



A Hishikawa School Screen Uncovered

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After many decades wrapped in old-fashioned greaseproof paper in storage in the Rijksmuseum, an eightfold Japanese screen with genre scenes (fig. 1a) was recently restored. It was in very poor condition and there were numerous problems: the paper hinges were unstable, the surface was dirty and had been abraded, pierced or eaten away in many places, the underlying paper supports had deteriorated, resulting in discoloration of the painting, and, lastly, the mount was seriously compromised. All this necessitated a complete remount, which was carried out by the Restoriet workshop in Leiden. Research directed towards improving knowledge of the materials and techniques that had been used in the screen was conducted during this process, this with a view to improving our understanding of the screen, about which little was known.¹

The chief goal of the art historical research was to examine the scenes on the screen, which also has a – much later – painting on the reverse (fig. 1b), testifying to the use of Japanese folding screens as multi-functional room dividers which could be displayed in different ways.² None of the images in either painting has ever been studied and this article aims to identify them, and to place the main painting within the context of works of the Hishikawa School by comparing the painting

< Fig. 1a
Genre Scenes of Edo,
Japan, Edo, c. 1680-
1700 (detail left and
pp. 218-19).
Eight-fold screen,
ink and colours on
paper, 138 x 424 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. AK-MAK-171;
on permanent loan
from the Royal Asian
Art Society in the
Netherlands.

> Fig. 1b
ITABASHI TSURAO,
Late Autumn in Xiling,
Japan, nineteenth
century (reverse
of fig. 1a).
Eight-fold screen,
ink, colours and
gold on paper,
138 x 424 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. AK-MAK-171;
on permanent loan
from the Royal
Asian Art Society
in the Netherlands.

style to that of works generally accepted as by the founder of the school, Hishikawa Moronobu (1630/31-1694).³ The imagery of each scene will be discussed, accompanied by comparisons with other works and some findings from the technical research that will help to shed light on the materials and techniques used, and the history of the screen. This leads on to a description of the hitherto unknown provenance of the screen, which serves as an example of the trade in Japanese painting in the early decades of the twentieth century.

The Painting on the Front of the Screen

The main image on the front uses two trees on either side to frame several genre scenes: in the Japanese viewing direction from right to left, a crowd watching a theatrical performance, three small groups of people around a stream, and a party engaged in the delights of cherry blossom viewing.

The theatre scene (fig. 2) shows a play being performed before a varied crowd of onlookers sitting on the ground in front of a wooden stage, with the higher-class audience watching from two boxes to the right. It shows the Nakamura-za theatre in Edo as it was before the mid-sixteenth-eighties,⁴ which dovetails nicely with the information that can be deduced



1a



1b





Fig. 2
Detail of the eight-
fold screen (fig. 1a):
Scene from the
kabuki play
Takayasu kayoi
in the Nakamura
theatre.

from the portrayal of the play and its actors, as we will see below.

The scene on stage is very similar to a double-page book illustration in *Tales of Actors Past and Present* (古今役者物がたり, *Kokon yakusha monogatari*) by Moronobu, whose prints and printed books documented the world of the Edo pleasure quarters and theatres in the late seventeenth century (fig. 3).⁵ *Tales of Actors Past and Present* was first published in 1678, as a guide to the world of *kabuki* theatre, and it illustrates the Ichimura and Nakamura theatres in Edo and sixteen scenes from the repertoire of early *kabuki* plays. The main scene from *Coming and Going to Takayasu* (たかやすかよひ, *Takayasu kayoi*) is depicted in fig. 3. This now little-known play was an adaptation of an episode in the collection of *Yamato Stories* (大和物語, *Yamato monogatari*).⁶ It tells the story of a young man who marries his childhood sweetheart. When the wife's father passes away, her husband feels obliged to enter into a second relationship, with a woman in the county of

Takayasu.⁷ Despite this fact, his first wife never reproaches him and waits for him patiently whenever he travels to and from Takayasu. The husband thinks this very suspicious and one night, to check whether she is not secretly having an affair, he pretends to leave for Takayasu and hides in the shrubbery in the front garden. He watches his wife comb her hair, reciting a romantic poem that expresses her longing for her husband. The story relates: 'While he was still watching her, she burst into tears. Throwing herself down, she poured some water into a metal bowl, which she pressed to her breast. "How curious! Why is she doing that?" he wondered and continued his watch. Soon the water was boiling furiously. She emptied it, then filled the bowl once again with cold water. The sight moved him so greatly he ran up to her, crying, "What grief drove you to do this?" He took her into his arms and remained with her that night. Spending all his time with his first wife, he ceased altogether to visit his new wife.'⁸



Fig. 3

HISHIKAWA MORONOBU, Scene from the kabuki play *Takayasu kayoi*, double-page book illustration, *Tales of Actors Past and Present*, Japan, Edo, 1678. London, British Museum, inv. no. 2014,3024.1.

On the stage, the husband is placed behind a brushwood fence. He wears a courtier's costume, including the accompanying cap, albeit with a fashionable contemporary hairstyle. His faithful wife, called Tsutsui in the play, is depicted as an elegant figure, languidly reclining on an armrest in a stylish kimono. This is likely to be a portrait of Tamagawa Sennojō (?-1671), a famous actor of women's roles (*onnagata*). He played Tsutsui in *Takayasu kayoi* from 1653 to 1654 in Edo and toured the country to perform in other cities, to great public acclaim. According to an entry in the well-known diary of the theatre-loving *daimyo* Matsudaira Naonori (1642-1695), Sennojō returned to Edo from Kyoto in early 1662 to perform in the Nakamura theatre depicted here on this screen.⁹ Later in 1662 the diary mentions him in a performance of *Kawachi kayoi*, a play that is considered to be the same as *Takayasu kayoi*.¹⁰

On the screen, the theatre compound is surrounded by curtains emblazoned with a *mon* (clan crest) of three facing

butterflies. Although identification of this *mon* cannot be established at this point,¹¹ it may be significant that the top part of Moronobu's printed book illustration shows a row of actor crests, among them one with two facing butterflies. This is puzzling, since Sennojō is associated with another crest that does not figure here.¹² There is a possibility that there was more than one generation of actors who used the name Tamagawa Sennojō and there may be confusion about the use of the various crests by these different actors.¹³

It may well be that Sennojō's huge success was an incentive for a client to order this screen to be painted, looking back on a performance by Sennojō, who died in 1671. The similarity to the image in Moronobu's *Tales of Actors Past and Present* leads us to assume that this book illustration was the model for the screen, and that the screen was painted after 1678, when Moronobu's book was published. Moronobu published a number of printed books, in which he developed what has been described as 'a visual



Fig. 4
Detail of the eight-fold screen (fig. 1a): Musicians on the stage of the Nakamura theatre.

Fig. 5
Musicians on the stage of the Nakamura theatre, detail of Hishikawa Moronobu, *Kabuki Theatre*, Japan, Edo, seventeenth century. Pair of six-fold screens, ink, colours and gold leaf on paper, each 170.0 x 397.6 cm. Tokyo, Tokyo National Museum, inv. no. A-11084. Photo: DNP Image Archives, Tokyo

vocabulary', a reservoir from which he and his followers could draw for their portrayal of the people who inhabited the world of theatres and the pleasure quarters.¹⁴ That the Hishikawa School used template-like groups of figures can be confirmed by the depiction and arrangement of the musicians in the theatre. The grouping is very close to that on the pair of screens in the Tokyo National Museum with a picture of the Nakamura theatre (figs. 4, 5).

However, the brushwork by Moronobu on the Tokyo National Museum screens is cleaner and more polished than the somewhat looser, more calligraphic brushwork on the Rijksmuseum screen.

The left-hand side of the screen is dominated by a scene of a lively party of cherry blossom viewers (fig. 6). Three women dance on a mat decorated with flower motifs, accompanied by three musicians playing the flute, the drum and the three-stringed lute, *shamisen*.



Fig. 6
Detail of the eight-fold screen (fig. 1a): Cherry blossom viewing party.

A landscape screen behind them illustrates the adaptable use of a folding screen. To the left, the curving trunk of the tree encloses a party of a courtesan with two attendants, a woman playing a zither and another *shamisen* player. A curtain surrounding the party carries the *mon* of two ginger leaves of the brothel Myōga-ya from the Yoshiwara licensed quarter in Edo,¹⁵ signalling that this is an outing.

This group is comparable to several other depictions of Myōga-ya cherry blossom viewing parties on a number of handscrolls,¹⁶ for instance the example by Moronobu in the Weston Collection (fig. 7).¹⁷ They share very similarly depicted musicians, courtesans and people preparing food, with variations in the arrangements. Likewise, the brushwork lines are clean and of constant width. Again, it is clear that the brushwork on the Rijksmuseum screens is less neat and even, but at the same time a little livelier and more varied. Furthermore, the technique of shading on the meandering cherry tree is comparable to a certain extent to works by Moronobu, but seems less expertly handled, and the way the



Fig. 8
Detail of the eight-fold screen (fig. 1a):
Group of men.

curving tree frames the images is somewhat contrived.

On the middle section, there are more types that are characteristic of the entertainment circles of Edo society. A group of rough-looking men walks towards the blossom viewing, centred around a swashbuckling man with two very long swords and the unshaven hairstyle of a *rōnin*, a samurai with no master (fig. 8). A little further to the left an older man sitting on a rug holds

Fig. 7
Detail of Hishikawa Moronobu, *Genre Scenes of Edo*, Japan, Edo, 1688-94. Handscroll, ink and colours on silk, 39.7 x 679.5 cm. Chicago, Weston Collection, inv. no. 54: Cherry blossom viewing party. Photo: Jamie M. Stukenberg





Fig. 9
Detail of the eight-
fold screen (fig. 1a):
Drinking party.

Fig. 10
Exhibition by the art
dealer Felix Tikotin,
Dresden, before 1926.
Photograph,
Dresden, Deutsche
Fotothek, inv. no.
32014606.

a lacquer cup, while a servant boy fills it with sake from a gourd bottle (fig. 9). Next to them, a young man holds a brush and a slip of paper; he is about to compose a poem. His hairstyle is that of a *wakashu*: a young man who has not undergone the coming of age ceremony.¹⁸ *Wakashu* were in a transient realm, where they did not have the social responsibilities of adults but were considered sexually mature and were available for relationships with either men or women.¹⁹ The older man in this painting is therefore likely to be his *nenja*, an older companion with whom the youth may or may not engage in a homoerotic relationship.²⁰

The template-like use of elements in the composition is also evident on an eight-fold screen that once formed a pair with the Rijksmuseum screen (fig. 10, see also below, p. 228). Like the Rijksmuseum screen, it shows a theatre scene taken from Moronobu's *Tales of Actors Past and Present*.²¹ Although details of this screen, whose whereabouts are now unknown, are hard to read from the photograph, it seems





to bear scenes that are part of the iconographical idiom known from several genre scene paintings from the Hishikawa School: a boating scene;²² groups of figures including *rōnin* and a view of the Yoshiwara district.²³

It is clear from the above that the Rijksmuseum screen is a collection of samples from the world of entertainment in Edo, using elements from the iconographic idiom that are widely found on other Hishikawa School works. We have found no similarity in the depiction of faces, postures and scenery in signed works by followers of Moronobu.²⁴ When compared to Moronobu's own paintings, it is noticeable that the composition of the screen is rather loose, consisting of elements placed quite separately from each other, whereas Moronobu's works are characterized by a tight coherence and flow of visual elements in the composition, which contributes to a strong narrative character. There is, moreover, the aforementioned difference in style of painting, with calligraphic brush strokes as opposed to the polished lines of Moronobu's mature work. The only instance of more calligraphic brushwork by Moronobu can be seen in a painting dated 1679, although the intensity and individualization of the faces sets it apart from those on the Rijksmuseum screen, which have a more uniform expression.²⁵ At least

for the moment, the screen can therefore only be attributed to the wider Hishikawa School, probably in the last two decades before 1700.

The Materials Used on the Front of the Screen

The screen was examined prior to remounting, to establish whether the pigments used might deviate from the standard range of mineral pigments.²⁶ It was necessary to rule out the possibility of the addition of later pigments that might not withstand the usual practice of cleaning with moisture, which is a standard part of the remounting process. During the testing, it was noticed that the faces and clothes displayed different colours of grey and white. Several tests were carried out into the nature of the pigments used in those places, to establish whether the grey might be the result of discolouration. It was found that at least two white pigments were used: for the most part shell white (*gofun*) and in a few instances small areas of lead white, for instance the white collar that frames the face of the actor standing behind the fence (fig. 11).²⁷ No lead was found in the pigment for his grey-coloured face (nor for any other of the other ones tested).²⁸ This led to the conclusion that the grey was not the result of discolouration of the lead white, but was done intentionally, to offset it from the white colour.

Fig. 11
Detail of the eight-fold screen (fig. 1a): Tsutsui and her husband outside the fence.

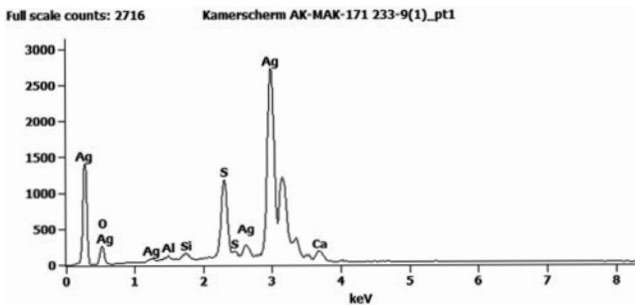
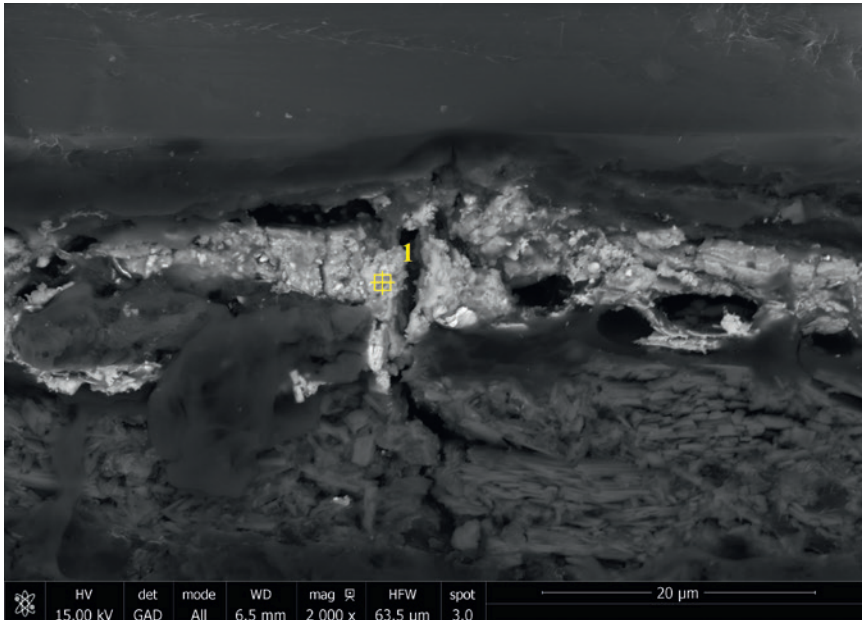


Fig. 12
Particles of silver (Ag) and sulphur (S), found in a sample taken from the blue kimono of the reclining actor playing the female role (see note 29).

Further colour research brought to light the use of a special pigment for the finely decorated blue kimono of the reclining actor playing the female role. XRF testing identified the presence of silver in the blue pigment, and further investigation of a cross section with an SEM-EDS pointed to the addition of sulphur and showed that the silver was not foil, but particles embedded in a glue layer (fig. 12).²⁹ This leads to the conclusion that it must be *kungindei* (薰銀泥), a blue silver that is prepared by rubbing silver foil between the fingers with an animal glue to form a paste. Subsequently, this paste can be chemically altered using sulphur, to colour it blue, red or black.³⁰

The Image and Materials on the Reverse of the Screen

Unusually for Japanese screens, in the mid-nineteenth century a painting of a landscape scene by Itabashi Tsurao (板橋貫雄, 1809-1872) was added on the reverse (fig. 1b). Given the non-standard format, this was presumably specially commissioned.³¹ Tsurao studied under Sumiyoshi Hirotsura (住吉弘貫, 1793-1863),³² one of the last major artists of the Sumiyoshi School. Painters of this school served primarily as painters to the shogunal court in Edo and worked in a somewhat flat, decorative style that focused on fine line and detail. In line with the Sumiyoshi tradition, Tsurao painted the landscape in brilliant colours. The title 'Late Autumn/Autumn Dusk in Xiling' 西嶺秋暮 makes it clear that it depicts the moun-tains of Xiling (西嶺) in the Western Chinese province of Sichuan, now famous as a ski resort, but also known for the autumn colours of the maple trees (fig. 13).

Tsurao used expensive, high-quality pigments, testifying to the fact that this side must indeed have been considered



not just as the back, but as a complete artwork in itself. Analysis of the materials confirmed their nature: vermilion, malachite, azurite and an abundance of powdered gold.³³ Flowers are depicted in bright azurite and vermilion, and the greens are mostly malachite. The broadly painted clouds and hills, which over time had acquired a brown-grey hue, were found to consist of a very fine gold powder and have been made visible again by the treatment during the remounting process.

Overall, the painting on the reverse had acquired a substantial amount of dirt, especially on the left and right panels that formed the outside of the screen when it was stored shut.³⁴ These parts benefited substantially from cleaning and they now form a much more unified whole with the remaining six panels, especially since they have been mended in several places, where the panels had been pierced. As a result, the painterly quality of the wide mountain scene is expressed to a much greater extent than before.

Remounting

Extensive surface scratches and pigment loss due to abrasion and insect damage, combined with the generally poor condition of the lacquer frame, the mounting silks and the hinges, necessitated a complete remount. After the screen was dismantled, staining in the paper was reduced³⁵ and only repairs in poor condition and/or of a wrong colour match were replaced. The areas of silverfish damage were retouched once the painting had been relined.

Unusually, the old lacquer frame was found to be attached using very accurate mortise-and-tenon joints, rather than the customary nails. Equally unusual was that the old inner wooden frames for the panels appeared to have been reinforced at the bottom with wooden planks. The further composition of the paper layers was found to be traditional, anticipating the future removal of the paintings by only lightly attaching the uppermost paper layers. As was customary, old paper was used for the inner layers. These often carry writing,

Fig. 13
Detail of the eight-fold screen (fig. 1b):
Maple trees in the mountains of Xiling.

which in this case seems to have been just calligraphy practice and has not so far yielded any information.

Interestingly, guidelines from previous remounting were found beneath the silk border that surrounded the painting on the front, which served to align the various parts. It thus became clear that the Hishikawa School painting has probably been remounted four or five times since its time of inception. In contrast, the landscape painting on the reverse showed no signs of remounting, leading to the conclusion that the screen was last remounted somewhere in the middle of the nineteenth century, when the newly made landscape painting was added to the reverse of the screen.

Provenance

The early whereabouts of the screen are unknown. Two identical paper labels attached to the reverse mention a very prestigious but as yet unconfirmed provenance (fig. 14). The label in Japanese states that it comes from the Owari clan; the one in German that it comes 'from the Lords of Nagoya'.³⁶ The Owari domain had its headquarters at Nagoya Castle and was ruled by the Owari-Tokugawa clan.

The screen makes its earliest verifiable appearance in a photograph taken in 1924 at Galerie Ernst Arnold in Dresden (fig. 15), where the art dealer Felix Tikotin (1893-1986) had an exhibition from April to May 1924.³⁷ The Ernst Arnold gallery had sold Japanese art since 1885, when it staged the first Japanese print exhibition in Germany.³⁸ In the early years of the twentieth century, it was frequented by Felix Tikotin, who grew up in Dresden and developed a passion for Japanese art in that city, a centre of interest in Japanese art. After the First World War, Tikotin gradually ventured into the art trade and started to build a sales collection on visits to Munich, Berlin, Paris and London. It may have been that he acquired the screen on one of these visits. It is likely that the label in Japanese was attached

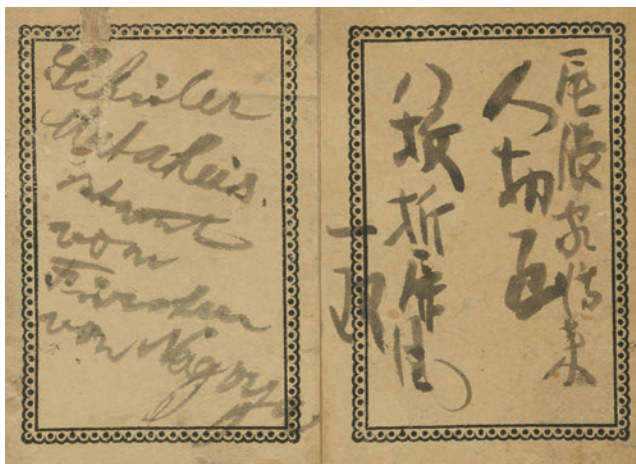


Fig. 14
Detail of the eight-fold screen (fig. 1b):
Paper labels.

in Japan, which would mean that the identical one in German was too. It is consequently possible that it was a German visitor who brought the screen back from Japan.³⁹

Intriguingly, the paper label in Japanese also states that it is 'a pair of eight-fold screens'.⁴⁰ This is somewhat puzzling, since a pair of Japanese folding screens consists almost invariably of two six-fold screens, but indeed, there is a photograph of a screen that must be its pendant (fig. 10). Both screens appear to be the same size, when they were photographed as part of the Tikotin collection in Dresden,⁴¹ and have identical mountings. One wonders whether the other screen was also furnished with a nineteenth-century landscape painting, and above all, where it is now. It does not appear in later sale catalogues published by Tikotin.⁴²

Tikotin is perhaps less well known than other dealers active in Europe in the same period, such as Yamanaka & Co. in London or Bing in Paris, but he deserves a place amongst the important dealers of the twentieth century in Europe, whose activities served as conduits for the influx of Japanese art objects. As such, these dealers functioned as arbiters of taste, shaping private collections through the range of objects that they offered and

the knowledge that they transferred. Tikotin travelled to Japan frequently and sold Japanese pieces to many collectors and museums, and his influence on collecting was particularly strong in the Netherlands, where he was forced to move in 1933 due to the political situation in Germany.⁴³

By then, the Rijksmuseum screen had passed through the hands of Herman Karel Westendorp (1868-1941), one of the foremost Dutch collectors of Japanese art and a founding member of the Royal Asian Art Society in the Netherlands (Vereniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst, vvak), and its ongoing chairman from its foundation in 1918. Westendorp's collecting reached a peak in the nineteen-twenties and he had met Tikotin very early on in his career. One of Westendorp's diaries mentions a visit to Tikotin in Dresden in 1922. It is not known when Westendorp received the screen; however, the minutes of the vvak board meeting of

17 October 1931 record that the society wished to purchase two objects 'in the possession of the chairman', one of which was 'a large eight-fold Japanese screen that the dealer Tikotin wishes to take back; however, it is deemed desirable to retain it in this country.'⁴⁴ The minutes further record that Westendorp is willing to offer it for the purchase price of RM 2,000, to be paid when convenient. Further, he is happy to keep it, if the society prefers not to buy it. In the end, when Westendorp had left the room, the committee decided that it would be advisable to acquire it.

The statement that Tikotin expressed a wish to take back the screen may mean that at that point it was still on approval with Westendorp. It is likely that Westendorp, a retired banker with considerable means, acted here as a private bank, advancing funds to pre-finance the acquisition of an object, so that it would not be lost during the

Fig. 15
Exhibition by the art dealer Felix Tikotin in Galerie Ernst Arnold, Dresden, 1924. Photograph, 158 x 227 mm. Amsterdam, Tikotin Archive.



period the society needed to decide whether to purchase it or not. It is relevant that at this time the severe economic crisis of the early nineteenth-century was in full swing. Currencies were in turmoil, the gold standard was in the process of being abandoned; Westendorp therefore showed himself to be generous with his offer to receive repayment whenever it suited the society. In the end, he was reimbursed 1,200 guilders in May of the following year.⁴⁵ No doubt Westendorp used the

sum for the purchase of further art objects for his personal collection, which he fully intended to leave to the society, so if the screen had remained with him in 1931, it would have nevertheless ended up where it is now, in the vvak collection. In any case, Westendorp did well to find this screen, which is once again able to feature in all its glory as an early acquisition of a major Japanese genre painting in the Netherlands.

ABSTRACT

The restoration of a Japanese eight-fold screen, accompanied by art-historical study and research into materials and techniques has greatly enhanced the understanding of the object. Each side bears a painting and it was found that the oldest painting depicts the world of entertainment in Edo in the late seventeenth century, with a portrayal of the Nakamura theatre, holding a performance of the early *kabuki* play *Coming and Going to Takayasu*, featuring the then popular actor of women's roles Tamagawa Sennojō. The source of this scene is an illustration from a 1678 book by Hishikawa Moronobu, *Tales of Actors Past and Present*. Also, there is an outing to view the cherry blossoms by the Yoshiwara brothel Myōgaya. The other side was fitted in the mid nineteenth century with a specially commissioned painting of an autumn landscape by the painter Itabashi Tsurao, using high-quality pigments. The provenance of the screen has been traced back to 1924, to the dealer Felix Tikotin. It was acquired by Herman Karel Westendorp, the first chairman of the Royal Asian Art Society in the Netherlands, the present owner, to whom Westendorp sold it in 1931.

NOTES

- 1 Some of this technical research has also been published in Lucien van Valen and Menno Fitski, 'De restauratieateliers', *Aziatische Kunst* 47 (2017), no. 1, pp. 46-53.
- 2 Although a screen like this functioned as a flexible room divider and therefore has no one single front, for practical purposes, the side with the oldest painting is referred to as 'the front'.
- 3 See for Moronobu Timothy Clark et al., *The Dawn of the Floating World 1650-1765: Early Ukiyo-e Treasures from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, exh. cat. London (Royal Academy of Arts) 2001, pp. 49-50 and David Waterhouse, 'Hishikawa Moronobu: Tracking Down an Elusive Master', in *Designed for Pleasure: The World of Edo Japan in Prints and Paintings, 1680-1860*, exh. cat. New York (Asia Society and Museum) 2008, pp. 33-55.
- 4 See 歌舞伎：えどの芝居小屋 歌舞伎座新開場記念展 (*Kabuki: Theaters during the Edo*

Period – In commemoration of the Opening of the New Kabukiza), exh. cat. Tokyo (Suntory Museum of Art) 2013, pp. 50-55, nos. 24-26, for the depictions of the Nakamura theatre: on the pair of screens in the Suntory Museum (dated to around 1693), in a wooden model, and on the hand scroll in the Ota Museum (dated 1684-89). In fact, there were two series of elevated boxes (棧敷, *sajiki*) at right angles on either side of the stage. Around 1685-90 a two-storey *sajiki* was installed. The front of the box could be covered with a movable bamboo blind, to ensure privacy for the onlookers, or could be decorated, as has been done here, with a throw over the railing. Earl Ernst, *The Kabuki Theatre*, London 1956, pp. 37, 41; Jacob Raz, *Audience and Actors: A Study of their Interaction in the Japanese Traditional Theatre*, Leiden 1983, pp. 157-59.

- 5 Pages 6v and 7 of the illustrated book, Satoru Satō, ‘版本紹介 1 「古今役者ものがたり」 (Introduction of Print Books I: Kokon Yakusha Monogatari (Story of Actors in History))’, 浮世絵芸術 *Ukiyo-e Art* 103 (1992), p. 29. A complete transcription of the text is given on pp. 14-37. See also Susumu Matsudaira, 師宣祐信絵本書誌 (*Bibliography of Illustrated Books by Moronobu and Sukenobu*), Musashimurayama 1988 (日本書誌学体系 57 (*Survey of Japanese Bibliographical Studies*, vol. 57)), pp. 13-18, for bibliographical information about this rare book.
- 6 This is story 149 in the *Yamato monogatari*, a tenth-century compilation that relates some of the stories that are also in the *Ise monogatari*, where this is the twenty-third story. See *Tales of Yamato: A Tenth Century Poem-Tale* (Mildred M. Tahara, transl.), Honolulu 1980, pp. 102-03, 179; Joshua M. Mostow et al., *The Ise Stories: Ise monogatari*, Honolulu 2010, p. 65-69. The part of the script that is illustrated above the scene is the only surviving fragment of the play’s script. It makes it evident that the play was adapted from the *Yamato monogatari* version, probably in the sixteenth century. See Takahiro Imaizumi, ‘玉川千之丞「高安通ひ」と番外曲「高安 (On the Early Kabuki Number Titled “Takayasu Kayoi” Played by Sennojo Tamagawa)’, 桐蔭論叢 *Tōin ronsō* 34 (2016), no. 6, pp. 182-83.
- 7 In the Heian period, a young woman stayed with her parents after getting married. Her husband would rely on his father-in-law for career assistance and financial maintenance and when, as in this case, the father passed away, the polygynous customs would allow the young husband to marry another, additional woman. Mostow 2010 (note 6), p. 69.
- 8 Tahara 1980 (note 6), pp. 102-03.
- 9 松平大和守日記 (*Diary of Lord Matsudaira Yamato*), last month of Kanbun 1 (1662): ‘上方より下り 玉川千之丞 女かた名人’ (‘The famous *onnagata* Sennojō arrived from Kamigata [the region around Kyoto and Osaka]’, in Yasuji Wakatsuki, 近世初期国劇の研究 (*Studies in Early Modern Traditional Theatre*), Tokyo 1944, p. 36.
- 10 河内かよひ 千之丞, *ibid.*, p. 47. See Imaizumi 2016 (note 6), p. 176.
- 11 In any case, it is not the crest of the Nakamura theatre: a crane until c. 1690 and ginkgo leaves afterwards. Janice Katz et al. (eds.), *Painting the Floating World: Ukiyo-e Masterpieces from the Weston Collection*, Chicago 2018, p. 88, note 2.
- 12 According to Shūgō Asano, 菱川師宣と浮世絵の黎明 (*Hishikawa Moronobu and the Dawn of Ukiyo-e*), Tokyo 2008, pp. 139-40, Sennojō had a *mon* of a four-lobed plum shape with paulownia leaves in the centre. He appears with this *mon* in the 1693 illustrated guide for *kabuki* actors by Torii Kiyonobu, 古今四場居百人一首 (*One Hundred Actors of All Ages*), also 古今四場居色競 (*Beauty of Actors of All Ages*). However, in this guide, the actor Tamagawa Kasen, a later *onnagata* actor from the lineage that was started by Sennojō, is listed with the two-butterfly *mon*.
- 13 See Money L. Hickman, ‘Views of the Floating World’, *MFA Bulletin* 76 (1978), p. 29. Since the 1678 book with the two-butterfly crest predates the 1693 guide that attributes Sennojō with the flower-shaped crest, it seems more likely that the latter may have been used by a later generation Sennojō.
- 14 Clark et al. 2001 (note 3), p. 64.
- 15 I am most grateful to Rosina Buckland for this information.
- 16 *Genre Scenes of the Four Seasons* in the Tokyo National Museum, inv. no. A-439; 出光美術館名品選II (*Masterpieces of the Idemitsu Collection, Part 2*), exh. cat. Tokyo (Idemitsu Museum of Arts) 2006, pp. 52-53.
- 17 See Katz et al. 2018 (note 11), pp. 88-93.
- 18 These youths had a characteristic look with a partly shaven area that is visible in front of the tied knot at the back of the head.
- 19 Joshua S. Mostow et al., *A Third Gender: Beautiful Youths in Japanese Edo-Period Prints and Paintings (1600-1868)*, exh. cat. Toronto (The Royal Ontario Museum) 2016, p. 12. The label of ‘third gender’ of this category of youths (naturally, not every Japanese boy passed through this phase) serves to indicate that they constitute a category that falls outside Western gender concepts.
- 20 Mostow et al. 2016 (note 19), p. 19.
- 21 The previous illustration in the book, on pages 5v and 6, see Satō 1992 (note 5), p. 29.
- 22 Comparable to, for instance, the one on the aforementioned *Genre Scenes of the Four Seasons* scroll in the Tokyo National Museum (note 16), or the scroll in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, see Clark et al. 2001 (note 3), pp. 72-73.
- 23 Similar arrangements of the Yoshiwara district buildings can be found on the left-hand screen of a pair of screens in the Idemitsu Museum by the Moronobu follower Morohira 開館十五年記念展図録 (*The 15th Anniversary Catalogue*), coll. cat. Tokyo (Idemitsu Museum) 1991, pp. 52-53, no. 107 and the left-hand screen

- of a pair in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Clark et al. 2001 (note 3), pp. 64-67.
- 24 See for instance the following examples. For Furuyama Moroshige: 今西コレクション 名品展III (*Masterpieces from the Imanishi Collection III*), exh. cat. Kumamoto (Kumamoto Prefectural Museum of Art) 1991, p. 16; for Hishikawa Morohira: Clark et al. 2001 (note 3), pp. 90-91; for Hishikawa Tomofusa: Motoaki Kōno, Tadashi Kobayashi (eds.), ニューオータニ美術館 (*New Otani Art Museum*), Tokyo 1995 (肉筆浮世絵大観 8 (*Ukiyo-e Paintings in Japanese Collections*, vol. 8)), no. 5; for Hishikawa Waō: *ibid.*, no. 8; for Furuyama Moromasa: Shūgō Asano, Tadashi Kobayashi (eds.), 千葉市美術館 (*Chiba City Museum of Art*), Tokyo 1995 (肉筆浮世絵大観 10 (*Ukiyo-e Paintings in Japanese Collections*, vol. 10)), no. 15; for Hishikawa Morotane: *ibid.*, nos. 13, 14.
- 25 A hanging scroll with a scene of the play Sumidagawa in the collection of the Chiba City Museum of Art, Asano, Kobayashi 1995 (note 24), no. 11.
- 26 Methods used: XRF-ARTAX, XRF-Olympus Delta, SEM-EDS, LM, High resolution optical microscope (HIROX), UHPLC.
- 27 XRF-Olympus Delta (Geochem-Standard), carried out by Arie Wallert 13-08-2015; XRF-ARTAX (Bruker Artax μ -xrf spectrometer, 50kV, 600 μ A, 120 sec. Mo anode, 0.060 μ m capillary lens, no He-flush), carried out by Arie Wallert, 08-12-2015.
- 28 Olympus Delta Professional XRF, mode Geo-Chem, 3mm, 40kV/10kV, 60sec., carried out by Judith van der Brugge-Mulder and Dionysia Christoforou, 10-01-2018.
- 29 SEM-EDS (JEOL JSM-5910LV variable pressure scanning electron microscope, equipped with an energy dispersive X-Ray spectroscopy detector (EDS, Silicon Drift Detector, Ultradry, Noran System Seven software, Thermo Scientific), sample no. 233.9(t)_pt1, carried out by Ineke Joosten, Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands (RCE). Amsterdam, 01-09-2016.
- 30 Ikuo Hirayama et al., *An Illustrated Dictionary of Japanese-Style Painting Terminology*, Tokyo 2010, p. 63.
- 31 Many thanks to Rosina Buckland for her kind help in identifying the painter. We wrongly stated another name in an earlier publication: Van Valen and Fitski 2017 (note 1).
- 32 Tadashi Araki (ed.), 大日本書画名家大鑑 (*Great Vessel of Japanese Calligraphers and Painters*), vol. 2, Tokyo 1934, p. 1847.
- 33 XRF-Artax, carried out by Arie Wallert, 08-12-2015.
- 34 Each of the eight panels of the reverse painting consisted of three sheets of *maniai-shi*, measuring approximately 39.6 x 52.7 cm, with a narrow strip measuring 15.2 x 52.7 cm along the bottom edge.
- 35 The painted panels were spray dampened and laid face-up on two layers of absorbent rayon paper, to allow the degradation products to flow through into the rayon papers. After this, the pigments were consolidated using a 3% solution of Japanese deer-glue size (*nikawa*) and the gilded areas were treated with Japanese seaweed adhesive (*funori*). Each panel consisted of four sheets measuring approximately 30.3 x 52.7 cm of *maniai-shi* (paper made of the inner bark of the *gampi* bush (雁皮 *Diplomorpha sikokiana*)).
- 36 ‘尾張家伝来’ (‘handed down from the house of Owari’) and ‘stamt [sic] vom Fürsten von Nagoya’ (‘originates from the Lords of Nagoya’).
- 37 See Patrizia Jirka Schmitz, ‘Felix Tikotin’s early years in Germany’, in Jaron Borensztajn (ed.), *Ghosts and Spirits from the Tikotin Museum of Japanese Art – Felix Tikotin: A Life Devoted to Japanese Art*, exh. cat. Leiden (Japan Museum Sieboldhuis) 2012, p. 46.
- 38 *Ibid.*, p. 45.
- 39 For instance, the ethnologist and collector of Japanese art Ernst Grosse (1862-1927) visited Japan from 1907 onwards. Fritz Rumpf (1888-1949) had been imprisoned in Japan and developed a keen interest in the arts. He became a close friend of Tikotin and accompanied him on his trip to Japan in 1927 (see Jirka Schmitz 2012 (note 37), p. 52). The art historian William Cohn (1880-1961), a specialist in Japanese painting, travelled to Japan in 1909 and again in 1924 (see Wolfgang Klose, Dr. William Cohn (*Berlin 1880 – Oxford 1961*) *Gelehrter Publizist und Advokat fernöstlicher Kunst*, http://www.w-ch-klose.de/html/william_cohn.html#zurck (consulted 13 January 2019)).
- 40 ‘八折屏風一双’ (‘eight-fold screen, a pair’).
- 41 Judging by the background in the photographs taken by Margarete Fimmen-Lindig, before 1926, see http://www.deutschefotothek.de/documents/obj/32014606/df_hauptkatalog_0096783 and http://www.deutschefotothek.de/documents/obj/90025898/df_hauptkatalog_0096785 (consulted 13 January 2019).
- 42 Otto Kümmel (intr.), *Japansk kunst og kunsthåndværk samlingen Tikotin: udstillet i det Danske Kunstinstitutmuseum, januar-februar 1933*, exh. cat. Copenhagen 1933 and Otto Kümmel (intr.), *Tentoonstelling van*

vroege Japansche kunst: verzameling Felix Tikotin, exh. cat. Amsterdam 1933.

- 43 When the political unrest began in Berlin in late February 1933, Tikotin, who was Jewish, was staging an exhibition in Copenhagen. He shipped his collection to the Netherlands and followed it immediately without returning to Germany.
- 44 'De conservator zou graag de hand leggen op 2 voorwerpen die in het bezit zijn van de voorzitter: 1^o een groot 8 deelig Japansch scherm, dat de kunsthandelaar Tikotin wenscht terug te nemen; het is echter gewenscht het hier te lande te houden'. Board meeting 17 October 1931, *Notulenboek voor de vergaderingen van het Huis-houdelijk Bestuur en van de Bijzondere Commissies van de Vereniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst*, archive VVAK 1.
- 45 *Journal Aankoopfonds Aziatische Kunst vanaf 30 April 1929 - 7 Maart 1936*, 12 May 1932, archive VVAK 17.