

“Ran-ga”

— A Creative Reception of Western Art into Japanese Art —

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Abstract

My objective in writing this article is to describe how Japanese artists created their own original works of art called Ran-ga after their exposure to Western works of art brought in by the Dutch Factory in Deshima during the Edo period. By examining some typical examples I hope to show that through the hybridization of Western and Japanese art, the Japanese artists discovered even more deeply what was uniquely Japanese in their own work and were able to amalgamate it with the influence Western works of art had on their thinking and expression. Thus, an artistic exchange can envision a different world, but at the same time, lead us to self knowledge.

Key Words : artistic transfer, Ran-ga, Holland, Westernized style painting

INTRODUCTION

As is generally accepted, Western art was transferred two times into pre-modern Japan. What I will discuss below is the second wave which arrived around the middle of the 18th century and gave birth to Ran-ga (蘭画). Ran-ga literally means Dutch art, but actually referred to Western art imported by the Dutch Factory located in Deshima (出島), or to works produced by Japanese artists based on them. The term derives from the fact that Holland was the only Western country allowed to trade with Japan, and consequently the paintings they brought in were all called Dutch, whether they were actually Dutch or not.

My discussion will focus mainly on: how Japanese Ran-ga painters accepted the Western way of painting; what role the importation of copper prints thereby played; how Western geometric perspective was understood among Japanese Ran-ga painters; and how the style of Western art was interpreted among them.

Imported Western Paintings and their Transfer into Japan

Almost all Western paintings imported into Japan during the Edo period were nonexistent, with the exception of some Christian paintings. Although their number could not have been few, the greater part of them was lost as time passed. This loss might partly be due to the minimal interest paid to them by Japanese people. In 1640, for example, François Caron, the head of the Dutch Factory in Deshima presented the third Shogun, Iemitsu (家光) three large Western paintings, including one representing the maritime war at the Strait of Gibraltar, however, they were not so highly appreciated.⁽¹⁾ The East Indian Company which settled at Batavia therefore was informed by Caron that Western paintings would no longer be recommended as official donations to Japan.⁽²⁾

Nevertheless, some paintings were accepted as gifts by Japanese dignitaries in 1634, 1640 and 1641: they were a flower piece, a painting with two ships, the painting of *The Judgment of Solomon*, five flower- and fruit paintings and a painting of a sea battle.⁽³⁾ In 1663, about twenty years after enforcing the Isolation Policy, twenty-one large and small Dutch paintings were offered to the fourth Shogun, Ietsuna (家綱).⁽⁴⁾

For about a hundred years after this entry, however, no documents recording the importation of Western paintings remain as far as I know. It was when Yoshimune (吉宗) was enthroned as the eighth Shogun that the situation gradually changed. He showed a keen interest in Western culture and encouraged its study. It is well known that he relaxed a long standing ban on the importation of certain foreign books. Yoshimune's concern was turned also toward navigation, ships, and clothing; about which he sent some questions to Christiaan van Vrijeberghe, the head of the Dutch Factory in Deshima. In response to his concern, van Vrijeberghe presented the Shogun with copies of an atlas, a model of a ship, and two paintings depicting a sea battle and a landscape in 1718.⁽⁵⁾ In my view, these pieces could have lead to the ordering of five Dutch paintings from Yoshimune in 1722 during the stay in Edo of Hendrick Durven, the head of the Dutch Factory in Deshima,

The order sheet of these five paintings arrived at Nagasaki in October of the same year.⁽⁶⁾ Its content was recorded in the diary kept by Durven: five oil paintings on canvas, three of which should be each 9 feet in height and 4 feet in width, representing animals, birds, and all sorts of Dutch flowers, and two pieces should be each 4 feet in height and 9 feet in width, representing a scene of a hunt with a party of people, dogs and horses, and a scene of battle.⁽⁷⁾

The commissioned works arrived in Japan in 1726 and were delivered to the Shogun during the next year.⁽⁸⁾ The interest of Yoshimune in Western paintings did not diminish; he further ordered twenty- five Dutch paintings depicting birds, flowers and landscapes in 1736. Three years later, the Dutch in Nagasaki again received from the Shogun and his dignitaries

a list of paintings they wanted to have: flower pieces, bird pieces, landscape paintings and figure paintings.⁽⁹⁾

It is not clear how much the Japanese people were exposed to these paintings. Judging from the few documents mentioning them, their owners might gradually have become indifferent to them. However, there are some fortunate exceptions in spite of these circumstances. Two Dutch paintings were documented and illustrated in a book called *Hyakkachozu* (『百華鳥図』) published by Saiga (財峨) around 1728 (ill.1). They were described as being hung in a temple called the Honjo Gohyaku Rakanji. A Dutch horse trainer also saw them in the temple in 1735 and wrote about them as having been bought by Yoshimune and coming from Holland. Without doubt, they correspond with the flower piece and bird piece in the five paintings ordered from Yoshimune in 1722.

Although the original two paintings have been lost for a long time, the flower piece was fortunately copied by the Ishikawa brothers, Tairo and Moko (石川大浪、孟高), around the end of the 18th century, so that its composition and style could correctly be envisioned (ill.2). The copy must have been well known among art lovers and artists at that time, because it was literally re-copied by Buncho Tani (谷文晁). Interestingly, Gentaku Otsuki (大槻玄沢), a great scholar of Dutch sciences at that time, added a dedication of praise on the upper right hand corner of the copy by the Ishikawa Brothers:

“...After five days' work, the brothers Tairo and Moko finished the copy you see here. The forms of flowers and leaves, seeds and fruits, as well as the details of the small animals, birds, insects, and butterflies are depicted in colors true to life, composed so perfectly and shining so wonderfully that one feels before this copy as if sitting in the middle of a splendid garden, perfumed with the sweet smell of flowers. In this way, the painting surpasses even the marvel of nature by so completely representing every detail true to life.”

Unfortunately, the original piece was irrevocably damaged and broken by its unskillful handling during a severe typhoon attack around 1826.

Who then was the author of the original paintings commissioned by Yoshimune? Though beyond the reach covered by this essay, I would like to name a candidate for its author, because this is a special case to shed an interesting light on a forgotten Dutch painter.

The Ishikawa brothers copied the inscription on the original: *W. van Roijen 1725* (ill.3). The signature has induced almost all Japanese scholars to attribute the painting to Willem Frederick van Royen who had mainly painted flower and landscape paintings. He was probably born in Haarlem around 1645; appointed as a court painter to Berlin in 1669, and

died there in 1723. Although he could not have painted the piece dated 1725, it is generally attributed to him because no other suitable candidate can be named.⁽¹⁰⁾ However, considering that Willem Frederick van Royen almost always signed *Guillaume* (ill.4) instead of Willem or W., and put F as the initial of the middle name between *Guillaume* and *van Royen*, a painter having signed *W. van Roijen* should be some person other than Willem Frederick.

Interestingly, a certain Willem Hendrick van Royen, who was born in 1672 and died in 1742 in Amsterdam, is attracting the attention of some scholars: some works have thus recently been attributed to him (ill.5-1).⁽¹¹⁾ Especially interesting to me is that the form of the two birds painted in them (detail of ill.5-2) are almost identical to those depicted in the Japanese copies.⁽¹²⁾ Taking the inscribed date 1725 into consideration, the original painting should not be attributed to Willem Frederick who died in 1723, but to Willem Hendrick who was active in Amsterdam until 1742.

Because the original flower piece is lost, stylistic comparisons to further ascertain my discussion are not possible. No flower piece has certainly been attributed to the new candidate, Willem Hendrick, so far. Only one clue so far is a tiny flower piece installed into the Petronella Oortman Dollhouse produced in Amsterdam around the end of the 17th century (ill.6). It is tentatively attributed to Willem Hendrick, who signed *W.Van:* on a tiny landscape painting hung above the flower piece within the same dollhouse.⁽¹³⁾ The Signature is more similar to those copied by the Ishikawa brothers.

How Geometric Perspective was Accepted?

Geometric perspective mostly attracted the Japanese as the principal feature of the Western art style.⁽¹⁴⁾ Certainly, while authentic looking Western paintings were rather difficult for Japanese artists to produce because of their lack of good teachers and textbooks, suitable models, and art materials, they could easily learn geometric perspective through drawing lines and observing some Chinese prints utilizing it. Many imported examples of megane-e (眼鏡絵) made for perspective boxes and lensed optiques, or those produced in Japan after them were also extremely helpful in accessing the Western art style of painting (ill.7).⁽¹⁵⁾

There exists a document mentioning a large perspective box imported in 1646 from Holland and carried to Edo the next year. When brought to the Edo castle, it drew the most spectators and was widely admired. It was not appreciated as something artistic, but as just a public show piece, along with the others the Dutch brought with them, such as: two camels, a cassowary, two cockatoos, and a civet cat.⁽¹⁶⁾ The great popularity of a perspective box

was documented even in the 18th and 19th century.⁽¹⁷⁾

The principle of a perspective box and a lensed optique lies, as it is known, in a realistic illusion produced by geometric perspective applied to the composition of a megane-e, as these paintings set within a perspective box or set for a lensed optique were called. When the eyes of the viewer rest just in front of the vanishing point, the scene represented in the megane-e suggests truly persuasive three-dimensionality. Without doubt, the perspective box and the lensed optique, which premise geometric perspective invented in the Renaissance period, interested almost all Japanese painters in the Edo period who were keenly intrigued by Western techniques.⁽¹⁸⁾

The megane-es accompanying perspective boxes and lensed optique were usually copper prints and low in quality (ill.8). This must be why Buncho Tani wrote in his book, *Buncho Gadan* (『文晁画談』): “I had owned several Western works, …but understood that they were not worth considering deeply.”⁽¹⁹⁾ However, needless to say, megane-es formed just a part of Western paintings and prints; Western paintings and prints are ordinarily viewed by the naked eye and geometric perspective applied to them was being usually deeply considered. A good example for it is a church interior painted by the Dutch painter, Gerard van Houckgeest. He set the vanishing point to the far left, outside the composition (ill.9). What is represented in the painting is merely a part of the space, completely distanced from the vanishing point.⁽²⁰⁾ Through this choice, van Houckgeest presented the viewer with an extremely natural and spacious extension of the space. Geometric perspective is thus by no means a simple technique. If the Japanese Ran-ga painters had seen only a few poor Western examples of it, they couldn’t have nurtured an insightful understanding of geometric perspective.

However, at least one painter noted not only the limitations, but also the possibilities of geometric perspective. In my view, it was Okyo Maruyama (円山応挙)(1733-1795), who is said to be the creator of some megane-es. Although there existed no certain documents verifying the production of megane-es by him, many scholars have tentatively concluded that Okyo must have painted megane-es in his early years.⁽²¹⁾

What megane-es then were attributed to Okyo? First of all, just look at *Sanju Sangen Do* (《三十三間堂》)(ill.10), showing a typical composition of megane-es. Samurais are engaged in archery practice in a long straight gallery recessing backward. The upper edge of the fence on the left, the eaves of the roof, and the edge of the gallery are all converging into the vanishing point placed just to the left of the target. Even to the naked eye, the space seems to be recessing backward or floating forward. The effect would be even stronger if it were set within a perspective box. The models for such megane-es are said to be prints created in

Suzhou (蘇州), China. Indeed, some megane-es attributed to Okyo represents Chinese cityscapes like *Wan-Nian Quia Bridge* (《姑蘇万年橋》). Nevertheless, because there exist many documents verifying the importation of Western perspective boxes by the Dutch,⁽²²⁾ Japanese megane-e painters, including Okyo, must have been able to study Western megane-es first hand. Among them there might have been one in which the composition is similar to a painting painted by Hans Vredeman de Vries (ill.11). *Sanju Sangen Do* and the work by Vredeman de Vries share the same perspectival characteristics.

However, what I am especially interested in, is rather works like *Gion* (《祇園》)(ill.12), representing a famous entertainment place in Kyoto, and *Kiyomizu Dera Temple* (《清水寺》). Although the creator of *Gion*, for example, certainly suggests spacious depth through using some motifs set at right angles with the picture plane, the viewer cannot see the vanishing point set far in the horizon because a gate to the shrine is positioned before it. Some trees in the foreground are low in height, while they appear high in the background. All of these are helpful in emphasizing the fore- and middle ground in the composition, offsetting an extreme recession of the spatial depth. Although the work appears to be made as a megane-e for a lensed optique because the letters written in it are inscribed in mirror image, it looks quite different from ordinary megane-es. It represents a natural realistic landscape which can be appreciated without the assistance of any visual instrument.

It has been generally said that painters in the Edo period inferred Western techniques through studying crude Western copper prints such as megane-es set inside perspective boxes or set for lensed optiques. However, there remain rather many documents mentioning the importation of ordinary Western drawings, prints and illustrations in Western books. In April of 1712, for example, a samurai showed several old Dutch prints including one depicting *the Siege of Breda*, to the head of the Dutch Factory, Cornelis Lardijn who was staying in Edo.⁽²³⁾ In 1782, a book was stolen from one of the warehouses in the Factory in Deshima and discovered a few days later, all the pages with illustrations having been torn out.⁽²⁴⁾ In 1792, a dignitary in Nagasaki acquired a booklet in which fifty Dutch landscapes were pasted.⁽²⁵⁾ We know that *Het Menselijk Bedrijf* by Jan Luyken (1694) and a certain emblemata book among all were imported to Japan during the Edo period. This is because some illustrations from *Het Meselijk Bedrijf* were copied by Kokan Shiba (司馬江漢), while a notable merchant called Shigeyoshi Yamagata (山縣重芳), who was acquainted with Kokan and Gentaku, owned many Western books including *Sinnebeelden*, which must be a certain emblemata book, usually with many illustrations.⁽²⁶⁾ The Western prints brought to Japan were, therefore, more in number and better in quality than expected. The artists of the works attributed to Okyo must have learned Western techniques including geometric

perspective through them.

Western Techniques and Westernized Landscapes

Imported prints of high quality were nearly extant. Among a few fortunate exceptions are examples from which some motifs and compositional frameworks were taken and manipulated by painters belonging to the Akita school (秋田画派)⁽²⁷⁾

It is well known that Shozan Satake (佐竹曙山)(1748-1785) and Naotake Odano (小田野直武)(1749-1780) of the school owned nine small Western copper prints representing sea gods, sea goddesses and so on (ills.13-1, 13-2). They were drawn by Hendrick de Keyser (1565-1621), a Dutch sculptor, engraved by Cornelis Dunkerck (c.1603–1656), and belonged to a series originally consisting of twelve prints.⁽²⁸⁾ Indeed, the prints owned by Shozan and Naotake are numbered with the figures 3, 5, and 6–12. The original drawings were produced by de Keyser for the reliefs commissioned by King Christian IV of Denmark that would decorate the front gallery of the Castle Frederiksborg in Copenhagen. They were later engraved and published in a booklet, *Het Boukje van Zeegoden en Godinnen*. The two Samurai painters in Akita must have owned a set of them imported to Japan.

The design of one of the stamps used by Shozan (ill.14-1) appears to have been made by combining a sea goddess and a mermaid in the prints numbered 5 and 12 (ills.13-1, 13-2), respectively. Print number five cannot now be found, neither in the former collection of Shozan nor in the one of Naotake. Probably, it must have been damaged while being traced to make the design of the stamp. The Dutch-like words, *Segutter vol Beminnen* (ill.14-2) carved into Shozan's another stamp also derive, in my view, from combining and misunderstanding words like *Zeegoden* (sea gods) and *Zeemeerminnen* (mermaids), which must have been written in the booklet mentioned above. These recycled motifs and words used for the stamps show a strong interest Shozan had in the imported artifacts.

The copper print (ill.15) owned by Naotake and referred to by Shozan while producing *The Landscape of a Lake and Mountains* (ill.16) is also remarkable. Its subject must be *A Good Samaritan*.⁽²⁹⁾ Both Naotake and Shozan apparently didn't understand its Christian content and that's why Shozan changed the group of the Good Samaritan in the foreground into a secular man and a horse leaving behind. Some other changes are distinguishable, too: a castle on the right side of the middle ground is changed into a wide lake with mountains in the distance, and the trees in the foreground are transformed into thick pine trees painted in a manner reminiscent of the style and composition of the *Kano* school (狩野派). In spite of these changes, Shozan retained a sphere suggesting the Western style, by drawing fine lines for the details of the surface of the trunks, remarkable in Western copper prints, and by

changing the black and white tones in the print into a gradation of colors to suggest depth. Here is the very birth of the hybridization of the Japanese and Western style.

The painters of the school of Akita occupied themselves mostly with flower and bird pieces in a landscape so that, even though they became interested in the Western style, they were never troubled over a possible awkward application of geometric perspective, which shows itself best in depicting an interior. However, there still remained a problem to be solved: where the vanishing point should be placed to make represented landscapes natural, realistic and spacious.

A solution given by Naotake can be seen in *Mount Fuji* (《富士山》)(ill.17), one of his late works. The Kisegawa River (黄瀬川) is meandering with its banks on both sides disappearing from view in the background behind the trees on the right bank with the majestic form of Mount Fuji rising high over the river scene. Recessing backward, the trees lose their deep tone, and their height is lowered on the left side. Compared to the left side, where the trees repeat the same form and gradually diminish in size, the trees in the foreground on the right are quite different in size from those in the background. Probably due to this imbalance, the scene seems to be deep, but at the same time suggesting the spaciousness of the fore- and middle ground. The undulating reflections of the trees and the posts on the river surface and the low viewing point for seeing the scene increase the effect of the reality. The left bank curves greatly to the right in the background where trees of the same height are standing, so that the fore- and middle ground are emphasized in the composition. This device is also helpful in making the scene realistic and intimate.

How natural *Mount Fuji* by Naotake is clear when compared with *Ferry Boat* by Esaias van de Velde (1587–1630)(ill.18), a leading Dutch realistic landscape painter who was active around the beginning of the 17th century. Though different in some details, the basic compositional elements are strikingly similar between both works: a meandering river in the center which curves to the right behind the right bank in the far background and the low viewpoint. As far as I know, there exist two documents from 1736 and 1739 which inform us that Yoshimune and his dignitaries demanded many Western works including landscapes as gifts.⁽³⁰⁾ Unfortunately, the detail of those paintings have not been described, so that it is not known whether realistic landscape paintings such as *Ferry Boat* by van de Velde arrived in Japan and were really distributed among Japanese painters like Naotake.

It is generally believed that Naotake absorbed Western techniques only through imported Western copper prints. Indeed, studying among scholars of Dutch sciences in Edo, Naotake must have had many opportunities to be in touch with imported landscape prints. Among them might have been one bearing a close resemblance to realistic landscape

paintings, like *View of Muiderpoort in Amsterdam* engraved by Caspar Commeling from the Kikuan (帰空庵) Collection, which was probably imported to Japan around the middle of the 18th century.⁽³¹⁾ At any rate, the remarkable similarities between *Mount Fuji* by Naotake and *Ferry Boat* by van de Velde reveal that Naotake was very talented in discerning how to model the motifs plastically by using shading and gradation of colors and composing a realistic spacious scene, even though observing imported prints.

Conclusion

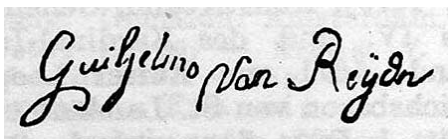
Ran-ga painters managed to study basic Western techniques through Westernized Chinese paintings and prints, and imported Western copper prints, though lacking authentic Western art materials such as pigments, mediums and supports. Their attempt resulted at last in Ran-gas, a sort of creative unification of Western and Japanese art. Japanese painters like Kokan and Shozan regarded traditional Japanese art as useless, as merely toys, and highly praised Western art as being realistic, mirroring nature and being useful at a practical level. In fact, an idealistic theory of art was emphasized in the West in the 18th century. *Het Groot Schilderboek* written by an art theorist, Gerard de Lairesse in 1707, which was valued as a kind of Bible for the Ran-ga painters,⁽³²⁾ embodied a highbrow and elite theory of art which was the exact opposite to their practical assessment of Western art.

When a culture turns a curious eye toward a different culture, it accepts from the latter what it chooses to accept. To envision a different culture is the extension of the self and differs from totally accepting what is dissimilar without any reservation. The West the Japanese envisioned was a West existing only among the Japanese and only *looked* like the West. That is why Ran-gas are so creative that no parallel example can be found elsewhere.

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ill.2&3 The Ishikawa Brothers, Copy after Willem van Royen, *Flowers and Birds*, 1725, Akita Museum of Modern and its detail



ill.4 A Signature of W.F.van Royen



ill.1 From Saiga, *Hyakkachozu*, around the Kyoho Bosin Period (1728)

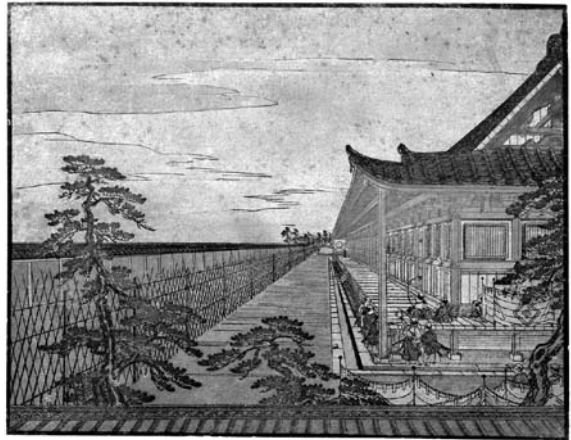
ill.5-1 & 2 Willem Hendrick van Royen, *Birds*, signed: *W:Van...*, Wallace Collection and its detail



ill.6 A Part of the *Petronella Oortman Doll-house*, End of the 17th Century, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



ill.7 Perspective box made in Japan, 1788, Kobe City Museum



ill.10 Attributed to Okyo Maruyama, *Sanju Sangen-Do*, c.1759

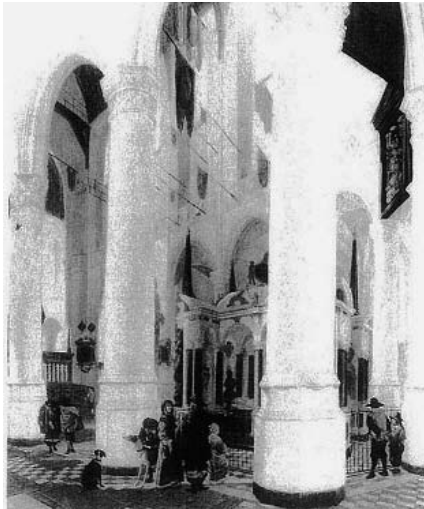
ill.8 Megane-e, 18th Century, Machida Museum of Prints



ill.9 Gerard Houckgeest, *The New Church in Delft*, 1650, Private Collection



ill.11 Hans Vredeman de Vries, *A Palace*, 1596, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna



ill.12 Attributed to Okyo Maruyama, *Gion*, 1760s?



ills.13-1, 13-2 Hendrick de Keyser, *A Sea God & A Sea Goddess*, c.1619-21, formerly Naotake & Shozan collection



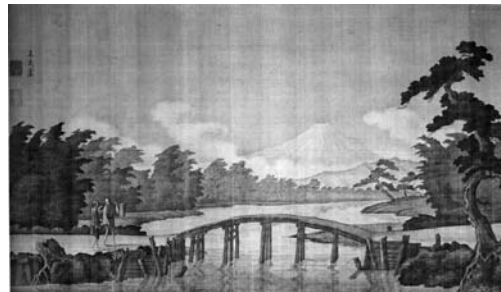
ills.14-1, 14-2 Stamps of Shozan Satake



ill.15 Unknown artist, *The Landscape with a Good Samaritan*, Engraving, around end of the 16th century, formerly Naotake collection



ill.16 Shozan Satake, *The Landscape of a Lake and Mountains*, Private Collection



ill.17 Naotake Odano, *Mount Fuji*, c.1777



ill.18 Esaias van den Velde, *Ferryboat*, 1622, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

【Notes】

- (1) *Dagregister gehouden door François Caron*, Tokyo, 1974–85 (transcription of the original text in the collection of the Algemeen Rijksarchief in the Hague), vol.4, p.193
- (2) 村上直次郎『バタヴィア城日記』東洋文庫、平凡社、1972、vol.2、pp.44 and 74
- (3) *Dagregister gehouden in Japan, 'T Comptoire Firado. Bij den E: President Couckebakker*, Tokyo, 1974–85 (transcription of the original text in the collection of the Algemeen Rijksarchief in the Hague), vol.1, pp.116 and 128; *Dagregister gehouden door François Caron* (see note 1), vol.4, p.270; and *Dagregister gehouden bij de Opperhoofden van de Nederlandsche Factorij in Japan*, Tokyo, 1974–85 (transcription of the original text in the collection of the Algemeen Rijksarchief in the Hague), vol.5, p.226
- (4) 『通航一覽』、vol.6、国書刊行会、1922、p.213
- (5) Ed. by Paul van de Velde et al., *The Deshima Diaries Marginalia 1700–1740*, Het Japan-Nederland Instituut, 1992, p.219
- (6) 小林頼子「異彩の花——江戸期洋風画に咲いたオランダ絵画の花たち」、『オランダ絵画の400年』（展覧会図録、於東京、シドニー）、1990、pp.38–46
- (7) 1 Amsterdam's foot was 10/33 metre at the time.
- (8) *Dagregister gehouden in 't Nagasaki Anno 1722*, Tokyo, 1974–85 (transcription of the original text in the collection of the Algemeen Rijksarchief in the Hague), vol.2, p.135
- (9) Ed. by P. van der Velde et al., *The Deshima Diaries. Marginalia 1700–1740*, Het Japan-Nederland Instituut, 1992, pp.464 and 496.
- (10) Also in a recent exhibition, it has been attributed to Willem Frederick van Royen. See exhibition catalogue, *Japan Envisions the West. 16th–19th Century Japanese Art from Kobe City Museum* (exh.cat.), Seattle Art Museum, 2007, p.100
- (11) Notes mentioned in the homepage of Netherlands Institute for Art History, The Hague; A. van der Willigen & F.G.Meijer, *A Dictionary of Dutch and Flemish Still-Life Painters Working in Oils, 1525–1725*, Leiden, 2003, pp.172; C.J.de Bruyn Kops, 'Willem van Royen (1672–1742), Meester Fijnschilder te Amsterdam en Zijn Aandeel in het Poppenhuis van Petronella Oortman', in *Amstelodamum* 61e Jaargang, Nummer 5 (September/Oktobre 1974), pp.109–112
- (12) The painting owned by the Wallace collection is now attributed to Willem Frederick by the museum, but is mentioned as a work being related to ones in some private collections which are attributed to Willem Hendrick by Fred Mijer, a researcher of Netherlands Institute for Art History in the Hague, because the rest of the signature on the former is very much similar to that on the latter.
- (13) C.J.de Bruyn Kops, op. cit (see note 11)
- (14) Timon Screech, 'The Meaning of Western Perspective in Edo Popular Culture', in *Archives of Asian Art* XLVII (1994), pp.58–67
- (15) 岡泰正『めがね絵新考』、筑摩書房、1992
- (16) *Dagregister gehouden door de Opperhoofden van de Nederlandse Factorij in Japan*, Tokyo, 2003 (transcription of the original text in the collection of the Algemeen Rijksarchief in the Hague), vol.X, p.55
- (17) See, for example, ed. by Leonard Blussé et al., *The Deshima Diaries. Marginalia 1740–1800*, Het Japan-Nederland Institute, 2004, p.307.
- (18) タイモン・スクリーチ『大江戸視覚革命』、作品社、1996
- (19) 谷文晁『文晁画談』、1811 (国書刊行会『日本書画苑』vol.2、p.189)
- (20) Ed. by W.Liedtke, *Vermeer and the Delft School*, London & New York, 2001
- (21) 佐々木承平『応挙写生画集』、講談社

- (22) See note 17
- (23) *The Deshima Diaries Marginalia 1700–1740* (see note 9), p.145
- (24) *The Deshima Diaries. Marginalia 1740–1800* (see note 17), p.452
- (25) Idem, p.661
- (26) See 成瀬不二男『司馬江漢』八坂書房、1995；小林頼子『ヤン・ライケン「西洋職人図集」』八坂書房、2001；Takamichi Arisaka, 'Library and Collection of Notable Merchant Masuya-Heiemon, Shigeyoshi Yamagata', in *Shisen. Historical Studies in Kansai University*, vol.34 (1994), p.56
- (27) 武埴林太郎『画集秋田蘭画』、秋田魁新報社、1989
- (28) E.Neurdenburg, 'Hendrick de Keyser en het beeldhouwwerk aan de galerie van Frederiksborg in Denemarken, met 10 afbeeldingen an 12 figuren, waarvan 2 in de tekst', in *Oudheidkundig Jaarboek*, Twaalfde Jaargang, Aflevering 1/2 (1943), pp.33–41；小林頼子「曙山・直武旧蔵の舶載銅版画と曙山の蘭語印について」『日蘭学会通信』vol.76 (1997)、pp. 1–2
- (29) Judging from the stylistic characteristics, the print should not be attributed to Georg Hertel, as traditionally said, but to a painter belonging to the Frankenthaler School, who was active from the end of the 16th century to the beginning of the 17th century.
- (30) *Marginalia 1700–1740* (see note 9), pp.464 and 496
- (31) 『日本洋風画史展』、板橋区立美術館、2004、p.194, nos.171–20. The print was engraved by Isaak Commeling for *Beschrijvinge van Amsterdam*, 1693. 岡泰正『めかね絵新考』、筑摩書房、1992、p.197
- (32) Shozan himself or someone around him must have certainly owned a copy of *Het Groot Schilderboek* by Gerard de Laresse, 1707, because he copied a several illustrated pages from the book.