Chapter 4

Monochromatic *Genji*

THE *HAKUBYŌ* TRADITION AND FEMALE COMMENTARIAL CULTURE

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THE PICTORIAL reception of *The Tale of Genji* in the medieval period was in large part a monochromatic one. This may come as a surprise to those who associate the literary classic with polychrome painted representations, resplendent with gold and flowers in full bloom. Yet from the fourteenth through the sixteenth century, *The Tale of Genji* achieved pictorial expression to a remarkable degree in the primarily black-and-white genre of *hakubyō* (white drawing), a mode of picture making that eschewed color and all the pageantry associated with it in favor of austere, monochrome, and linear compositions. Emerging during the thirteenth century and linked early on with the female "inner salons" of the imperial court, illustrations in the *hakubyō* mode depict narrative subject matter with meticulous ruler-drawn lines and motifs rendered in patches of glossy black ink, while leaving large areas of the white paper unpainted. Executed entirely in black ink, these works were referred to in their own time as *sumi-e* (ink pictures), although on occasion they were also called *shira-e* (literally, white pictures) because of their proactive use of unpainted white ground.

The close association between this manner of ink-line drawing and the reception of *The Tale of Genji* is evident from the large number of extant *Genji* illustrations mostly by anonymous artists and calligraphers. Surprisingly, monochrome *Genji* pictures from this period may even outnumber their polychrome counterparts. Polychrome works such as the *Genji* albums by Tosa Mitsunobu (active ca. 1462–1525) and Tosa Mitsuyoshi (1539–1613) have received the lion's share of attention.[1] To the extent that such albums are sophisticated, well-preserved works for which the artists are known and the production contexts have been

reconstructed, this attention is deserved. Equally attention-worthy *hakubyō Genji* works have also survived, however, with undoubtedly many more waiting to be discovered, catalogued, and researched. Although their authorship remains anonymous, they offer a significant new perspective on *Genji* reception during Japan's medieval period.

This chapter discusses three works executed in the ink-line mode, each of which reflects a different type of *Genji* text and a different aspect of this kind of painting. All these works bear some relation to the reception of *The Tale of Genji* by women, suggesting the extent to which this type of monochromy was gendered female. The first example is a thirteenth-century set of illustrations known as the *Hakubyō eiri Ukifune sōshi* (*Ukifune Booklet*), which contains five paintings (originally in book format) that depict scenes from the "Ukifune" (A Drifting Boat) chapter of *The Tale of Genji*. In its extreme understatement and elegance, the *Ukifune Booklet* is representative of the classical mode of *hakubyō* as it emerged within the culturally revivalist atmosphere of aristocratic society in the late Kamakura period (1183–1333). The second example is the *Genji uta awase* (*Genji Poetry Match*), a scroll that dates roughly to the first half of the sixteenth century. An intriguing example of a thirty-six-poet grouping drawn exclusively from the *Genji*, this handscroll offers a pictorial perspective on the inseparable connection between *waka* practice and *Genji* reception, and demonstrates the pictorial qualities of abbreviation and amateurism, which came to be associated with the *hakubyō* mode during the Muromachi period (1392–1573). The third example is the mid-sixteenth-century *Hakubyō Genji monogatari emaki* (*Monochrome Tale of Genji Scrolls*). While the authorship of these scrolls is unknown, the selection and elaboration of scenes from *The Tale of Genji* associate the set unmistakably with communities of female readers that, I argue, were responsible for the maintenance and vitality of the ink-line drawing tradition during most of the medieval period.

POLYCHROMATIC *GENJI*

An examination of the *hakubyō* tradition in illustrations of *The Tale of Genji* is best served by a preliminary discussion of the larger horizon of *Genji* painting before the early modern period, including those works executed in bright mineral pigments combined with an abundant use of gold. After the appearance of the earliest and most famous example of *Genji* pictorializations, the twelfth-century *Genji monogatari emaki* (*Tale of Genji Scrolls*), the medieval period witnessed the production of *Genji*

paintings in a wide range of formats and styles—including fans, *shikishi* (rectangular sheets that could be mounted on screens or in albums), book covers, and screens—although surprisingly few *Genji* images made before the sixteenth century have survived. The ink-line *Ukifune Booklet* represents the sole surviving *Genji* painting from the thirteenth century. The only *Genji* images extant from the fourteenth century are from the only polychrome *Genji* handscroll to have survived from the entire medieval period (plate 5).[2]

Instead of handscrolls, the majority of polychrome *Genji* paintings executed during the medieval period took the form of fans and *shikishi*, a format originally reserved for poetic inscription. The popularity of small formats such as the fan and poem card was due largely to their flexibility of use. Such small paintings could be exchanged and appreciated individually or collected into larger sets and pasted into albums or onto folding screens. This was especially true of fans, which were given as New Year gifts throughout the medieval period. When assembled as a set, fans could provide a unified composite representation of *The Tale of Genji*, as they do on a pair of screens that dates to around 1500 (plate 6).[3] Small-format rectangular *Genji* paintings also graced the front and back covers of bound books of *Genji* chapters, such as the covers for two volumes by Tosa Mitsunobu.[4] The example of *Genji monogatari gajō* (*The Tale of Genji Album*, 1510) by Mitsunobu, in which 108 poem sheets depict a painted scene and a prose or poetic inscription from each of the 54 chapters of the *Genji*, demonstrates how such assemblages could assume either an album or a screen format according to need (plate 7).[5]

The polychrome fans, *shikishi*, and screens of the Muromachi and early Edo (1600–1867) periods were executed primarily by professional painters: artists with studios, assistants, supplies of mineral pigments and gold, and the technical skills necessary to transform those materials into the complex paintings known as constructed pictures (*tsukuri-e*). The Tosa school has become virtually synonymous with polychrome *Genji* painting, and indeed a large number of extant works are by members of this school, the earliest example being Mitsunobu's *Genji* album. This album represents the oldest complete cycle of *Genji* paintings in existence and is a precursor of one of the most popular formats for the pictorialization of *The Tale of Genji* in the early modern era; more than ten Tosa school *Genji* albums from the sixteenth through the eighteenth century survive. The albums raise two general issues pertaining to *Genji* paintings of this genre that govern their pictorial qualities: the homogeneity of medieval *Genji* imagery, and the role of coordinators in their production.

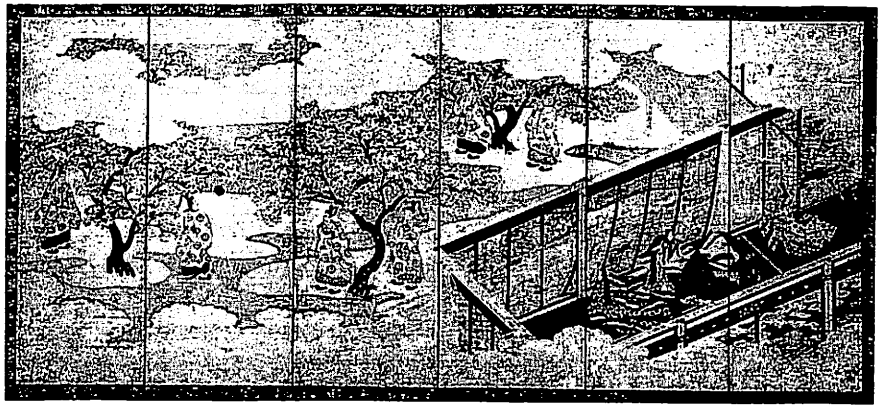

FIGURE 15 Tosa Mitsuoki, *Wakana jō* (*Spring Shoots I*, seventeenth century), one of a pair of six-panel folding screens. (Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1904.118)

The production of *Genji* albums, which contain at least fifty-four images—one scene from each chapter of the tale—required that artists rely to a certain extent on pictorial templates. For this reason, late medieval and early modern *Genji* paintings are characterized by visual similitude. First there is the repeated use of certain compositions and pictorial motifs to represent an episode from a specific chapter across visual media. A striking example of this is the scene from the "Wakana jō" (Spring Shoots I) chapter in which Kashiwagi first glimpses the Third Princess, whose rambunctious cat has lifted the blinds and exposed her to the enamored courtier during a kickball match in the courtyard. Paintings of this scene are among the most recognizable images from *The Tale of Genji* and appear in a nearly identical manner on fans, album leaves, and folding screens (figure 15). Having been depicted so frequently, such scenes became symbolic of the chapters rather than representational. Another level of sameness among *Genji* paintings occurs with the use of nearly identical settings and figures for the portrayal of different chapters and characters, making it next to impossible to identify a given scene, save for the inclusion of a *sakaki* branch rather than a letter or the depiction of a rustic fence rather than a flowering tree. The apparent lack of distinction between one character and another, or between one architectural setting and another, has led to the notion that these paintings tend to follow a pictorial formula.

While the visual similarity among certain late medieval and early modern *Genji* paintings cannot be denied, they are much less homogeneous and repetitive than modern commentators have imagined. For example, few *Genji* paintings were ever viewed without accompanying texts, the contents of which shaped the experience of interpreting the images. This is certainly the case with the album format, in which each scene is paired with a calligraphic excerpt that can alter a viewer's perception of the image, depending on which passage was selected, whether it is a poem rather than a prose extract, or even the style and composition of its calligraphy. Medieval *Genji* images thus appear identical only when divorced from their original text, as they have tended to be in modern reproductions, which frequently remove calligraphic excerpts from view. Moreover, the allusive poems and brief prose passages that accompany the paintings were specifically chosen for their relevance to the body of texts (digests, commentaries, manuals, linked verse, and *nō*) that made up medieval *Genji* culture. For viewers who applied their own erudition and familiarity with *Genji* culture to the paintings, the relative similarity of the images, and the expectation of it, made even the seemingly faintest of pictorial variations all the more conspicuous. The tilt of a figure's head, the specific placement of gold clouds in a scene, or the precise location of a figure within an architectural setting, whether behind or in front of curtains, could have a transformative effect on the emotional tenor of a scene or trigger new understandings of the depicted character.

For artists and patrons of *Genji* albums, there was room for variation within a range of pictorial options that had been defined by previous examples, as well as by another important development, the circulation of manuals on *Genji* painting. One extant manual is a sixteenth-century copy of a fifteenth-century original.[6] Clearly intended as a guide for someone producing a *Genji* album, it offers an extensive menu of textual passages and pictorial scenes for each of the fifty-four chapters of *The Tale of Genji*. Detailed descriptions of what might be included range from the names of specific characters and the kinds of robes they should be wearing, to the types of flowers and seasonal indicators that could be represented.

While it is possible that artists had occasion to see such manuals, the current scholarly consensus is that they were intended primarily for non-artists, such as patrons, or for coordinators of *Genji* projects.[7] The manuals allowed a patron to determine which scenes to represent, and yet idiosyncratic preferences for certain pictorial motifs or lines of poetry or

prose that do not appear in such manuals could also be included. Although albums may have drawn on a canon of *Genji* images, each leaf represents a deliberate choice made by or for the patron.

A crucial mediating figure in the production of premodern *Genji* text and image projects was the coordinator, who oversaw the participation of numerous calligraphers and the artist and who played a role in editing the texts. As early as the twelfth century, certain individuals had been supervising *Genji* projects by advising patrons on the interpretation of the narrative and the selection of texts and images, and by intervening with the artist if something was not to the patron's liking.[8] The exact parameters of the coordinator's responsibilities emerge most clearly, however, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries through a wealth of extant objects and documentary material. Mitsunobu's *Genji* album, for example, was created under the supervision of the Kyoto aristocrat-scholar Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (1455–1537) for the provincial warlord Sue Saburō (active ca. 1500s), a retainer of the Ouchi.[9] The courtier-scholar Nakano-in Michimura (1588–1653) acted in a similar capacity for Ishikawa Tadafusa (1582–1650), a retainer of Tokugawa Hidetada (1579–1632), during the production of Hidetada's *Genji* album in 1617.[10] Michimura also oversaw the production of a set of *Genji* handscrolls for another provincial retainer in 1616, which involved at least seven calligraphers.[11] These and other *Genji* coordinators orchestrated a team of aristocrat-calligraphers and made sure that the finished products were to the patrons' liking, resulting in objects that embody the interests and aspirations of their sponsors.

This mode of production stands in contrast to that of the *hakubyō Genji* handscrolls of the sixteenth century, which did not require supervisors or professional painters. Ink-line *Genji* scrolls were more often than not made by their owners, the paintings and calligraphy brushed by and for their ultimate intended audience. In this sense, *hakubyō* scrolls involved far less mediation in their chain of production than did most other works in the history of the pictorialization of *The Tale of Genji* and are infused with a much higher degree of personalization. While *hakubyō* scrolls also drew on a large, commonly shared reservoir of *Genji* imagery, they tend to be significantly more interventionist in their relationship to received iconography than *Genji* albums. An analysis of these interventions demonstrates the extent to which they open up a space for a gendered perspective on the world of Genji.

HAKUBYŌ, WOMEN'S PICTURES, AND THE VIEWER-PRACTITIONER

The distant origins of *hakubyō* narrative painting can be located in spare, monochrome drawings done by female courtiers and attendants in the tenth century and referred to in early documents as women's pictures (*onna-e*).[12] Although the earliest examples no longer survive, women's pictures are known to have consisted primarily of abbreviated figural sketches onto which a wide range of narrative vignettes could be projected. Two *onna-e* described in the *Kagerō nikki* (*Kagerō Diary*, 974) provide a sense of the form this genre took: one depicted a woman sitting against the railing of a fishing pavilion, a typical component of an aristocratic residence, and gazing out at the pine on an island in the pond, while the other showed a man paused in the middle of composing a letter, lost in reverie.[13] The author of the diary, known to posterity as Mother of Michitsuna (936–995?), did not draw the images herself, but recorded her reaction to them. She places herself in the mind-set of the female figure depicted in the first picture and, as her poem for it suggests, inhabits her as a woman concerned about the faithfulness of her lover. The two *onna-e* also functioned in the text as a form of coded exchange between two parties; the sketches had come from the residence of Fujiwara Tōnori, who was attempting to court the author's adopted daughter, and the author returned them with poems that communicated her misgivings about Tōnori's constancy.[14] This example, one of many from the Heian period (794–1185), highlights the perceived function and reception of early *hakubyō* imagery. The viewers of such pictures were also their artists; ink-line drawings were most often executed by the people who exchanged them: the women (and sometimes men) of the nobility. Drawing was one of many courtly accomplishments that both sexes were expected to master, along with calligraphy, poetry, and music. Women, in particular, were associated with the drawing of tale pictures (*monogatari-e*).[15] Descriptions of women drawing pictures and narrative illustrations abound in *The Tale of Genji*, as in the following passage from the "Hotaru" (The Fireflies) chapter: "[T]he ladies amused themselves day and night with illustrated tales. The lady from Akashi made up some very nicely and sent them to her daughter. This sort of thing particularly intrigued the young lady in the west wing, who therefore gave herself all day long to copying and reading. She had several young gentlewomen suitably gifted to satisfy this interest."[16] References to actual women and their drawings also appear in several Heian texts. In *Makura no sōshi* (*The Pillow Book*, ca. 1017), Sei Shōnagon

(b. 965?) records having received a picture and a poem, both created by Empress Teishi (976–1000), in whose court she served.[17] Although these images were in all likelihood simple, casually drawn works in ink, the *Eiga monogatari* (*A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, ca. 1092) reveals that some women, such as Fujiwara Kanshi (1036–1127), became so accomplished that the skill and dexterity of their ink-lines rivaled those of professional painters.[18]

By the thirteenth century, nonprofessional female artists went beyond the single sheets of early *onna-e* to execute entire cycles of *hakubyō* narrative illustrations, from the *sumi-e* illustrations of Daughter of Takasue's (b. 1008) *Sarashina nikki* (*Sarashina Diary*, ca. 1059) drawn by Lady Ukyō Daifu in 1233,[19] to paintings of *Makura no sōshi* from the late thirteenth century long attributed to Shinshi, the fourth daughter of Emperor Fushimi (1265–1317).[20] The linear precision and refined execution of a number of *hakubyō* scrolls from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, however, suggest the trained hand of a professional or semiprofessional.[21] Works such as the *Ukifune Booklet*, *Takafusa Kyō tsuya kotoba-e* (*Lord Takafusa's Love Songs*, thirteenth century), and *Toyo no akari-e* (*Resplendent Light*, fourteenth century) evince a highly articulate and elegant style of monochrome painting that I shall refer to as the classical mode of *hakubyō* representation.

The *Ukifune Booklet*

Commonly dated to the thirteenth century, the *Ukifune Booklet* is the earliest example of a *hakubyō Genji* and the earliest extant version of *The Tale of Genji* illustrated in book form (plate 8).[22] The *Ukifune Booklet* is divided between two collections: the Yamato Bunkakan Museum and the Tokugawa Art Museum.[23] All the characteristics of the *hakubyō* idiom in its classical form can be seen in an image from the *Ukifune Booklet* depicting Niou, Ukifune, the retainer Tokikata, and the attendant Jijū spending the day at the villa across the Uji River from Ukifune's home (figure 16). These features include the striking interplay among the stark white paper, the faint meticulously drawn lines of the architecture and landscape, and the patches of glossy black ink, employed most remarkably to depict Ukifune's long flowing hair. This contrast is reminiscent of Murasaki Shikibu's famous comparison of Shōshi and her ladies-in-waiting, dressed in white for ceremonies surrounding the birth of Shōshi's son, to "those beautiful line drawings where everyone's long black hair literally seems to grow from

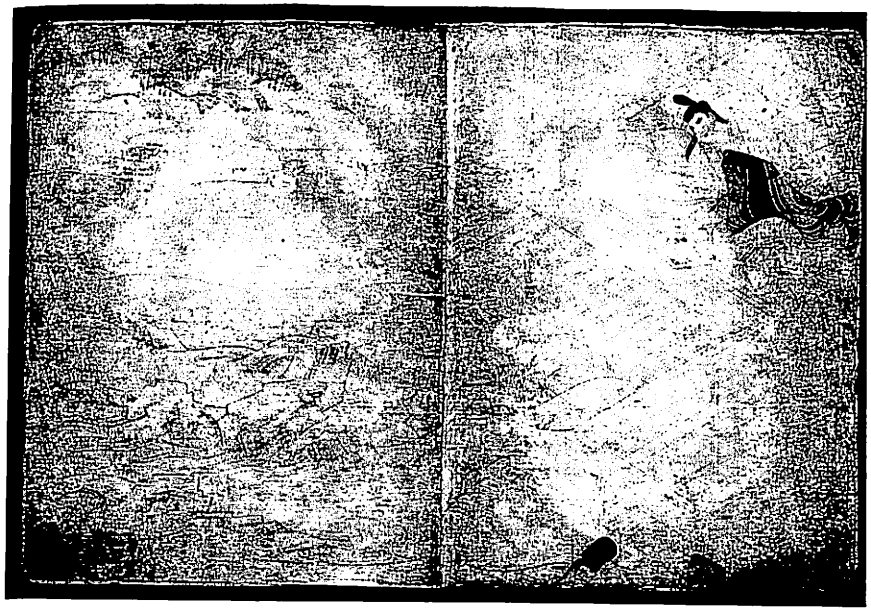

FIGURE 16 "Ukifune" (A Drifting Boat), in *Hakubyō eiri Ukifune sōshi* (*Ukifune Booklet*, thirteenth century): Niou, Ukifune, Tokikata, and Jijū. (Yamato Bunkakan, Nara. Photograph by Shirono Jōji)

the paper."[24] The effect is established not only by the differing intensities of ink gradation, but by the careful situating of motifs within a highly disciplined composition, which constitutes the second important characteristic of the *hakubyō* mode. In the painting, for example, a zigzagging edifice rendered in regimented ruler-drawn lines structures the pictorial field; it contains the two protagonists in the right half of the scene, but leads the eye both downward, toward Tokikata and Jijū at the bottom of the image, and outward toward the distant hills, the rocks, and the stream outside the villa. The final characteristic of the *hakubyō* mode, which lends the genre its greatest visual appeal, is the subtle orchestration of a variety of graphic traces on the surface of the paper. In contrast to paintings executed in the "constructed picture" technique, in which the paper ground is entirely obscured by pigments and the ink lines do not receive the viewer's undivided attention, the *hakubyō* work keeps exposed the hand-drawn lines that structure the pictorial surface.

Certain formal features individuate this work from other examples. Most notable is its distribution of several qualitatively different kinds of

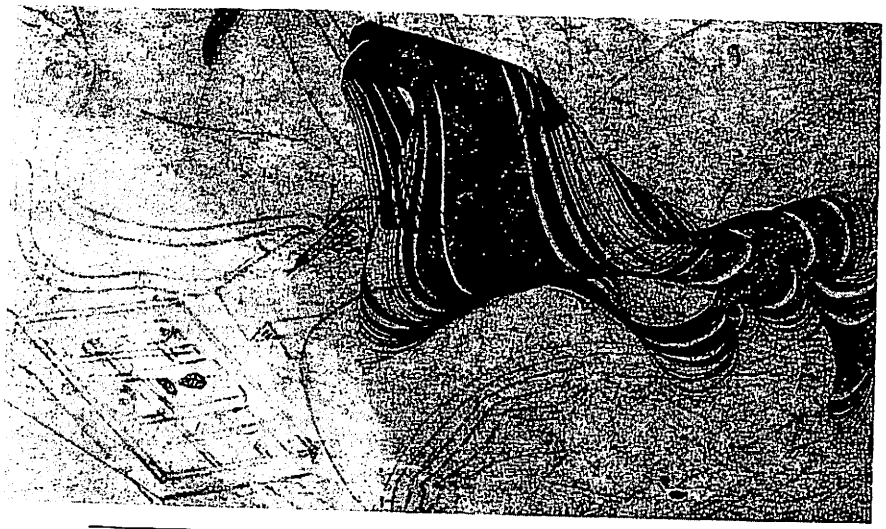

FIGURE 17 Detail of Ukifune, in *Ukifune Booklet*. (Yamato Bunkakan, Nara. Photograph by Shirono Jōji)

line, executed with an extremely fine brush. The ruler-drawn lines of the architecture employ the lightest ink tones; as the most regulated lines, they contrast with those that render the natural motifs of the garden outside. Lines that define the mist bands on the left sheet of the composition, as well as the hills surrounding the villa, end so quietly that they seem to dissolve into the architecture. Ukifune's hair, although described earlier as a patch of black ink, is made up of layers of fine lines, some of which separate into gossamer strands to form a semitransparent scrim (figure 17). Through the screen of hair, the viewer glimpses the edge of Ukifune's jaw and the faintest hint of a bushy eyebrow. The same care is employed in the rendering of the figures' clothing—from the repetitive, hypnotic effect of the perfectly spaced lines that depict the hem of Ukifune's robes, to the soft, delicate contours that limn Niou's garment and make it seem as if floating. The result is a meticulously crafted image, mesmerizing in its fine detail.

The illustrations in the *Ukifune Booklet* accompany the chapter itself, distinguishing them greatly from most later *Genji* paintings, which often complement brief excerpts from the text or function as a form of pictorial synecdoche. Although only a handful of images remain, the selection of scenes for the booklet reveals an emphasis on the character of Ukifune as a writer. This portrayal may reflect a certain disposition toward *The Tale of Genji* on the part of *hakubyō* pictorializations. The painting of Ukifune and Niou at the villa, for instance, comes directly after a passage in which the two characters exchange poems:

> Snow now blanketed the ground, and His Highness, looking out toward where she lived, saw only treetops through gaps in the mist. The hills glittered in the setting sun as though hung with mirrors. He began to tell her, with many dramatic touches, about the perilous journey he had made the previous night.
>
> "Snow upon the hills, ice along frozen rivers: these for you I trod,
> yet for all that never lost the way to be lost in you;
>
> though there was a horse at Kohata village,"[25] he wrote with careless ease, after calling for a poor inkstone that happened to be at hand.
>
> "Quicker than the snow, swirling down at last to lie by the frozen stream,
> I think I shall melt away while aloft yet in mid-sky,"
>
> she wrote, as though to refute his.[26]

After reading the poems in the *Ukifune Booklet*, one turns the page to find Ukifune depicted on the verge of committing verse to paper. Nicknamed "Tenarai no kimi" (Lady of the Writing Brush) by the Muromachi period, she here wields a brush with an ink-loaded tip in a rather large-looking hand, poised to set down the first line of her poem. Given the close association of the ink-line mode with both the women's picture tradition and the golden age of women's courtly literature, it is tempting to view Ukifune in these pictures as an icon of female authorship.

This iconography was not irrelevant to the large number of ink-line *Genji* paintings executed by amateurs later in the medieval period, demonstrating the fervor with which *The Tale of Genji* was being read, copied, drawn, and revised. Scrolls and fragments from approximately thirteen sets of *hakubyō Genji* scrolls survive from the Muromachi period, a surprising number for any genre of medieval painting, and one that suggests a much greater number no longer extant.[27] Most of the *Genji* handscrolls that survive not only were executed in the *hakubyō* mode, but are small scrolls—that is, approximately half the height of standard scrolls. The small-format handscroll emerged during the fourteenth century,

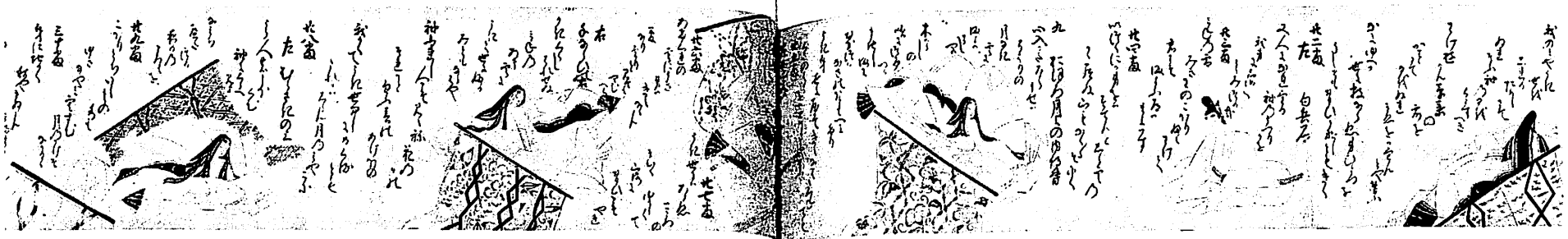

FIGURE 18 *Genji uta awase* (*Genji Poetry Match*, sixteenth century): the Third Princess versus Ukifune. (John C. Weber Collection, New York City. Photograph by John Bigelow Taylor)

originally as a more compact space for the miniaturized representation of subjects treated in handscrolls of the larger, more conventional size. Soon, however, it was transformed into a space for the pictorialization of new types of literary texts that provided highly personalized reading and viewing experiences for their owners. This new kind of small scroll—referred to as *ko-e* in medieval diaries—was typically created for individuals rather than institutions.[28] That this highly fecund and intimate format became a primary vehicle for *Genji* illustrations demonstrates the extent to which *hakubyō Genji* paintings were understood to be new picto-literary versions of the text and the degree to which they signaled a new page in the history of the reception of *The Tale of Genji*.

A survey of extant *hakubyō Genji* paintings reveals that many of the thirteen examples are recensions of the same text and must have shared pictorial models. These scrolls range in size from 9.8 centimeters to just over 18 centimeters in height and were part of sets that originally included as many as ten scrolls. Being relatively easy to manipulate and requiring less paper than larger scrolls, the small format accommodated well an amateur mode of writing and drawing. As such, it opens a window onto the communities of amateur artists and literati who engendered a multifaceted reception of *The Tale of Genji* based on writing and drawing as well as reading. Normally there is a tendency to separate the textual reception of *The Tale of Genji* (scribal, for the circulation of manuscripts) and the production of *Genji* paintings (formal, iconographic). In this instance, the original texts that these manuscripts replicate were changed into hybrid word–image form. The *Genji* did not remain static as it passed through the hands of these artists and copyists, but was modified and personalized. Extant *hakubyō* pictures have to be seen as part of a unique aspect of manuscript culture and as works that potentially generated a somatic connection between viewer and object qualitatively different from that of polychrome paintings. The image-texts served a key function for aristocratic women and ladies-in-waiting, for whom cultural engagement with *The Tale of Genji* could enhance their social well-being, such as their suitability for marriage or ability to entertain and educate their superiors.

The *Genji Poetry Match*

The *Genji Poetry Match*, in the John C. Weber Collection, a small-format *hakubyō* handscroll from the late Muromachi period, suggests that an amateur tradition of ink-line drawing continued unabated, although the dearth of surviving paintings makes it difficult to trace through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The scroll pits thirty-six characters from *The Tale of Genji* against one another in an imaginary poetry competition (figure 18).[29] Each character offers three of his or her poems from the tale matched in fifty-four rounds.[30] The scroll recalls the classical tradition of poet portraiture of the Kamakura period, as represented by works such as *Jidai fudō uta awase* (*Competition Between Poets of Different Eras*) (figure 19), but recast in an amateur mode. Each male poet typically appears sitting on a tatami mat and holding a fan or another small attribute, while each female poet commonly sits in front of or next to a screen decorated in a variety of patterns. Although the paintings employ the basic pictorial vocabulary of earlier *hakubyō* works, certain telltale traits of informal drawing date the scroll to the Muromachi period. The most prominent of these features are the flower motifs on several of the women's curtains,

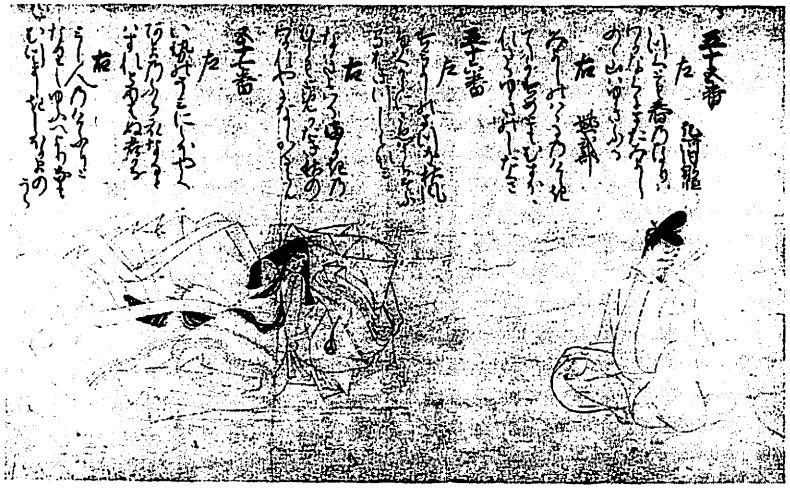

FIGURE 19 *Jidai fudō uta awase* (*Competition Between Poets of Different Eras*, Kamakura period): Ōshikōchi no Mitsune and Murasaki Shikibu. (Kubosō Memorial Museum of Arts, Izumi)

executed with a subtly graded ink wash reminiscent of a technique of painted patterning on Muromachi-period textiles known as flowers at the crossing (*tsujigahana*).[31] The settings for the figures similarly reflect the late medieval date of the scroll, including the skewed placement of the tatami mats and screens, which contrasts with the rigidly ordered ground planes of Kamakura-period poet portraits and competition scenes. The same holds true for the inscribed text, which is scattered above and around the poets so as to frame them in columns of cascading verse.

The *Genji Poetry Match* embodies the kind of transcription and pictorialization that marks a creative engagement with *The Tale of Genji* by amateur artists and copyists in the late medieval period. The scroll's invocation of *Competition Between Poets of Different Eras*, for example, differentiates it from the only other complete extant *Genji Poetry Match*, a two-scroll version also from the Muromachi period, in which the poets interact within the kind of elaborate architectural settings found in traditional narrative paintings.[32] In harkening back to the tradition of poet portraiture, however, the scroll reproduces only the poems and poets' names, eliminating all the prose headnotes found in the two-scroll version. Further idiosyncrasies can be detected in the selection of poems for this particular

transcription; of the 107 *waka* (classical poems) in the *Genji Poetry Match*, 64 in this scroll do not appear in the two-scroll version.[33] In this way, the reproduction and transcription of small-scroll depictions of the *Genji* provided ample occasion to re-present and reenvision the tale.

The majority of the matches in the *Genji Poetry Match* involve characters who have very little or nothing do with each other in *The Tale of Genji*, and, indeed, the very incongruity of a pairing was understood as its virtue, the source of the freshness and aesthetic appeal of the (mis)matched characters and their poems. Thus one finds Emperor Suzaku pitted against Ōmiya (the mother of Aoi and Tō no chūjō), the Akashi Nun competing with Suetsumuhana and Nakagimi facing Yūgao. Such juxtapositions of characters encourage the reader to draw connections between them based on his or her experience and knowledge of the tale. The scroll's pairing of Emperor Reizei and the Akashi Consort, for example, brings together not so much renowned versifiers, as two children of Genji who have achieved imperial rank; the match between Agemaki no kimi (Oigimi) and Kashiwagi places into imaginary poetic exchange two tragic characters who die young. The matched poems prompt further chains of association between a given pair of characters and their interrelational dynamic in the *Genji*, as in Match 25 between the Third Princess and Ukifune (see figure 18). The poem by the Third Princess is addressed to the dying Kashiwagi, with whom she had an illicit affair while married to Genji, and makes striking use of the image of smoke billowing from her own funeral pyre:

> I would rise with you, yes, and vanish forever, that your smoke and mine might decide which one of us burns with the greater sorrows.[34]

The poem by Ukifune matched to this one evokes similar imagery:

> A cloud dark with rain, shrouding in melancholy ever-brooding hills, that is what I wish to be and drift all my life away.[35]

Tormented by the pursuit of two lovers, Kaoru and Niou, Ukifune expresses her despair in the form of a desire to join the dark clouds. Despite the different context in which it is uttered in the tale, Ukifune's poem is thus linked to the Third Princess's in one billowing mass of vaporous melancholia. The subsequent sets of poems by these characters follow a similar associational logic, as in the third pair, both of which contain the phrase "world of sorrow" (*ukiyo*). The poems refer to a life of reclusion and

are composed at moments in the tale when each woman has become a nun, calling to mind the shared experience of the Third Princess and Ukifune in attempting to leave the mundane world.

While these creative incongruities cannot be attributed to any specific author, the preface to the *Genji Poetry Match* is suggestive of the work's intended readership.[36] The preface assumes the voice of a tonsured woman, who praises the virtues of *The Tale of Genji* while calling attention to its Buddhist nature, arguing for its compatibility with Buddhist practice. Although the author has "given up the world and cast aside this worthless body," her heart remains steeped in the tale. Transporting the *Genji*'s numerous chapters from place to place has proved to be too difficult, and so the author has come up with a digest of its poetry in the form of a contest between thirty-six of its characters organized into fifty-four rounds. The preface goes on to explain the tale's potential to inspire Buddhist insight and addresses the reader as someone who is "seeking out the path of the Dragon Girl who achieved buddhahood." The reference is to the young girl from the Devadatta chapter of the *Lotus Sutra* who was able to achieve awakening and become a buddha and who served as an exemplar of female buddhahood throughout the medieval period.[37] The allusion strongly suggests that the tonsured author of the preface is herself a Buddhist nun and that she is addressing a female audience. Although the possibility remains that a man wrote the text in the guise of a nun, precedents for such role-playing are virtually unknown for the Muromachi period. Meanwhile, there is plenty of historical context for positing a female author and audience for the scroll.

Expositions of *The Tale of Genji* tailored specifically for a female audience appear in such texts as *Niwa no oshie* (*Domestic Teachings*) by the Nun Abutsu (1222–1283),[38] which was written as a guide for her daughter, a lady-in-waiting, and late medieval textual commentaries by Kaoku Gyokuei (1526–ca. 1602), whom some sources identify as the Nun Keifukuin, daughter of Konoe Taneie (1503–1566):[39] *Kaokushō* (*Kaoku's Gleanings*, 1594) and *Gyokueishū* (*Gyokuei's Collection*, 1602).[40] That Gyokuei wrote her commentaries for female readers is evident in the afterword to the *Kaokushō* and in the preface and elsewhere in the *Gyokueishū*, where she repeatedly mentions her intended audience of young girls, women, and beginning readers of the *Genji*. G. G. Rowley has discussed several of the ways in which Gyokuei accommodates the *Genji* to her female audience.[41] These include a deemphasis of the kind of detailed and "obtuse" scholarship found in the commentaries written by men. Instead, her texts avoid all references to Indian, Chinese, or *kanbun* precedents, while selecting, as

Rowley states, "only what she believes to be correct, important, or relevant, simplifying and reducing as she goes along."[42] Aside from the occasional Chinese character, Gyokuei's commentaries were written in the *hiragana* syllabary, another nod to her female and unofficious audience.

Ink-line *Genji* scrolls from the sixteenth century, such as the *Genji Poetry Match*, have much in common with Gyokuei's text; they reduce the unwieldy fifty-four chapters of *The Tale of Genji* to a manageable digest of notable poems and scenes, and do so with an audience of women in mind. The small scrolls should thus be included in the body of *Genji* texts produced by and for women in the medieval period, including the so-called *Genji* gossip, lists of exemplary characters from the tale in a variety of categories traditionally attributed to women.[43] While the Nun Abutsu's and Gyokuei's texts are the only extant ones that explicitly mention their female readership, small scrolls provide a fuller picture of how *The Tale of Genji* was read and interpreted by diverse audiences before the early modern era. One of the best examples of such pictorial accommodations for female viewers is found in the mid-sixteenth-century *Monochrome Tale of Genji Scrolls*.

The *Monochrome Tale of Genji Scrolls*

The set of six *Monochrome Tale of Genji Scrolls* (1554) in the Spencer Collection of the New York Public Library, which bears a dated inscription, is the premier point of reference for a study of *Genji hakubyō* scrolls.[44] It can be categorized as part of a group of *Genji* small scrolls that reproduce *waka* from *The Tale of Genji* with accompanying images, the primary purpose of which was to provide an illustrated digest of *Genji* poetry.[45] The set, however, is a digest of a digest; it presents one poem and one painting for each chapter of the tale, which were selected and copied from a much larger encyclopedic model that included all 795 poems from the *Genji* and multiple illustrations for each chapter.[46]

The orientation of the *Genji* scrolls toward the same type of audiences that the *Genji Poetry Match* presupposed can be demonstrated through an examination of one painting, for the "Wakana ge" (Spring Shoots II) chapter (figure 20; plate 9).[47] The painting mobilizes an array of techniques to elevate the Akashi Nun, an otherwise minor figure in *The Tale of Genji*, to a position of central interest. It depicts a pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi, echoing Genji's earlier visit to the local Sumiyoshi deity at Akashi (in "Miotsukushi" [The Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi]), undertaken in thanks

FIGURE 20 "Wakana ge" (Spring Shoots II), in *Hakubyō Genji monogatari emaki* (*Monochrome Tale of Genji Scrolls*, 1554). (Spencer Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations)

for his release from exile. While that episode heralded a turning point in Genji's fortunes, the second pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi marks the rise of the Akashi family. The daughter born to Genji and the Akashi Lady has become an imperial consort and given birth to a son who will be crowned emperor, while she herself will soon be named empress. The pilgrimage in "Wakana ge" is made at the request of the father of the Akashi Lady, the Akashi lay priest, who has withdrawn from the world. The Akashi Consort, her mother and grandmother, and Murasaki all join in the event. Their participation in the pilgrimage has typically gone unremarked, because of Genji's large role in arranging it.[48] Rather than centering the episode on Genji, the *Genji* scrolls pictorialize the pilgrimage scene in a way that privileges the lineal significance of the Akashi family and the role of the Akashi Nun as its matriarch.

This shift in focus begins with the selection of the scene itself: among pictorial representations of this chapter, paintings of the pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi are rare. Extant images of scenes from "Wakana ge" most typically depict the exchange of poems between Genji and Murasaki after the latter's illness, as they both gaze out over a pond full of lotus flowers, as found in the *Tale of Genji Album* (see plate 7). The few illustrations that do show the pilgrimage usually portray Genji making offerings to the shrine without representing any of the women.[49]

Rather than depicting Genji as the focal point, with the women hidden in their carriages, as would be expected from convention, the Akashi women in the *Genji* scrolls are given pride of place at the conclusion of the painting. Genji may be included, but he is visually peripheral and difficult to identify. The women appear in the painting after a long sequence that depicts dancers and musicians, the carriages of the group, and the familiar Sumiyoshi shoreline (see plate 9). They are shown seated in an interior with food trays before them, while labels identifying each of the women encourage the viewer to pause and recognize individual characters (see figure 20). First in line from right to left is the Akashi Nun, then

the Akashi Lady and Murasaki, and finally the Akashi Consort, referred to here as "Empress" (Chūgū). Thus three generations of Akashi women are shown in descending order of age, beginning with the grandmother and culminating with her granddaughter. In addition, the painter took great care to include the women who nurtured the Akashi Consort: Murasaki, the adoptive mother, is seated third in line but closest to her, while three female attendants, allotted secondary status through their placement at the bottom of the scene, are nevertheless clearly labeled and presented as important figures, such as the nurse of the Akashi Consort (Chūgū no menoto) and Murasaki's attendant, Nakatsukasa.

A number of studies have emphasized the importance of the Akashi lineage in *The Tale of Genji* as a whole.[50] The fortunes of the once prominent Akashi family had dramatically declined before experiencing a revival through its association with Genji. Because Genji's mother, the Kiritsubo Kōi, was the first cousin of the Akashi lay priest, the success of the Akashi family in a sense recuperates the decline of Genji's mother's family brought on by her death in the first chapter, "Kiritsubo" (The Paulownia Pavilion).[51] The "Wakana ge" painting is unique in highlighting this subtext of the pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi. In the *Genji*, several characters and the narrator remark on the extraordinary fate of the Akashi Nun. The pilgrimage episode concludes with a statement about how the nun's good fortune was so widely acknowledged that people invoked her name for good luck.[52] When "Wakana ge" is read in conjunction with its pictorialization in the *Genji* scrolls, the Akashi Nun and her lineal success emerge as the focal point of this part of the chapter. In the process, *The Tale of Genji* is transformed into *The Tale of Akashi*.

The particularity of the scene suggests that *Genji* small scrolls can be understood as pictorial counterparts of *Genji* textual commentaries. In fact, professional authenticators of the Edo period appear to have viewed them in this manner, as witnessed by the attribution of the *Genji* scrolls to Kaoku Gyokuei, the author of the only extant *Genji* commentary by a woman.[53] While the scrolls obfuscate certain details of the text, they also do what Rowley has described Gyokuei as having done in shaping her commentaries, selecting "only what she believes to be correct, important, or relevant."[54] In the *Genji* scrolls, the role of women in the pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi and in the circle of the Akashi Consort are the most important aspects of the "Wakana ge" chapter, emphasized at the expense of many other elements in the narrative. This scene, in turn, is but one example of a larger inclination in the *Tale of Genji Scrolls* to render visible new subplots from old story lines.

PROFESSIONAL *HAKUBYŌ*

The emergence of a decorative and miniaturized version of the classical *hakubyō* idiom during the early Edo period was the final turn in the protean pictorial reception of *The Tale of Genji* during the medieval era. This polished and finely manufactured manner of depiction is best represented in two *Genji* albums by the painter Tosa Mitsunori (1583–1638): one in the Mary Griggs Burke Collection (plate 10), and the other in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. During the Muromachi period, the Tosa school of painting had been closely associated with the aristocratic community and shogunate, but it was soon relativized by the rise of the extensive Kanō atelier in the sixteenth century. Eventually, with their relocation to the port city of Sakai sometime after 1569, the Tosa came to base their artisanal identity more narrowly on subjects specifically invoking classical themes, and, as discussed earlier, one of their trademark objects was the *Genji* album. While several polychrome albums are associated with the Momoyama painter Tosa Mitsuyoshi, it is under his son Mitsunori that *hakubyō* works began to be produced.

Mitsunori's albums revive the classical and crafted manner of monochromatic visual narrative characterized by the *Ukifune Booklet* and other works of the Kamakura period. Two significant differences, however, distinguish the Tosa works from the classical mode. The first is the miniature scale and radically condensed look of Mitsunori's albums. Architectural and landscape details are virtuosically compressed into small leaves (each one 13.4 by 12.9 cm). Even the bamboo blinds are depicted individually, line by line. The second difference is the decorative quality of these albums, not only the abundant use of gold for the wafting clouds, but also the surprising prevalence of a crisp vermilion for the lips of the figures, the occasional architectural detail, and the flames of the oil lamps. These ornamental qualities suggest that the *hakubyō Genji* albums of the Tosa school were made primarily for the merchant–tea practitioners who helped Sakai prosper during the early Edo period. This viewership would help to explain the revivalist and overcrafted look of these works. In terms of both visual qualities and social environment, the ink-line *Genji* albums could not represent a greater contrast from the relatively awkward works of the Muromachi period. They are linked, however, in one important sense. The very invocation of the *hakubyō* mode for the pictorialization of *The Tale of Genji* by the Tosa school acknowledges the importance of this idiom for accessing the inner salons of the aristocracy, inhabited by women of pedigreed ancestry and erudite ladies-in-waiting.

Professional authenticators in the Edo period consistently attributed surviving *hakubyō* scrolls to renowned nuns, noble women, and ladies-in-waiting of the Muromachi period, such as Ichii no Tsubone, the daughter of the courtier and calligrapher Asukai Masachika (1417–1490),[55] and Yotsuji Haruko (d. 1504), the high-ranking female attendant to Emperor GoTsuchimikado.[56] Significantly, these judgments were rendered not by painting specialists, such as members of the Kanō and Sumiyoshi schools, but by the Kohitsu, a professional family of calligraphy connoisseurs.[57] That *hakubyō* scrolls were understood first and foremost as literary texts underscores the scribal and redactional—as opposed to painterly—status of the genre. While the attributions of specific scrolls to nebulous figures such as Ichii no Tsubone may ultimately have to be reconsidered, they highlight the role that monochrome paintings of *The Tale of Genji* were understood to have played in the transmission of cultural forms vital to the identity and well-being of communities of aristocratic women.

NOTES

1. On Tosa Mitsunobu's *Genji Album*, in the Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts, see Chino Kaori, Ikeda Shinobu, and Kamei Wakana, "Hābādo daigaku bijutsukan zō *Genji monogatari gajō* o meguru shomondai," *Kokka*, no. 1222 (1997): 39–51, and Melissa McCormick, "*Genji* Goes West: The 1510 *Genji Album* and the Visualization of Court and Capital," *Art Bulletin* 85, no. 1 (2003): 54–85. Tosa Mitsuyoshi's album, in the Kyoto National Museum, has been fully reproduced in Kano Hiroyuki, Shimosaka Mamoru, and Imanishi Yūichirō, eds., *Genji monogatari gajō: Kyoto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan shozō* (Tokyo: Benseisha, 1997); see also Inamoto Mariko, "*Kyoto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan* hokan *Genji monogatari gajō* ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu: Chōjirō ni yoru jūfuku roku bamen o megutte," *Kokka*, no. 1223 (1997): 7–19.
2. The scroll fragments are divided between the Tenri University Library, Nara, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Only portions representing the "Miotsukushi" (The Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi), "Wakamurasaki" (Young Murasaki), and "Suetsumuhana" (The Safflower) chapters survive, the first in the Metropolitan and the last in Tenri. All are reproduced in Komatsu Shigemi ed., *Ise monogatari emaki, Sagoromo monogatari emaki, Koma kurabe miyuki emaki, Genji monogatari emaki*, Nihon no emaki 18 (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1988), pp. 56–103.
3. The fans appear against a background painting of kudzu vines, similar to the formal device popular at the time known as "fans afloat" (*senmen nagashi*), which was developed as an elegant compositional conceit within which to frame and order the fans according to the tale's narrative flow or, on the screens at Jōdoji temple, according to a seasonal arrangement. See Akiyama Terukazu, "Muromachi jidai no *Genji*-e senmen

ni tsuite: Jōdoji zō *'Genji monogatari* e senmen hari byōbu' o chūshin ni," *Kokka*, no. 1088 (1985): 17–48.

4. The front and back covers of both volumes are in the Idemitsu Museum of Arts, Tokyo, and the Tenri University Library. They are reproduced in *Yamato-e: Miyabi no keifu* [exhibition catalog] (Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum, 1993), p. 78, pl. 28 and 29.
5. The poem sheets that make up Mitsunobu's *Genji Album* were originally assembled into a folio format and later probably mounted on a screen, in which state they may have been displayed during *Genji*-related gatherings. See McCormick, *"Genji* Goes West," pp. 64–66.
6. Miyeko Murase translated this text, housed in the Osaka Women's College Library and often referred to as the "Osaka manual," in *Iconography of The Tale of Genji: Genji monogatari ekotoba* (New York: Weatherhill, 1983). The entire manuscript is reproduced in Tamagami Takuya, *"Genji monogatari ekotoba* ni tsuite," *Joshidai bungaku (Kokubunhen)*, no. 19 (1967): 1–300, and transcribed in Katagiri Yōichi, *Genji monogatari ekotoba: Honkoku to kaisetsu* (Kyoto: Daigakudō shoten, 1983).
7. Katagiri, *Genji monogatari ekotoba*, pp. 129–130; Iwama Kaoru, *"Genji*-e seisaku ni miru kōdinētā to eshi," *Kyoto Shiritsu Geijutsu Daigaku bijutsu gakubu kenkyū kiyō* 34 (1989): 54. *Genji* manuals were not, however, restricted to nonartists; Murase makes a compelling case for Tosa Mitsunori's ownership of a *Genji* manual based on the unusually diverse range of scenes in his extant *Genji* paintings, as though he had attempted to paint every possible scene listed in the manual (*Iconography of The Tale of Genji*, p. 26).
8. More than one such coordinator was thought to have organized the production of the twelfth-century *Genji Scrolls*. Documentation of coordinators does not appear, however, until the fourteenth century with a group of six letters preserved on the back of documents in the Kanazawa Bunko dating between 1303 and 1305. See Tokugawa Yoshinobu, "Kanazawa Bunkō komonjo *'Genji monogatari* shikishi gata,'" *Kinkō sōsho* 7 (1980): 697–713.
9. McCormick, *"Genji* Goes West." As coordinator, Sanetaka had several responsibilities related to the creation of the album's calligraphy: on behalf of the patron, he personally asked at least two of the six aristocrats to contribute their calligraphy; along with the *renga* poet Gensei (1443–1521), who assisted the patron and acted as his spokesperson, he determined which textual passages would be selected; he sent out the assignments to the various calligraphers and collected the finished calligraphy sheets; and he aided the patron in making corrections when errors had been detected.
10. Yamane Yūzō reconstructed the patronage of the album, now in the Kubosō Memorial Museum of Arts, Izumi, by connecting it to entries in the diary of Yamashina Tokio (1577–1620), *Tokio-kyō ki*, in "Tosa Mitsuyoshi to sono Sekiya, Miyuki, Ukifune-zu byōbu," *Kokka*, nos. 749–750 (1954): 241–250, 259–261. For a comprehensive study of the album and full-color illustrations, see Kawada Masayuki, *"Genji monogatari tekagami* kō," in Izumi-shi Kubosō Kinen Bijutsukan, ed., *Genji monogatari tekagami kenkyū* (Izumi: Izumi-shi Kubosō Kinen Bijutsukan, 1992), pp. 84–115.
11. Kawada, *"Genji monogatari tekagami* kō," p. 92.

12. The category of "women's pictures" encompassed both ink-line and polychrome paintings, such as the twelfth-century *Genji Scrolls*, which are also considered *onna-e*. Scholars have long debated the meaning of the term *onna-e*, producing definitions based on style, subject matter, audience, and the gender of the artist. See Tanaka Ichimatsu, "Otoko-e to onna-e," *Hōun* 2, no. 2 (1933): 75–94, in Tanaka Ichimatsu kaigashi ronshū kankōkai ed., *Tanaka Ichimatsu kaigashi ronshū* (Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 1985), vol. 1, pp. 86–102, and Tamagami Takuya, "'Onna-e' go gikō: Bijutsushigaku to kokubungaku," *Yamato bunka* 53 (1969): 1–8. Shirahata Yoshi has posited that *onna-e* were largely synonymous with *monogatari-e* (paintings of tales), the texts of which were by and large written by women, in "Onna-e kō," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 132 (1943): 201–210. Louisa McDonald Read summarizes previous Japanese scholarship on *onna-e*, while arguing for the genre's connection to Tang dynasty Chinese figure painting, in "The Masculine and Feminine Modes of Heian Secular Painting and Their Relationship to Chinese Painting—A Redefinition of *Yamato-e*" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1975). Ikeda Shinobu conceptualizes *onna-e* as paintings that do not illustrate specific narratives, but offer flexible pictorial templates (*kata*) evocative of a variety of narrative scenarios, in "Heian jidai monogatari-e no ichi kōsatsu: 'Onna-e' kei monogatari-e no seiritsu to tenkai," *Tetsugaku kaishi*, no. 9 (1985): 37–61, and "Jendā no shiten kara miru ōchō monogatari," in Suzuki Tokiko et al., eds., *Bijutsu to jendā: Hi taishō no shisen* (Tokyo: Buryukke, 1997), pp. 23–59.
13. Mother of Michitsune, *The Kagerō Diary: A Woman's Autobiographical Text from Tenth-Century Japan*, trans. Sonja Arntzen, Michigan Monographs in Japanese Studies, no. 19 (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1997), pp. 348–351; Ki no Tsurayuki and Mother of Michitsune, *Tosa nikki, Kagerō nikki*, ed. Kikuchi Yasuhiko, Kimura Masanori, and Imuta Tsunehisa, Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū (SNKBZ) 13 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1995), pp. 339–340.
14. Ikeda examines the communicative role of *onna-e*, as well as the gender dynamics of their exchange in Heian literature, in "Jendā no shiten kara miru ōchō monogatari." Shirahata Yoshi first raised the issue of indoctrination and women's pictures, suggesting their reinforcement of a patriarchal social structure through the representation of a passive feminine ideal, in "Onna-e hokō," *Bukkyō geijutsu* 35 (1961): 24–28.
15. For more on the gendered reception of narrative paintings, see Ikeda Shinobu, "Kaiga gensetsu no isō (josetsu): *Genji monogatari* o chūshin ni," *Shiron* 54 (2001): 61–82; Ii Haruki, "E-monogatari wa himegimi ni dono yō na yakuwari o hatashita no ka," *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kyōzai no kenkyū* 45, no. 14 (2000): 80–86; and Kawana Junko, "Otokotachi no monogatari-e kyōju," *Genji kenkyū* 4 (1999): 100–115.
16. Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, trans. Royall Tyler (New York: Viking, 2001), p. 460.
17. Sei Shōnagon, *Makura no sōshi*, ed. Matsuo Satoshi and Nagai Kazuko, SNKBZ 18 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1997), p. 359.
18. *Eiga monogatari*, ed. Yamanaka Yutaka, SNKBZ 33 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1998), p. 356.
19. According to Fujiwara Teika's diary *Meigetsuki*, entry of 1233.3.20, Ukyō Daifu's illustrations were used as the wager for an extravagant shell-matching contest sponsored by Emperor GoHorikawa (1212–1234) and his consort, Shōhekimon'in (1209–1233).

The calligrapher of the scroll text was Inpumon'in, daughter of the famous painter Fujiwara Nobuzane (1177–1265). See Komatsu Shigemi, *Hazuki monogatari emaki, Makura no sōshi ekotoba, Takafusa Kyō tsuyakotoba emaki*, Nihon no emaki 10 (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1988), p. 25.

20. The paintings of *Makura no sōshi* are thought to correspond to the single scroll now in the Asano Collection, Tokyo. Prince Fushimi Sadafusa made the attribution with the help of his female attendants; see entry of 1429.12.3, *Kanmon gyoki*, pt. 2, *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, supp. 2, rev. ed. (Tokyo: Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikaiki, 2000), p. 585, cited in Murashige Yasushi, "Hakubyō monogatari-e no tenkai: 'Takafusa Kyō tsuya ekotoba emaki' to 'Makura sōshi ekotoba,'" in Komatsu Shigemi, ed., *Hazuki monogatari emaki, Makura no sōshi ekotoba, Takafusa Kyō tsuyakotoba emaki*, Nihon emaki taisei 10 (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1978), p. 113.
21. For more on semiprofessional and court-lady painters of the twelfth century, see Akiyama Terukazu, "Insei ki ni okeru nyōbō no kaiga seisaku: Tosa no Tsubone to Kii no Tsubone," in Ienaga Saburō kyōju Tōkyō Kyōiku Daigaku taikan kinen ronshū kankō iinkai, ed., *Kodai, chūsei no shakai to shisō* (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1979), trans. and adapted by Maribeth Graybill as "Women Painters at the Heian Court," in Marsha Weidner, ed., *Flowering in the Shadows: Women in the History of Chinese and Japanese Painting* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1990), pp. 159–184.
22. Akiyama Terukazu dated the *Ukifune Booklet* based on stylistic grounds, noting that it preserves the figural style of twelfth-century paintings, but represents a precursor of the *hakubyō* style that emerged in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries ("Hakubyō eiri *Genji monogatari* Ukifune, Kagerō no maki ni kansuru shomondai," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 227 [1963], in *Nihon emakimono no kenkyū* [Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 2000], vol. 2, pp. 37–82).
23. The portion of the *Ukifune Booklet* in the Yamato Bunkakan Museum, Nara, consists of two illustrations and thirty pages of text from the latter half of the "Ukifune" chapter still preserved in book form; the Tokugawa Art Museum, Nagoya, possesses three illustrations and twenty-three pages of text from the first part of the chapter remounted as a handscroll. Another seven pages of text from the "Kagerō" (The Mayfly) chapter are in the Tokugawa Art Museum, and one sheet of text from the "Sawarabi" (Bracken Shoots) chapter has survived, suggesting that the fragments represent what was once a large set of illustrated booklets of all fifty-four chapters of *The Tale of Genji*, or at least of the ten Uji chapters. See Akiyama Terukazu, "Hakubyō e-iri *Genji monogatari* (Sawarabi) no kotobagaki dankan," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 305 (1977), in *Nihon emakimono no kenkyū*, vol. 2, pp. 83–92.
24. *Murasaki Shikibu: Her Diary and Poetic Memoirs*, trans. Richard Bowring (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), p. 61; *Izumi Shikibu nikki, Murasaki Shikibu nikki, Sarashina nikki, Sanuki no Suke no nikki*, ed. Fujioka Tadaharu, SNKBZ 26 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1994), p. 140.
25. Tyler notes the reference: Kakinomoto no Hitomaro, *Shūishū*, no. 1243: "Though there was a horse at Kohata village in Yamashina, I came on foot for you" (Murasaki Shikibu, *Tale of Genji*, p. 1027, n. 25).

26. Murasaki Shikibu, *Tale of Genji*, p. 1027; for the Japanese text, see Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji monogatari*, ed. Abe Akio, Akiyama Ken, Imai Gen'e, and Suzuki Hideo, SNKBZ 25 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1995), pp. 153–154.
27. Several of these works appear in the catalog *Hakubyōe: Tokubetsuten* (Izumi: Izumi-shi Kubosō Kinen Bijutsukan, 1992); important examples include those in the Spencer Collection, New York Public Library (six scrolls); a private collection, Kyoto (five scrolls); and the Tenri University Library (two scrolls).
28. Melissa McCormick, *Tosa Mitsunobu and the Small Scroll in Medieval Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, forthcoming).
29. Scholars have suggested that the text of the *Genji Poetry Match* might date to the late thirteenth century, when a number of poetry collections and poetry matches focused exclusively on *waka* excerpted from *monogatari*, such as Fujiwara Teika's *Monogatari nihyakuban uta awase* (*Two Hundred–Round Tale Poetry Contest*, ca. 1190–1199), the *Fūyōwakashū* (*Collection of Wind-Blown Leaves*, 1271), and the *Nyōbo uta awase* (*Court Lady Poetry Match*, 1279). See Higuchi Yoshimaro, "*Genji monogatari uta-awase* ni tsuite," *Bungaku* 57 (1989): 72. Nevertheless, the earliest extant recension of the text is that found in the Muromachi-period small-format handscrolls.
30. One poem by Akikonomu is missing, resulting in a total of 107 *waka* from the tale.
31. Similar motifs can be found on several *hakubyō* scrolls from the sixteenth century, including the *Genji Scrolls* in the Spencer Collection. For more on the history of *tsujigahana* textiles, see Terry Satsuki Milhaupt, "Flowers at the Crossroads: The Four-Hundred-Year Life of a Japanese Textile" (Ph.D. diss., Washington University, 2002).
32. The two-scroll version, the Weber scroll, and eight fragments from a third version identical to the Weber scroll are fully reproduced and transcribed in Mori Tōru, *Utaawase-e no kenkyū: Kasen-e* (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1970). For more on the text of the *Genji Poetry Match*, see Kyūsojin Hitaku, "*Genji monogatari* no utaawase jō ge," *Kokugakuin zasshi* 44, no. 3 (1938): 13–37, no. 4 (1938): 35–49; Ikeda Toshio, "*Genji monogatari utaawase* no denpon to honbun," in Murasaki Shikibu Gakkai, ed., *Genji monogatari to waka: Kenkyū to shiryō*, Kodai bungaku ronsō 8 (Tokyo: Musashino shoin, 1982), vol. 2, pp. 246–339; and Higuchi Yoshimaro, "*Genji monogatari uta-awase*," in Higuchi Yoshimaro, ed., *Ōchō monogatari shūkasen*, Iwanami bunko 30 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1989), vol. 2, pp. 330–403, and "*Genji monogatari utaawase* ni tsuite," pp. 61–75.
33. Two of the thirty-six characters also differ. The Weber scroll matches Higekuro with Kumoinokari instead of Kōbai, and pits the Akashi Nun against Suetsumuhana, instead of Ben no ama.
34. Murasaki Shikibu, *Tale of Genji*, p. 677; *Genji monogatari*, ed. Abe Akio, Akiyama Ken, Imai Gen'e, and Suzuki Hideo, SNKBZ 23 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1995), p. 296.
35. Murasaki Shikibu, *Tale of Genji*, p. 1030; *Genji monogatari*, SNKBZ 25, p. 160.
36. The text of the Weber scroll is transcribed in Mori, *Utaawase-e no kenkyū*, pp. 109–121. For a partially annotated text of the two-scroll version, see Higuchi, "*Genji monogatari utaawase*."

37. The use of the Devadatta chapter of the *Lotus Sutra* for the funerary rites and memorial services of women demonstrates the continued importance of the Dragon Girl as a model of female awakening even into the late Muromachi period; examples include a five-day lecture on the Devadatta held in the women's quarters of the palace on behalf of emperor GoTsuchimikado's (1465–1500) deceased mother in 1489 (Sanjōnishi Sanetaka, Chōkyō 3.3.23, in *Sanetaka-kō ki*, ed. Shiba Katsumori, Sanjōnishi Kin'masa, and Korezawa Kyōzō [Tokyo: Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai, 1957–1967], vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 219), and Sanjōnishi Sanetaka's inscription of an excerpt from the Devadatta chapter on the grave marker of a prominent lady-in-waiting in 1527 (Daiei 7.9.27, in *Sanetaka-kō ki*, ed. Takahashi Ryūzō [Tokyo: Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai, 1957–1967], vol. 7, p. 99).
38. I thank Haruo Shirane for bringing this to my attention.
39. Gyōkuei is identified as "Nantō bikuni Keifukuin, daughter of Konoe Taneie (nun)," in the seventeenth-century *Kendenmei meiroku* (*Record of Illustrious Biographies*). See Ii Haruki, "Kaoku Gyokuei ei '*Genji monogatari* kanmei waka' (kaidai to honkoku)," *Shirin*, no. 5 (1989): 30.
40. Ii Haruki, "*Kaokushō*" and "*Gyokueishū*," in Ii Haruki ed., *Genji monogatari chushaku kyōjushi jiten* (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō shuppan, 2001), pp. 44–45, 63–64. See also G.G. Rowley, "Kaoku Gyokuei," in Thomas Harper and Haruo Shirane, eds., *The Genji Reader* (forthcoming).
41. Rowley, "Kaoku Gyokuei."
42. Ibid.
43. Three such texts—*Genji shijūhachi monotatoe no koto* (*Forty-eight Exemplars from Genji*), *Genji kai* (*A Key to Genji*), and *Genji monotatoe* (*Exemplars from Genji*)—are translated in Thomas Harper, "*Genji* Gossip," in Aileen Gatten and Anthony Chambers, eds., *New Leaves: Studies and Translations of Japanese Literature in Honor of Edward Seidensticker* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1993), pp. 29–44.
44. The *Genji* scrolls in the Spencer Collection measure 9.8 centimeters in height. There are no scrolls missing from the set, and virtually every chapter of the tale is represented. See Sarah E. Thompson, "A 'Hakubyō *Genji monogatari* Emaki' in the Spencer Collection" (master's thesis, Columbia University, 1984); Margaret Childs, "Supensā koreskushon zō *Genji monogatari emaki*," *Kokugo kokubun* 50 (1981): 32–37; and Katagiri Yayoi, "Hakubyō *Genji monogatari* emaki ni okeru e to kotoba: Supensaa-bon o chūshin ni," *Firokaria* 6 (1989): 88–114. A postscript by the scroll's artist reads: "This work has been copied just like the original. The skillful tracings of the brush are indistinguishable [from the original]. Tenmon 23 (1554), fourth month, an auspicious day."
45. Fragments from thirteen separate examples of such scrolls survive (see note 23). A set in a private collection, for example, which illustrates the first twenty-two chapters of the *Genji* in five scrolls, probably comprised ten scrolls in its original state to illustrate poems from all fifty-four chapters.
46. Katagiri, "Hakubyō *Genji monogatari* emaki ni okeru e to kotoba."

47. A work that may have been the model for the Spencer *Genji* survives as a fragment in the Burke Collection, New York. It depicts part of the "Wakana ge" (Spring Shoots II) painting and is identical in composition to the scene in the Spencer set.
48. Norma Field, for example, states that "despite the Akashi presence, the pilgrimage is entirely Genji's affair" (*The Splendor of Longing in The Tale of Genji* [Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987], p. 85).
49. For illustrations, see, for example, Washio Henryū and Nakano Kōichi, eds., *Genji monogatari gajō* (Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, 2005), pp. 250–251. The Sumiyoshi pilgrimage scene is listed as one possibility among those found in the *Genji monogatari ekotoba* (*Genji Painting Manual*), suggesting that earlier paintings of this particular episode must have been created, although none survive. See Murase, *Iconography of The Tale of Genji*, pp. 202–204, and Katagiri, *Genji monogatari ekotoba*, pp. 69–70.
50. Haruo Shirane, "History, Myth, and Women's Literature: The Akashi Lady," in *The Bridge of Dreams: A Poetics of The Tale of Genji* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1987), pp. 73–87; Richard Okada, "The Akashi Intertexts," in *Figures of Resistance: Language, Poetry, and Narrating in The Tale of Genji and Other Mid-Heian Texts* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1991), pp. 266–286; Abe Akio, "Akashi no kimi no monogatari no kōzō," and "Akashi no onkata," in *Genji monogatari kenkyū josetsu* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku shuppankai, 1959); Suzuki Hideo, "Akashi no kimi," in Akiyama Ken, ed., *Genji monogatari hikkei*, Bessatsu kokubungaku 13 (Tokyo: Gakutōsha, 1982), vol. 2, pp. 15–20; Kim Sun-hui, *Genji monogatari kenkyū: Akashi ichizoku o megutte* (Tokyo: Miyai shoten, 1995).
51. Hinata Kazumasa, "Hikaru *Genji* ron e no ichi shiten," in *Genji monogatari no shūdai* (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1983), pp. 49–54.
52. "Whenever His Retired Excellency's Omi daughter demanded that the dice favor her at backgammon, she would cry, 'Akashi Nun! Akashi Nun!'" (Murasaki Shikibu, *Tale of Genji*, p. 635; *Genji monogatari*, SNKBZ 23, p. 176).
53. This attribution appears on the outside label of the first scroll of the set and was made by an Edo-period calligraphy connoisseur who "authenticated" the work by attaching a proper name to it. Because such attributions emerged out of a shared imaginary of artistic familial lineage and historical biography, in which certain names were used repeatedly, they cannot be accepted without question. Nevertheless, Gyokuei's dates are appropriate (she would have been twenty-nine when the scrolls were created in 1554), and an intriguing similarity exists between her "*Genji monogatari* kanmei waka" (*Genji* Chapter-Title Poems, 1583) and the Spencer scrolls in that both combine certain chapters to arrive at a total of twenty-eight *Genji* chapters. Gyokuei's "*Genji monogatari* kanmei waka" is transcribed and discussed in Ii, "Kaoku Gyokuei ei '*Genji monogatari* kanmei waka,'" pp. 30–33.
54. Rowley, "Kaoku Gyokuei."
55. Edo-period connoisseurs attributed a variety of works to Ichii no Tsubone, including a small *Genji* scroll in the Burke Collection; a *Nara ehon* of *Kachō fūgetsu* (*The Shrine Maidens Kachō and Fūgetsu*) in the Keio University Library, Tokyo; and *Utatane sōshi* (*A Tale of Wakeful Sleep*) in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. See Melissa McCormick,

"Tosa Mitsunobu's *Ko-e*: Forms and Function of Small-Format Handscrolls in the Muromachi Period (1333–1573)" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2000), pp. 228–232.

56. For more on Yotsuji Haruko and a small *Genji* scroll attributed to her, now in the Nakano Collection, Tokyo, see Miyakawa Yōko, "Hakubyō *Genji monogatari* emaki: GoTsuchimikadoin kōtō naishi hitsu," *Kokusai keiei bunka kenkyū* 6, no. 2 (2002): 1–41.

57. For more on the Kohitsu and calligraphy authenticators, see, for example, Komatsu Shigemi, "Kohitsu kantei no rekishi," in *Kohitsu* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1972), pp. 106–144.

Studio of Iwasa Matabei. *Battle of the Carriages* (detail). Mid-seventeenth-century six-panel folding screen, in ink, color, gold, and gold leaf on paper. 152.4 × 360.7 cm. John C. Weber Collection, New York City. Aoi's white-robed attendants push strenuously at the shafts to move Rokujō's carriage off to the left. (PHOTO: JOHN BIGELOW TAYLOR)

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