Eight Views of Ômi* screens had independent designs, which naturally worked in conjunction with the other panels. Each scene was illustrated on the lower half of a single panel, and the poetry was written in the empty space above. The work is not signed, so it is unclear whether Nobutada painted these landscapes, or had another artist paint them. The paintings are simple abbreviated landscapes,

⁸ Bruschke-Johnston, p. 118.

therefore, they could be the work of an amateur painter such as Nobutada. Each inscription begins with the title of the poem, which Nobutada wrote in a similar style to the main body of the text. This contrasts with standard practice, where the titles would be written in more pronounced Chinese characters in order to visually distinguish them from the rest of the text. The inscriptions are written in various styles of *chirashigaki*, or ‘scattered writing’, with staggered lines, which is not typical of his later works. The calligraphy is also relatively large, especially compared with other contemporary calligraphy.⁹

Whether these panels are illustrated in their original order is unknown. However, their current paired arrangement is logical. Each of the four-panel folding screens has two pairs of illustrations and accompanying poems. The first pair of poems concern light, specifically, the sun and the moon, whereas the second pair describe boats, water and strong wind. The third pair of poems consider sound, the wind and a bell. The last two poems regard the mountains at dusk. Although the places mentioned in the poems are prominent in Japanese history and poetry, several of these sites would also remind Nobutada and his contemporaries of events concerning Nobunaga. For example, the bridge at Seta had been burnt many times in history to block advancing troops, including in 1582, to prevent the escape of Akechi Mitsuhide (1528-1582) after Nobunaga’s death.¹⁰ This may have lent added meaning to the image of ‘the sun setting’ across the bridge in this poem:

Seta yûshô

⁹ Nobutada’s relatively large characters were most likely influenced by the earliest Chinese calligraphy screens. These were panel screens that were decorated exclusively with calligraphy, known in China as *shu ping* or ‘calligraphy screens’. *Shu ping* contained large characters and were popular in the Tang dynasty.

¹⁰ While Akechi Mitsuhide did not kill Oda Nobunaga personally, he did force Nobunaga to commit *seppuku* [samurai ritual suicide] after Nobunaga lost a duel with Mitsuhide.

tsuyu shigure

moru yama tôku

sugikitsutsu

yûhi no wataru

Seta no nagahashi

Evening glow in Seta

The long bridge at Seta

over which crosses the setting sun

passing far beyond the mountains

dripping with autumn dew.¹¹

The Province of Ômi was a favoured location for Japanese poets to compose their verses. From the ninth century, many Japanese poets traveled to Ômi, as it was a beautiful scenic locale only a short traveling distance from Kyoto. Poems about Ômi were written on screens used in the succession ceremonies for a number of emperors, including that of Emperor Go-Toba (1180-1239, r. 1183-1198).¹² Not only was the Province of Ômi connected with poetry, it was also associated with exile and retreat from the world, like the Xiao-Xiang region of China. For instance, the poet Satomura Jôha (1524-1602) was exiled to Miidera in 1595.¹³ Numerous Ashikaga shoguns also fled to Ômi and particularly to Katada, during the tumultuous last years of their family's shogunate. Nobutada's Katada poem also refers to exile in another way; as the geese are returning to the north, just as one would return from exile.¹⁴

¹¹ Bruschke-Johnston, p. 118. For the remaining seven poems by Nobutada, see Appendix I.

¹² Ibid., p. 116.

¹³ Ibid., p. 119.

¹⁴ Nobutada himself was also exiled in 1594, although not in Ômi, for three years in Bonotsu in Satsuma Province, Kyûshû. He angered Emperor Go-Yôzei by participating, without permission, in

In other artworks, Nobutada duplicated ancient poems in his own calligraphy. However, for the *Eight Views of Ômi*, he composed his own poetry. As the subject became popular, the paintings were rapidly added to the repertoire of most Japanese painting schools and eventually adopted by artists working in ceramics, metal, lacquerware and textiles.¹⁵ The poems composed by Nobutada also became popular, as they were re-used by most artists creating a set of *Eight Views of Ômi*, such as Yamamoto Soken (act. 1683-1706) and Andô Hiroshige.¹⁶

Early Example: Yamamoto Soken

Another fine example of an early version of the *Eight Views of Ômi* was painted by Yamamoto Soken in approximately 1691-1693. (See Figures 42-49) Soken was a member of the officially recognized Kanô School.¹⁷ He was a talented artist in both Chinese-style ink painting and the traditional Tosa School painting, which employed Japanese subject matter and a colourful decorative style. Soken was a son of Yamamoto Sotei (act. late seventeenth century), who was a disciple of Kanô Tanyû and taught Ogata Kôrin (1658-1716), a founder of the Rimpa School. Soken's work, *Ômi hakkei emaki* or the *Eight Views of Ômi handscroll*, was mounted in the same method that early Chinese artist Muqi employed. As previously mentioned, ink

Hideyoshi's ill-fated invasion of Korea in 1592. See J. Turner, *The Grove Dictionary of Art*, vol. 18, London, 1996, p. 231.

¹⁵ Intriguingly, *Eight Views of Ômi* floor tiles were even produced in China in the early nineteenth century, which is an interesting surprise to this 'Sino-Japanese' theme. See Bruschke-Johnston, p. 193.

¹⁶ Both artists will be discussed further in this chapter. In some instances, the poems were slightly altered due to variations in Japanese and English translation, however, Nobutada's original sentiment was retained.

¹⁷ This reinforces the notion that the *Eight Views of Ômi* theme was practiced by artists from various painting schools, despite the Kanô School's predilection for adhering to the original Chinese model of the Xiao and Xiang setting. As the Kanô School was officially recognized by the Tokugawa shoguns, the *Eight Views of Ômi* were embraced and commissioned by them. The Tokugawa shoguns adopted such themes, to associate themselves with the styles and themes of the Japanese court in the past, appearing refined and courtly, and therefore closer to legitimate rulers, at least from the aristocracy's perspective.

paintings were often mounted in handscrolls, where one can fully appreciate the original sequence of the scenes. The handscroll method suited series such as the *Eight Views*. Aspects of Soken's style of ink painting also evoke comparisons to earlier Chinese artists, such as Muqi and Yujian. For example, the first scene, *Clearing Weather at Awazu* (*Awazu no seiran*), depicts a small village in the foreground, with a vast expanse of water and sky obscured by misty clouds filling the rest of the pictorial space. (See Figure 42) These misty clouds are created by the diluted ink-wash technique. In this way, Soken's style of painting misty clouds and rolling hills echoes the early Chinese examples.

The second scene, *Evening Glow at Seta* (*Seta no sekishō*) contains a dense black rolling mountain range in the background, an indefinite cloud of fog in the middle-ground and a small village with Seta Bridge in the foreground. (See Figure 43) While Soken has depicted the foreground in some detail, mist engulfs most of the pictorial space, especially notable as one half of Seta Bridge is obscured.¹⁸ The blue water has wavelets drawn onto its surface, indicating a rapidly flowing river. However, an 'evening glow' has not been included in the image. The large wash of fog completely obscures the sunset glow upon the horizon, which is a usual feature of this subject.

The third scene, *Evening Snow at Mount Hira* (*Hira no bosetsu*) depicts a sparse scene of a large mountain range covered in snow in the background, with a small group of rocks covered in foliage in the foreground. (See Figure 44) A dark shadow surrounds the mountain range, silhouetting the peaks against the dark sky. This

¹⁸ The omission of the rest of Seta Bridge could imply an association with the previously mentioned historical legend that the bridge had been burnt many times to block advancing troops and to prevent the escape of Akechi Mitsuhide (1528-1582) after Nobunaga's death. Nobutada's poem, mentioning 'the sun setting' over the bridge, which could also imply the same bridge burnings, appears to the right of Soken's image. The calligraphy was written by Sonshō Nyūdō Shinnō (1651-1694).

technique is often used to delineate the mountain from the sky.¹⁹ The small collection of rocks are painted in colour, which contrasts with the black and white background. These rocks balance the composition, as their position and structure are the reversed equivalents of the mountain range in the background. However, their inclusion also contradicts the minimalist approach of the earlier Chinese monk-artists, who generally left the foreground clear of any distractions, thereby emphasising the grand majesty of the mountain range.

Evening Bell at Mii Temple (Mii no banshō) contains a rolling mountain range and numerous buildings, which are shown in a stratified structure; firstly large mountains, then a temple complex and in the foreground a lower village. (See Figure 45) In this way, the image could be a representation of the hierarchy that Japanese society adhered to: at the top of the strata were the gods, which are represented by the vast array of nature, then next, the temple complex represents the religious and political leaders, and lastly the village represents the people of the nation. This image also shows the harmony, tranquility and peace that this structure brings to society. However, the mountains were executed in the opposite technique to those in the *Evening Snow at Mount Hira* image. There the image contains white mountains silhouetted against a dark sky, whereas, here the mountains are dark black ink against a relatively white sky.²⁰ This, perhaps, indicates the divinity of the subject in this image.

¹⁹ Hiroshige also used this technique in his version of *Evening Snow at Mount Hira (Hira no bosetsu)* which will be discussed later.

²⁰ Hiroshige also used this technique in his version of *Evening Bell at Mii Temple (Mii no banshō)*. In Hiroshige's print the darker mountain is set against a light sky, however, the sky is yellow, indicating the sunset or evening time of day.

The fifth scene, *Descending Geese at Katada* (*Katada no rakugan*) depicts a small pavilion at the end of a dock which leads to a small coastal village surrounded by foliage. (See Figure 46) The pavilion is located in the middle-ground and a flock of geese descend above it. In the background, a relatively diluted and faint series of hills and clouds contrast with the tightly composed and detailed middle-ground. In the foreground, the water surface is again marked by water lines, which are swirling around small rocks, reeds and marshes.

The boats which are the titular subject of *Returning Sails at Yabase* (*Yabase no kihan*) are so small that they could be confused for wavelets on the water. (See Figure 47) The middle-ground shows a coastal village by a shoreline, to which the small boats are sailing. However, the focal point of this image is the large densely diluted black ink mountain in the background. There is a white band of mist which cuts into the monolith, at slightly awkward angles, making the mountain seem unbalanced at first glance. Evidently, Soken painted the mountain around where he believed the cloud should be, thereby awkwardly eliminating the substantial form of the mountain. While the scene was not overtly affected by this, it certainly creates a unique view of this subject.

Night Rain at Karasaki (*Karasaki no yau*) depicts a background and middle-ground full of rolling mountain ranges and hillsides, some of which are covered in foliage. (See Figure 48) There is a suggestion of a mountain village in the valley between two of the mountains on the left-hand side of the image. In the foreground, a small building stands alone. A *torii* gateway indicates that this is the Shintô shrine at Karasaki. The Karasaki pine tree stands at the end of the peninsula, withstanding a

large torrent of diagonal rain. The rain is depicted as a series of fine grey lines, similar to those depicted later by Hiroshige in his version of same subject. Furthermore, the wavelets drawn by Soken upon the water also appear in Hiroshige's version, and both artists illustrate the *torii* gateway clearly. Moreover, as both artists incorporate Nobutada's accompanying poetry, certain aspects of the poetic imagery correspond between Yamamoto Soken's *Ômi hakkei emaki* and Hiroshige's *Ômi hakkei* series.

Autumn Moon at Ishiyama (Ishiyama no shûgetsu) contains a small and faint moon in the sky in the background, surrounded by an ink-wash effect of misty clouds. (See Figure 49) The foreground also contains misty clouds, as the middle-ground is the focal subject of the image. The mist and clouds are quite dense and the viewpoint is high, which indicates that the foliage and two buildings depicted are at the top of a vast mountain range. The foliage is mostly green, however, there are slight hints of red leaves, in line with the 'autumn' season of this image. Soken's last image illustrates that despite this series retaining classic characteristics of the ancient Chinese examples, such as the ink-wash effect which creates the series' distinctive misty atmosphere, there are innovative aspects, such as the presence of the moon and expansive foliage-covered rolling hillsides, with obscured temples. These aspects influenced later *ukiyo-e* artists such as Hiroshige in their own versions of this series.

Andô Hiroshige

Although the life of Andô Hiroshige (1797-1858) spans the last years of the Edo period (1603-1867), his work provides one of the most intriguing records of nineteenth century Japanese life, rich in the detailed observation of Japan's physical appearance, of the lives of the Japanese people, as well as their literature, religion and

philosophy. The ‘floating world’ of the *ukiyo-e* prints that Hiroshige created, recorded the city of Edo (modern day Tokyo) and wider Japan before modernisation, urbanisation and westernisation altered its landscape irrevocably. Edo began as a small fishing village, however, when the Tokugawa shogunate chose it as the location of the *bakufu* (shogunal government), the village grew rapidly. In 1721, it was the largest city in the world, with over a million inhabitants. Amongst these were the *chônin* (the class of towns people), who stimulated the development of a vibrant urban culture, which included the woodblock print.²¹

Hiroshige was born in the Yaesugashi district of Edo. From 1758, his father, Andô Genemon, occupied a hereditary official position in the *hikeshi-doshin*, or fire-police in Yaesugashi, in present-day ward of Marunouchi in the Chiyoda district.²² He was not a fireman *per se*, however, but was in charge of a team of fire-watchers and fire-fighters near Edo Castle.²³ They surveyed from the fire-watch towers that punctuated the city and were illustrated in many of Hiroshige’s prints. Although not wealthy, his family would have been proud of their samurai status. Even in limited circumstances, samurai were a class above the general population of artisans, merchants and traders of Edo. Their first duty was to their lords, and therefore their lives, behaviour and

²¹ J. Bicknell, *Hiroshige in Tokyo*, San Francisco, 1994, p. 13.

²² Andô Genemon was the son of Mitsuemon. Mitsuemon was an archery instructor who gave himself the sobriquet Sairyûken. Mitsuemon was the third son of Tanaka Tokumemon, who held a position of considerable importance in the service of the powerful Tsugaru family in Mutsu (present-day Aomori Prefecture). Genemon was adopted by Andô Jûemon and he succeeded his adoptive father as regular fire warden, which carried with a salary rated as annual rations for two persons. Later, Hiroshige actually created a series based on the *Eight Views* at Mutsu (his familial ancestral origin) entitled: *Eight Views of Momogi Station, Adachi in Mutsu Province (Mutsu Adachi Momogi-eki hakkei no zu)*. See I. Oka, *Hiroshige: Japan’s Great Landscape Artist*, Tokyo, New York & London, 1992, p. 69.

²³ In 1823, when Hiroshige was twenty-six, he resigned from his job as fire warden and handed the hereditary position over to his son Nakajirô. From this time onwards, Hiroshige focused solely upon his artistic career. See Oka, p. 74.

attitudes were ordered by a strict code of honor handed down hereditarily, that governed much of their every day life.²⁴

Education

Hiroshige was known by many names throughout his life. A family document drawn up in 1866 stated that his first name was Tokutarô. Later, he also bore the names Jûemon and Tokubei. He assumed the name Jûemon himself at the age of thirteen, shortly after his parents' deaths and had taken on the responsibility of caring for his family. Hiroshige had displayed an inclination towards art at an early age and his father arranged for him to have lessons with an amateur painter Okajima Rinsai (1791-1865). Rinsai painted in the Southern School style of painting that the Kanô School emulated.²⁵ However, as the Kanô School's artists were professionals, they contrasted with ideal Southern School artists who were considered amateurs. The Kanô School espoused the eloquent expression and subliminal qualities of the monochrome technique after which the Chinese model naturally tended.²⁶ As the *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* was a popular subject in Southern School painting and thereafter in the Kanô School, it is quite probable that Rinsai first introduced Hiroshige to the subject of the *Eight Views*.

Rinsai also taught Hiroshige the informal Japanese version of the Southern School, known as *Nanga*, which was adopted and adapted in Japan in the eighteenth century. In addition, he learned the realistic techniques of drawing from life espoused by the Shijô School of Kyoto. Hiroshige's early landscape prints suggest that he also studied

²⁴ Samurai literally means 'one who serves' and they lived by elaborate social and military codes called *bushi-dô*, literally 'the way of the warrior'.

²⁵ M. Forrer (ed.), *Hiroshige: Prints and Drawings*, Munich & New York, 1997, p. 12.

²⁶ W. von Seidlitz, *A History of Japanese Colour-Prints*, London, 1920, pp. 39-40.

uki-e ('perspective print'), Japanese pictures which adapted Western perspective. These *uki-e* usually represented interior scenes or exteriors of buildings in order to maximize the visual effect of the receding lines.²⁷ Although initially, Western perspective was widely seen as a novelty, various aspects of the theory were adopted by many *ukiyo-e* artists, such as Hiroshige.²⁸ He used it with freedom and defied established principles by depicting illusions of distance, casting shadows and reflections in water.

According to an early biography by Iijima Kyôshin,²⁹ Hiroshige's *go* (art name or pseudonym) was Utagawa Hiroshige which indicates that he trained under Utagawa Toyohiro (c. 1763-1828) in print design. Later, his prints included another name, Ichiyûsai, which he selected once his training was complete. When his teacher, Toyohiro, died, Hiroshige altered his name slightly to Ichiryûsai Hiroshige. Over time, he became known as Andô Hiroshige, as Andô was his family name. Despite being technically correct, he never used these names in conjunction himself.³⁰

Hiroshige retained a strong consciousness of his samurai status, as indicated by his request, three days before he died, that his funeral be in 'samurai style'. The common misconception remains that Hiroshige was representative of a native Japanese popular

²⁷ S. Thompson, "The World of Japanese Prints" in *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin*, Philadelphia, 1986, p. 40.

²⁸ T. Kobayashi, *Ukiyo-e: An Introduction to Japanese Woodblock Prints*, Tokyo, New York & London, 1997, p. 78.

²⁹ Early Japanese research on the Hiroshige began with the work of Iijima Kyôshin (Hanjirô), who, in 1894, published a number of biographical articles on Hiroshige and other artists of the Utagawa School. What is still regarded as the standard work on Hiroshige is Suzuki Jûzô's study, *Utagawa Hiroshige*, which was published by the *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* in 1970. See Forrer, p. 27.

³⁰ Therefore, for brevity and consistency, from hence forth, I shall refer to him as Hiroshige alone, a name that he used continually during his artistic career, despite alternating preceding names.

culture set apart from the ‘haughty’ samurai aristocracy and its Chinese values.³¹ On the contrary, Hiroshige was an expert in the Chinese learning that was basic to samurai education as well as in the refined pursuits of painting and poetry in both the Chinese and Japanese manner. Samurai were educated in ‘the arts of peace and war’ (*bun* and *bu*) deemed necessary for wise and strong leadership.³²

Like many samurai, Hiroshige was underemployed and underpaid. Samurai duties were usually nominal and they earned a salary equivalent in rice that was barely enough to maintain a family. Therefore, he sought additional employment. It was generally rather demeaning for a samurai to take paid employment, but in Hiroshige’s time it was not unusual, and employment in literature or the arts was more or less acceptable.³³ His lifestyle was quite similar to the countless skilled artisans who made up the majority of commoner Edo. It was within this hybrid zone of artisan and samurai that Hiroshige was able to create an art that was at once elevated above and deeply rooted in popular culture, both poetic and adept at craft technique. Hiroshige illustrates this dichotomy in his artwork, as he paints with the skill and talent of an educated disposition, yet his subjects did not reflect an upper class person, as he primarily depicts humble people: the peasants in the field, commoners in the streets, and the events of the city and country, urban and rural.

In comparison to general *ukiyo-e*, Hiroshige’s scenes display the location as the focal point of the image, oftentimes overshadowing the human interest which was the common subject of the woodblock print. While most original *ukiyo-e* prints reflected

³¹ Mary Fenollosa’s claims advanced this misconception. She proclaimed that *ukiyo-e* was an art of the Japanese people, liberated from the art of the aristocracy and that Hiroshige was its main proponent. See M. M. Fenollosa, *Hiroshige: The Artist of Mist, Snow and Rain*, San Francisco, 1901.

³² Hartley, p. 9.

³³ Bicknell, p. 45.

the changing fashions in hair, dress, customs and manners of stylish people, Hiroshige depicted more the changing phases of nature varying with the seasons and atmospheric conditions.³⁴ In accordance with this, Hiroshige's landscapes almost never depict scenery alone. Instead, he includes a road, village or temple filled with people. While some of these people are travelers, others appear as the locals of the region. These people serve as cultural representatives of local customs and manners. Hiroshige sketched people of the different localities, showing each one in an activity or attitude appropriate to that place.³⁵

After his older contemporary Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849) created entire series of landscape prints, the natural world became Hiroshige's primary subject. Once he began to focus on designing landscape prints (*fûkeiga*), his skills and career progressed markedly. The *ukiyo-e* genre of landscape prints was originally founded by Utagawa Toyoharu (1735-1814),³⁶ and was enriched by the highly original style and vision of Hokusai. The genre took its themes from important, historic and beautiful locations of seventeenth and eighteenth century Edo and scenic views of Japan's famous roads and provincial regions. Hiroshige mastered traditional aesthetics, and imbued them with a poetic, lyrical narrative. He portrayed the ever-shifting atmosphere of the Japanese seasons and depicted natural phenomena such as wind, rain, clouds and mist.³⁷

³⁴ J. Harada, *Hiroshige*, London, 1929, pp. 4-5.

³⁵ Oka, p. 77.

³⁶ Utagawa Toyoharu was the founder of the Utagawa School and his pupils included Utagawa Toyokuni (1769-1825) and Utagawa Toyohiro (1773-1828); Hiroshige attempted to study under Toyokuni, who, however, could not accommodate another student, therefore, Hiroshige became Toyohiro's pupil. Toyohiro was not inferior to Toyokuni in overall skill, but his elegant and refined portraits of beautiful women were obscured by the more ostentatious style of Toyokuni. See Oka, pp. 71-72. For an in-depth analysis of the history of *ukiyo-e* and the printmaking production process, see Appendix II.

³⁷ J. Suzuki, "Some Observations on Hiroshige" in Forrer, pp. 28-29.

Atmospheric Techniques

Hiroshige often employed a special technique of subtle tonal gradation (*bokashi*) to achieve atmospheric effects such as mist, clouds, fog and rain in his prints which was especially important to the *Eight Views* given its prevalent themes of water and moisture. *Bokashi* was used first in 1774 by Toriyama Sekien (1712-1788) in the *Sekien gafu* (*Sekien Painting-style*).³⁸ To achieve a *bokashi* effect, the printer would partially absorb some of the pigment after it had been applied to the woodblock, creating a stratified, gradated progression. He could also use brushes with varying colour intensity and moisture level to create a *bokashi* effect. Another form of *bokashi* is called *fuki-bokashi* or ‘blowing-shading’, where pigment was blown onto early hand-coloured prints through a small tube, while masking the areas to be left uncoloured. This technique was also referred to as *fuki-e*, literally meaning ‘blown picture’. *Bokashi* was often utilized in areas of sky or water to convey radiating sunsets, fog over harbours and rain-soaked vistas.

Patience and skill were essential when executing *bokashi* in printmaking. For example, if the sky was to become a progressively lighter blue towards a horizon line which was pierced by the sails of boats, the boats were drawn in ink on the blue colour block in order for the printer to see how far down to apply the ink. Hiroshige also incorporated the technique of *bokashi* in his use of light, for example, to capture the effect of light momentarily reflected in water. He was highly skilled at conveying a sense of volume without the use of shading. The *bokashi* technique increased the sense of depth and recession in a print, which was vital to many designs, particularly

³⁸ Forrer, p. 24.

those of Hiroshige, with their delicate skies and illusions of distance.³⁹ Through employing techniques such as *bokashi* Hiroshige could emulate the mistiness of the ancient Chinese, Korean and earlier Japanese ink painting examples of the *Eight Views*.

Throughout Hiroshige's attempts to incorporate tonal gradations in printmaking, it is as though he was attempting to 'paint' a print. Painting gradations of tone are infinitely easier to achieve. However, as Hiroshige has shown, it is not impossible to print convincing gradated tones either. Moreover, as he frequently incorporated the grain of the woodblock in the final print, employing the *itame-mokuhan* ('imitation woodgrain') technique, he drew attention to this ability to transcend woodcut in images that approached the subtle nuances of the painting world. Indeed, as David Bell stated: "*Sumi* [ink] wash painting has its equivalent in *ukiyo-e* prints in the development of the *bokashi* method for tonal gradation and colour change."⁴⁰ Bell's statement reinforces the connection between painting and printing, and more specifically, draws parallels between the ink-wash aesthetic of *yūgen* and the *bokashi* technique. The pervasive atmosphere of the *Eight Views* is a mist-laden, cloud-concealed and aqueous riverscape. Through his use of *bokashi*, Hiroshige emulated the early monochrome painting aesthetics.

Furthermore, Hiroshige also challenged the limitations of painting, as his prints could be reproduced *en masse* thereby enabling many more people to enjoy his art. Original copies of his art were widely available, whereas original paintings at this time were primarily only seen in temples and shrines, or private collections such as those of the

³⁹ Hartley, pp. 19-21.

⁴⁰ D. Bell, *Ukiyo-e Explained*, Folkestone, 2004, p. 112.

shoguns. Hiroshige's landscapes were produced almost entirely in multiple sets, most commonly of eight, ten and twelve, with some of the best known numbering many more.⁴¹ In this way, he adopted the Chinese custom of arranging objects in definite categories of fixed numbers; a tradition which had spread throughout East Asia.

Hiroshige's *Eight Views of Ômi* (*Ômi hakkei no uchi*)

Hiroshige was not the first *ukiyo-e* artist to complete a series on the *Eight Views of Ômi*. The earliest known examples of woodblock prints on this subject were created by an anonymous artist in the late seventeenth century.⁴² However, one of the earliest known *ukiyo-e* artists was Nishimura Shigenaga (c. 1697-1756), who created four different series of prints on the Ômi subject. The genre became more common in prints during the early eighteenth century. These often bore the same or similar accompanying poems composed by Nobutada. By the end of the eighteenth century such series of *Eight Views of Ômi* were often displayed in the street in 'optical viewers' that were fitted with a special lens to produce an illusion of depth.⁴³ Thus, by the early years of the nineteenth century, when Hiroshige began his career, the subject was familiar to a large section of the public.⁴⁴

As previously stated, Ômi Province was chosen by Konoe Masaie as the first location of the Japanese adaptation of the *Eight Views*. He chose Ômi because the setting of the water and mountains around Lake Biwa provided points of similarity with the

⁴¹ Hiroshige created many large series including: *Fifty-Three Stations of the Tôkaidô Road*, *Views of the Sixty-odd Provinces*, and *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*.

⁴² Forrer, p. 19.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 19.

⁴⁴ By the nineteenth century, the *Eight Views* subject was also adapted to other locations throughout in Japan such as Edo, Shiba, Sumidagawa and Kanazawa. However, the *Eight Views of Ômi* was the first adapted location and it best illustrates the continuation of ideas and theories discussed in the first and second chapters, which is why this thesis focuses specifically upon this series.

original Chinese location of the Xiao and Xiang rivers and Lake Dongting, but also because Lake Biwa was one of the most important icons of the Japanese landscape.⁴⁵ Moreover, Lake Biwa and the surrounding Province of Ômi are saturated with historical, legendary and literary associations. For example, according to the Japanese legend of geological creation, in the year 286 B.C.E. the earth opened in Ômi and Lake Biwa, sixty miles long and nearly twenty miles broad, was formed in the shape of a *biwa*, or four-stringed lute, after which it was named. At the same time, to compensate for this depression in the earth, Mount Fuji was created to stabilize the balance of the topography.⁴⁶

Furthermore, much literature is associated with the Ômi region. At the Ishiyama Temple, Murasaki Shikibu (c. 978-c. 1014) composed her renowned *Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari*). Additionally, the *Tale of Heike* (*Heike monogatari*),⁴⁷ based upon military history, records in 1184, the ‘Rising Sun General’, Minamoto no Yoshinaka (also known as Kiso Yoshinaka, 1154-1184), died in battle against the troops of his cousin Minamoto no Yoshitsune (1159-1189) at Awazu. Moreover, Japanese legend, *My Lord Bag of Rice* (*Tawara Tôda*) narrates that warrior Fujiwara no Hidesato (tenth century) defeated a giant centipede on Seta Bridge to save the Japanese ‘dragon princess’.⁴⁸ According to Robinson, whilst viewing Hiroshige’s interpretations of the lakeside scenery in the *Eight Views of Ômi* series, there is a sense of his appreciation

⁴⁵ Hartley, p. 116.

⁴⁶ B. Stewart, *Subjects Portrayed in Japanese Colour-prints*, London, 1922, pp. 142-144.

⁴⁷ The author of the *Tale of Heike* is unknown. The monk Yoshida Kenkô (1282-1350) suggests an author in his work, *Essays in Idleness* (*Tsurezuregusa*), written in 1330. According to Kenkô, “Yukinaga wrote *Heike monogatari* and taught a blind priest named Seibutsu to recite it”. See Y. Kenkô, *Essays in Idleness*, Cosimo Inc., New York, 2005, p. 91. One of the key aspects of Kenkô’s theory is that the book was written in a difficult combination of Chinese and Japanese (*wakan konkô shô*), which was only mastered by educated monks, such as Yukinaga. However, as the tale is the result of a historical oral tradition of reciting military tales, there is no single true author; Yukinaga could have been the first to compile this masterpiece into a written form.

⁴⁸ Y. T. Ozaki, *Japanese Fairy Tales*, Whitefish, 2004, pp. 3-8.

of the landscape itself and also a deep knowledge of literature and underlying recognition of the historical events that occurred at this location in the past.⁴⁹

The entire series of the *Eight Views of Ōmi* were based upon sketches made on Hiroshige's journey along the Tōkaidō Road in 1832.⁵⁰ Although several compositions were also inspired by the *Famous Views of the Tōkaidō* (*Tōkaidō meisho zue*), which was published in 1798 with illustrations by Katsukawa Shunsen (1762-1830), Tosa no Kami Mitsusada (1738-1806), Keisai Masayoshi (1764-1824), and other artists.⁵¹ Indeed, many of the places shown by Hiroshige were the 'famous places' (*meisho*) of Japan, namely famous locations known through history, poetry and literature.⁵² Early Japanese landscape artists focused upon rendering recognizable characteristics, rather than reproducing the places themselves. For that reason, it was not necessary for them to actually see the sites that they would draw, for it was not the geographic reality of a place that concerned the artist. *Ukiyo-e* artists were among the first to break with this tradition of conventionalized and symbolic portrayals of unseen famous places.⁵³ However, as Hiroshige did not always depict nature exactly, he compares in some sense to the early Chinese monastery-bound monk-artists who did not visit the place they depicted either. These monk-artists imagined the scene they were depicting, guided by poetry, literature and earlier artworks.

As traveling in colder weather was unpleasant and difficult, Hiroshige sketched primarily in the summer. Therefore, he employed his imagination to alter the climate

⁴⁹ B. W. Robinson, *Hiroshige*, London, 1964, p. 12.

⁵⁰ A. Newland & C. Uhlenbeck (eds.), *Ukiyo-e to Shinhanga*, Leicester, c.1990, p. 166.

⁵¹ Hartley, p. 108.

⁵² *Meisho* were actually a Chinese-derived tradition that was adopted into Japan, not unlike the *Eight Views* itself. See Bicknell, p. 107.

⁵³ Hartley, p. 108.

and season in his prints for variation and in order to enhance the atmospheric effect of the prints.⁵⁴ For example, as noted, Hiroshige sketched scenes along the Tōkaidō Road in August, 1832.⁵⁵ He was appointed by the *bakufu* to accompany the annual procession to Kyoto to gift horses to the emperor, in celebration of the rice harvest. Although the journey was made in late summer, he varied the seasons and weather when he designed the prints.⁵⁶ Later in his career, Hiroshige designed an *Eight Views* set based entirely in the winter season. He imagined Edo, referred to in this series as the *Eastern Metropolis* entirely covered in snow. This series is a reminder of the earlier examples by the Chinese monochrome ink painter, Muqi, whose scenes are monochromatic and the spatial delineations are unidentifiable as the sky merges almost uninterrupted with the snow-covered land. Hiroshige's *Eight Views of Snow in the Eastern Metropolis* (*Tōto yukimi hakkei no uchi*) contains broad expanses of uninterrupted landscape in an almost monochromatic style, as the snow creates a unified neutral palette.

As his designs were made after the sketches, some alterations may have occurred during the final execution. The sketches were completed hurriedly and rapidly, in a manner comparable to the fluid brushstrokes of the early monochrome ink paintings of China. Therefore, aspects of the early Chinese series become evident in the *ukiyo-e* series, despite the change in medium. Furthermore, Hiroshige incorporated the original poetic spirit into his designs, aesthetically and visually, as each print bore an

⁵⁴ I. Kondo (ed.), *The Fifty-three Stages of the Tōkaidō by Hiroshige*, Tokyo, 1960, p. 7.

⁵⁵ H. P. Stern, *Master Prints of Japan*, New York, 1969, p. 280.

⁵⁶ Another example, in Hiroshige's *Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō Road* (*Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi no uchi*), the fortieth station at Chiryū depicts a local horse auction. This horse auction was no longer held by the time Hiroshige was composing his prints and even when it was held in the past, it ran from March twenty-fifth for only ten days. This suggests that Hiroshige did not actually see it, as his journey occurred in August. See T. Tokuriki, *Tōkaidō: Hiroshige*, Osaka, 1976, p. 69.

accompanying poem and the original poetic titles were retained, although adapted to complement the new Japanese location.⁵⁷

There are many editions of the *Eight Views of Ōmi* series by Hiroshige, as it was very popular. The earliest extant set was printed in 1830 and was published by Kawashō (Eisendō) and Hoeidō (Takeuchi). (See Figures 50-57) Another version was published in 1834 by Eikyūdō.⁵⁸ (See Figures 58-65) According to Newland and Uhlenbeck, Hiroshige produced at least twenty-five *Eight Views of Ōmi* sets during his career,⁵⁹ nevertheless, the 1830 and 1834 versions are the most popular and contain the examples that this study will focus upon.

Night Rain at Karasaki serves as a useful exemplar of the continuation of many aesthetic, poetic and visual elements as it contains characteristics reminiscent of the previously mentioned Chinese, Korean and Japanese painted *Eight Views* examples. (See Figure 51) The subject of this print is the legendary pine, which almost fills the whole pictorial space. The tree, situated in the precincts of the Karasaki shrine, stands on a promontory in Lake Biwa, north-west of the town of Ōtsu.⁶⁰ It was so large that

⁵⁷ The series' subtitles are: *Evening Snow on Mount Hira* (*Hira no bosetsu*), *Night Rain on Karasaki* (*Karasaki no yau*), *Autumn Moon on Ishiyama* (*Ishiyama no shūgetsu*), *Evening Bell at Mii Temple* (*Mii no banshō*), *Returning Sails at Yabase* (*Yabase no kihan*), *Descending Geese at Katada* (*Katada no rakugan*), *Evening Glow at Seta* (*Seta no sekisho*) and *Clearing Weather at Awazu* (*Awazu no seiran*).

⁵⁸ Occasionally, the publishers name is incorrectly given as Eisendō, however, the second character in the seal clearly reads *kyū* and not *sen*. As both publishers were employed by Hiroshige, the confusion is warranted. See Stern, p. 280.

⁵⁹ Newland & Uhlenbeck, p. 166.

⁶⁰ Richard Gordon Smith (1858-1918), an English animal hunter who traveled abroad extensively, recounted the legend of the pine tree at Karasaki in his journal. On Thursday September 20th 1906 in Kobe, he states: "...I started off to see, for the first time, the great pine of Karasaki or *Karasaki-no-matsu*... quite an impressive one, in fact, the most impressive pine tree I have ever seen. But, like Niagara Falls, it is a thing for study because, at first, it is difficult to imagine it being one tree owing to the vast number of [wooden] supports -- 380. Its height is nothing; here are the particulars: height 72 feet; circumference of trunk 37 feet; widest extension of branches, east to west, 240 feet, and from north to south, 288 feet. It is the 'father' of all Japan's dwarf mushroom-shaped trees. Botanically *Pinus thunbergii* [Japanese Black Pine], it dates from the reign of Emperor Jomei (629-641), in which

its great limbs had to be supported on stakes, some of which can be seen in the print. However, the tree is almost completely is obscured by the oppressive and almost perpendicular downpour of vertical rain. Therefore, the weather, as much as the tree, is the subject of this print, as the heavy rain, clouds and mist envelop the scene.⁶¹

In many editions of this print, the tree is merely a silhouette against a dark grey cloud in the background and thick, dark lines of intense vertical rain in the foreground.

Initially, Hiroshige limited his colours to grey and black, which enhanced the somberness of the scene. This is the most common reproduction of this image.

Nevertheless, there are versions where the colour of the tree was altered; in the early 1830 edition, the tree appears black, in the 1834 version, the tree appears green. (See Figures 51& 59) Despite the tree colour changing, in all versions the rain is represented by vertical black lines and the accompanying mist is represented by large grey and black areas in the background. In some editions, such as the 1830 and 1834 editions, a distant cone of Mount Fuji can be seen faintly, however, it is often omitted by printers in later editions, perhaps since Mount Fuji cannot actually be seen from Lake Biwa. Slight hints at the presence of people are given by the masts of a few moored boats, flags and the tops of houses in the near distance, yet they are all partly obscured by the heavy fog and heavy lines of rain. In this way, the view mirrors the techniques employed in monochrome ink-wash of the early Chinese paintings.⁶²

period Ushinaro Koto-no-natachi [seventh century] planted it in the courtyard of his residence at Karasaki, and called it *Nokiba-no-matsu* (the pine tree growing by the eaves of the house)...” See R. G. Smith, *Travels in the Land of the Gods (1898-1907), The Japanese Diaries of Richard Gordon Smith*, New York, 1986, pp. 206-207.

⁶¹ Precipitation is five times greater in Japan than in Europe or America, therefore, rain is characteristic of the atmosphere and scenery, hence landscape artists reflect this regularly in their works. See Bicknell, p. 73.

⁶² Oka, p. 78.

Hiroshige frequently amalgamates rain with night scenery, two rather difficult aspects to render in any type of visual art, especially woodblock prints.⁶³ More than half of the *Eight Views* namely *Evening Bell*, *Night Rain*, *Evening Glow*, *Autumn Moon* and *Evening Snow* occur in the evening or at night. While it might be easier for a painter to depict an evening scene, by employing tonal varieties of greys to delineate objects, printing a night scene is quite different. The printer must be skilled in mixing pigments, ensuring that the black ink will not obscure the scene. The printer must also ensure that the *bokashi* technique is effectively gradating the tones. If the night scene is too dark, the subject becomes indiscernible, and the print will be discarded.

Hiroshige's *Night Rain at Karasaki* also continues the poetic tradition of the *Eight Views* theme. The 1830 version contains an accompanying verse, based upon Nobutada's original poetry, which reads: "... of the evening breeze that has made the pine of Karasaki famous; the voice of the wind is not heard through the sound of the rain in the night."⁶⁴ The 1834 edition included a cartouche in the upper left hand corner, containing Nobutada's original poem:

Yoru no ame ni

oto o yuzurite

yûkaze o

yoru no natatsuru

Karasaki no matsu

Yielding to the sound in the evening rain

and drawing near to the evening wind,

he grows famous:

⁶³ Bicknell, p. 73.

⁶⁴ Stewart, p. 143.

the pine tree of Karasaki.⁶⁵

There are two subjects of this poem and this print, namely the weather and the tree. Accordingly, the poem is split in half, as two lines refer to the atmosphere and two lines refer to the tree. The image is similarly divided, for although the tree almost fills the pictorial space, the rain clouds obscure the image, both aspects are thus equal. The tree is personified in this poem, ‘yielding’ and ‘drawing near’ against the wild weather. Despite the tough climate conditions, the tree survives. This compares to the fundamental characteristics of the *Eight Views* which remain throughout the adaptations in different countries, mediums and styles. Furthermore, the survival of the lone pine could be compared with the exiled officials who ‘weathered’ their unjust fate in reclusivity.

The printing technique of *bokashi* is employed extensively in *Night Rain at Karasaki* and also varies in different editions. Often, *bokashi* is printed in black from the top, extending to the right-hand branches of the pine tree. This emphasises the size of the tree, while retaining a fair amount of detail in the low offshoots of the grey branches. The reverse, when the black *bokashi* extends upwards from the lower part of the tree, enhances the effect of rain, making the crest of the tree only dimly visible. There are also editions where the *bokashi* extends from the crest of the tree to the left or along the contour of the tree on both sides, producing a light-coloured pyramid in the centre.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Forrer, p. 150. Another translation of this poem appears in Harada, p. 5:

The wind of the evening
Surrenders its sound
To the night rain
And the pine of Karasaki grows in fame.

⁶⁶ Forrer, p. 150.

The earliest extant series of Hiroshige's *Eight Views of Ōmi*, printed in 1830, was advertised as “ink with light colour washes”⁶⁷ and Hiroshige himself described this series as “a series of pictures done in muted colours in the style of the old monochromes”.⁶⁸ Therefore, according to Hiroshige himself the monochromatic treatment of *Night Rain at Karasaki* and the extensive use of *sumi* ink throughout the series, such as the shore in the foreground of *Returning Sails at Yabase*, was intentional. With earlier faint ink washes as his model, he created a unity of tone in his prints.

Moving beyond *Night Rain at Karasaki*, *Evening Snow on Mount Hira* (*Hira no bosetsu*) depicts the mountain situated on the northern side of Lake Biwa. Mount Hira is actually the name of a chain of mountains, the tallest of which is over a thousand metres high. The impressive snow landscape is created by the combination of black, white, grey and blue hues. Mountain valleys are delineated with dark strokes of ink arranged in chevronic contours. The trees situated along the riverbank and the lower foothills of the mountain were delineated by short and slender wisps of ink. White pigment engulfs these delicate lines of trees, outlining the foliage and buildings. The white outline exposes the limits of woodblock printing and creates an unrealistic area of white contour surrounding natural and man-made objects. This image also contains the subtle use of *bokashi*, which alters slightly from the 1830 and 1834 editions. In the 1830 edition, the gradation extends downwards from the sky to indicate that night is falling, whereas in the 1834 version, the *bokashi* extends upwards to emphasise the darkness in the valleys.⁶⁹ (See Figures 50 & 58) The only colour present in both

⁶⁷ Hiroshige quoted in Forrer, p. 19.

⁶⁸ Oka, p. 78.

⁶⁹ The latter 1834 version corresponds to Hiroshige's instructions, which survived on one carved test block. In some impressions Mount Hira disappears in a mist far from the border of the print and there

versions is the blue of the lake. This area creates vibrancy in the scene and interrupts the monotony of black, white and grey tones which encompass the remainder of the image. The blue area in the 1834 version is much more convincing in spatial terms than the 1830 version, where the blue seems as if it is an entity unto itself, disassociated from its surroundings.

Evening Snow on Mount Hira also incorporates the following accompanying verse, which remained loyal to Nobutada's original verse:

Yuki haruru

Hira no takane no

Yugare wa

Hana no sakari ni

Suguru koro kana

When it clears after snowfall,

The tops of Mount Hira

At dusk surely surpass

The beauty of cherry trees in bloom.⁷⁰

This poem clearly compares 'the beauty of cherry trees in bloom' with the snow-capped peaks of Mount Hira at dusk in clear weather. Both cherry trees and snow are transient aspects of nature. The cherry tree wilts and the snow melts, therefore their beauty is ephemeral. Yet in their temporary existence, their beauty is unparalleled. This can also be compared to the 'Floating World' of fleeting fashions and beauties of which the woodblock print medium displays the transitory world of the Edo period.

are also impressions where the whole mountain is omitted entirely. That was not Hiroshige's original intention, as evidenced by the extant carved test block.

⁷⁰ Forrer, p. 152.

Similar to *Evening Snow on Mount Hira*, *Autumn Moon at Ishiyama* (*Ishiyama no shûgetsu*) portrays a landscape transformed into an array of grey tones. Seta Bridge is silhouetted against the reflection of the autumnal full moon in Lake Biwa, and Mount Hira sits upon the horizon. The cartouche contains Nobutada's poem that reads:

Ishiyama ya

Niho no umi teru

Tsukikage wa

Akashi no Suma mo

Hoka naranu kawa

At Ishiyama,

the moon

casting light on Lake Niho

is no less than

at Suma and Akashi.⁷¹

This poem and image retain many cultural and literary associations. Lake Niho is another name for Lake Biwa, used in classical poetry, which reinforces the relation between the *Eight Views of Ômi* and ancient verse. The poet is attesting that the scene of a full moon and the lake is no less beautiful than the same scene at Suma and Akashi. The village of Suma is famous for its beautiful setting at the Strait of Akashi in Setsu Province. Here, Nobutada is comparing beautiful locations, and therefore is comparing famous places (*meisho*).

The Province of Ômi is also important in the *Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari*). First, Murasaki Shikibu wrote the novel at the Ishiyama Temple, and second the plot of the

⁷¹ Forrer, p. 146.

Tale of Genji is alluded to in this poem. After Genji's clandestine affairs are exposed, he is exiled to an isolated village called Suma, where he meets a prosperous man from Akashi, and pursues his daughter. Therefore the references to both 'Suma and Akashi' in the poem evokes this story. Furthermore, Genji does visit Ishiyama Temple and Lake Biwa after his exile has been reevaluated and he was made a minister at court, which further reinforces the connection between Ômi and the *Tale of Genji*.

Although colours vary between Hiroshige's editions, early editions, such as those of 1830 and 1834, contain mountains in three shades of grey and a hint of yellow in the vast blue sky. (See Figures 52 & 60) In the 1834 edition, areas of brown were added to the mountain, thereby creating a mottled effect. All of Hiroshige's versions of the *Autumn Moon at Ishiyama* offer a fine view of Seta Bridge but even though the moon is full, there is no reflection in the water. This omission contrasts with the original subject, for the reflection of the moon upon the water is a constant characteristic of the *Autumn Moon* scene, and without it, the image seems unbalanced and missing part of the poetic sentiment. However, as previously mentioned, some early Chinese monk-artists such as Muqi did not include the moon in the sky, only depicting the reflection of the moon in the water. The opposite occurs here, where the moon has been depicted in the sky, however, as it casts no reflection, it deviates from the earlier effect. Perhaps, Hiroshige reversed an earlier characteristic to reinforce the Japanese location of these scenes. The sun and the moon are important aspects of Japanese culture. Japan's legend of creation states that Japan and its people descended from the first divine beings, Izanami-no-Mikoto ('Exalted Female') and Izanagi-no-Mikoto ('Exalted Male'). Izanagi bore the Sun Goddess Amateratsu Omikami from his left eye and the Moon God Tsukuyomi-no-kami from his right eye. Hence, in Japan, the

Emperor is associated with the moon and the Empress is associated with the sun. Furthermore, moon-viewing platforms (*tsukimidai*) were popular as a cultural pastime from the Heian period onwards. Therefore, as the moon was a treasured aspect of Japanese culture, perhaps Hiroshige desired to reinforce this by delineating the moon prominently in his prints.

Evening Bell at Mii Temple (Miidera no banshō) depicts the Mii Temple, hidden among the hills of the southern side of Lake Biwa. This was a temple of the Tendai sect, founded in 858, to the northwest of the city of Ōtsu. It played an important political role from the tenth to seventeenth century. It was burnt down on seven occasions and the present building dates from 1690.⁷² The 1830 print illustrates the sunset, with imminent evening indicated by a dark band of *bokashi* at the top of the print. This recedes into the pale yellow sky surrounding the setting sun. The cartouche in the upper right-hand corner contains a slightly altered version of Nobutada's original poetic intention:

Omou sono

akatsuki shigiru

hajime soto

mazu kiku Mii no

iriai no kane

I think that dawn has made a vow

to wait first outside

until it has heard

⁷² W. T. De Barry, G. Tanabe, D. Keene & P. Varley, *Sources of Japanese Tradition: From Earliest Times to 1600*, edition 2, vol. 1, New York, 2001, pp. 178-179.

the evening bell of Mii Temple.⁷³

This poem implies that the temple bell has an extraordinary power over the natural world. This may signify the awakening of the populace and their religious enlightenment. The print represents this poetic imagery well, as the sun is setting signaling the end of the day. Furthermore, the poem could also suggest the idea of exile, where the unjustly exiled official waits until his fortunes lighten and he is welcomed back to court. They would be waiting for the balance of the natural and spiritual world to favour him once again. Hence, he might use religious devotion, such as visiting the Mii Temple, and abide by the natural tenets, such as waiting for dawn, until his situation improved.

Evening Bell at Mii Temple was published by Takenouchi Magohachi (Hôeidô) and Yamamoto Keikichi (Eikyûdô). The earliest 1830 edition contains a range of soft greens and browns with a yellow sky, whereas the 1834 version is predominantly grey. The former, more colourful 1830 version is more successful than the grey version, as it captures the mood of evening, most notably in the yellow sky and the orange and red striations in the setting sun. The panorama of primarily grey tones of the 1834 version conveys an enveloping sense of darkness, which deviates from the usual aesthetic, as illustrated in the 1830 version. (See Figures 53 & 61)

Returning Sails at Yabase (Yabase no kihan) illustrates a view of Lake Biwa from the town of Yabase to the south-west of Lake Biwa. The 1830 version contains two mountain ranges in the background; one is a silhouetted outline coloured entirely in blue, whereas the larger mountain is primarily white with a dark peak, indicating

⁷³ Forrer, p. 144.

where the mountain ends. Without the black peak, the mountain would fade into the clouds surrounding it. Several scattered *Returning Sails* punctuate the horizon.

Nobutada's accompanying poem reads:

Maho kakete

Yabase ni kaeru

fune wa ima

Uchide-no-hama o

ato no oikaze

The boats running back to Yabase

with full sails

even now leave the shore at Uchide

blown by a fair wind.⁷⁴

Returning Sails at Yabase's design depends on the skills of the printer for a successful execution. There are variants, such as the 1830 edition, which included limited colour in the water, only pale shades of blue in the foreground and on the horizon and a light band of grey in the middle-ground. In the 1834 impression, the water is primarily blue, interrupted only to emphasise the grey tones within it. (See Figures 54 & 62) The willows in the foreground coastline form a marked contrast in impressions in which the water is lighter in colour. Hiroshige employed the *bokashi* technique extensively in this print. In both editions, the sky fades from an orange to a light yellow, the water recedes from white, grey, through the spectrum of blues until the water meets the dark blue mountain range in the background. Even the larger mountain contains *bokashi*, where white diminishes into black at the top. Overall, this

⁷⁴ Forrer, p. 157.

version of the print is harmonious as its elements are compositionally balanced and the colour effects suit the scene.

Descending Geese at Katada (*Katada no rakugan*) depicts Katada on the south-west shore of Lake Biwa, at the foothills of Mount Hira. A small auxiliary temple built upon the lake, known as the Ukimidô, was a favourite residence of Buddhist sages. The Ukimidô was built by the sculptor-priest Eshin Sôzu (942-1017)⁷⁵ during the Chôtoku period (995-999) to pray for safety on the lake and the welfare of the people.⁷⁶ The Ukimidô was part of the larger temple, Mangetsuji, which was dedicated to the Kannon. The cartouche in the upper left-hand corner again contains Nobutada's original verse:

Mine amata

koete Koshiji ni

yotsu chikaki

Katada ni nabiki

otsuru karigane

Flying across numerous peaks

and getting really close to Koshiji,

Yet, the wild geese cannot resist

descending at Katada.⁷⁷

Again, like the early poems, this verse could be tracing an analogy between the wild geese's descent and exile or recluses. Despite the geese having the ultimate goal of reaching Koshiji, they descended at Katada. This could parallel the exiled official's wish to return to court, yet they cannot return from exile. Furthermore, as Katada is

⁷⁵ G. C. Pier, *Temple Treasures of Japan*, Charleston, 2008, p. 317.

⁷⁶ Robinson, p. 12.

⁷⁷ Forrer, p. 154.

the location of the previously mentioned Mangetsuji and Ukimidô, this location reinforces the importance of Buddhist beliefs. Therefore the meaning of this poem could imply that the geese, as a metaphor for exiles or recluses, should retain their faith and hope that their fortunes improve.

There are two versions of *Descending Geese at Katada*: the earlier 1830 edition displays a much larger spectrum of colours than the later 1834 version. The 1830 version contains a red sky, blue water and grey mountains, whereas the 1834 version contains a limited palette of blue and grey. The colour spectrum is the only feature that differentiates these editions, as the composition and the subjects remain the same. While the 1830 edition is slightly more detailed, the 1834 impression's limited colour scale is more in accordance with the original Chinese monochrome ink paintings, and seems more successful in its depiction of the subject. (See Figures 55 & 63)

On the matter of composition, Hiroshige stated: "To depict a beautiful view the artist must know how to combine with one another each of the elements that constitute that view".⁷⁸ Therefore, in his prints, Hiroshige combined elements to create a balanced composition and an illusion of distance. He retained a continuing commitment to perfect an orthodox compositional device called 'dividing into three' (*mitsuwari*) in his prints. Dividing the composition into three planes, foreground, middle-ground and background, is a technique employed by nearly all of the early Chinese, Korean and Japanese painted versions of the *Eight Views*. As previously mentioned, in paintings, mist is often positioned between layers to separate the receding space. Hiroshige often employed mist in the background of his prints to suggest distance. The mountains

⁷⁸ Hiroshige quoted in Forrer, p. 22.

depicted in the *Descending Geese at Katada* are examples of this, as the peaks are surrounded by mist, ascending above low-lying evening fog. The atmosphere of this print evokes similar mist and moisture aesthetics as found in the early Chinese examples of the *Eight Views*, such as the paintings of Muqi and Yujian. In this way, the scene has been transformed into the new Japanese location and medium, however, aspects of iconography, compositional devices, atmospheric aesthetics and poetic narrative are retained from the early examples.

Evening Glow at Seta Bridge (Seta no sekishô) depicts a view of the two halves of Seta Bridge, which crosses the Seta River at the point where it flows into the south-east end of Lake Biwa. A few boats sail on the lake and Mount Mikami can be seen in the distance.

The cartouche in the upper left-hand corner contains Nobutada's original poetry upon this subject:

Tsuyushigure

moru yama tôku

michi sukitsutsu

yûhi no wataru

Seta no nagahashi

Leaking dew and drizzle

it has become thin

on its long journey across the mountains:

the evening sun crossing Seta Bridge.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ Forrer, p. 148.

As previously mentioned, Nobutada implied the connection between ‘the sun setting’ upon Seta Bridge and the burnings of the bridge during the sixteenth century.

However, he also created an analogy between the sun crossing the sky and a traveler on a long journey throughout the archipelago of Japan. The ‘dew and drizzle’ are perhaps analogies of perspiration, and the reference to becoming ‘thin’ perhaps implies a worn and weary wayfarer. The sun is setting, which reflects the exhaustion of the traveler and marks the end of the day’s travels.

In early impressions, such the 1830 and 1834 editions, evening is indicated by a dark strip in the yellow sky along the upper edge of the print and also by dark areas in the hills on the opposite side and in the town in the foreground. (See Figures 56 & 64)

Again, *Evening Glow at Seta Bridge* is another example of how Hiroshige employed *bokashi* extensively in this series. In both editions, the water and the sky are gradated, however, *bokashi* is also used in the rolling hillsides and mountain ranges. The technique was also used to separate valleys and foliage in those areas, thus creating a unique view of this subject. The detail employed in both versions of the prints exposes both of the artist and the printers’ skills. The meticulous forms, shapes and lines which delineate the mountains and foliage echo the skills of the early examples of this theme. Indeed, the first known extant example of the *Eight Views* by twelfth century Chinese artist Wang Hong contained exhaustive and comprehensive detail in those areas. Furthermore, Hong’s monochromatic ink painting of *Fishing Village in Evening Glow* was captured in the same viewpoint and also contains the same landmass arrangement as Hiroshige’s *Evening Glow at Seta Bridge*. Therefore, the detail, perspective and composition in both Hong and Hiroshige’s works reveal striking similarities. This also reinforces the theory of transformation, where past

examples influence artists. The later artists transform these examples into their individual style, new locations and mediums. However, despite the transformation process, key characteristics, iconography and aesthetics are retained from the ancient models.

Weather Clearing at Awazu (Awazu no seiran) portrays Awazu village on the southern shores of Lake Biwa. A road beside the lake leads to the town of Ôtsu, which can be seen in the distance, as its large castle extends towards the water. Early impressions, such as those of 1830 and 1834, incorporate the *bokashi* technique in the sky. In the 1830 version a dark black strip hovers above the yellow sky, while a red glow radiates behind the mountains in the distance. The black strip along the upper edge of the print is united with blue *bokashi* in the 1834 impression, in which most of the sky has been left white. In this case a red glow is added to the mountains in the distance, which results in an unconvincing image. The sky, water and mountain show the *bokashi* effect, which reinforces the unconvincing nature of the 1834 print. (See Figures 57 & 65) It seems as though if *bokashi* effect is used on a large scale, such as in this print, the outcome is somehow unsuccessful. The accompanying verse remains loyal to Nobutada's original verse:

Kumo harau

arashi ni tsurete

hyakufune mo

senfune mo nami no

Awazu ni zo yoru

When the storm has cleared the sky of clouds,

waves roll to Awazu

like a hundred,

no, like a thousand boats.⁸⁰

This poem has multifaceted meanings. First, it reminds the reader of the extraordinary power of nature over man. Second, it could also reflect the journey towards enlightenment of a Buddhist follower. The journey may be tough, as though one is in a 'storm', however, 'waves' of knowledge, such as the elucidation of the ultimate Buddha 'truth', lead one towards enlightenment. Third, this poem also contains implied references to the exiled official being returning to court. It describes how the storm has cleared which could imply that the exile's unjust dismissal has been rectified. The hundred or thousand boats could suggest the exile's impatience to return.

⁸⁰ Forrer, p. 156.

Conclusion

This discourse has traced the transformation of the *Eight Views*, from its origin as the *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* in eleventh century China to Hiroshige's *Eight Views of Ômi* in nineteenth century Japan. The *Eight Views* were dispersed throughout East Asia where they were transformed into various artists' styles and locations, which affected the aesthetic and the underlying meanings associated with the subject. Certain themes and subjects have been retained intact, others remain re-interpreted or reduced throughout the transformation of the *Eight Views*.

First, we shall examine the elements that remained intact throughout the subject's history. The subject's close association with poetry has been consistently significant. From the early associations with the oeuvre of Du Fu, to the verses of Huihong, Yujian and Nobutada, poetry has been associated with or accompanied the *Eight Views*. Furthermore, although slightly altered, the original poetic titles were also retained. The original titles referred to indefinite locations, whereas Hiroshige's versions depicted specific locations. However due to the titles' correlations to the poetry of Du Fu, the connotations of exile were retained despite pictorial variations in location and medium. For example, Hiroshige's Ômi series retained references to reclusion and exile which the early versions espoused. Specifically, *Autumn Moon at Ishiyama* illustrates this through poetic and visual imagery. As mentioned, the accompanying verse refers to exile through comparing Ômi to locations in the *Tale of Genji* where the protagonist was banished. The solitary structure in the print further illustrates the idea of reclusion which was closely associated with the *Eight Views*.

Furthermore, the subject's pervasive context of the majesty of nature was also adopted by later artists. Hiroshige's figures are small, set against a vast natural background. In such images as *Autumn Moon at Ishiyama* and *Night Rain at Karasaki*, there are no human figures delineated, although manmade structures indicate human presence. Furthermore, certain aspects of Chinese iconography were retained such as the white sails punctuating a sunset sky in *Returning Sails at Yabase* and an airborne flock of geese in *Descending Geese at Katada*. The *Evening Bell* subject serves as an especially useful example of the retention of standard iconography. This image contains standard characteristics such as a temple surrounded by nature, scattered worshippers and the sunset within misty clouds. Such features were used in versions of this subject throughout the centuries. From the first extant example by Wang Hong to the Ômi series by Hiroshige, these elements were not lost. These features reinforce the significance of the context and aesthetics of the *Eight Views* series which survived the subject's nine century history. In this way, the process of transformation has not reduced the significance of poetry or iconography in the *Eight Views*.

Second, we shall consider the elements that have been reduced. The overwhelming melancholia which surrounded the imagery of the *Eight Views* lessened over time. The poignant sorrow of the exiled painters and poets was inherent to their works. Over time, the feelings that consumed these artists became less evident in *Eight Views* images. Herein, the major contrast is a difference in experience. The original *Eight Views* painters and poets experienced their own predicaments first hand, whereas Japanese artists such as Hiroshige lived in a different time period and experienced exile through second and third hand sources such as the early literature, poetry and

paintings. The Japanese artists relied on these early sources to guide their work and feelings and the depth of feeling that was so poignant in the early paintings became diluted in their works. However, through Hiroshige's samurai education and training under the Kanô School artist Okajima Rinsai, he was fluent in both Chinese and Japanese cultural and art history, and was aware of the characteristics of the *Eight Views* such as the poetic titles, conventional iconography, dominant aesthetics and accompanying verses. Therefore, while the transformation process has reduced the immediacy and impact of the poignant melancholia of exile illustrated in the early works, the sentiment was retained although it is now an echo of its former self.

Third, we shall consider the elements that have been re-interpreted throughout the transformation process of the *Eight Views*. The despondence of the original sentiment appears in Hiroshige's works to a lesser degree, as the new locations and brighter colour palette replaces the atmosphere of the earlier monochromatic images.

However, the aesthetic of *yu-xuan* or *yûgen*, where earlier artists employed the ink-wash technique to envelope the scenes with a concealing mist, was emulated by Hiroshige's use of the *bokashi* technique of tonal gradation in clouds and sunsets.

Through this technique his prints evoked similar atmospheric effects to the 'old monochromes' of early Chinese and early Japanese artists. His use of poetry by Nobutada, furthermore, indicates a perception of the history and sentiment behind the *Eight Views*. Therefore, despite Hiroshige's use of a new medium and location, his scenes were imbued with a sense of classical poetry, conventional aesthetics and an understanding of the origins of the series.⁸¹ In this way, the process of transformation

⁸¹ Hartley, p. 116.

has allowed artists to re-interpret certain methods in order for the prevailing aesthetics to continue in the *Eight Views* subject.

As art predominantly represents reality, the later artists' representations of the *Eight Views* inevitably diverged from the original intention. Furthermore, as it was a popularly reproduced series throughout East Asia, inevitable alterations occurred in different locales. In this way, the series grew and developed. Perhaps these modifications allowed the *Eight Views* to remain vibrant and popular in vastly different audiences. The series survived throughout nine centuries of reproduction and transformation and remains as an important and treasured subject of East Asian art history.

Appendix I: Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Poetry - A: Juefan Huihong's Eight-Line Poems

Source: Murck, Alfreda, *Poetry and Painting in Song China: The Subtle Art of Dissent*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2000, pp. 281-284.

"Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar"

Lake's autumn colours are like burnished bronze
Evening Sun whitens sand, light is diffused;
Fluttering about to land, more calling and
crowding; By fives, by tens, among dense
rushes; Not yet returned to Xixing, anxious
at growing old, A cloudless evening sky, the
heavens as if swept; At the wind-borne
sound of a flute, they rise alarmed; Writing
cursive script in the air like Wang Xizhi.

"Returning Sails from Distant Shore"

An easterly wind suddenly turns into a whirlwind,
I sit watching wave patterns like silk gauze;
Setting sun illuminates the horizon: White Isle lies
crosswise; River current swallows the sky:
traveler's sail is distant; Leaning on a railing,
threads of thoughts tangle in wind; Over a vast
expanse, I suspect I see a wild duck or goose;
Gradually aware of a mast emerging through the
glare; This time adding or taking away, rely on the
poem's eye.

"Mountain Market in Clearing Mist"

Last night's rain is letting up, mountain air is
heavy; Blowing mist, sun and shadow, light moves
between trees; Silkworm market comes to a close:
the crowd thins out; Public willows by market
bridge; golden threads play; Whose house with
flower-filled plot is across the valley; A smooth-
tongued yellow bird calls in the spring breeze;
Wine flag in vast distance - look and you can see;
It's the one west of the road to Yellowbark Knob
village.

"River and Sky in Evening Snow"

Splashed ink, clouds dark, returning birds are gone;
Pure spirits suddenly make river and sky snowy; A
stream's beauty manifest, snow sifting wildly; A
myriad trees without a sound, icily peaceful; In a
solitary boat lying listening: patter on door and
window; Rising to look: the night clearing, a
brilliant moon; Startled that it rolled away the
green mountains; Feel still more that it brought
back spring tints.

"Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting"

Fragrance of oranges everywhere, green and
yellow coming out; At sunset mooring a boat at a
bramble gate; Lapping waves love the moon like a
handsome woman; Boasts as if playing with
beauty; Deep night the Starry River completely
without clouds; High winds beat water into white
confusion; As the fifth night watch, someone plays

a painted bugle; Throwing on cloths, I rise to look:
below is a golden basin.

"Night Rain on Xiao Xiang"

Porch windows of Yuelu Hall were just before my
eyes; Clouds appeared and suddenly rolled up the
hanging scroll; Gentle wind is creating foam-
capped waves; Lower the sails, ship at the shore,
spend the night at a fishing village; Fires are lit
among dense reeds, evening meals prepared; The
waves respond [to rain drops] making what seem to
be fish; Intensely moved by the pure state and
life's ordinary affairs; Under leaky awning,
chanting alone, oblivious of dawn.

"Evening Bell from Mist-Shrouded Temple"

Ten years of carriages and horses, yellow dust
path, Late in the year a traveler's mind distracted
by a myriad thoughts; Abruptly startled by a sound:
a bell from where? Temple in misty village in the
remotest place; Beyond the stream a dwelling
glimpsed between tall bamboo; Wanting to
summon a small boat but no one to ferry me; A
gaunt figure leaning on wisteria staff, west wind at
his back; A returning monk enters the mist and
vines and disappears.

"Fishing Village in Evening Glow"

Jade-green reeds whistling, the wind sighs.
In village lanes sand is bright, scattering remnants
of sun; Beyond a thatched fence millet streaming,
fragrance drifting; Opposite the gate, fishing nets
hanging, silver shimmering; A poled boat
gradually nears the Peach Blossom Inn; Assaulting
the nose the pungent fragrance of heady wine;
Hoisting baskets, following you, ample for our
intoxication; Lying, viewing rivers and mountains,
reds and greens blur.

B: Juefan Huihong's Quatrains

Source: Murck, Alfreda, *Poetry and Painting in Song China: The Subtle Art of Dissent*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2000, pp. 284-286.

"Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar"

Lonely rushes tossed in a late wind,
River waves shimmering, flood autumn sky;
Crossing obliquely on tired wings, returning to
where? A dot of a fisherman's torch among the
darkening clouds.

"Returning Sails from Distant Shore"

Watery world for mist and light glistens in bright
evening; Whose slip of sailboat is returning?
Moving to and fro like tern or duck in a strong west
wind; With a fixed gaze on Cangzhou my eyes are
failing.

“Mountain Market in Clearing Mist”

Rosy clouds of dawn stretch out leaning on the sky;
Limitless mountain mists, thick even as dispersing;
This lonely and desolate place, no signs of man; A
footpath through flowers and trees, naturally
overgrown.

“River and Sky in Evening Snow”

The heavens’ dark colour blackening the clouds,
Six-pointed floating flowers sinking at water’s
edge; Myriad realms buried deep, heaven’s music
ceases; The monk of the stream enduring cold,
angles alone for fish.

“Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting”

Autumn freshness lake is calm, clear to the bottom;
Vast waves with shimmering light, reflect the
shining wheel; Cold light, clear and lucid. For
whom does it shine? Moored at shore, leaning on
railing, exhilaration most pure.

“Night Rain on Xiao Xiang”

Yuelu’s roof in vast darkness; Soughing, the river
rain beats on boat’s thatched roof; Single note of a
flute, where is the player? With bamboo hat and
rush cape, lodging for night among dense reeds.

“Evening Bell from Mist-Shrouded Temple”

Light mist covers the evening, twilight comes on,
Sonorous distant bell carries to a remote village;
Small bridge spans a stream, signs of men are
gone; A barely visible flag flutters at the foot of the
mountain.

“Fishing Village in Evening Glow”

Gazing at the green curtain near water’s edge,
Caught by the wind, hazy, reflection of slanting
light; Fishermen laugh proudly amid sorghum
blossoms; Happily returning home: where is he
going?

C: Yujian’s Quatrains

Source: Murck, Alfreda, *Poetry and Painting in Song China: The Subtle Art of Dissent*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2000, p. 286.

“Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar”

One by one following the flock, roosting in the old
place; Smartweed flowers, rush leaves darken the
long embankment; Cold sky, freezing water:
difficult to fall asleep; By nature still dependent,
complaining of separation.

“Returning Sails from Distant Shore”

Boundless temple realm begins with the tip of a
brush; Still lowered on autumn river obscured by
evening mist; Glimmers of light not yet taken in:
fishing lanterns move; Old men at leisure talk
about south of the river.

“Mountain Market in Clearing Mist”

Rain-pulled cloud wisps gather as Changsha,
Faint hint of rainbow carrying evening blush.
I like best Market Bridge beyond the public
willows; Wine flag flutters, a traveler thinks of
home.

“River and Sky in Evening Snow”

Ten thousand *li* of river and sky, ten thousand-*li*
heart; Floating flower petals, sifting into level
grove; Bridge straddles, the road cut off, horse
hooves slip; Further it is said, at Lantian Pass,
uncontrollable change.

“Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting”

In every direction the lake is flat, moonlight fills
the mountains; A spiral headress is seen in the
mirror; On the Yueyang tower listening to a flute,
Seating emphatically, on rugged terrain "Travel is
Difficult".

“Night Rain on Xiao Xiang”

At an old ford sand is flat, high water strain,
Single awning cold rain, dripping all evening.
Orchids withered, cymbidiums all dead, no place to
find them, Cut off. Ah! Hard to summon a Chu
traveler’s soul.

“Evening Bell from Mist-Shrouded Temple”

Bell sends slanting light out of evening mountain,
I remotely know the misty temple is beyond this
bay; To the mountain recluse it’s not strange to
return so late; Wanting to wait until the moon
climbs the mountain before he returns.

“Fishing Village in Evening Glow”

Red Sun in clear sky suffuses a sandy spit,
Having sold the fish, half sobered up from wine.
Straw hat, rain cape not yet dry, elm boards quiet,
A sound of horizontal bamboo flute, many peaks
are dark.

D: Poetry which accompanies Ikeno Taiga’s mounted fans

Source: Fisher, Felice and Kinoshita, Kyoka (eds.),
Ike Taiga and Tokuyama Gyokuran: Japanese Masters of the Brush, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 2007, pp. 471-473.

“Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar” - Dang Huaiying

The scenes so pure at this river village, all in fine
paintings models! And in those paintings, poetic
phrases, skillfully transmitted! The fisherman may
sober up, and then get drunk again: He doesn’t
seem to realize that he lives in a painting.

“Returning Sails from Distant Shore” - Gu Songren
 The little sail has been hoisted now, and must sail
 out at dawn; I have no choice! This wanderlust has
 pressed way after day. You want me to paint
 mountains of Chu, 10,000 layers of green? Wait
 until I’m back from viewing all the mountains of
 Yue!

“Mountain Market in Clearing Mist” – Unknown.
 This little boat – where will it ask to find the
 passage through? In the second month, the eastern
 lake, where willows green anew; Aging, often at
 heaven’s edge I’ve seen this very painting: And I
 myself have plucked a branch to give the parting
 traveler.

“River and Sky in Evening Snow” - Dong Qichang
 The cold tones of the morning horn scatter along
 the willow embankment; Snowy colours in a
 thousand woods weigh the branches low; The
 traveler cannot find the road that leads to Han-tan
 town; A kind of mist or is it frost confuses him too
 much!

“Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting” - Bao Xun
 Mist moistens the deserted forest, a blue-green mist
 now floats; Island blossoms, plants on banks all
 sigh so mournfully; Immortals must reside up
 there, where deepest clouds are found; Men from
 this realm of mortals are only allowed to reach to
 the stone bridge.

“Night Rain on Xiao Xiang” - Wu Su
 Rain sweeps past the autumn banks as boats follow
 the twisting flow; Returning travelers wish to
 cross, they gaze down at flat sands. The village
 ahead is seen afar, where cooking smoke now rises,
 And also [there’s] fresh-cut hay that seems to break
 morning chill.

“Evening Bell from Mist-Shrouded Temple” -
 Wang Shixi
 The mountains of Wu in multi-layers, powdered
 clumps so high; There comes a wanderer who rises
 at dawn, to daub with ink brush. A hundred ounces
 of real pearls could hardly purchase this; The peaks
 of Yue must yield to these surging golden waves!

“Fishing Village in Evening Glow” - Wu Su.
 The hut of thatch is still obscured by creepers in
 the path; The place, remote, the woods so deep, not
 many homes at all; But do not say the springtime
 wind neglects to visit here: Outside the gate, just as
 before, birds with flowers in their beaks!

E: Nobutada’s *Eight Views of Ōmi* Poetry

Source: Bruschke-Johnston, Lee, *Dismissed As
 Elegant Fossils: Konoe Nobutada and the Role Of
 Aristocrats in Early Modern Japan*, Hotei
 Publishing, Amsterdam, 2004, pp. 182-184.

“Autumn Moon at Ishiyama”
Ishiyama ya
Niho no umi teru
Tsuki kage wa
Akashi mo Suma mo
Hokonaranu kana
 The light of the moon shining
 on Niho no umi
 from Ishiyama
 surpasses even [that of]
 Akashi or Suma.

“Evening Glow at Seta Bridge”
Tsuyu shigure
moru yama tôku
sugikitsutsu
yûhi no wataru
Seta no nagahashi
 The long bridge at Seta
 over which crosses the setting sun
 passing far beyond the mountains
 dripping with autumn dew.

“Clearing Weather at Awazu”
Kumo harau
arashi ni tsurete
momo fune mo
chifune mo nami no
Awazu ni zo yoru
 The clouds are dispersed
 by the storm that also brings
 one hundred, on thousand boats
 cleaving through the wave-filled waters
 of Awazu.

“Returning Sails at Yabase”
Maho hikite
Yabase no kaeru
fune wa ima
Uchide no hama o
ato no oikaze
 Hauling full sails
 the boats returning to Yabase
 are pushed with a tailwind
 to Uchide beach.

“Evening Bell at Mii Temple”
Omou sono
atatsuki chigiru
hajime zo to
mazu kiku Mii no
irai no koe
 Upon hearing the sound
 of Mii’s [bell] at sunset
 I pledged to begin my vows
 with the coming dawn.

“Night Rain at Karasaki”
Yoru no ame ni
oto o yuzurite

yû kaze o
yoso no zo tateru
Karasaki no matsu
 The Karasaki pine
 yields its sound to
 the night rain;
 the evening wind
 calls elsewhere.

“Descending Geese at Katada”
Mine amata
koete koshiji ni
mazu chikaki
katata ni nabiki
ochiru karigane
 Having crossed mountain ranges
 that lead to the Hokuriku,
 nearing Katata
 streaming down
 the wild geese call.

“Evening Snow on Mt. Hira”
Yuki haruru
Hira no takane no
yûgure wa
hana no sakari ni
suguru koro kana
 When the snow subsides
 on the crest of Hira at twilight
 [the view] surpasses even
 the peak days of the cherry blossoms.

F: *Kyôka* Poetry on Hiroshige's Prints

Source: Forrer, Matthi (ed.), *Hiroshige: Prints and Drawings*, Prestel-Verlag, Munich & New York, 1997, pp. 144-157.

“Autumn Moon at Ishiyama”
Ishiyama ya
Niho no umi teru
Tsukikage was
Akashi no Suma mo
Hoka naranu kawa
 At Ishiyama,
 the moon casting light
 on Lake Niho
 is no less than at
 Suma and Akashi.

“Evening Glow at Seta Bridge”
Tsuyushigure
moru yama tôku
michi sukitsutsu
yûhi no wataru
Seta no nagahashi
 Leaking dew and drizzle
 it has become thin
 on its long journey across the mountains:
 the evening sun crossing Seta Bridge.

“Clearing Weather at Awazu”
Kumo harau
arashi ni tsurete
hyakufune mo
senfune mo nami no
Awazu ni zo yoru
 When the storm has cleared the sky of clouds,
 waves roll to Awazu
 like a hundred,
 no, like a thousand boats.

“Returning Sails at Yabase”
Maho kakete
Yabase ni kaeru
fune wa ima
Uchide-no-hama o
ato no oikaze
 The boats running back to Yabase
 with full sails
 even now leave the shore at Uchide
 blown by a fair wind.

“Evening Bell at Mii Temple”
Omou sono
akatsuki shigiru
hajime soto
mazu kiku Mii no
iriai no kane
 I think that dawn has made a vow
 to wait first outside
 until it has heard
 the evening bell of Mii Temple.

“Night Rain at Karasaki”
Yoru no ame ni
oto o yuzurite
yûkaze o
yoru no natatsuru
Karasaki no matsu
 Yielding to the sound in the evening rain
 and drawing near to the evening wind,
 he grows famous:
 the pine tree of Karasaki.

“Evening Snow on Mt. Hira”
Yuki haruru
Hira no takane no
Yugare wa
Hana no sakari ni
Suguru koro kana
 When it clears after snowfall,
 The tops of Mount Hira
 At dusk surely surpass
 The beauty of cherry trees in bloom.

Appendix II: *Ukiyo-e* Production

The basic principle of woodblock printing is said to have been invented by the Chinese in the fourth century C.E.¹ The technique was used for the reproduction of both writing and pictures. In the East Asia, there is little distinction between the two, as the Chinese and Japanese writing systems are essentially pictorial and the enormous number of characters involved makes the use of movable type (the basis of Western book printing) impractical. While the Chinese claim woodblock printing originated in the fourth century, the Japanese tradition of woodblock printing dates back to the Hyakumantô Darani.² Tiny pieces of paper were concealed in small wooden pagodas distributed to the ten great Buddhist temples in Nara during the year 770. These pieces of paper are thought to represent the world's oldest extant examples of woodblock printing. This tradition continued through the Heian and Kamakura periods in woodblock prints and wooden seals depicting Buddhist images.

It was not until the seventeenth century, however, that the techniques of woodblock printing were

exploited in the production of popular art and literature. The first appearance of this occurred in the Kan'ei era (1624-1644) when a genre of popular novels called *tanroku-bon* (or *tanryoku-bon*) became popular in Kyoto. The emergence of *kanazôshi*, a new literary genre that vividly portrayed the hedonistic life of Edo-period urban culture, created illustrations which evolved toward a new style that corresponded with the content of the printed text. With the *kanazôshi*, woodblock prints became unified with literature; content and medium were combined. A new form of pictorial art for the *chônin* was created, namely the *ukiyo-e* woodblock print.³

The phrase *ukiyo* or 'floating world' was originally associated with the Buddhist world view; alluding to the ephemeral state of man's existence. As Buddhists believe in continual reincarnations, the current existence was deemed to be a fleeting world.⁴ The Buddhist reference also incorporates the idea of the present sorrowful world of pain, in contrast to the heavenly world of paradise, which a Buddhist would reach after gaining enlightenment. Buddhists believe that it may require many, possibly hundreds, of reincarnations before enlightenment is gained.⁵ However, during the middle of the seventeenth century, the usage of the

¹ Bicknell, p. 57.

² The *Hyakumantô Darani* (one million pagodas and Dharani prayers) is the oldest traceable publication in the world whose production date is clearly identified. In 764, the Empress Shôtoku (718-770) ordered the donation of *Hyakumantô Darani*, each containing a small scroll printed with four Buddhist Dharani sutras, to ten major temples. It is unclear whether the printing blocks were of wood or metal.

³ Kobayashi, pp. 68-69.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 65-69.

⁵ Hartley, p. 8.

word was altered. Instead of being written with the character for 'sad world' it was written with the character for 'floating world' and its meaning moved from one of pessimism about the everyday world to one of optimism.⁶ Subsequently, the phrase came to suggest a hedonistic preoccupation with the present moment, with the latest fashions, pursuits and lifestyles of urban culture.

Initially, *ukiyo-e* were only incorporated into 'books with inserted pictures' (*e-iribon*), however, once their popularity demanded technology to develop, the 'single-sheet print' (*ichimai-e* or *ichimai-zuri*) was invented. Production of *ukiyo-e* single-sheet prints began in the Genroku era (1688-1704).⁷ These first prints were primarily monochromatic illustrations or *sumizuri-e*, printed in black ink (*sumi*). Hand-coloured prints followed, the first of which were known as *tan-e* after the red-lead pigment that was most frequently used.

In the 1720s, the first *beni-e* (rose-red pictures) were produced. In some examples, a glossy effect was achieved by adding *nikawa* (animal glue) to the *sumi* or other pigments. The resulting prints were known as *urushi-e*, or 'lacquer' pictures. In the 1740s, a number of coloured prints were being produced using the limited palette of the hand-coloured *beni-e* and were therefore known as *benizuri-e* or 'printed *beni-e*'. Commercial

production followed and multi-coloured prints were developed.⁸

Hiroshige employed many techniques to construct his woodblock prints. His prints are executed with sharp lines and crisp colours which require clear and cohesive design and execution. The production of full-colour woodblock prints was a cooperative effort by artists, engravers, printers and publishers. Woodblock printmaking is an art of equality, which involves all four entities working harmoniously. Hiroshige's designs are the only the first part of printmaking, as the carver and printer undertake equal parts in the execution of the print. Generally, the woodblock printmaking process involves a carved design on a flat surface of a block of wood. The design is reproduced when the paper is pressed onto the inked block.⁹

The printmaking process begins when the publisher (*hanmoto*) contacts an artist with a proposal for a new project, set or series. The *ukiyo-e* artist (*e-shi*) then produces a rough sketch (*gakô*) which the artist executed on a thin, but frequently rough, *kôso* paper using a deer hair brush and black ink (*sumi*). The *gakô* was refined to produce a very precise 'final' drawing called the *hanshita-e* also in black ink which is presented to the publisher. At this point, governmental regulations placed upon the

⁶ Hartley, p. 8.

⁷ Kobayashi, pp. 70-76.

⁸ Hartley, p. 16.

⁹ Forrer, p. 24.

printmaking industry in 1789 decreed that all designs must be submitted to the governmental censor to be inspected (*aratame*, ‘examined’) and obtain their seal of approval (*kiwame*, ‘approved’). Only when the censor approved the design could the process continue.¹⁰ The carver (*hori-shi*) pastes the design face-down on a block of wood and then carves the wood through the design sheet, leaving the lines areas to be printed protruding, where black is required. The lines and areas that were left were like bas-reliefs, where the subject projects out of the façade. These most talented carvers could cut away the wood from either side of lines less than a millimetre, when representing the finely combed hair of an elegant geisha or the delicate outline of a leaf.¹¹ After this process, the woodblock is inspected and experimental tests are made to ensure the image is correct. These test prints were also used by the artist to indicate where each colour should be printed. The block used in the first printing is known by two terms: the *omohan* or the *sumi* block.¹² The first block print duplicates the preliminary design (*hanshita-e*) in black ink.

Correct alignment is a key element in the printmaking process, therefore marks are strategically placed so the colours are printed properly. These indicator marks (*kentô*) usually identified a corner (usually the bottom right) and the edge of the sheet (usually top right). This technique was imported from China and was referred to as the *kentô-hô* method, which produced prints in many colours.¹³ Woodblock prints required as many as twenty phases of printing, as individual lines and colours are printed separately. As the alignment markers are printed on every phase of printing, the markers are in exactly the same place every time, therefore the colours and lines should not merge. This required a skillful printer (*suri-shi*) to apply the correct amount of pigment in the correct areas during each phase of printing.

The printer required a number of brushes of different shapes and sizes to transfer the inks and dyes to the block and a circular pad of twisted bamboo fibres (called a *baren*) to rub and press the paper evenly onto the block. The paper was dampened before each application of colour and each printing would have to be absorbed into the paper before the next could be undertaken, therefore the printing process might easily occupy two or three weeks. The initially limited range of

¹⁰ Kobayashi, pp. 62-64.

¹¹ Bicknell, pp. 57-65.

¹² The *sumi* block was named after the black ink that was used in the printmaking process. *Sumi* was a carbon black ink, usually made from soot and deer horn glue which were set into sticks and ground down with water on an ink stone, as required. It was capable of a variety of tones from dense black to pale grey. See Hartley, pp. 19-21.

¹³ Kobayashi, p. 60.

pigments were used to fill in the black-on-white design. The pigments were fundamentally the same water-and-vegetable-based organic and seldom inorganic compounds that were used by contemporary Japanese painters.¹⁴

By Hiroshige's time, a larger range of pigments and dyes became available and therefore the phases of printing increased. Printers could buy most pigments in a semi-processed form and early organic pigments were gradually replaced by brighter, commercially-produced chemical pigments. In the 1820s, Prussian or Berlin blue (*berorin-ai*) was imported from China and the West. The success of its first use in a major print series *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji* (*Fugaku sanjû-rokkei*) by Hokusai led to its widespread adoption by other artists during the 1830s.¹⁵ The richly coloured prints were known as 'brocade pictures' (*nishiki-e*) named after the richly decorated fabrics (*nishiki*) which were popular with the women of the 'floating world' and were a prominent feature of early coloured prints. The fleeting 'floating world' depicted in many woodblock prints reflected the popularity of the *ukiyo-e* medium. Edo publishers, who always sought profit, rapidly recognized the potential of these new polychrome prints. The brilliant colour compositions of the multi-colour prints were often

compared to the beautiful Shuchiang brocades (*shokkô nishiki*) mentioned above, that were being imported from China during the period. These brocades, which employed saffron colours and dark indigo on scarlet backgrounds to achieve elaborate effects, became very popular, and the new *ukiyo-e* were therefore named after the popular fashion; 'brocade pictures' (*nishiki-e*).¹⁶

Specifically, the light colours that cover the larger areas of the print, such as walls or mountain ranges, are printed during the first phases of printing. Smaller areas of colour are printed next, after which, colours in patterns or meticulous details are printed. Brilliant colours, such as the primary colours of red, green and blue, are printed in the penultimate phase of printing. Finally the calligraphy, such as the title of the series and the artist's signature in black ink (*sumi*) are printed last. The printer produces as many copies as the publisher has commissioned and finally, the publisher can sell finished prints in his print shop (*ezôshi-ya*).¹⁷

The wood used to produce the prints was a close-grained, well-seasoned timber, often the white mountain cherry (*shiro-yamazakura* or *Prunus mutabilis*), which was cut along the grain. The wood was soft enough to carve and yet sufficiently sturdy to withstand the pressures of repeated

¹⁴ Hartley, pp. 19-21.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 19-21.

¹⁶ Kobayashi, p. 82.

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 60-64.

printing. The high cost of this wood meant that both sides of the block were often cut and many were planed down at the end of a print run and reused.¹⁸ The size of the woodblock was limited, as the carvers preferred woods from fruit trees, which rarely grow to great size, therefore the woodblocks could not be wider than twenty-five centimetres. The direction of the grain was fixed and therefore, in horizontal prints the grain would generally be from left to right and in vertical format, from top to bottom. Throughout the development of *ukiyo-e*, a number of standard formats developed, the most popular being *ôban* size (thirty-nine by twenty-six centimetres). The *ôban* became the standard size for single-sheet prints in the early period of *ukiyo-e* woodblock prints.¹⁹ Both paper and blocks were produced in standard sizes, determining the layout and design of prints over many generations.

¹⁸ Hartley, p. 17.

¹⁹ Kobayashi, p. 76.

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Wang Hong – *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* (c. 1160)

Image Source: Asian Art Collection at the Princeton University Art Museum

<http://www.etcweb.princeton.edu/asianart/selectionsdetail.jsp?ctry=China&pd=id=1035437>



Fig. 1. *Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar*



Fig. 2. *Returning Sails from Distant Shore*



Fig. 3. *Mountain Market in Clearing Mist*



Fig. 4. *Fishing Village in Evening Glow*



Fig. 5. *Night Rain on Xiao Xiang*



Fig. 6. *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting*



Fig. 7. *Evening Bell from Mist-Shrouded Temple*



Fig. 8. *River and Sky in Evening Snow*



Fig. 9. *Fishing Village in Evening Glow*



Fig. 10. *Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar*



Fig. 11. *Returning Sails from Distant Shore*



Fig. 12. *Evening Bell from Mist-Shrouded Temple*



Fig. 13. *Night Rain on Xiao Xiang*



Fig. 14. *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting*



Fig. 15. *River and Sky in Evening Snow*

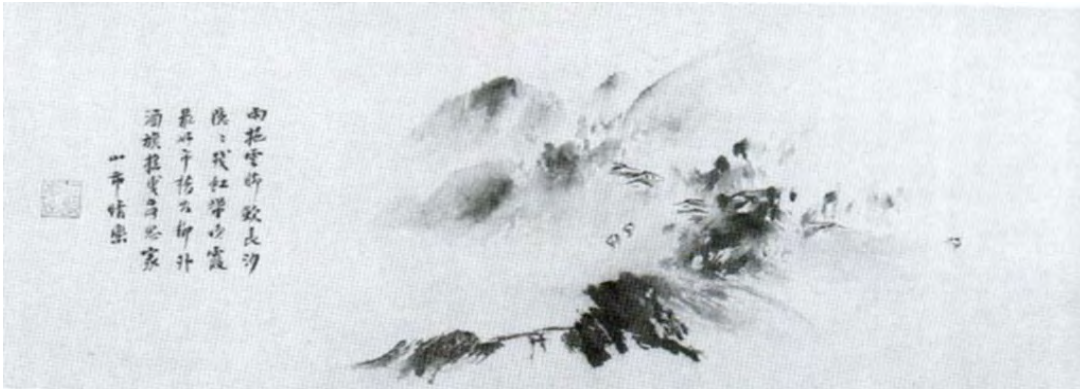


Fig. 16: *Mountain Market in Clearing Mist*

Image Source: Lee, Sherman E., *A History of Far Eastern Art*, Fifth Edition, Thames and Hudson, London, 1997, p. 382.



Fig. 17. *Returning Sails from Distant Shore*

Image Source: Loehr, Max, *The Great Painters of China*, Phaidon Press, Oxford, 1980, p. 227.

Fig. 18. Shûbun – *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* Folding Screen (fifteenth century)



First Panel: *Evening Bell from Mist-Shrouded Temple*

Second Panel: *River and Sky in Evening Snow*

Third Panel: *Mountain Market in Clearing Mist*

Fourth Panel: *Returning Sails from Distant Shore and Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar*

Fifth Panel: *Night Rain on Xiao Xiang*

Sixth Panel: *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting and Fishing Village in Evening Glow*

Image source: Fisher Fine Arts Library Image Collection, University of Pennsylvania

http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/fisher/detail.html?id=FISHER_n2005030303



Fig. 19. *River and Sky in Evening Snow*



Fig. 20. *Night Rain on Xiao Xiang*



Fig. 21. *Evening Bell from Mist-Shrouded Temple*

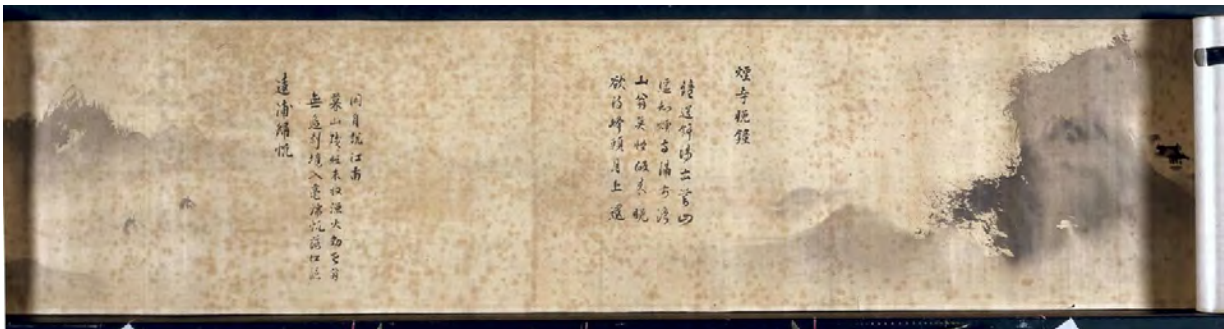


Fig. 22. *Returning Sails from Distant Shore*



Fig. 23. *Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar*

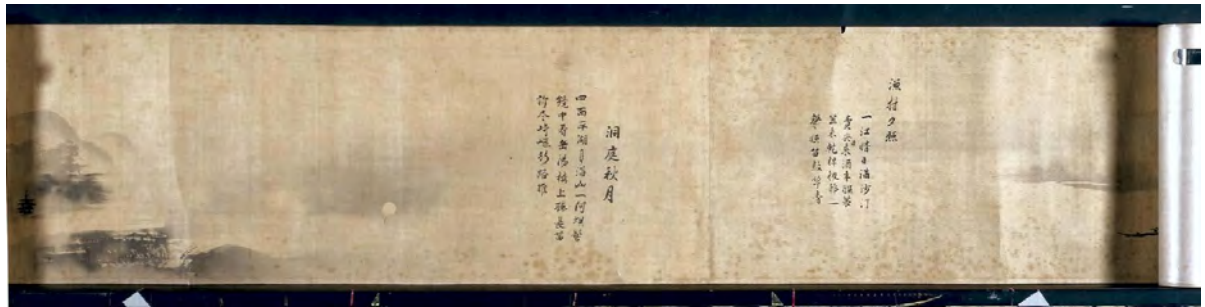


Fig. 24. *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting*

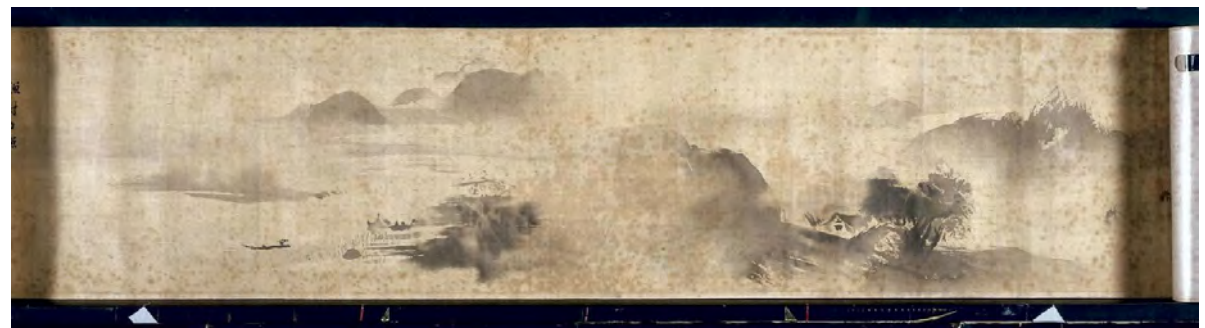


Fig. 25. *Fishing Village in Evening Glow*

Fig. 26. Ikeno Taiga – *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Folding Screen* (c. 1760s)
Image Source: Fisher, Felice and Kinoshita, Kyoka (eds.), *Ike Taiga and Tokuyama Gyokuran: Japanese Masters of the Brush*, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, 2007, pp. 326-327.



First Panel: *Returning Sails from Distant Shore* (top) and *Night Rain on Xiao Xiang* (bottom, moving into second panel). Second Panel: *Fishing Village in Evening Glow*
Third Panel: *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting* (top) and *Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar* (bottom). Fourth Panel: *Mountain Market in Clearing Mist*. Fifth Panel:
Sixth Panel: *Evening Bell from Mist-Shrouded Temple*. Sixth Panel: *River and Sky in Evening Snow*.

The accompanying poems' calligraphy was transcribed by the artist, Ikeno Taiga.

Image Source: Fisher, Felice and Kinoshita, Kyoka (eds.), *Ike Taiga and Tokuyama Gyokuran: Japanese Masters of the Brush*, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, 2007, pp. 364-365.



Fig. 27. *Night Rain on Xiao Xiang* with poetry by Wu Su (1280-1354)

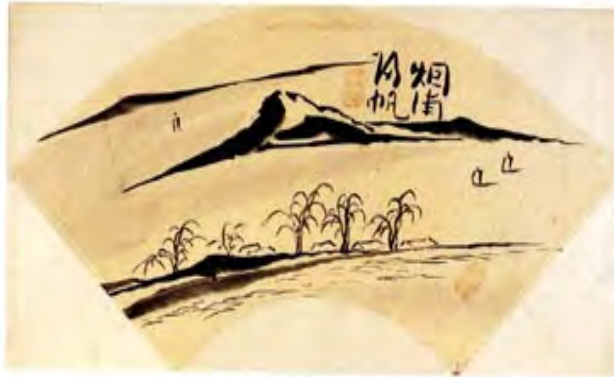


Fig. 28. *Returning Sails from Distant Shore* with poetry by Gu Songren (1620-1664).



Fig. 29. *Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar* with poetry by Dang Huaiying (1134-1211).

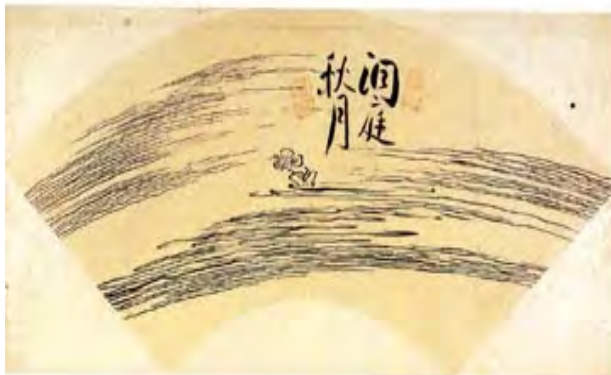


Fig. 30. *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting* with poetry by Bao Xun (fourteenth century).



Fig. 31. *River and Sky in Evening Snow* with poetry by Dong Qichang (1555-1636).



Fig. 32. *Mountain Market in Clearing Mist* with poetry by an unknown poet, originally inscribed on a landscape by Wu Zhishun (fourteenth century).

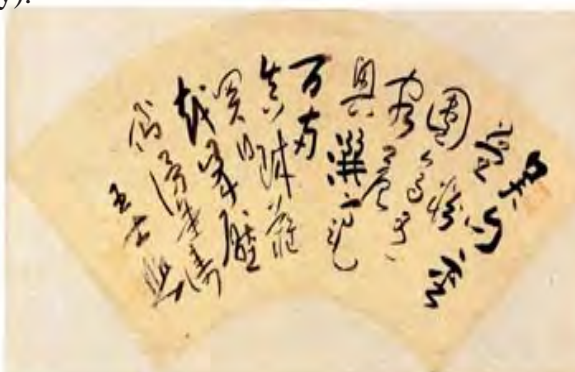


Fig. 33. *Evening Bell from Mist-Shrouded Temple* with poetry by Wang Shixi (thirteenth century).

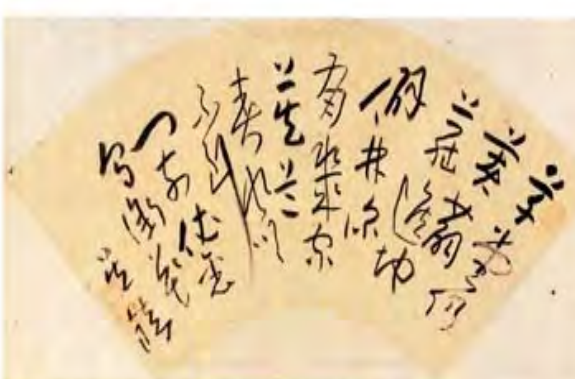


Fig. 34. *Fishing Village in Evening Glow* with poetry by Wu Su.

An Kyon – *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* (fifteenth century)

Image Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
<http://www.cartage.org.lb/en/themes/arts/sculptureplastic/AsianSculpture/MoreDepartmentCollection/as19871.jpg>



Fig. 35. *Evening Bell from Mist-Shrouded Temple* (left) and *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting* (right).

Image Source: National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

Image Source: Dongju, Lee, *The Beauty of Old Korean Paintings: A History and An Appreciation*, Saffron Books, Seoul, 2005, pp. 70-71.

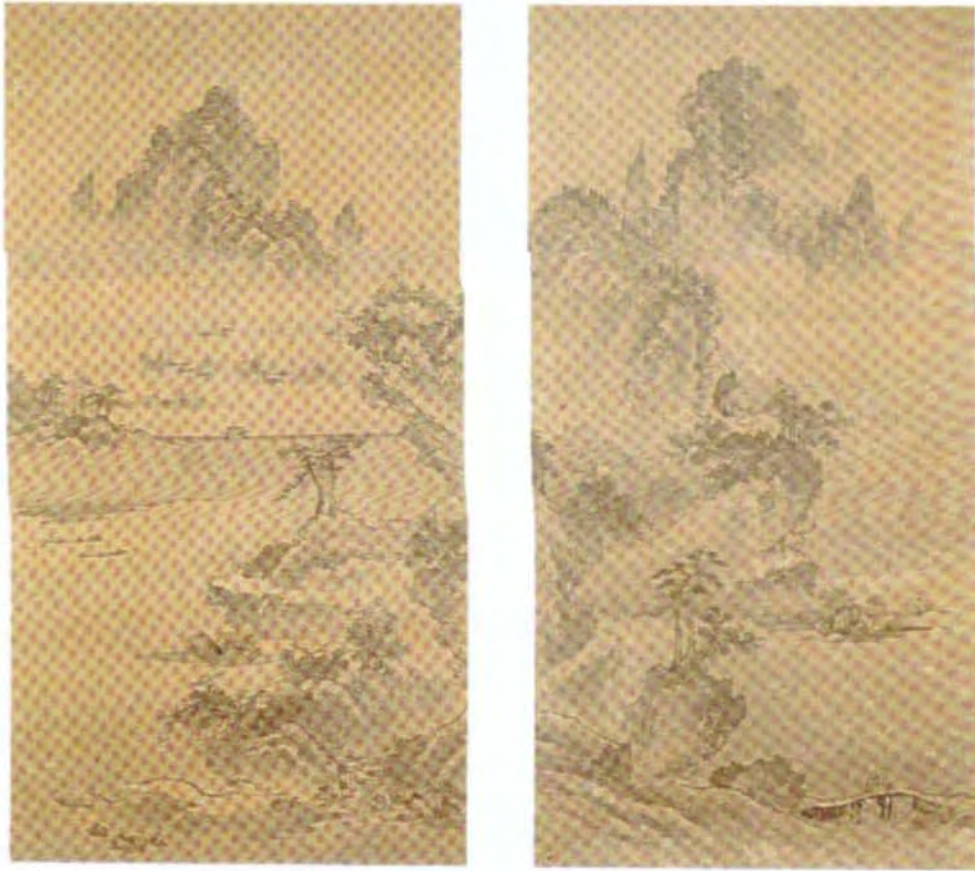


Fig. 36. *Mountain Market in Clearing Mist* (top left) and *Evening Bell from Mist-Shrouded Temple* (top right)

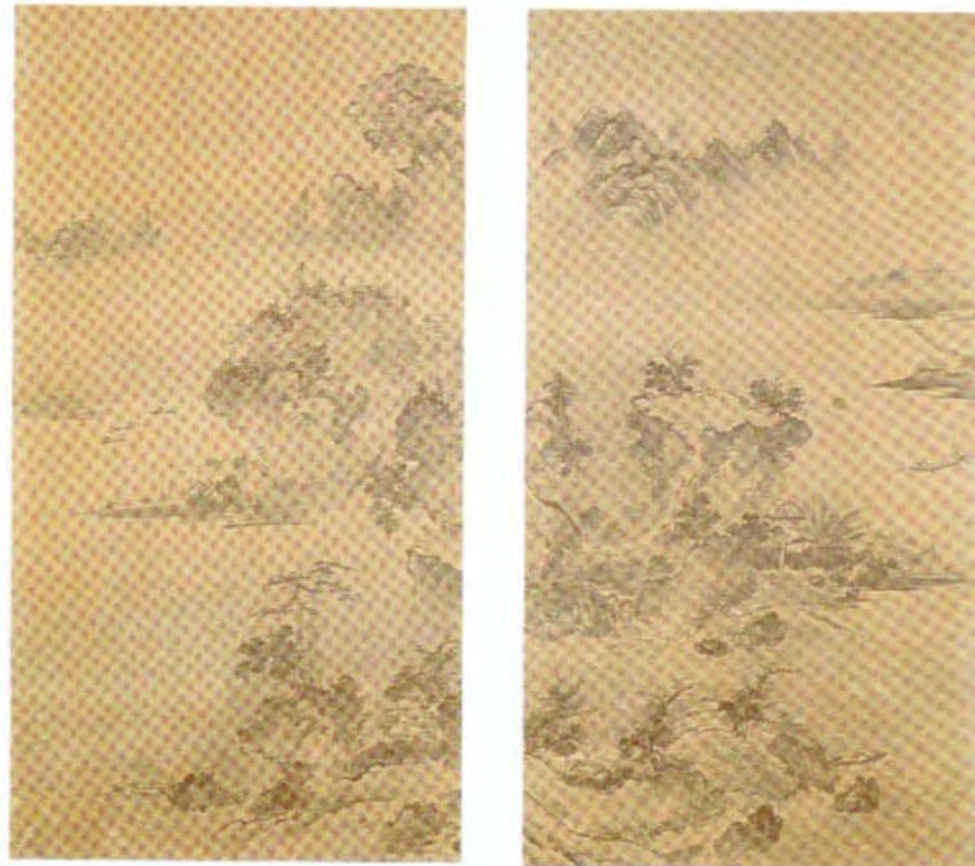


Fig 37. *Returning Sails from Distant Shore* (bottom left) and *Fishing Village in Evening Glow* (bottom right)



Fig. 38. *Night Rain on Xiao Xiang* (top left) and *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting* (top right)

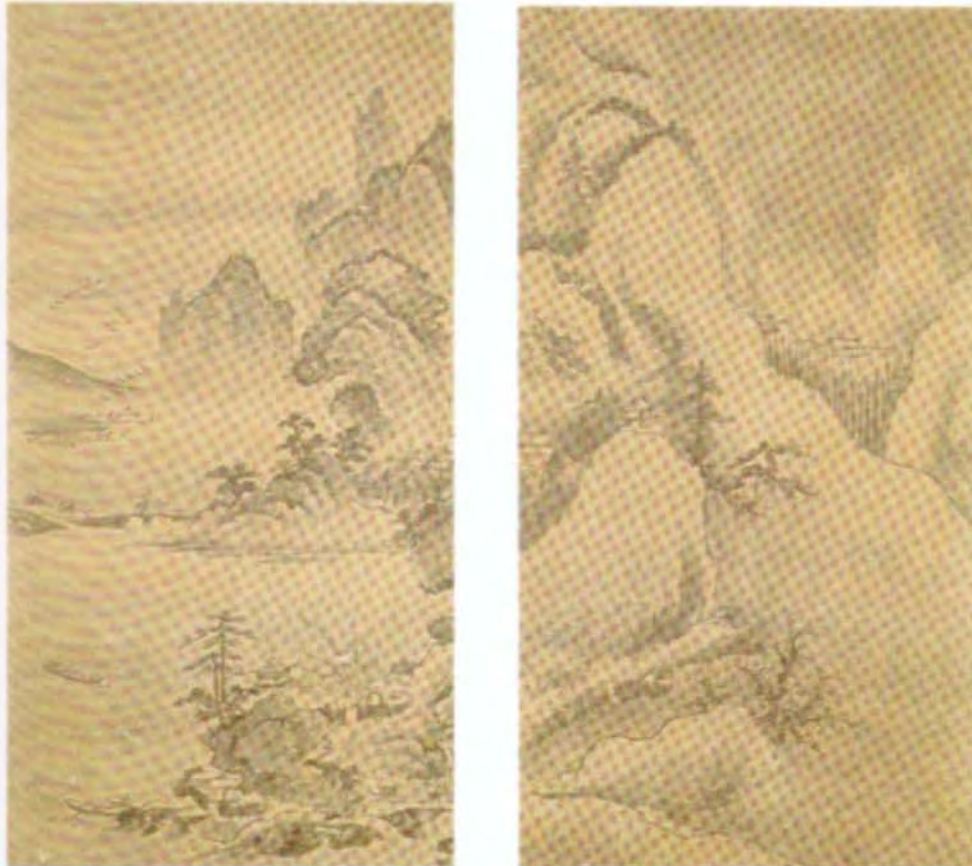


Fig. 39. *Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar* (bottom left) and *River and Sky in Evening Snow* (bottom right)

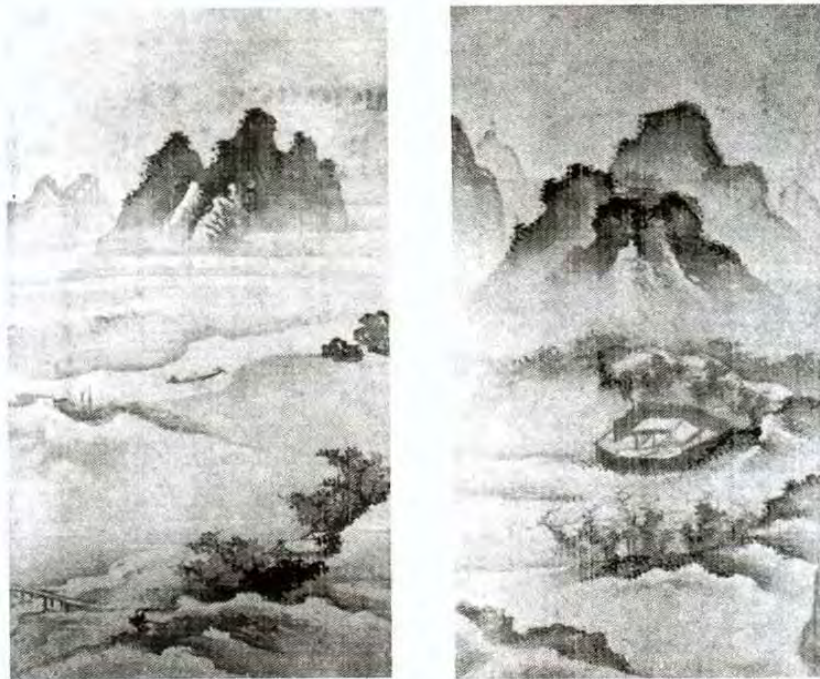
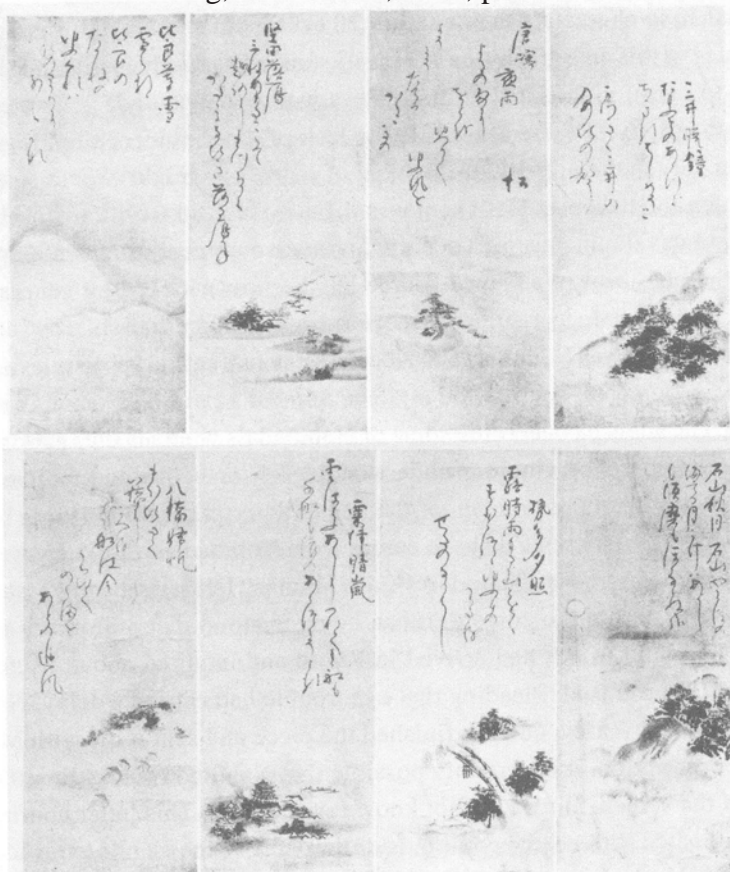


Fig. 40. *Late Spring, Green Mountain, Blue Water* (left) and *Late Autumn, Red Mountain, Yellow Field* (right)

Fig. 41. Nobutada – *Eight Views of Ômi* Folding Screen (c. 1589)
 Image Source: Bruschke-Johnston, Lee, *Dismissed As Elegant Fossils: Konoe Nobutada and the Role Of Aristocrats in Early Modern Japan*, Hotei Publishing, Amsterdam, 2004, p. 119.



Top Four Panels: *Evening Snow on Mt. Hira, Descending Geese at Katada, Night Rain at Karasaki, Clearing Weather at Awazu.*
 Bottom Four Panels: *Returning Sails at Yabase, Evening Bell at Mii Temple, Evening Glow at Seta Bridge, Autumn Moon at Ishiyama.*



Fig. 42. *Clearing Weather at Awazu* with calligraphy by Konoe Motohiro (1648-1722)

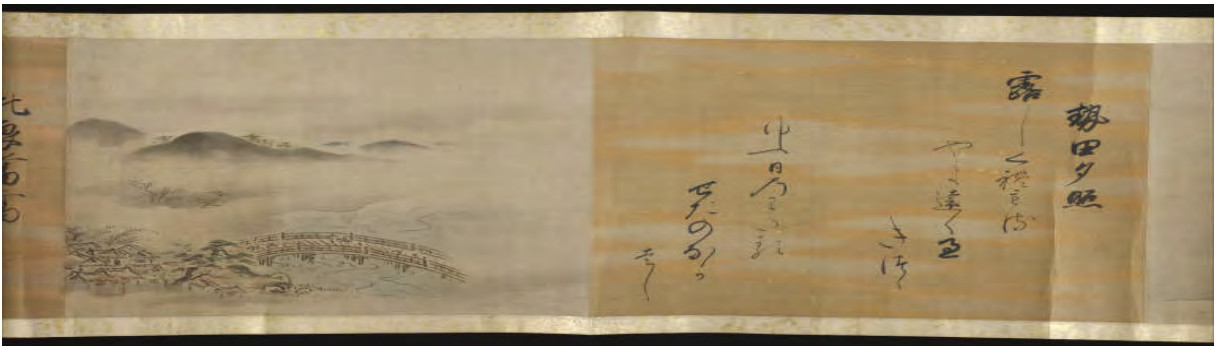


Fig. 43. *Evening Glow at Seta Bridge* with calligraphy by Sonshô Nyûdô Shinnô (1651-1694)



Fig. 44. *Evening Snow on Mt. Hira* with calligraphy by Kujô Sukezane (1669-1730)



Fig. 45. *Evening Bell at Mii Temple* with calligraphy by Shimizudani Sanenari (1648-1709)

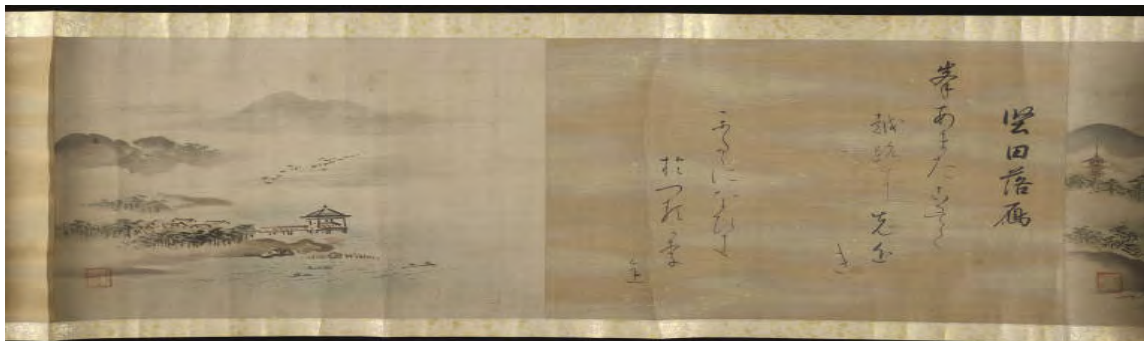


Fig. 46. *Descending Geese at Katada* with calligraphy by Konoe Iehiro (1667-1736)



Fig. 47. *Returning Sails at Yabase* with calligraphy by Nijō Tsunahira (1672-1732)

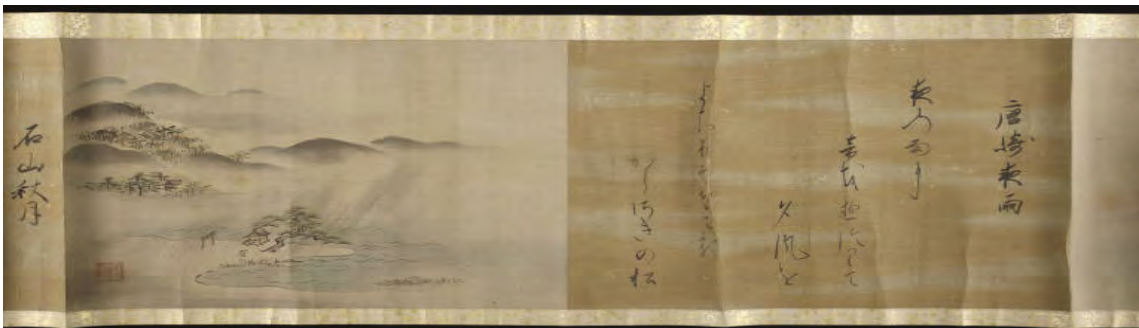


Fig. 48. *Night Rain at Karasaki* with calligraphy by Ichijō Fuyutsune (1652-1705)



Fig. 49. *Autumn Moon at Ishiyama* with calligraphy by Takatsukasa Kanehiro (1660-1725)

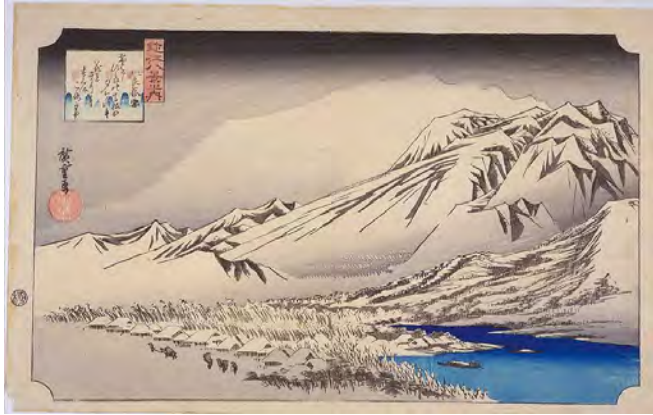


Fig. 50. *Evening Snow on Mt. Hira*

Image Source:

http://www.hiroshige.org.uk/hiroshige/views_scenes/omi/images/Evening%20Snow%20at%20Mt.Hira.jpg



Fig. 51. *Night Rain at Karasaki*

Image Source: http://www.hiroshige.org.uk/hiroshige/views_scenes/omi/images/Night_Rain_Karasaki.jpg



Fig. 52. *Autumn Moon at Ishiyama*

Image Source: http://www.hiroshige.org.uk/hiroshige/views_scenes/omi/images/Autumn_Moon_Ishiyama.jpg



Fig. 53. *Evening Bell at Mii Temple*

Image Source: http://www.hiroshige.org.uk/hiroshige/views_scenes/omi/images/Evening_Bell_Mii_Temple.jpg



Fig. 54. *Returning Sails at Yabase*

Image Source: http://www.hiroshige.org.uk/hiroshige/views_scenes/omi/images/Returning_Boats_Yabase.jpg



Fig. 55. *Descending Geese at Katada*

Image Source: http://www.hiroshige.org.uk/hiroshige/views_scenes/omi/images/Descending_Geese_Katada.jpg



Fig. 56. *Evening Glow at Seta Bridge*

Image Source: http://www.hiroshige.org.uk/hiroshige/views_scenes/omi/images/Evening_Glow_Seta.jpg



Fig. 57. *Clearing Weather at Awazu*

Image Source: http://www.hiroshige.org.uk/hiroshige/views_scenes/omi/images/Clearing_Storm_Awazu.jpg

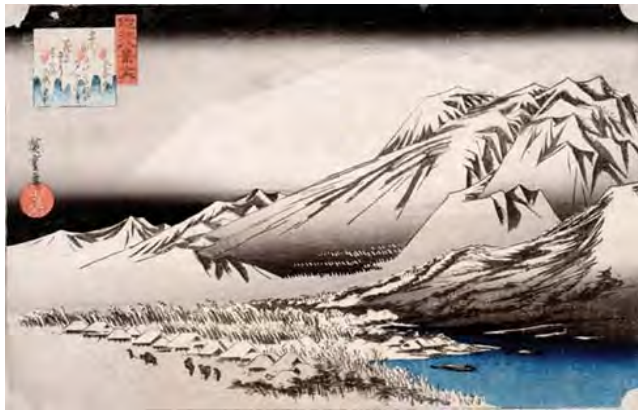


Fig. 58. *Evening Snow on Mt. Hira*

Image Source: <http://hma.org.il/Museum/UploadFiles/PGallery/9242565536.jpg>



Fig. 59. *Night Rain at Karasaki*

Image Source: Oka, Isaburo, *Hiroshige: Japan's Great Landscape Artist*, Kodansha International, Tokyo, New York & London, 1992, p. 28.



Fig. 60. *Autumn Moon at Ishiyama*

Image Source: <http://www.shochian.com/ishiyama.htm>



Fig. 61. *Evening Bell at Mii Temple*

Image Source: <http://www.nihon-zen.ch/peinture/5478med.jpg>



Fig. 62. *Returning Sails at Yabase*

Image Source: <http://www.shochian.com/yabase.htm>



Fig. 63. *Descending Geese at Katada*

Image Source: <http://www.shochian.com/katata.htm>



Fig. 64. *Evening Glow at Seta Bridge*

Image Source: <http://www.shochian.com/seta.htm>



Fig. 65. *Clearing Weather at Awazu*

Image Source: <http://www.shochian.com/awadu.htm>