Surimono and Broadsheets: Graphic art with poems in Japan and America

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ABSTRACT:

The printing of poetry on single sheets of paper has a long history in Europe and in Japan. This paper will focus on the illustrated haiku surimono tradition in Japan, and a possible connection with the appearance of illustrated broadsheet poems during the poetic Renaissance in America in the 1960s. There is no question that haiku surimono were produced for some two centuries, and that many if not most such surimono, were illustrated for some 150 years. So for convenience, let us call this part of the story, "Act One". And there is no question that illustrated poetry broadsheets appeared as one aspect of the poetry "renaissance" of the 1960s on the West Coast of America. This, then, is "Act Two". The question this paper attempts to answer is whether or not there was a genuine "Interlude" in which the Japanese surimono of "Act One" influenced the West Coast broadsheets of "Act Two".

ACT ONE:
Background: printing and publication in Japan

Printed matter in the Edo period was essentially limited to the woodcut medium. By the end of the seventeenth century the publication of haiku poetry was a well established tradition, with specialist publishers and

booksellers in the main publishing centers of Kyoto, Osaka and Edo. (Later Nagoya became a fourth center.) But in addition to book-length anthologies, poetic diaries and essays, from time to time single-sheet prints containing only a few poems were also printed.

It is not yet clear exactly when or where these single-sheet prints of poetry were first produced, or what the initial purpose was. They became known by the generic term "*surimono*" {刷物}, printed matter. Among haiku masters, their inner circles of disciples, their more distant students who learned by correspondence, and the networks of block-cutters, block-printers and publishers, this simple generic term was clear enough.

Initially, these woodcut surimono contained text only. Inevitably, as the eighteenth century progressed, haiku surimono began to be embellished with pictures, printed in black ink from the same woodblock as the text. The Wataya Bunko collection of haiku publications in the Tenri University library includes an album containing several examples of such surimono from the first half of the eighteenth century. It must be stressed that printing presses were not involved. Poems and images were carved, with the lettering reversed, onto sheets of wood, the woodblock was then inked, a sheet of paper placed on the block, and the back of the sheet rubbed with a disk-shaped object called a *baren*. The resulting print contained the readable text and image. Skillful block carvers could reproduce handwriting and painting styles with extraordinary fidelity, and part of the charm of these surimono is the personal touch of the calligraphy and image combined into a tasteful composition.

Paintings combining poems and pictures have an extremely long history in Japan, but it was not until the eighteenth century that woodblock printing techniques reached a level of subtlety capable of conveying the impact of painted and calligraphic brushstrokes. The development of color woodblock printing added yet another potential. Previously, only the effects of ink

paintings had been possible; with the development of a technique of notching blocks to align the paper for multiple impressions, additional color blocks could be used.

Color woodcut illustrations graced haiku anthologies as early as the 1730 **Chichi no On** 「父の恩」. It is not now clear when haiku surimono with color woodcut images first appeared, but Waseda University Prof. Kira Sueio has described a large one with a three-color illustration from the early 1730s.

By the 1770s when Buson's preserved correspondence first refers to them, haiku surimono were well established as a printing medium. Color printing for such surimono involved extra costs for cutting additional woodblocks, and for printing techniques to achieve shading effects, but there were no particular technical obstacles to such subtly luxurious surimono production by a number of specialist publishing houses in Kyoto, Osaka and Edo. Uncut sheets of thick hōsho paper were used for the largest surimono. All of these expenses were probably borne by the contributors, with the master poet of the salon, such as Buson, handling the business arrangements.

Background: Social Change and Patronage

The steadily growing economic power of merchants and wholesalers led to changes in patterns of patronage for painters. What are now known as the Nanga, Maruyama, Kishi and Shijō traditions of painting developed successively in the eighteenth century. Although there are examples of temple, palace and samurai patronage for artists from all these traditions, the same artists accepted commissions for paintings from townspeople as well, and at least by the nineteenth century, they also prepared copybook exercises for amateur painters from all walks of life.

Paintings, then, were no longer exclusively sponsored by the nobility or

the Shogunate. However, counterpoised against the comparative freedom this implies, there were harsher realities; artists without steady patronage had to be alert to changing trends and new opportunities. Book illustration was a steady, though probably modest, source of income for many artists, and by the end of the eighteenth century it had become clear that there was steady economic potential for artists who developed good rapport with recognised haiku masters and publishers who produced illustrated haiku books and surimono. For those artists who were themselves haiku poets, such rapport was easier to achieve.

The haiku world, too, was affected by the same economic changes. More amateurs were seeking out haiku masters for advice about composing their own poems. By the early nineteenth century, the steadily growing number of amateurs made it increasingly possible for more people to become masters and start their own salons. Details of the financing of such salons are only now becoming more clear; the implication is that by the early 1800s, a haiku master could expect to be self-supporting from activities related to the teaching, editing and publishing of haiku poems by members of his or her salon.

But the prospects for an early nineteenth century haiku salon, including its surimono aspirants, were to a considerable extent owing to the efforts of Buson in the 1770s.

Themes of Surimono images

Seasonal references are essential in traditional haiku. The references might be words, even actual names of the appropriate season. More often, they referred to natural phenomena, foods, gifts or festivals associated with specific times, and sometimes specific locations. The tradition of New Year greetings has a long history. In addition to "first visits" to friends and

associates, "first tea", "first writing" and "first poem" of the year have a special ring to them, even now, especially when these are shared experiences or gifts. Not surprisingly, in times past haiku surimono for the New Year were among the most numerous.

As the haiku surimono tradition became more thoroughly established, some groups created surimono for each of the seasons ; some surimono included references to all the seasons, as well as "seasonless" topics. The themes for surimono of this sort were accordingly more varied.

The signature of the artist on many haiku surimono is prefaced by the term *ōju* {応需}, or "as requested", implying that a specific thematic or stylistic request had been made for the image on that particular surimono. Until correspondence between commissioning master poets and their artists comes to light, it will not be completely clear how much freedom was given to artists in creating surimono images. Given the seasonal nature of the haiku world, and the long-standing use of specific artists by certain commissioning poets, like-mindedness was probably the rule rather than the exception, and if so, little needed to be said when an artist received a surimono commission.

The most active century of haiku surimono production, from the 1790s to the 1890s, was witness to famines, fires, floods, riots and other times of unrest. The tumultuous events preceding and following the end of the Seclusion Period, and the change from the Tokugawa Shogunate to the governmental caretakers acting in the name of Emperor Meiji are included in this time. None of these events is directly embodied in any of the thousands of haiku surimono that I have seen, but this should not be surprising. The idea of art as an instrument of social protest was foreign to the haiku tradition, including the images on surimono or in haiku anthologies.

Who Made the Pictures?

Even ignoring the pre-Buson haiku surimono tradition, the timespan of such surimono from the Buson group to the presumed end of the tradition in 1941, comes to well over 150 years, and embraces various places and artistic traditions.

The haiku surimono legacy of Buson was passed on directly to his painting and poetry students Gekkei (later Goshun) and Baitei (also known as Kyūrō). Baitei does not seem to have had a direct successor, although other major Nanga artists of the time, such as Geppō {月峰} (1760-1839), made pictures for surimono, as did the Nagoya artist Yamamoto Baiitsu {梅逸} (1783-1856), and the Edo artist Watanabe Kazan {華山} (1793-1841). In fact, Kazan is credited with coining the term "haiga" (俳画), as the visual equivalent of the compact and image rich haiku poem. But the Nanga style did not dominate later surimono images, except in the lingering traces of the delightful "Gekkei style" that Goshun passed on to his students, and in the Edo artists making pictures in the abbreviated styles that Kazan had created. Watanabe Kazan's best known student was Tsubaki Chinzan (1801-54), the

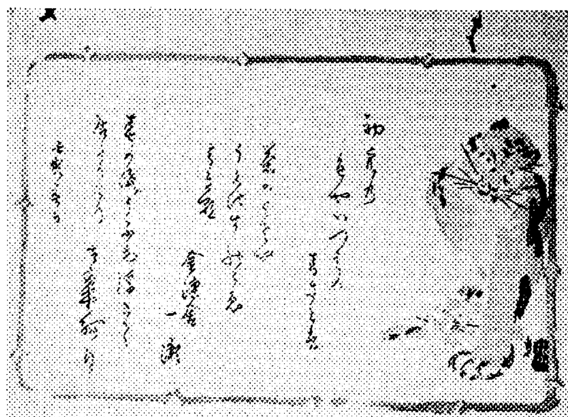


Fig. 1 A small format surimono (19×25.5 cm) published in Edo in 1842. The picture is by Tsubaki Chinzan, and the poet/compiler, whose poem is at the far left, is Eguchi Kogetsu.

artist of Fig. One, a small surimono dated traditionally “mizuno tora” (壬寅), the “tiger” year 1842. This surimono contains only three haiku, edited and sponsored by the final poet, Eguchi Kogetsu (?-1871), the editor of several annual haiku anthologies published in Edo (later known as Tokyo) featuring illustrations by Kazan, and later by Chinzan. This surimono has been chosen to illustrate the most popular format of the mid-1800s, a smaller print (19× 25.5 cm) and with a border of repeated bamboo enclosing the more prominent picture, in this case of a tiger. The poems are aligned within this framed image.

As the founding head of the Shijō art tradition, Goshun attracted a large following of students, many of whom were drawn to the surimono format. After Ōkyo’s death in 1795, Goshun became the senior artist among the new art movements in Kyoto. In fact, the conviviality of the Kyoto art world led to many collaborations across the supposedly different Shijō, Maruyama and Kishi traditions, and doubtless there were discussions at such times among accomplished artists about outlets for pictures by upcoming disciples. It is no surprise, then, to find that some Shijō, Maruyama and Kishi painters made pictures for woodblock printed haiku anthologies and surimono. In the Kansai area (Kyoto and Osaka) large surimono (approx. 38×50 cm.) dominated the first half of the nineteenth century. However, there were also surimono in other formats, occasionally including vertical surimono approximately half the size of the above, such as Fig. Two (37.5×23.5 cm) by an Osaka artist known as “Bunki”[1]. Bunki’s picture, of a string of colorful kites rising above a willow tree, divides the space diagonally, forcing the fourteen poems into two sections, upper right and lower left. The final poem, in the extreme lower left, is by the compiler, Kōnen (1776-1853); without access to correspondence between the artist and compiler, it is impossible to know how the simple but appealing layout was arrived at.

The students of the founders of the Shijō, Maruyama and Kishi lines

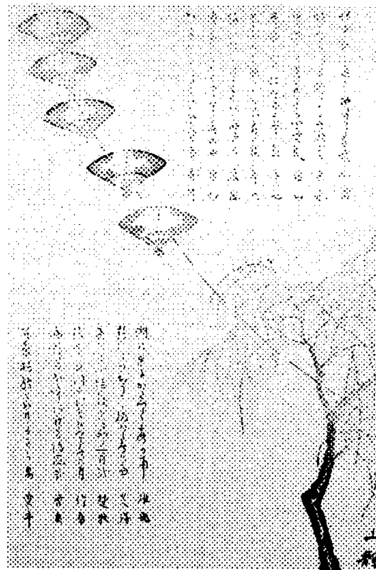


Fig. 2 A vertical format surimono (37.5× 23.5 cm) published in Edo in the 1820s. The picture is by an artist known only by the art name "Bunki". The poet/compiler, extreme lower left, is a priest from Kanazawa with the haiku name of Kōnen.

shared so many stylistic elements and pictorial themes that the British scholar of Japanese graphic art, Jack Hillier, was prompted to use "Shijō" as a generic term encompassing them all in his pioneering book ***The Uninhibited Brush*** (1974). In Hillier's broad usage of the term, "Shijō" dominated the pictorial style of haiku surimono from the last years of the eighteenth century until the style was merged into what came to be called the "Nihonga" movement at the end of the nineteenth century.

From the 1840s to the end of the century, the most notable change in haiku surimono was not so much in style but in format. The small sized surimono came to dominate the genre in terms of publication volume, although large surimono and *yoko-naga* ('horizontal') surimono remained popular. In all formats, the number of poets appearing on a given surimono tended to increase dramatically from the 1840s. Predictably, some surimono began to show trendy images suggesting Western cultural influences, but traditional images predominated.

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, another new feature became increasingly evident. Although haiku groups continued to publish surimono, orders became less frequent, and small surimono dominated. However, in Osaka, a new support group began to use surimono for publicity: the Bunraku puppet theater, and the amateur groups which publicly performed recitals of Bunraku texts, especially those requiring professional musical accompaniment. Haiku poems were still used, but the number of contributors increased dramatically, including professional Bunraku performers (offering their support through poetry) and poetic contributions from amateur performers themselves.

For those surimono connected with professional performances (especially name changes or once-in-a-lifetime performances), among the dozens of haiku, toward the end (usually the lower left) there were prominently placed haiku by the twin brothers who founded the Shōchiku entertainment industry: Higashii Matsujirō and Ōtani Takejirō (The central elements of their given names, "Matsu" and "Take", when combined, are read "Shōchiku"). Haiku by these brothers demonstrated financial support from Kabuki-za in Tokyo as well as the Osaka Bunraku theatre world.

But smaller surimono continued to be produced, such as Fig. 3a, with a picture of a crane by the Kyoto Nihonga artist Imao Keinen (1845-1924). This 1924 surimono (22×28.8 cm.) celebrates the 70th birthday of Bunraku performer Takemoto Tsunasuke. Such surimono were produced as gifts for financial supporters of the performer, and presented in a decorative wrapper, Fig. 3b.

The most recent examples of such a Kabuki/Bunraku haiku surimono known to me date to 1941, on the verge of the Pacific War. Fig. 4 (44.8×58.5 cm.) celebrates the name change of Takemoto Tsūnoko to Takemoto Hamadayū V in the spring of 1941. The picture, by the Osaka artist Suga Tatehiko (1878-1963) seems to be a typical congratulatory combination of

Fig. 3a A small surimono with one fold (22×28.8 cm) published in Osaka in 1924. The picture is by the Kyoto artist Imao Keinen. This surimono celebrates the 70th birthday of the Bunraku performer Takemoto Tsunasuke.

Fig. 3b The original wrapper, repeats the number "70" to indicate the occasion, and gives Tsunasuke's name.

Fig.4 A large format surimono (44.8×58.5 cm) published in Osaka in 1941. The picture is by the Osaka artist Suga Tatehiko. This surimono is in honor of the name change of a Bunraku performer, from Takemoto Tsūnoko to the more prestigious Takemoto Hamadayū V.

pine, bamboo and plum (松竹梅), but on looking more closely, there is no bamboo in the picture. However, among the Bunraku performers who contributed haiku to this surimono, there are 36 with the name Takemoto, "take" being "bamboo" in Japanese. Bamboo, then, is present in the surimono, though not in the picture itself. This sort of visual pun is fairly

common in the surimono tradition, where becoming aware of the missing visual element, and then discovering its equivalent in the words added a sense of surprise to the enjoyment of the congratulatory surimono.

Once Japan entered the Pacific War, theater performances became increasingly difficult, and therefore the sponsorship of surimono was curtailed. As far as I know, the tradition of such poetry surimono in Japan ended in 1941. Commissioning an artist, paying for the block cutter, the printer, the paper maker and the calligrapher had always made surimono an expensive endeavor, since the surimono were not sold commercially. When World War II ended, survival took precedence; luxuries were impossible. And along with other art objects, surimono of all sorts and ages were often sold to bookstores for whatever money they brought, to help families make ends meet until better times.

INTERLUDE:

In the mid-1950s, only a decade from the end of the war, a young American poet, Gary Snyder, was studying Chinese poetry and Buddhism in Berkeley, California. He lacked the money to be a full-time student, but was recognized by teachers as motivated and serious in his studies. One of his friends was a young painter and lithographer named Will Petersen, also interested in Buddhism and poetry. Both Snyder and Petersen contributed writings to the Berkeley *Bussei*, a local publication encouraging Buddhist studies.

By 1957 Will Petersen had moved to Kyoto, partly to pursue his interest in Japanese art and Buddhism. Gary Snyder had preceded him in 1956, and the two continued their friendship. But before leaving the Berkeley area, they had both become friends with other writers of prose and poetry, including Jack Kerouac. This friendship resulted in the odd situation of both Gary

Snyder and Will Petersen becoming immortalized for Americans in Kerouac's 1958 *Dharma Bums* (as the protagonist Japhy Ryder and his artist friend Ron Sturlason) before either Snyder or Petersen had made names for themselves as poet or artist. KANESAKI Hisao, in his essay "An Easy Rider at Yase", confirms that this "Beat Generation" connection was unknown in Japan until years later.[2]

Petersen and Snyder were immersed in their studies in Kyoto, Snyder as a serious outsider at Shokoku-ji and later in Daitoku-ji, while translating the Zen poetry anthology later known as *Cold Mountain*, and Petersen, haunting bookshops in Kyoto for old poetry books and pictures. Within a short time, the two hit on the idea of writing to the American poet-editor Cid Corman, then living in Italy, and encouraged him to re-locate to Kyoto. They succeeded in this endeavor, and the result was that Cid Corman published Gary Snyder's first book of poetry, *Rip-Rap* (1959), in a traditional Japanese stitch-bound book as Corman's first Origin Press publication in Japan. Will Petersen did the layout, chose the typeface and explained everything to the printer, since Corman's Japanese was minimal. For Snyder's next book, *Myths and Texts* (1960), published by Leroi Jones' Totem Press, Petersen did the brushed illustrations which were printed by offset on the cover and in the published text.

The astonishing rise of the Japanese economy had not yet occurred, and as Will Petersen told me several times, bookstores were piled to the ceiling with woodblock printed books and prints. Even foreign poets and printmakers could afford such things. Cid Corman told me that his first visits to the painting dealers on Nawate Dōri and Shinmonzen in Kyoto were tantalizing. He quickly was attracted to Zen paintings by Hakuin (1685-1768), many of which were accompanied with haiku. At the time, they were almost uniformly priced at ¥10,000. It took Corman the better part of a year to pay for the painting he liked most, but dealers seemed happy to take payment in

installments from reliable customers, Japanese or foreign.

Snyder and Petersen concentrated on bookstores. Snyder is still remembered as a customer in the Kichūdō bookstore on Teramachi, which specializes in Buddhist books, especially Zen. Petersen regularly visited all the old bookshops on Teramachi, but he was looking for ideas for his own graphic art, not for purchases of Japanese illustrated books or prints, and he assured me several times in the 1980s that he had no clear memory of looking at specific books or other traditional graphic art.

Snyder was more interested in poetry texts than in pictures, and Petersen was more interested in how combinations of pictures and text might spark ideas for his own art. Because of their own approaches to bookstore visits, it isn't easy to be sure what they did or didn't see in the bookstores they visited, and this lack of evidence reduces the certainty of the cross-cultural influence that I am proposing.

However, an American collector of Japanese graphic art in Tokyo supplies information that somewhat fills the information gap. C. H. Mitchell, an American businessman active in Tokyo from the late 1940s. His collecting interests focused on ukiyo-e initially, but he soon was drawn to books illustrated by Shijō, Maruyama and Nanga artists. Learning about the artists of these books, mostly from Kyoto and Osaka, made him more receptive than most collectors at the time to haiku surimono. In fact, he told me in the late 1970s that his first awareness of haiku surimono occurred in the late 1940s in the Kanda area of Tokyo. Every Saturday, he told me, the streets of Kanda were lined with dealers from the nearby countryside, trying to sell prints. Of the few who had money to invest in prints so soon after the end the Pacific War, many, if not most, were foreign, such as Mitchell. And their collecting interests, were, predictably, ukiyo-e prints. As the winter months brought increasing cold to the streets of Tokyo, most of these sidewalk dealers used metal or ceramic containers to burn charcoal to warm their

fingers. Mitchell noted, with some horror, that dealers who could not even afford charcoal sometimes burned small haiku surimono to keep warm. They were not then considered commercial objects. Even though he wasn't especially interested in the surimono or there artists at first, watching dozens of such woodblock prints consigned to flames prompted him to look more closely and do more research.

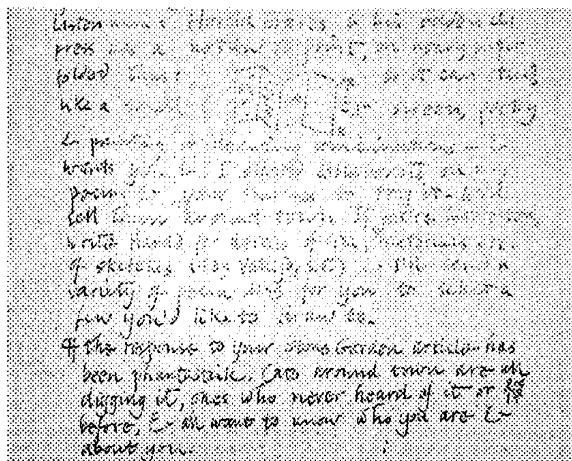
Ultimately, C. H. Mitchell became the most devoted collector of haiku surimono of his generation, taking special pride in the consistently high quality of the surimono from two scrapbooks he purchased in 1963. The scrapbooks, filled with about one hundred large haiku surimono, produced in Kyoto and Osaka in the 1820s, had been owned by the Kyoto artist, Imao Keinen, the artist who produced his own crane image for the 1924 Bunraku surimono illustrated here as Fig. 3a. The scrapbooks contained bold surimono images by many of the most famous Shijō, Maruyama and Nanga artists of the time.[3] These surimono were found in Tokyo, which even now tends to look down on art from Kyoto, Osaka and Nagoya. Similar caches of surimono must have been present in abundance on the shelves of Kyoto booksellers from the mid-1950s to the early 1960s when Petersen and Snyder were most active in that city. But Snyder and Petersen were also responsible for inviting other foreigners, especially American poets, to live and work for a time in Kyoto. Cid Corman came and stayed, but others came and went, such as Clayton Eshleman and Frank Samperi, both of whom were attracted to poetry published with appropriate illustrations. They, too, might have taken note of surimono or haiku book illustrations which in turn may have prompted, or at least influenced, poetry publication on the US West Coast in the early 1960s.

This longish interlude presents speculation on what might have been seen, and therefore might have influenced the burst of publications of illustrated poetry broadsides in the US during the 1960s, especially on the

West Coast. This is the subect of :

ACT TWO:

As early as June 1958, when Gary Snyder wrote from San Francisco to Will Petersen in Kyoto, combinations of poetry and images were topics of interest. Fig. 5 reproduces part of a letter, dated June 22, 1958.



& the response to your [illegible] Garden article has been fantastic. Cats around town are all digging it, ones who never heard of it or [illegible] before, & all want to know who you are & about you.

Fig. 5 An excerpt from a letter written in San Francisco by Gary Snyder on June 22, 1958 to Will Petersen in Kyoto.

In the key passage, Snyder writes:

> Harold Graves & his Golden 山 [Golden Mountain] press has a notion to print, on heavy paper folded thus: so it can stand, like a small screen, poetry & painting or drawing combinations–& wants you & I should [sic.] collaborate on my poems & your sketches to try it–will sell them around town.[4]

Although this particular project apparently did not come to fruition, Petersen was soon preparing Snyder's first book, ***Riprap*** (1959) for publication in Kyoto, and later did the illustrations for Snyder's second book *Myths and Texts* (1960).

By 1964 Snyder was back in the San Francisco area, and widely respected

for his Zen studies and the growing body of his poetry. He was well acquainted with a variety of "little press" publishers on the West Coast, and one of these, "Oyez" printed a broadsheet of a poem by Snyder called "Hop, Skip, and Jump" in October of 1964, Fig. 6. This poem is embellished with a bold hopscotch image, and printed on a thick deckle-edged paper remarkably similar in size and weight of paper to the large surimono which were no longer being printed in Japan, but which could still be seen in the second hand bookstores in Kyoto and Osaka. Even thematically, this broadsheet reminds one of the Bunki surimono of the 1820s, Fig. 2. Bunki illustrated a string of kites. Even though that picture may have been primarily intended as a seasonal reference, the bold simplicity of Bunki's kite image and Snyder's hopskotch image share visual affinities, if not direct influence.

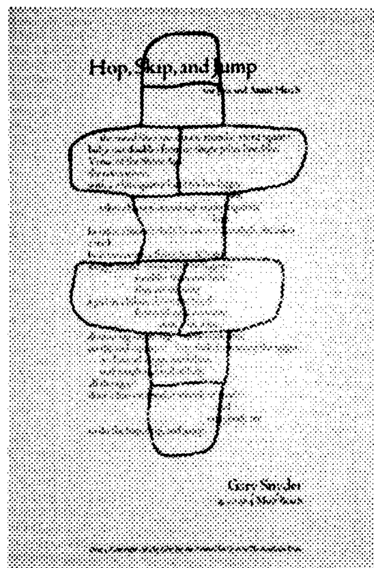


Fig. 6 Gary Snyder's poetry broadsheet "Hop, Skip, and Jump", published in San Francisco in 1964. No artist is named for the hopskotch image.

My own encounter with large single-sheet printed poetry embellished with images began with "Hop, Skip, and Jump" years before I first came to Japan, and therefore long before I was even aware of the Japanese surimono

tradition. Snyder published other broadsheet poems with line illustrations, including "Prayer for the Great Family", Fig. 7a. This poem, based on a Mohawk Indian "prayer" is embellished with bold images reminiscent of petroglyphs, ancient paintings on stone; the reverse of the broadsheet, Fig. 7b, identifies the publisher as Hermes Free Press, specifies that the press run was limited to 200 copies, and identifies the art work as a: "Block print by Paul Kissinger." If "block print" meant woodblock print, the reverse of the broadsheet shows no evidence of printing with a *baren*, as in traditional woodcut printing in Japan. Presumably, the woodblock was set on the bed of the printing press, and printed mechanically. Again, it is stretching a point to suggest a direct influence of Tsubaki Chinzan's simple bamboo border on his 1842 surimono, Fig. 1, but the border image of Kissinger's block print serves a similar purpose of setting off the printed words.

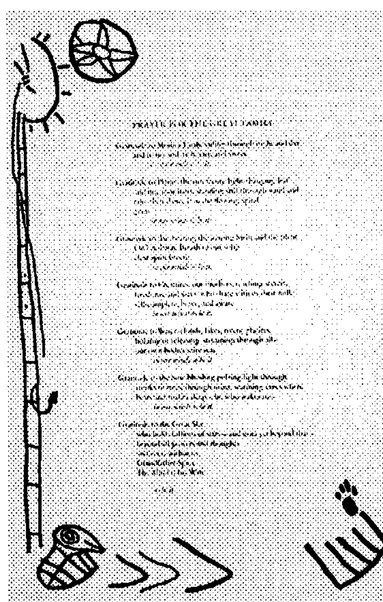


Fig. 7a Snyder's poetry broadsheet "Prayer for the Great Family", published in San Francisco by the Hermes Free Press, no date.

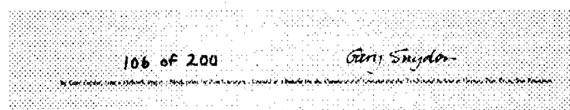


Fig. 7b shows the publication limitation (200 copies) and identifies the artist as Paul Kissinger.

Snyder's 1969 broadsheet, "Sours of the Hills", Fig. 8, is embellished with brushed broad leaves by an unidentified artist. This broadsheet is folded in the middle, so that it opens like a book, a format linking it visually with the

1924 surimono by Imao Keinen, Fig. 3a.

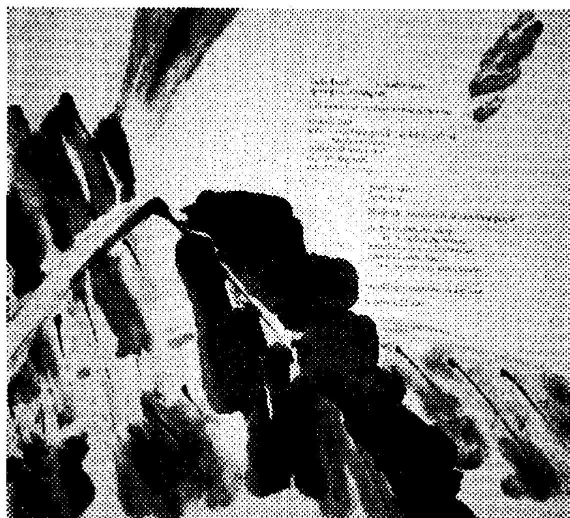


Fig. 8 Snyder's poetry broadsheet "Sours of the Hills", published in 1969 by Samuel Charters, no artist or place of publication named.

These and other broadsheets by Snyder show that he, especially, had a preference for simple, bold images, which were a common type among traditional haiku surimono styles. At this point, I can't prove that Snyder or Petersen or other artists and poets active at the time, consciously fostered an American publishing phenomenon based on specific Japanese models, but the similarities in format, paper and layout are too close to be totally accidental.

Soon other poets were creating single-sheet poems, but using quite different formats and media, such as photography. But because my own introduction to these graphic art poems was through Gary Snyder, a poet still much influenced by Japan, I feel strongly that there is a connection with the surimono tradition that goes deeper than the simple combination of words and images.

I corresponded for years with Will Petersen, both before coming to Japan, and after arriving here. I should have asked him about this connection, but I

didn't, and now he is dead. I know that Cid Corman admired *haiga*, because he made sure his book length translation of Basho's *Oku no Hosomichi* (as "*Narrow Roads to the Far North*") contained *haiga* illustrations. But I never thought to ask Corman about his awareness of the surimono tradition. And now he, too, is dead.

So, the connection I am proposing is tentative, a connection linking the haiku surimono tradition inspired by the great poet and artist, Buson, with the 1960s American broadsheet poetry tradition. But I intend to pursue this topic, and hope to find more concrete evidence to support my theory.

1. "Bunki" was comparatively prolific as an Osaka surimono artist in the 1820s, but his identity is unsure.
2. KANESAKI Hisao, "An Easy Rider at Yase,", in *Gary Snyder: Dimensions of a Life* (Sierra Club Books, 1991), p. 70.
3. The British scholar of Japanese graphic art, Jack Hillier, wrote an essay on the Mitchell haiku surimono collection for the Minneapolis Institute of Arts when it acquired these remarkable prints: "Shijō surimono of Large size from the Mitchell Collection," *The Minneapolis Institute of Arts Bulletin*, Vol. LXIV (1978-80), pp. 24-41.
4. From a batch of Snyder letters which Petersen was kind enough to copy for my use.