“The Dynamics of Metaphor in Suzuki Harunobu”

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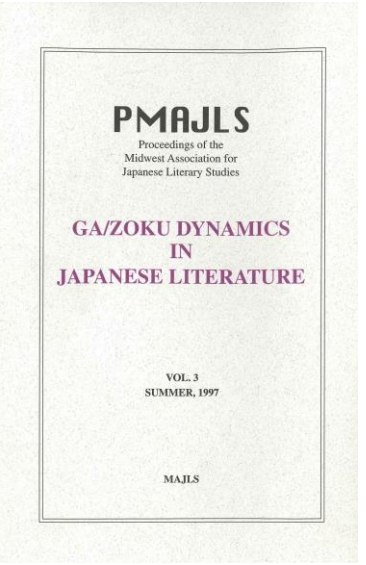

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The Dynamics of Metaphor in Suzuki Harunobu

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Suzuki Harunobu is an artist of woodblock printing about whose life we know very little. According to contemporary sources Shin zōho ukiyo-e ruikō [Yoshida 75) and Ōta Nanpo's Hanjitsu kanwa (Suzuki 399) he died in 1770 and his birth year is usually dated about 1725 (Yoshida 76). He is known in the history of woodblock printing as the first artist to use the technique of polychrome printing. This technical transformation came about all of a sudden during the new year holidays of 1765 in the midst of a calendar exchange by amateur poets who belonged to a linked verse poetry group. This technical renovation was so sensational that Ernest Fenollosa wrote in 1896 in the catalogue of his ukiyo-e exhibition: "The year 1765, therefore, cuts like a knife through the ranks" (Fenollosa 43) the history of ukiyo-e.

We cannot say that Harunobu invented the technique of polychrome printing because it is a collective effort by the painter like Harunobu who draws, the engraver who engraves the drawing on the woodblocks, the printer who prints the engraved wood-blocks, the publisher and, in the case of surimono, also the patron who orders the work. Harunobu is therefore considered the first beneficiary, rather than inventor of the technical renovation which allowed artists to print ten or more colors in one print. Harunobu developed polychrome printing along with famous engravers such as Endō Goroku, Sekine Kaei, Takahashi Rosen and printers such as Ogawa Hacchō and Yumoto Kōshi who all left their names as wood-block craftsmen

in the history of wood-block printing (Kobayashi Edo no e o yomu 184). In the process of print making the first 200 copies, which amount to the printer's daily workload, are called the first impression (shozuri). The second printing and beyond (atozuri) are reserved for those prints which have commercial potential (Inagaki 6). In other words, the first print is often destined for a non-commercial, private use addressed to a closed circle, whereas the second print and after can be a popular item of mass consumption. The question of audience leads us to an important aspect of ga and zoku by which I want to define those two notions in this paper. Konishi Jin'ichi argues that ga, which he calls "the first art" (daiichi geijutsu) is defined by the fact that the tie between the artist and the appreciators is so entangled that both roles are interchangeable, whereas zoku which he calls "the second art" (daini geijutsu) marks a clear line of division between professional artists and anonymous public (Konishi 107-108). We can extend Konishi's definition in order to see ga and zoku primarily as a function of the audience. For most often ga and zoku are argued as characteristic of the work of art itself independent of the nature of beholder or creator. In fact, Konishi's point of view not only introduces a new perspective on ga and zoku, but also clarifies Harunobu's and his collaborators' attempt to manipulate the relationship of artists and audience in order to produce multiple artistic values out of the same work of art. For, as long as ga and zoku are defined in relation to artist and audience, while a work of art remains materially the same, it can switch the criteria of ga and zoku freely as its audience changes. Therefore the question of whether or not Harunobu's prints were for the private use of a closed circle can be reformulated into a question about ga and zoku dynamics.

The print destined for private use only is called surimono, which is defined by Matei Forrer as follows:

> surimono (lit.: Printed thing) refers to prints that were privately produced and printed in limited editions, to be distributed among friends and not put on sale. (4).

The person who orders surimono is the patron who corresponds to the modern customer of, for example, personalized Christmas cards or New Year cards nenga-jō Harunobu's polychrome technique started with calendars commissioned as surimono. Reportedly two groups of rich amateur poets led respectively by Ōkubo Jinshirō Tadanobu (he was hatamoto of 1600 koku), alias Kyosen as his haikai penname, and Abe Hachinojō Masahiro (he was also hatamoto of 1000 goku), alias Sakei, patronized Harunobu in order to commission elaborate calendars exchanged as personal gifts in new year poetry parties in 1765 and 1766.[1]

The role of patrons is not at all clear. Their haikai pennames are indicated with stamps on the prints with the word "kō", for example "Kyosen kō", and Jack Hillier calls them "conceivers".[2] Kobayashi supports Hasebe Kotohito's hypothesis that, by indicating the patron's name on the print, Harunobu and his patrons tried to circumvent goverment control on calendar sales, which were subject to strict regulation in the Hōreki period [1751-1764]. The "kō" stamp suggests that Harunobu's calendars were not for public sale but for the private use of the person indicated by "kō", and calendars restricted to private use were

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[1] About Harunobu's patrons, the most detailed explanation is found in Genshoku ukiyo-e daihyakka jiten, vol 3, 112 (hereafter Genshoku) with bibliographies of each person. According to this explanation, it was Kyosen, more than Shakei, who patronized Harunobu as his favorite artist.

[2] About Hillier's translation of the person indicated by "kō", see his catalogue explanations.

not subject to the restriction of the law.[3] Hasebe's hypothesis seems to be confirmed further by the fact that in later impressions of those picture calendars which were for sale, the patron's stamps and calendar number combinations were usually erased and the print depersonalized, so that the publisher could sell those polychrome prints not as calendars but as normal genre prints destined for a broad public.

What made this manipulation possible was that calendar numbers were concealed in a certain part of prints and could be removed by cutting off only that part from the woodblocks. Naturally, calendars were not a cumbersome complete day-by-day type (higoyomi), but a compact abbreviated type which indicated only the long or short months of the year (daishō goyomi or simply daishō), which the government determined each year according to the lunar calendar. Calendars which indicated only long (30 days) and short months (29 days) were a useful reminder because the policy of the lunar calendar employed in Harunobu's time consisted in not repeating the same long-short combination. However, the calendars which Harunobu made in 1765 were not primarily for practical purposes. Their main feature was their unexpected integration of calendars in prints (Asano 21).

What patrons and print artists desired was to conceal the calendar in genre painting of everyday Edo scenes. For example, in The Archery Gallery, which was a popular Edo game spot, the year 1765 (the Cock Year Meiwa 2) is on the arrow stand and

[3] Hasebe Kotohito, Daishō Goyomi (Hōun-sha, 1943), qtd in Genshoku, vol 3, 112. In fact, if we check governmental prohibitions on publication around Hōreki and Meiwa eras when Harunobu was active, in August of the first year of Enkyō era (1744), the law stipulated the prohibition of calendar printing and selling outside of any publishers except eleven government authorized calendar printers. See "Meiwa shoki no egoyomi surimono sakuhin mokuroku" in Genshoku, vol 3, 122.

the long months are indicated on the back bow of the girl's sash.[4] Jack Hillier points out that this print in the earliest state had calendar numerals, but in later impressions calendric numbers were removed (Hillier 61). The other print which shows the target, for this is a set of two prints, is from a later printing in which the calendric indication has been removed from the sash of the girl kneeling on the floor.[5] The Archery Gallery is an easy calendar to decipher, but other examples are more challenging. The Beauty Jumping from the Balcony of Kiyomizu Temple, which is a calendar for the year 1765, contains calendric indication of long month "dai" and long months of two, three, five, six, eight and ten in shellfish patterns on the girl's kimono.[6] Without reading the explanation attached to the print in the catalogue, it is difficult to discover the calendar indication.

In fact the difficulty to recognize and decipher the calendar seems to have enhanced the value of the work for its appreciators, who enjoyed the deciphering as a game reserved only for the well educated initiates who also participated in the conception of the prints.[7] Two of Harunobu's major patrons, Kyosen and Sakei formed two camps for calendar matches in order to compete for brilliant ideas to place calendars in apparently non-calendric structure of prints.[8] So in this respect,

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[4] See the print in Genshoku, vol 6, 93.

[5] See the print in Genshoku, vol 6, 93.

[6] See the print and explanation by Kobayashi Tadashi in Genshoku, vol 6, 93.

[7] Even though the role of patrons is not clear, generally it is guessed that they also helped to give ideas to make prints and therefore participated for their conception. See Kobayashi (1988), 28-30. Kobayashi indicates in this article that different degrees of involvement are possible for patrons.

[8] According to Kobayashi, Suwa Yoritake's Utatane no yume (1821), first quoted by Mori Senzō, mentions that calendar exchange parties were taken place between several camps gathering around Kyosen and

Harunobu's calendar prints seem to satisfy our definition of ga art as enclosed in a small circle of appreciators among whom artists and appreciators were mixed and even confounded together. Kobayashi shows a calendar of the year 1765 The Head of a Woman (Onna no kubi) signed, not by the "Conceiver Kyosen" (Kyosen kō), but by the "Conceiver and Painter Kyosen" (Kyosen ga kō) (figure 1).[9] The calendar part is very visibly indicated on the left side screen and all difficult drawing of the body is avoided by using screen efficiently. Such an example of conceiver's execution gives us a means to compare Kyosen's drawing with Harunobu's and measure Harunobu's artistry as a painter. At the same time, we see an example of an amateur audience member participating as artist.

> For those calendars, the stamps of kō which privatize publication and the hidden presence of calendars are two indices of ga, because they discriminate between the general public and those who received them as personal gifts and knew how to decipher them. In the case of The Water Vendor (Mizu uri), the publisher did not even bother to remove calendar numeral combination in the later prints destined for sale, not because they wanted to broaden the appreciators of calendar outside of amateur poetry groups, but, according to Hillier, because the calendar was so successfully and safely concealed that the publisher assumed that no general public would recognize it as such.

The first printing of this print bears the conceiver Tokō's stamp (figure 2), but not the subsequent impressions. Comparing with the first print, Jack Hillier explains the second and the third state of this print as follows: "Most calendar prints when re-issued later had the numerals for the long and short

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Shakei and competed for which camp brought more interesting calendars. See Genshoku, vol 3, 112; and see also Kobayashi (1988), 25.

[9] Commented by Kobayashi Tadashi and ed. by Takahashi Seiichiro, Harunobu, Ukiyo-e taikei 2, 137. Also see Kobayashi (1983), 320.

months removed, but the characters Ryūsui have been left, no doubt because the disguise of the calendrical numerals was so perfect.'[10] So perfect that no one except amateurs in calendar exchange groups would see and understand the calendar number combination which is, by the way, concealed in the letter on the panel under the tray placed on the left waterbarrel.

Figure 1. The Head of a Woman (1765), Kyosen (1722-1777), 44 x 57.6 cm; Tokyo Nationmal Museum

[10] About the explanation on the first print and second and third states, see Hillier, 45.

Figure 2. The Water Vendor (1765), Harunobu (1725-1770), 44 x 57.6 cm; The Art Institute of Chicago

Using a concealed calendar as a pivot, the same work of art regards two different audiences from two different faces: one is the face of ga exclusively reserved for an audience of initiates and the other is the face of zoku destined for an ignorant public unaware that the lettered panel of the water vendor might mean something other than simply water. Thus, ga and zoku are not inherent to the work of art but dependent on the question of which social group one belongs to and how one observes art works.

Surimono calendars, which are ga in comparison to commercialized brocade prints are not permanently ga. One example is the calendar entitled Mitate Kinkō Sennin (figure 3) which is a surimono calendar with the stamp of conceiver Yūkō and the calendar of the year 1765 indicated on the letter held by sennin. This print pivots from ga to zoku by alluding to a favorite theme of Chinese ink painting, Kinkō Sennin (figure 4).

Figure 3. Mitate Kinkō Sennin (1765), Harunobu, 44 x 57.6 cm; Tokyo National Museum

In relation to Chinese ink painting, Edo brocade print is zoku activity. The calendar entitled Girl with Shrimp is another example of calendar inspired by Chinese ink painting.[11] Chinese theme marks the line of transition from picture calendars in 1765 and 1766 to polychrome prints which bear no calendric signs. Kobayashi states that until now not a single calendar by

[11] About this print attributed to Harunobu, see Tōgasaki Fumiko (1973), 47 and (1992), 22-35.

Harunobu was found outside of those made in 1765 and 1766 (Kobayashi "Suzuki Harunobu no egoyomi", 27). The transition from picture calendar to polychrome print of more general interest is marked by Kyosen's order of Eight Parlour Views (Zashiki hakkei) which refer to Chinese ink painting theme of Eight Views of Hsiao-hsiang River (Shōshō hakkei): eight themes of Chinese scenery painting are transformed into eight Edo household scenes. Instead of concealing calendar numerals, after 1765 Harunobu and his patrons directed their aim to conceal classic themes such as the ones derived from Chinese painting. Precisely at this stage, surimono and commercial reprints became virtually identical.

Figure 4. Chinese Immortal Ch'in-Kao. Ogata Kōrin (1658-1716). MOA Art Museum.

Two Young Women Reading A Letter seems to dismay art criticism.[12] For the critics automatically assume that this print is a picture calendar. Yet even though the stamp of conceiver Kyosen kō is clearly marked on the print and therefore it is not of later impression for sale, there is no indication of calendar.[13] If it is a calendar, the first place to look is the letter which two girls are holding together, but no calendric signs are there. This print alludes to two Chinese poets Han-shan and Shih-te (Kanzan and Jittoku), a theme in Chinese ink painting, and the common procedureto hide calendar with this theme, which was already used in calendars before Harunobu, is in the letter.[14] Harunobu also made prints in which calendars were hidden in letters such as Kinkō Sennin (figure 3) and a Couple Reading a Letter.[15] Since we cannot find any calendar on the letter, the next place to look is the pattern on the kimono, but no calendar seems to be there either. When we do this search for hidden calendar, we cannot help but imagine that the same situation must have occurred in the pictureexchange party. Since the style of this print is dated around 1765 and 1766, Kyosen might have

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[12] See the print in Hillier, 66. Hillier writes: "Curiously enough, although one of the Kyosen-conceived designs, no impression has been found with calendric symbols, though the style and the restrained colouring point to a 1765 date." (65). Kobayashi puts this print as "calendar?" in his list of Harunobu's surimono and calendars in Genshoku, vol 3, 114.

[13] See for example Hillier, 65-66. Kobayashi indicates that Roger Keath classified this print in picture calendar of 1765; see Kobayashi (1975), 83.

[14] About picture calendar of Han-shan and Shih-te made by painters other than Harunobu, see an example in Genshoku, vol 3, 116. According to this explanation, the calendar is hidden in the letter.

[15] See the print "Couple reading a letter" in Genshoku, vol 3, 113; it shows two different states of this print as an example to explain how calendar numerals were removed from later prints destined for sale. The transformed part for sale is the letter which contains calendar in the first impression.

ordered it from Harunobu in order to trick his fellows in calendar exchange. In their gathering, they must have looked for calendar numerals in vain. In its place they found Chinese ink painting of Kanzan Jittoku hidden in Edo genre painting of domestic scene whose Chinese connection is revealed in a bloom and a letter. They all laughed and calendar exchange was over. This hypothesis will have to suffice until a calendar copy of this print is discovered.

It is more difficult to find out that Harunobu's Eight Parlour Views refer to the Chinese ink painting Eight Views of Hsiao-hsiang River. If we do not realize that the title Zashiki hakkei, printed at the middle of the cover envelop (figure 5) which holds the set of eight prints, alludes to Shōshō hakkei, the association

Figure 5. Wrapper of Eight Parlour Views, Harunobu; The Art Institute of Chicago

is not visually clear at all in the prints. Corresponding to the eight themes in the Eight Views of Hsiao-hsiang River, Harunobu's prints present eight domestic scenes in an Edo household. The Chinese painting of "Descending Geese" (figure 6) becomes the "Descending Geese of the Koto Bridges" (figure 7), because, Hillier explains, the bridges of the koto strings resemble geese aligned on the autumn sky. Harunobu's "The Autumn Moon of the Mirror" (figure 8) connects the crescent-shaped hand mirror posed on the rack to the moon in the sky and refers to "Autumn Moon" in Hsiao-hsiang River (Hillier 67, 69-73).

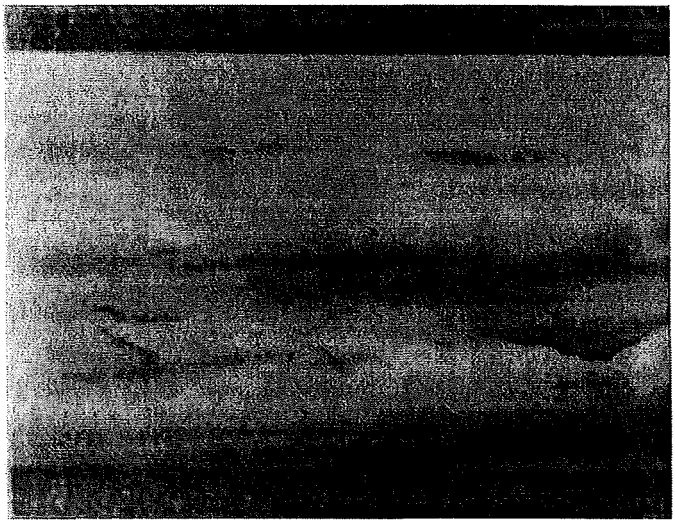

Figure 6. Wild Geese (Segment of "Scroll of Eight Views of Hsiao-hsiang); Attributed to Mu-ch'I (13th c.); Idemitsu Art Museum

The image of aligned geese and a crescent is similar to the pivot word in poetry which characterizes the Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems (Kokin shū). In these poems one

word works as a pivot to connect two unrelated subjects. One example is Ki no Tsurayuki's poem. In the following translation which is meant only to clarify the function of a pivot word, the word "disappears" is the pivot:

> By a blowing wind, a white horizontal cloud separated at a peak of mountain disappears regretlessly like your heart.[16]

Figure 7. Descending Geese of the Koto Bridges, Harunobu; The Art Institute of Chicago

[16] Kazefukeba mineni wakaruru shirakumo no taete tsurenaki kimiga kokoroka (KKS: 601).

Figure 8. The Autumn Moon of the Mirror (first state), Harunobu, 44 x 57.6 cm; The Art Institute of Chicago

In the single word "disappears", the cloud and the lover's affection both cease to exist. In the same way, through the formal feature of visual resemblance between flying geese in the sky and the bridges to hold koto strings, two obviously unrelated subjects like flying geese and a domestic music session are connected. The allusion in "Night Rain on the Daisu" is even more remote: we need all our imagination to recognize a correspondence between the noise of quietly boiling tea water and the noise of "Night Rain" in Hsiao-hsiang River

(Hillier 69). This similarity exists only in the mind of the dozing lady who confuses rain with kettle noise in her half sleep. This connection is like the technique of distant linking (soku zuke) in linked verse in which the connection is given on the ground of lyrical similarity between two states of mind implied in connected verses.

Who could have understood the allusion to Chinese ink painting and to poetry technique implicit in those prints? Of course the closed circle of calendar patrons did. Suzuki Jūzo tells us that judging from Kyosen's and Sakei's social rank, the social standing and culture of amateur poets grouped around them were very high (Suzuki 401). Suzuki and Kobayashi also point out that the way to combine classic themes to completely different Edo genre painting is an application of poetic technique, from linked verse waka or Edo poetry matches (tentori haikai).[17] The poetic genre of waka consists of two stanzas, the first of 5-7-5 syllables and the second of 7-7. There are two ways to connect the first half and the second half: either logical or phonetical continuity from the first half to the second or a mere chance association, where the second stanza of 7-7 syllables seems to exist independently from the first of 5-7-5. This abrupt presentation of a new theme in the second half is called soku or distant verse.

The former smooth way of connection applies well practiced techniques from the Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems such as pivot words and verbal associations (kakekotoba) to linked verse, while the latter non-relational connection was developed and deepened by the Mid-Muromachi poet and priest Shinkei (1406-1475), who introduced Buddhist aesthetics of language into poetry and linked verse. In Shinkei's poetry, the way to combine the first and the second stanzas resembled a Zen

[17] Suzuki, 404. Kobayashi (1983), 306, and (1987), 88-91.

Buddhist riddle (kōan). In the Edo period, linked verse poetics split into two trends. Matsunaga Teitoku, who lived from 1571 to 1653, and Nishiyama Sōin, who lived from 1605 to 1682, developed the haikai tendency of poetry by organizing poetry matches for scores (tentori haikai), which flourished as urban mass culture. Bashō who lived from 1644 to 1694 inherited the tradition of linked poetry which stood against the popularization of haikai by Teitoku and Sōin. Bashō distinguishes two different genres in poetry. One is traditional linked verse in which we cannot use any terms outside of classic poetic vocabulary represented by the New Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems (Shin kokin-shū), and the other is haikai which is a secondary art in relation to linked verse (Bashō 528). With this haikai, Bashō argues for the use of everyday words in poetry (ibid.,603).

According to Kidō Saizō, in Kamakura period and after, the popular practice of linked verse (jige renga) is characterized by close linking realized with pivot words and word associations which make the link clear for everyone (Kidō 20). In Edo period, however, when haikai for high scores became a practice independent from linked verse, close linking of stanzas shifted from ga to zoku. Kira points out that from Teikyo (1684-1687) to Genroku (1688-1703) eras, while masters such as Teitoku practiced close linking, beginners preferred distant linking (Kira 576-77), because they did not have knowledge of poetry rules and classic texts necessary to practice close linking. In fact Shinkei's zen riddle, if taken in an easy superficial manner, works as a game for fun, and this trend of distant linking is encouraged by popularization of haikai for high scores. Kira Sueo indicates that in 1677 already there is a record of scored poetry and in 1689 an anthology of high score poetry was published in Kyoto (ibid. 584). In 1732, there were thirty-two

masters licensed to grade poetry matches in Edo, and the number increased to 70 in 1749 (Ishikawa 496). True to this trend appropriate to the least educated amateur poets, Edo anthologies of high score poems such as Haikai warawa no mato or Haikai kei are full of distant linking poems chosen from public competitions.

If we describe the way to link Harunobu's Eight Parlour Views to Chinese painting themes in haikai terms, it is distant in the manner of Shinkei's alien verse in the print Night Rain of Daisu, while in the prints Descending Geese and The Autumn Moon of the Mirror, the technique is reminiscent of the use of pivot words in the Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems. However, for those amateur poets gathering around Kyosen and Sakei, those prints were not ga any more. The public which confers on this print its status as ga art is paradoxically the only group who can see it as zoku, precisely because they are the only ones who can see the metaphor of Chinese ga art applied to a contemporary Edo zoku art. Surimono which is ga in relation to commercialized items becomes zoku in comparison to Chinese painting. But that is not the factor which distinguishes the Kyosen group amateur poets from the consumers who buy those prints. Harunobu's technique to relate one genre of visual art to the other becomes zoku in relation to the poetry from which the technique is borrowed, because Harunobu's visual metaphors copy a venerable poetic tradition practiced since the Heian period. Then is haikai the highest limit of ga? The answer is no. The haikai of poetry matches was considered as zoku practice by a true poet such as Bashō who condemned competitive poetry. Yet Bashō's own haikai is zoku in comparison to Heian waka. In this ga-zoku spectrum which ranges from the commercialism of prints at the outer edge of zoku to waka, which disappears in the mists of ga classicism, Harunobu opened a new horizon in the

dynamics of ga and zoku by exploiting the cultural instability of the images contained in his prints.

We may ask if the connoisseurs from Kyosen's circle were the only ones who recognized the ga and zoku spectrum. Eight Parlour Views did not circulate only among the amateur poets in Kyosen's group. According to Kobayashi, this set was reprinted for commercial circulation by the publisher Shōkaku-dō, and then further reprinted for a third time by an unknown publisher (Kobayashi Harunobu 85-86). Hillier, in order to indicate the transformations from one impression to the other, shows three different versions of "Descending Geese of the Koto Bridges": the first impression has conceiver Kyosen's name (figure 7), the second does not have any name of conceiver, painter, or other artist, and the third has Harunobu's name only.[18] Even though Hillier points out that, while the difference between the first and second impression is minor, the difference with the third impression is enormous because of color scheme alteration and greenish pigment used on the prints which indicate that the third reprint was done after Harunobu's death, the color scheme does not affect the concealment of classic theme.[19] So Edo market consumers had the same chance as Kyosen's fellows to view concealed themes and thus to enjoy the honorific banner of ga appreciators.

What seems to have distinguished the original beholders is the wrapper. The first impression which Kyosen distributed as personal gifts to his fellow poets in his circle was wrapped in an envelop which, besides the title at the middle and Kyosen's name "Jōsei sanjin Kyosen kō" on the right, carried the words which may be translated as "elegant picture match" (fūryū

[18] See the plate 28, 29, 30 in Hillier, 74-76.
[19] See the explanation of the plate 30 in Hillier, 73.

eawase) on the top (figure 5).[20] The word "picture match" alludes to The Tale of Genji and its chapter "Picture match" in which a competition of tales was described according to the style of poetry competition presided by Emperor Murakami in 960 (Tamagami 41). With this allusion in mind, it is possible that Kyosen and his followers who constituted amateur haikai group planned their gatherings in order to appreciate pictures in the manner of The Tale of Genji. This allusion to the picture match is missing from the wrapper for the commercial set of second impression: it has at the middle in large character "Eastern Brocade Prints" (azuma nishiki e), upper right the original title of "Eight Parlour Views", lower right "Picture Suzuki Harunobu" (Suzuki Harunobu ga) and on the left the publisher-wholesaler Shōkaku-dō's name and his stamp.[21]

When commercialized, these prints lost the solidarity of picture match circle who shared an affinity for The Tale of Genji and a love of poetry in their picture appreciation. What is emphasized instead on the commercial wrapper is the brand of "Eastern Brocade Print" along with Harunobu's name as artist. This time however, the pleasure to detect the concealment of classic themes and even subtly hidden unstated allusions to poetry technique was open to all well-educated consumers, because the bridge to haikai was still visible in the prints. Using this accessibility of ga as an inviting wink of charm, Harunobu lured his customers. For, Harunobu worked to commercially promote his technique of polychrome printing: as soon as he succeeded in making polychrome prints, Harunobu created the commercial logo of " Eastern brocade print" so as to distinguish

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[20] I borrowed Hillier's reading of the wrapper, 69.

[21] The reading of "atsuma nishiki-e" is done by Kobayashi (1988), 148. About the comparison of the two wrappers, see Kobayashi (1975), 84: he published both wrappers side by side with a brief explanation of the second impression wrapper reading on the page 85.

his prints from the already extant brocade prints in Kyoto which had nothing to do with his polychrome print technique, and then he had local merchants advertise his logo in their stores.[22]

Then are Harunobu's prints sold in stores zoku? Comparing with original surimono, it seems that they were, but comparing with other prints already extant on the market, they were not. For, Harunobu's brocade prints were very expensive items due to the use of high quality paper, expensive paints for polychrome and technical novelty and sophistication (Kobayashi Edo kaiga-shi ron 304). In other words, Harunobu and his publishers did not market Harunobu prints as low art, but as sophisticated high art sold as objet de luxe addressed to discriminating consumers wealthy enough to afford the price, but not so wealthy as to commission brocade prints for private use. Zoku in relation to surimono, Harunobu's commercial art imposed itself as ga on the market.

The same work of art does not merely turn two different faces to two different sets of audiences. Ga and zoku are created according to the knowledge of beholders like many facets are created by refraction of prism. Then ga and zoku are not inherent to works of art, for they are related to beholders' states of mind and self-awareness. The sense of complicity which ga engenders to fellow ga beholders motivates the dynamics of ga and zoku as a play of collective affinity and alienation. In that sense of play, ga disguise functions as a marketing tactic. It is the sense of humour and play engendered by this manipulation which Harunobu and his discriminating audience enjoyed.

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[22] Kobayashi in Genshoku, vol 6, 92, and Kobayashi (1975), 85. In both passages, Kobayashi quotes a description from Hogo kago as Harunobu's contemporary witness of how Harunobu marketed his brocade prints.

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