Purple Displaces Crimson: The *Wakan* Dialectic as Polemic

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The cultural phenomenon known as *wakan*, the creative juxtaposition of Japanese (*wa*) and Chinese (*kan*) elements, can be difficult to articulate given the ambiguity involved in defining the boundaries of what makes something Chinese or Japanese, especially over time, or according to the unique perspectives of any given individual. Even at the seemingly irreducible level of language, the apposition of logographs expressing Chinese poems (*kanshi*), for example, and syllabic *kana* script expressing Japanese *waka* poems are not without nuances that render them fluid, interdependent, and aesthetically unified. Consider a 1682 rendition of the *Wakan rōeishū* (FIG. 1), the famous eleventh-century anthology of Chinese and Japanese poetry, in which four columns of darkly inked logographs render fragments of Chinese poems nearly twice the size of the attenuated columns of *kana* to the left.[1] While the powerful Chinese graphs brushed in an assertive running script may at first seem clearly distinct and visually dominant, a closer look reveals an underlying merging of *wa* and *kan* in the work through, among other things, the paper decoration. Images of Chinese-style dragons contained within horizontal lines studded with golden dots roil across the upper register of the paper, breathing life into the design suggestive of a variety of associations, from Chinese emperors to serpentine kings beneath the sea. On the other hand, forms reminiscent of blue clouds, invoking Japanese methods of paper manufacture, encroach toward the center, spilling over and neutralizing the visual force of the dragons, whose golden hue harmonizes with golden hills below. Beneath the calligraphy gold designs of Japanese bush clover create a local setting for this synesthetic theater of poetic performance. The

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1 *Wakan rōeishū* is translated in J. Thomas Rimer and Jonathan Chaves, trans. and annot., *Japanese and Chinese Poems to Sing: The Wakan Rōei Shū* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).

calligraphic columns of Japanese poems, moreover, bristle with tensile strength and take root in the clover flowers, securely planting themselves and making the brushstrokes of the Chinese text seem as if resting only lightly on the paper's surface, despite their bluster. The power dynamic between scripts associated with Chinese and Japanese changes before the eyes of readers progressing through the scroll, with perspectives shifting according to subtle inflections of the brush and the placement of graphemes against a perpetually fluctuating ground design. These graphic representations of Chinese and Japanese poems thus engage in a dialectic relationship that accommodates thinking beyond the binary, allowing *wa* and *kan* to be perceived as distinct and yet simultaneously interdependent in their unending engagement.[2]

Transcending the dualistic nature of *wa* and *kan* and achieving a new aesthetic synergy was in fact the long sought-after goal prescribed in much premodern poetic and aesthetic theory. It required among other things the great skill of knowing how to calibrate the degree of *wa* and *kan* in any given act of cultural production. In the context of medieval tea practice Murata Shukō (1423–1502) famously said as much when he advised his disciple to use the utmost rigor and discernment when attempting to "blur the boundary between Japanese and Chinese elements" (*wakan no sakai o magirakasu koto*).[3] Such statements can elude critical examination, and indeed Shukō's meaning has been much debated, because while transcendence may have been the goal, individual examples were rarely value-neutral in practice. *Wakan* cultural practices, whether it was bestowing the name Chigusa, resonant with classical Japanese poetic imagery, on a Chinese pot,[4] juxtaposing Chinese and Japanese objects and artifacts for interior display, or composing in the countless sessions of linked verse (*wakan renku*) that took place throughout the medieval period, all involved specific historically contingent motivations and value judgments. The apposition of *wa* and *kan* was almost always self-consciously deployed for its rhetorical potential; its use became a kind of alternative language for articulating a range of ideas, not least of which concerned notions of distinctions between self and other, as well as their

FIGURE 1
Watanabe Sohei (dates unknown), *Calligraphy of the Anthology of Japanese and Chinese Poems (Wakan rōeishū)*, 1682. Handscroll; ink and gold on dyed paper, h. 24.2 cm. Harvard University Art Museums (1984.556).

2 Thomas LaMarre, *Uncovering Heian Japan: An Archaeology of Sensation and Inscription* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), includes a rich discussion of calligraphy and paper decoration in the context of *wakan* and Heian culture.

3 The phrase "和漢のさかいをまぎらかす事, 肝要肝要, ようじんあるべき事也" is in Murata's famous letter to his disciple Furuichi Chōin (1459–1508), which appears as "Shukō Furuichi Harima hōshi ate no isshi" in Murata Shukō, *Shukō Furuichi Harima hōshi ate no isshi*, annot. Nagashima Fukutarō, in *Chadō koten zenshū*, ed. Sen Sōshitsu 千宗室 (Kyoto: Tankō Shinsha, 1960), 3:3–4.

4 Andrew M. Watsky, "Chigusa's Names," in *Chigusa and the Art of Tea*, ed. Louise Allison Cort and Andrew M. Watsky (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2014), 131–39.

abnegation or transcendence.[5] In this way *wakan* can be viewed as a form of self-expression, the resulting manifestations of which need historical contextualization to be interpreted with precision.

By the mid-sixteenth century, the most articulate theoreticians of *wakan* had long passed, but the infrastructure for putting *wakan* virtuosity on display continued to evolve and came to center on the tearoom.[6] The site emerged organically from tea's relationship to Zen monastic culture and the culture of Chinese poetry and prose called Five Mountains literature (*gozan bungaku*), which converged with the interests of shoguns, daimyo, and merchants engaged in trade with Ming China. Less clear in the development of *wakan* expression in Japanese cultural history, however, is the *wa* side of things, beyond the usual descriptions of how Japanese tea wares were placed side by side with those of Chinese and Korean manufacture. Crucial to a fuller understanding of the dynamics of *wakan* in this period is an examination of *waka* poetic practice and one more piece of the puzzle: the role of the court and nobility in shaping notions of what constituted *wa* and *kan* in the sixteenth century. To exclude the court and members of the aristocracy from serious consideration, as has been

5 Shimao Arata utilizes a series of diagrams to explain the ever-changing relationship between what constitutes Japanese and Chinese cultural elements and posits categorizing Chinese objects (*karamono*) in the medieval period as a form of Japanese art; see Shimao Arata, "Nihon bijutsu toshite no 'karamono,'" in *Karamono to Higashi ajia*, ed. Kawazoe Fusae and Minagawa Masaki (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2011), 21–34; and Shimao Arata, *"Wakan no sakai o magirakasu" chanoyu no rinen to Nihon bunka* (Tokyo: Tankōsha, 2013).

6 The most important *wakan*-related primary texts, those by Nijō Yoshimoto (1320–1388), Gidō Shūshin (1325–1388), Zeami (ca. 1363–1443), Shōtetsu (1381–1459), and Shinkei (1406–1475), among others, are discussed in David Pollack's wide-ranging book on the topic, *The Fracture of Meaning: Japan's Synthesis of China from the Eighth through the Eighteenth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

FIGURE 2
Tosa Mitsumoto (1530–1569), *Murasaki Shikibu at Ishiyamadera*, 1560. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on paper, 85.4 × 48.2 cm. Archives and Mausolea Department (Shoryōbu) of the Imperial Household Agency, Tokyo.

Inscription by Sanjōnishi Kin'eda (1487–1563).

the scholarly tendency, is to remove from scrutiny important material concerning a larger sphere of activity in which apposing *wa* and *kan* was fundamental. Cultural practices in the sixteenth century that conceptualized *wa* and *kan*, including those by members of the court and nobility, were foundational for contriving later notions of "Japaneseness," and as such formed part of a substratum upon which the academic movement of "national study" (*kokugaku*) and Nativism would emerge in the Edo period.

Even the most thorough studies of sixteenth-century cultural history would have to maintain, however, that the courtier class had very little to do with tea gatherings and the *wakan* that took place there, at least before the famous *chakai* of Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–1598) at the imperial court in 1585.[7] References to aristocrats engaged in the tea world are currently few and far between, but by 1560 at least one courtier, a former Regent and head of the Fujiwara house Kujō Tanemichi (1507–1594), proved to be an exception to the rule. With a relative wealth of historical documentation related to Tanemichi at our disposal, and with his forays into the epicenter of Chinese and Japanese aesthetic mixing in late medieval Japan, he provides the perfect case study for understanding exactly how *wakan* could be utilized by members of the court, or anyone for that matter, as a means of self-fashioning. As we shall see, he joined men at the center of the tea world in Sakai and assimilated the lessons of the tearoom, taking care to blur boundaries between Chinese and Japanese elements in order to synthesize them for his own agenda. That agenda, although motivated by personal aspirations, had high stakes: Tanemichi harbored a strong sense of his identity among a long line of Fujiwara patriarchs whose rightful place in the order of a cosmically mandated, imperially centered society he considered self-evident. When Tanemichi invoked *wa*, the implications were substantial.

My starting point is a recently discovered hanging scroll, commissioned by Tanemichi in 1560, of Murasaki Shikibu composing *The Tale of Genji* (FIG. 2), a painting that at first glance seems to be an unlikely example of *wakan* thought.[8] Indeed, executed by a hereditary court artist, it seems

7 Hideyoshi held successive tea gatherings at the imperial court in 1585 and 1586 that apparently ushered in an era of interest in *chanoyu* by courtiers. Nevertheless, examples of tea gatherings held and tea rooms (*chashitsu*) constructed by members of the nobility and aristocratic families appear at least ten years before Hideyoshi's events; see Hyūga Susumu, "Tenshō nenkan o chūshin to suru jiki ni okeru kuge no chashitsu," *Nihon kenchiku gakkai kinki shibu kenkyū hōkokushū* 44 (2004): 961–64. References to tea gatherings in courtiers' diaries also remain an untapped resource for understanding their participation in *chanoyu*, but have recently been studied by Matsuzono Hitoshi; see his "Chakaiki no seiritsu: Nikki, kokirokugaku no shiten kara," in *Nikki kokiroku no sekai*, ed. Kuramoto Kazuhiro (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2015), 49–76.

8 For research on this painting, its inscription, meaning, combinatory nature, and importance for *Genji* reception, see McCormick, "'Murasaki Shikibu Ishiyama mōde zu fuku' ni okeru shomondai—wa to kan no sakai ni aru Murasaki Shikibu zō," *Kokka* 1434 (2015):

to fall squarely and safely in the category of *wa*.[9] The composition depicts the genesis of the most celebrated example of courtly fiction of the Heian period, an era that members of the nobility of Tanemichi's epoch longed for with an acute sense of loss given the impoverishment of their late medieval situation. Although in the sixteenth century *The Tale of Genji* was read and studied by a wide range of individuals — regional military daimyo, Buddhist monks, *renga* masters, performing artists, and women of the court, military, and convent, among others — it tends to be primarily associated with the imperial court. This is not surprising given the tale's 795 *waka* poems and hundreds of pages of prose revolving around the lineages of the Heian aristocracy. Moreover, the focal point of this painting is the figure of Murasaki, who easily represents the "woman's hand" (*onnade*) of phonetic *kana* script and Japanese speech, which was shown in the calligraphic example above to stand for *wa*. But just as *wakan* calligraphy can call attention to the interrelation of seemingly distinct Chinese and Japanese scripts, the "purity" of the *wa* of this painting can be called into question as well, beginning with the *Genji* subject matter itself and its female author's knowledge and use of Chinese discourse.

Most important, however, this unique presentation of the *Genji* author provides insight into sixteenth-century notions of the valences of Chinese and Japanese things. It provides a prime example of *wakan* synthesis in terms of style, meaning, and rhetorical posturing, and suggests new possibilities for expanding the scope of materials and artifacts that represent a structuring of experience through *wakan*.

Tanemichi, Genji, and the Duke of Zhou

In 1560, when the fifty-four-year-old Kujō Tanemichi completed his study of all fifty-four chapters of *The Tale of Genji*, the numerical alignment caused him to perceive a profound karmic connection at work. Accordingly he was moved to mark the occasion in a way most respectful to the supernatural forces that seemed to be in effect. He commissioned

3–21. Sugimoto Mayuko discovered the painting in the Archives and Mausolea Department (Shoryōbu) of the Imperial Household Agency, and introduced a black-and-white photo in "Sanjōnishi Kin'eda san Murasaki Shikibu Ishiyama mōde zufuku ni tsuite," *Kubaku* 25 (2010): 1–2. Katagiri Yayoi then confirmed its attribution to Tosa Mitsumoto (1530–1569) in "Murasaki Shikibu Ishiyama mōde zu (Kunaichō Shoryōbu zō) to 'Genji monogatari kyōenki,'" *Shizuoka Bunka Geijutsu Daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 14 (2013): 168–76.

9 Tosa Mitsumoto was heir to the position of Painting Bureau Director (*edokoro azukari*), a court-sanctioned post monopolized at that time by Tosa-school artists who were authorities on painting related to *waka* and Japanese tales (*monogatari*), as opposed to Chinese verse or figural subjects. Tanemichi identified the painter as "Tosa Sakon Shōgen," a title that Mitsumoto received in Tenbun 10 (1541) at the age of twelve, after which his father, Tosa Mitsumochi, was referred to as "Tosa gyōbu no taiyu." On the position of the Painting Bureau Director in the Muromachi period, see Melissa McCormick, *Tosa Mitsunobu and the Small Scroll in Medieval Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington, 2009).

poetic production on a grand scale, in the form of a multifaceted poetry-offering ceremony. An account of the entire event, including a statement of Tanemichi's intent, survives in a text he authored entitled *The Tale of Genji Banquet Record* (*Genji monogatari kyōen ki*).[10] Tanemichi commissioned a set of new poems, one for each chapter title of *The Tale of Genji*, by the most prominent men of the day.[11] The premise of such a poetic offering was the belief in the sacred nature of the Japanese poetic form (*uta*), which was virtually on par with the Buddhist *dharani*. At the same time, thirty separate *waka* were composed and offered to Avalokiteśvara as an expression of belief in the dharma (*Kannon hōraku*), as were one hundred lines of linked verse by twelve different poets. The Kannon to whom Tanemichi offered the verses was none other than Murasaki Shikibu, who was worshipped at Ishiyamadera as a manifestation of the Nyoirin Kannon, and her painted image (see FIG. 2) served as the main icon for the occasion.

Although this event might seem firmly rooted in cultural forms associated with Japanese rather than Sinitic traditions, a close look at Tanemichi's *Genji Banquet Record* and the inscription on the extant Murasaki painting reveals a strong desire to frame this project in ways that aligned it with particular aspects of continental culture. This begins with the name given to the event, and how it is referred to in the body of the preface as a post-*Genji* "lecture banquet" (*Genji monogatari kō kyōen*). Tanemichi invoked an ancient practice in which the ritualized recitation and inscription of poems in literary Chinese (*shi*) solidified relations between the sovereign and his subject. Banquets were part of the Confucian-based ritual calendar of the early Japanese court and occurred, for example, after the completion of readings of the *Nihon shoki*. Tanemichi's ancestors, men of the northern branch of the Fujiwara, also appropriated and transformed banquets for the house's own symbolic purposes. An example is the "Wisteria Blossom Banquet" staged by Fujiwara no Tokihira (871–909) in 902, where Japanese poetry written in *kana* was employed specifically within a banquet framework for political ends, as Gustav Heldt suggests, "to affirm the orthodox definition of the court as a Confucian entity in which the relations between men were the chief focus."[12] Tanemichi's sixteenth-century stage was not

10 Kujō Tanemichi, *Genji monogatari kyōenki*, in *Gunsho ruijū*, vol. 17, *Rengabu, monogataribu* (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1960), 670–78. The event took place on Eiroku 3 (1560).11.11. Two excellent articles on this text are Ii Haruki, "Kujō Tanemichi to 'Genji monogatari kyōenki,'" chapter five in his *Genji monogatari chūshakushi no kenkyū, Muromachi zenki* (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1980), 1067–90; and Kobayashi Kenji, "Nō 'Genji kuyō' seisaku no haikei — Ishiyamadera ni okeru Murasaki Shikibu shinkō," *Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryōkan kiyō* 37 (2011): 59–92.

11 The offering poems included one on the title of the empty *Hidden Behind the Clouds* (*Kumogakure*) chapter of *The Tale of Genji*; thus fifty-five total *waka* were composed.

12 Gustav Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony: Poetry and Power in Early Heian Japan* (Ithaca, NY: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2008), 138.

the palace, but it relied on echoes of public poetry banquets with links to male-dominated officialdom, which perhaps explains why the only woman in the room on this occasion in 1560 was Murasaki in effigy.

In addition to staging the banquet, commissioning the poetry, and inscribing and offering the verse, the writing of the *Genji Banquet Record* was crucial for posterity, and Tanemichi used this text as a platform to construct a statement of purpose in an autobiographical mode. In the text's preface, before the recording of poems, Tanemichi presents his own political situation as resembling that of loyal Chinese and Japanese regents past. He explains that he was born into one of the five regental families (*gosekke*) and occupied its highest office, but because of unforeseen circumstances was forced to leave the capital for the south, for Izumi, spending years by the bay and making vows to the god of Sumiyoshi.[13] One day he secretly returned to the capital, where he realized that its state of affairs and his own fate resembled those of both the Duke of Zhou in China and Fujiwara no Korechika (974–1010) in Japan.[14] The legendary figure of the Duke of Zhou, paragon of righteous rule in line with the mandate of Heaven, was believed to have helped his brother found the Zhou dynasty in the eleventh century BCE; in Tanemichi's day he was famous for suffering unwarranted exile until he was vindicated. Korechika provided a Japanese example of the wrongfully expelled politician and allowed Tanemichi to depict his years on the Izumi shore within the framework of *wa* and *kan* templates of exile. And without mentioning the name, Tanemichi conjures clear echoes of Genji and his exile at Suma: Korechika was considered the model for the Genji character according to numerous commentaries, such as the *Kakaishō* (*Book of Rivers and Seas*), which Tanemichi knew well. In just a few lines Tanemichi hints at his own personification of a *wakan* ideal and his self-identification with Murasaki's protagonist.[15]

A brief likening of oneself to the Duke of Zhou might seem commonplace, the phrase having been in use since the Heian period in reference to regents and rulers like Fujiwara no Michinaga (966–1027); but, as the writers of medieval *Genji* commentaries understood, Murasaki Shikibu's use of the analogy in fiction enabled an elaborate concretization of political possibilities in her own day.[16] As an astute reader of the *Genji* and its many commentaries, Tanemichi understood the use of these nuances within the tale as well as the power of applying them to his own situation. The political authority of courtiers in the sixteenth century is so commonly dismissed in scholarship that any worldly aspirations on Tanemichi's part might come as a surprise. The historical record of his activities and the tenor of his self-writing, however, clearly suggest that his invocation of the dispossessed but deserving regent had intimations of Fujiwara claims to governance.[17] Perhaps he was an anomaly, but Tanemichi was confident in his own ability to effect change and he had good reason to envision a society centered on the sovereign, an outlook that matched that of the ruler then on the throne, Emperor Ōgimachi (1517–1593).[18] The prototypes of noble exile to which Tanemichi turned for self-analogy, particularly that of the Duke of Zhou, provided a model for engaging in the profession of classical learning as a means of wielding power.

A desire to situate the *Genji* and its scholarship within a Sino-Japanese matrix of classical learning appears explicitly in the Murasaki hanging scroll inscription (see FIG. 2), recorded in its entirety in the *Genji Banquet Record*. Tanemichi had studied *The Tale of Genji* under the tutelage of his maternal uncle Sanjōnishi Kin'eda (1487–1563) (FIG. 3), a celebrated scholar of Sino-Japanese texts, and it was Kin'eda who composed and brushed the painting inscription.[19] There Kin'eda relates the story behind Tanemichi's painting while framing their *Genji* scholarship in terms of one particular exemplar from the history of classical Chinese literature:

13 The unforeseen circumstances mentioned in the text appear to have been related to violent unrest in which Tanemichi apparently became involved; toward the end of his life he would express remorse at the violence he perpetrated. Tanemichi's paternal grandfather, the courtier Kujō Masamoto (1445–1516) had also spent years in Izumi personally overseeing his Hine estate (Hine no shō) and left a record of his time in the province. See Kujō Masamoto, *Masamoto kō tabi hikitsuke*, vol. 1 of *Nihonshi shiryō sōkan*, ed. Chūsei Kuge Nikki Kenkyūkai (Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 1996). To what extent Tanemichi inherited or was involved in the maintenance of any of this land requires further research.

14 The line in Japanese is "Morokoshi no Shūkōtan, waga kuni no Korechika Kō nado no tameshi made kokoro ni ukaberi" (もろこしの周公旦, 我国の伊周公などのためしまで心にうかべり), Kujō Tanemichi, *Genji monogatari kyōenki*, 670.

15 Ii Haruki, "Kujō Tanemichi to 'Genji monogatari kyōenki,'" in *Genji monogatari chūshakushi no kenkyū, Muromachi zenki*, 1069, emphasizes Tanemichi's own identification with Genji because of his self-imposed twenty-year absence from the capital.

16 Hinata Kazumasa, "Genji monogatari no chūshakushi ni okeru 'Shōsho' gensetsu," *Nihon kodai gaku* 1 (2009): 15–26.

17 For Tanemichi's political and social engagement with a range of powerful figures in his day, see Babe Takahiro, "Nobunaga jōraku zenya no kinai seiryoku—Kujō Tanemichi to Miyoshi ichizoku no kankei o chūshin ni," *Nihon rekishi* 736 (2009): 16–33; and Nishimoto Ryōko, "Kujō Tanemichi no Aki gekō," *Nihon bungaku* 49, no. 4 (2000): 62–65. The *Genji Banquet Record* documents the scope of his network. Among the fifty-five men he mobilized to compose chapter-title poetry were thirty-five members of the *kuge* class, but also warriors (notably Miyoshi Chōkei 1522–1564), *renga* masters, and monks, such as Satomura Shōshitsu (Naokage), Satomura Jōha (1524–1602), and Tsuji Genya (aka Gensai).

18 The creation of a pair of *Genji* screens depicting the "Confrontation of Carriages" (*Kuruma arasoi zu*) scene from the Aoi chapter of *The Tale of Genji* in 1560 by Ōgimachi's court most likely commemorated his enthronement ceremony by using *Genji* imagery to represent the capital as a sacred, imperial city, and embedding within the cityscape an image of Murasaki as Kannon; see McCormick, "'Murasaki Shikibu Ishiyama mōde zu fuku' ni okeru shomondai." For more on the connection between these screens and Ōgimachi's enthronement, see Takamatsu Yoshiyuki, "Eiroku san nen no kuruma arasoi zu byōbu," *Shizuoka Daigaku jōhōgaku kenkyū* 20 (2015): 72–51.

19 The calligraphic inscription on the extant painting is in Kin'eda's distinctive hand, one of the factors that verifies the painting as the one described in Tanemichi's *Genji Banquet Record*.

FIGURE 3
Unknown artist. *Portrait of Sanjōnishi Kin'eda*, 16th century. Inscription attributed to Emperor GoNara (1495–1557). Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk, 86.4 × 36.5 cm. Nison'in, Kyoto.

> Lay Monk Lord Regent Kujō has been passionately immersed in the
> tale for many years. I myself am now beyond the feeble age of seventy,
> yet have never been able to cast it aside. The addiction resembles that of Yuankai.

Kin'eda thus likens himself and his nephew to Yuankai, otherwise known as Du Yu (222–285), and his famous "addiction" to the *Zuo zhuan*, a commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu*).[20] Du Yu compiled his own commentary on this commentary, and clearly Tanemichi and Kin'eda, both compilers of their own *Genji* commentaries, envisioned themselves as participating in an ancient Sino-Japanese tradition of exegetical scholarship. The painting inscription rhetorically wraps *The Tale of Genji* in Sinitic references while its own structure consists of a juxtaposition of *wa* and *kan*; the Murasaki legend with its Japanese imperial origins is presented in the first half, while the Chinese allusions appear in the second. Kin'eda and Tanemichi, two men respectful of Chinese learning and familiar with its literary, philosophical, and historical canon, took these reference points as representative *kan* threads to weave into the discursive frame of a painting and a literary text that epitomized an archipelagic tradition. And I would argue that the same holds true with the painting, that it represents a visual counterpart to this kind of *wakan* dialectic which might have gone undetected without the inclusion of Sinitic references in the inscription.

Murasaki at Potalaka, Avalokiteśvara at Ishiyamadera

As Kin'eda explained in his inscription, Tanemichi went to great lengths to have an image of Murasaki created for his offering in 1560 and he did so, as Tanemichi himself attests, by sketching her at Ishiyamadera, reflecting the well-known legend about the tale's origin. That legend, which Kin'eda included in his painting inscription, relates how Shikibu made a pilgrimage to the temple of Ishiyamadera to pray for inspiration. On the fifteenth night of the eighth month, as she gazed at the reflection of the moon on the water of Lake Biwa, the idea came to her. Right there and then she wrote out the two Suma and Akashi chapters and returned to the capital to complete her masterpiece. An important part of the myth, and of

20 See David R. Knechtges and Taiping Chang, eds., *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature*, vol. 1, *A Reference Guide, Part One* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 206–7. Yuankai was a lauded military general and high civil official. His "mania" for the *Zuo zhuan* led him to write a preface to the commentary that was included in the *Wen Xuan* (Selections of Refined Literature), an important Chinese anthology that Kin'eda and Tanemichi would have known well.

great significance to Tanemichi, was the longstanding belief in Murasaki Shikibu as a manifestation of the bodhisattva Kannon (Avalokiteśvara) who appeared in the world to reveal through her writing the principle of impermanence and thus lead readers to Buddhist awakening.[21] In an example close to Tanemichi's day, the Muromachi-period Noh play *Genji kuyō* (*A Memorial Service for Genji*) reveals at its conclusion that Murasaki Shikibu was specifically the incarnation of the Kannon of Ishiyamadera.[22] The main sculptural icon of Ishiyamadera, a secret Buddha rarely revealed, is enshrined in the temple's main hall and is a two-armed Nyoirin (Sk: *cintamāṇicakra*) or "wish-fulfilling jewel" manifestation of Kannon. Tanemichi's painting might therefore be understood not as a straightforward illustration of the tale's origin story or as an imaginary portrait-likeness of Murasaki Shikibu, but as a quasi-Buddhist icon created in the context of professed belief in Murasaki as a numinous being.

The painter Tosa Mitsumoto fashioned a work that seems to convey the aura of a Buddhist deity while communicating the multifaceted persona of the author and her tale. Crucial to this endeavor was creating a capacious pictorial infrastructure, which the painting achieves through its remarkable compositional cohesion (see FIG. 2). The temple building anchors the right half of the painting, situated between an outcropping of blue-gray rocks in the foreground and a mountain ridge in the distance that extends diagonally across nearly the entire width of the painting. The building is perched atop a white shore, the fingers of which extend leftward into an expanse of blue water that occupies the bottom left half of the composition. The soft, shimmering gold mists drifting across the rocks, the water, the building, and through the sky beyond the mountain ridge unify the composition. Railings on the building's veranda converge at a golden-capped corner post, which points to a dramatically upturned eave of a large hip-and-gable cypress-bark roof. The sharp curl of the roof end leads the eye upward to a dark moon that hovers against a blue sky, revealed between patches of golden haze that seem to have just parted. In search of the orb's reflection, the viewer scans down the painting to find its double below. A gray disk floats on the surface of the water, a thin sliver of white delineating a portion of its rounded edge. Clearly a

21 The late-Heian-period *Imakagami* (*New Mirror*) contains one of the earliest suggestions that Murasaki Shikibu was an incarnation of Kannon and is explicitly posited in the text in an heuristic manner to counter the idea that the author is suffering in hell for composing her fictions. The single best source for the legends of Murasaki throughout history is Ii Haruki, *Genji monogatari no densetsu* (Tokyo: Shōwa Shuppan, 1976); for a comprehensive treatment into the modern period, see Satoko Naito, "The Making of Murasaki Shikibu: Constructing Authorship, Gendering Readership, and Legitimizing *The Tale of Genji*" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2010).

22 Janet Goff, *Noh Drama and The Tale of Genji: The Art of Allusion in Fifteen Classical Plays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 203–9.

FIGURE 4
Detail of fig. 2.

reflection, an illusory companion of the disk above, it is nevertheless the object of Murasaki's gaze and the source of her authorial and spiritual revelation. The connection between the reflected moon and the perceiving subject leads to an unimpeded view of the author's visage (FIG. 4). Other elements assist in directing attention to Murasaki: the square frame of the architectural cutaway and the trees that emerge from behind the foreground rocks, their sparse branches of green and red leaves bending in different directions but ultimately pointing upward to the court lady at her writing table.

Viewers of later Murasaki Shikibu images will recognize this familiar pose. Murasaki sits behind a black-lacquered desk on top of which are two partially open scrolls, a lacquer writing box containing a brush, and an inkstone with traces of ink in its well. A large black box on the floor contains additional scrolls, which evoke another element of the legend: that Murasaki used the back of the *Great Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* (*Daihannyakyō*) when no other paper was at hand.[23] Rather than being depicted with brush at the ready, however, she appears quiet and

23 Murasaki's use of the *Daihannyakyō*, and the subsequent penance she paid for the deed by recopying the sutra and offering it to the temple, appears in the *Genji* commentary *Kakaishō* (ca. 1363). Although Tanemichi knew this legend and its various permutations, as well as an attendant discourse about Murasaki's descent into hell and eventual redemption, he chose to emphasize only the bodhisattva identity of the author for this project.

FIGURE 5
Attributed to Nōami (1397–1471), *White-Robed Kannon*, 16th century. Hanging scroll; ink on paper, 109.9 × 38.2 cm. Private collection.

motionless, captured precisely in a moment of meditative contemplation, or the "mindful clarity" (心澄みて) described in textual renditions of this scene.[24] I argue that it is the stillness of this pose that enables the picture to act as a double image; it both suggests the moment of auctorial creation and hints at the subject's identity as a manifestation of the bodhisattva Kannon, conveying her transcendent calm and benevolence.

To achieve this duality, the painting brings together different genres of painting, recalling, for example, Shūbun-style Sino-Japanese ink landscape paintings with their one-cornered emphases, foreground rocks and trees, and distant mountain ranges. The mountains behind Murasaki consist of craggy gray stones defined by Mitsumoto's emulation of hemp-fiber strokes. Between them, however, is a rounded hilltop of malachite green, reminiscent of the soft-edged rolling hilltops associated with *yamatoe* painting. The blending of *wa* and *kan* thus occurs at the motivic level: the rockery invokes the roughhewn volcanic boulders from which the temple of Ishiyama takes its name, but sharp, quasi-axe cuts also acknowledge a debt to Chinese painters known in Japan, such as Xia Gui (active ca. 1195–1230), while merging those forms with a *yamatoe*-style verdant hill.

This double image of Murasaki as Kannon also relies on motifs associated with iconic images of the bodhisattva, specifically those of the "water-moon type." The reflection of the moon, its foreshortened quality, and Murasaki's meditative expression equally evoke monochrome images of the white-robed Kannon from the Muromachi period (FIG. 5).[25] The rocks in the foreground of the painting beneath the temple structure suggest the large craters that often form the seat for the Avalokiteśvara as she gazes out from her paradisal rocky island dwelling on Mount Potalaka. It is fitting that Ishiyamadera itself was thought to be a manifestation of Potalaka (J: Fudarakusan) in Japan; the rocky base beneath the temple's main structure evokes the island in the southern seas off the

24 This phrase and the *Daihannyakyō* part of the episode mentioned above both appear in the text (*kotobagaki*) of the *Illustrated Legends of Ishiyamadera* (*Ishiyamadera engi emaki*), a text well known in Tanemichi's circle; the calligraphy for the fourth scroll in the set, in which the legend appears, was brushed in Meiō 6 (1497).10.11 by Tanemichi's grandfather and Kin'eda's father, Sanjōnishi Sanetaka; see Sanjōnishi Sanetaka, *Sanetaka kō ki*, ed. Takahashi Ryūzō, 20 vols. (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 2000), vol. 3, pt. 2, p. 452. The scroll set is fully reproduced in Shiga Kenritsu Kindai Bijutsukan, *Ishiyamadera engi emaki no zenbō: Jūyō bunkazai shichikan ikkyo daikōkai* (Shiga Ken Ōtsu Shi: "Ishiyamadera Engi no Sekai" Ten Jikkō Iinkai, 2012).

25 Murasaki's interchangeability with the Nyoirin Kannon and white-robed Kannon is apparent from a reference appended to *Ishiyamadera tsukimi ki* (*Record of Moon Viewing at Ishiyamadera*), a manuscript in Kin'eda's hand that records a poetry offering at the temple in 1555 in which Tanemichi may have participated. The postscript, by a Tenryūji monk, includes the phrase "Murasaki Shikibu sunawachi byakue daishi nari, byakue daishi sunawachi Murasaki Shikibu nari" (紫式部即白衣大士也, 白衣大士即紫式部也). See Okuda Isao's introduction to the text, "Ishiyama tsukimi ki, ichijō," in *Ishiyamadera shiryō sōsho, Bungaku hen daiichi*, ed. Ishiyamadera Bunkazai Sōgō Chōsadan (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1996), 410.

FIGURE 6
Attributed to Tosa Mitsunobu (active ca. 1469–1522), *Origins and Legends of Ishiyamadera Temple* (*Ishiyamadera engi emaki*), 1497. Detail. Handscroll, fourth in a set of six scrolls; ink, colors, and gold on paper, 34.4 × 1928.1 cm. Ishiyamadera, Shiga Prefecture.

Indian subcontinent, as does its topography of dramatic volcanic rocks from which the temple takes its name.[26] Tanemichi's painting is not the first to depict Murasaki at Ishiyamadera or to identify her as a bodhisattva; an earlier example appears in the fourth of the scrolls depicting the *Ishiyamadera engi emaki* (*Origins and Legends of Ishiyamadera*) of 1497, in which Murasaki is shown in the temple's so-called Genji Room, pulling aside bamboo blinds in order to view the moon in the distance (FIG. 6). Tanemichi's painting, however, was the first to present Murasaki's image as a vertical hanging-scroll icon, presumably in a deliberate attempt to iconize the image of the author, making the picture worthy of its role as the focal point for a ceremonial gathering.

To understand how this painting veered from precedent and how it blends *wa* and *kan* elements in the process of iconization, we need only examine the other options available to patron and artist. An entire category of paintings, specifically likenesses of Kakinomoto no Hitomaro (FIG. 7), the "patron saint" of *waka*, could have functioned as a ready template for Tanemichi's *Genji* banquet painting of Murasaki Shikibu. Hitomaro icons were used not only as the focus of religio-poetic rituals (FIG. 8), but also to affirm transmission between master and disciple of the highly guarded "Teachings of Poems Ancient and Modern" (*Kokin denju*).[27] In Tosa Mitsumoto's artistic lineage, both his father and grandfather had painted Hitomaro icons for this purpose, with one particularly illuminating example occurring in 1532. In that year, Sanjōnishi Sanetaka gifted to his pupil, the Suruga priest, Tō Sokei, a Hitomaro icon that had been painted by Tosa Mitsumochi (Mitsumoto's father) and which bore an imperial inscription.[28] The bestowal of a painting, along with a certificate (*kirigami*), affirmed Sokei's initiation into the Sanjōnishi lineage of the "Way of Poetry," a conferral of paraphernalia evoking the oral-textual transmission of Tendai Buddhist practice.[29] It is interesting that after completing the *Kokin denju*, Sokei, who resided in the capital for only a year, immediately began studying *The Tale of Genji* with Sanetaka and Sanjōnishi Kin'eda through systematic lectures on each chapter.[30] *Genji* learning was in fact part of the *Kokin denju* course of study and involved its own certifying memoranda.[31] As an addendum to the *Kokin denju*, *Genji denju* did not seem to involve a separate painted icon of affirmation. Tanemichi's Murasaki Shikibu icon, the first of its kind, might thus be seen as an attempt to establish *Genji* teachings as a distinct and independent transmission with its own accoutrements in the mold of *Kokin denju* regalia. For Tanemichi specifically, the icon might have served as an informal testament to his claim to Sanjōnshi *Genji* learning, until

26 The identification of Ishiyama as Potalaka appears, for example, in the first text of the first scroll in the *Ishiyamadera engi emaki*.

27 For more detail on the functions of Hitomaro portraits, see Sugimoto Yoshihisa, "Hitomaro zō shinkō to sono kyōju—gosho denju to no kankei o chūshin ni," *Bijutsushi kenkyū* 36 (1998): 39–58.

28 See the entry for Tenbun 1 (1532).12.15 in *Sanetaka kō ki*, cited in ibid., 57n24. The painting had no mounting and was sent by Sanetaka to Sokei on a handsome tray once owned by the Ashikaga shoguns. Sokei was the grandson of Tō no Tsuneyori (1401?–1484?) who, along with the linked-verse master Sōgi (1421–1502), had established the systematization of *Kokin denju* and had initiated Sanetaka into the lineage. See Lewis Cook, "The Discipline of Poetry: Authority and Invention in the *Kokindenju*" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 2000). Tsuneyori appears throughout Cook's in-depth study; for a description of the Tsuneyori-Sōgi genesis of the tradition, see ibid., 138–39.

29 Ibid., 16–17, and see p. 25 on "*kirigami*."

30 Sokei was not alone among men from distant provinces who sought Sanetaka's tutelage in classical learning during temporary stays in the capital; see McCormick, "Genji Goes West: The 1510 *Genji Album* and the Visualization of Court and Capital," *Art Bulletin* 85, no. 1 (2003): 54–85.

31 Sōgi conferred upon Sanetaka a *Kokin denju* certificate along with one called "Three Great Matters of *Genji*" (*Kokin denju kirigami, Genji sanka ji*) in 1488. Miyakawa Yōko, *Sanjōnishi Sanetaka to kotengaku* (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1995), 45.

FIGURE 7
Unknown artist, *Kakinomoto no Hitomaro*, 16th century. Hanging scroll; ink, color, and gold on silk, 73.5 × 37.8 cm (image). Minneapolis Institute of Art, Mary Griggs Burke Collection, Gift of the Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation, 2015.79.26.

he received his *Genji denju* certification, which was conferred on him by Kin'eda's son, Sanjōnishi Saneki (1511–1579), in 1574.[32]

The Murasaki Shikibu icon would function most successfully if it conveyed these lineal claims within a new framework, strengthened by a sanctifying aura. Rather than relying on the traditional Hitomaro imagery of a seated poet against a blank background, therefore, Mitsumoto and Tanemichi took another approach, one that drew on the tradition of Buddhist icons as well as Sino-Japanese ink landscape painting. The use of Chinese painting methods and a stylistic *wa-kan* synthesis in Tosa painting was not new to Mitsumoto, but it began to stand out significantly and self-consciously as early as the fifteenth century in the work of Tosa Mitsunobu, and continued to be transformed by Tosa Mitsumochi in the sixteenth century.[33] Tanemichi's Murasaki painting is currently the sole surviving work definitively by Tosa Mitsumoto, but it clearly shows a synthesis of *wa* and *kan* learned from the painter's predecessors. He adopted his grandfather Mitsunobu's light palette and near transparency in applying the blue color of the waves, while using the short, animated brushstrokes found in his father's paintings to delineate the rocks and trees. And although the figure and architecture resemble, for example, those in Mitsunobu's *Genji* paintings, there are subtle differences, such as the woman's face, somehow more gaunt and otherworldly, and the inclusion of a striking demon roof tile, found only in his father's work. The gold mists with their diffuse edges were learned from his father, and never appear in the work of Mitsunobu, who stuck to gold clouds with scalloped edges. And yet Mitsumoto's approach is almost unique—the golden mists suggest an ink-wash method to applying gold paint, as if attempting to infuse the most fundamental aspect of *yamatoe* painting with a Chinese aesthetic.

Like the Tosa painters before him, however, Mitsumoto engaged the project as a cocreator. He brought his painterly skills and inherited knowledge to bear on the project, but first and foremost conformed to

32 Tanemichi's first disciple in the *Genji* teachings seems to have been the wife of the eleventh abbot of Honganji, Kennyo, known by her post-tonsure name, Gyōkōin Nyo-shun'ni. As Sugimoto Mayuko has discussed, *Genji denju*–related memoranda survive among the Kujō family archives and, as we shall see, reference the Murasaki Shikibu icon; see Sugimoto Mayuko, "Kujō Yukiie to Genji monogatari—Genji kirigami to maboroshi no emaki," *Kokubun Mejiro* 49 (2010): 92–101.

33 Aizawa Masahiko has explored Tosa Mitsumochi's *wakan* synthesis and the relationship between the Tosa and Kano schools in the sixteenth century in several publications, including "Muromachi yamatoeshi no keifu," in *Suibokuga to chūsei emaki*, Nihon bijutsu zenshū 12 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1992), and "Jūroku seiki fukkō gadan no kishu—Motonobu to Mitsumochi," in *Muromachi jidai, Suibokuga to yamatoe*, Nihon bijutsu zenshū 9 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 2014). Tanikawa Yuki has posited the political implications of employing ink painting techniques in *yamatoe* paintings for artists and patrons in the sphere of the Ashikaga shoguns; see Tanikawa Yuki, "Tosa Mitsunobu to suibokuga," in *E ga monogataru Nihon*, ed. Kokubungaku Kenkyū Shiryōkan (Tokyo: Miyai Shoten, 2014), 89–104.

FIGURE 8.
Fujiwara no Takaaki (active ca. mid-13th c.), *Illustrated Biography of Priest Kakunyo (Boki ekotoba)*, fifth in a set of ten scrolls, dated 1351. Handscroll; ink and colors on paper, detail, h. 32 × 839.9 cm. Nishi Honganji Collection, Kyoto. Important Cultural Property.

the patron's vision for the work and to his view of the world. That worldview is uniquely accessible through the relatively numerous texts that Tanemichi left behind. In the same way that Tanemichi invoked the Duke of Zhou in his *Genji Banquet Record*, the painting also cites motifs from Chinese ink landscapes in a more deliberate way than we have seen so far, tapping into shared visual semantics among familiar works by Chinese masters circulating in the tearooms of Sakai.

Murasaki at Lake Dongting and the Eight Views of Ōmi

Described in the most basic terms, the compositional elements of the Murasaki Shikibu painting consist of the following: a perfect autumn moon floating left of center; an architectural structure midway up the paper with a spit of land beneath; a grove of trees with clouds wafting through; and hazy mountains above clouded in mist. These words describing the Shikibu painting are in fact verbatim from a sixteenth-century observer who used them to describe not Tanemichi's painting but a work he called "Moon Picture" (*tsukie*), which refers to *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting* by the Chinese artist Yujian (active mid-13th c.) (FIG. 9) from what was originally a horizontal handscroll depicting the *Eight Views of the Hsiao and Hsiang Rivers*.[34] The observer was Tennōjiya (Tsuda) Sōgyū (d. 1591), and he recorded that visual inventory in his meticulous "Record of Tea Objects Seen" (*Dōgu haikenki*), in an entry dated to the second month of Eiroku 10 (1567).[35] He not only gives a verbal

34 The eight paintings in Yujian's horizontal scroll, each depicting a separate "view" with an accompanying poem, were cut up and remounted as individual hanging scrolls. The architecture and activities surrounding the display of Chinese objects in the Muromachi period seems to have driven the dissection of such Chinese handscrolls.

35 The entry from the "Record of Tea Objects Seen" appears in Nagashima Fukutarō, annot., *Tennōjiya kaiki*, in *Chadō koten zenshū* (Kyoto: Tankō Shinsha, 1959), 7:210–12. The painting was owned by Tennōjiya (Tsuda) Dōshitsu.

description of the work, but he also provides a sketch (FIG. 10), making sure to correct his own drawing in order to place the left-of-center moon in the precise position. Despite depicting seemingly disparate topics, when the Murasaki painting and the Yujian landscape are placed side-by-side, compositional and other conceptual similarities between them start to emerge. One even begins to wonder if perhaps Tanemichi took inspiration from the famous Chinese painting in conceptualizing the moonlit landscape at Ishiyamadera.

The Yujian painting had a lofty pedigree — it had once been in the storied collection of the Ashikaga shoguns, a fact that would have been reiterated at each airing of the work. Meanwhile, its central autumn moon imagery, executed in the evocative *haboku* (broken ink) style, conjured the confluence of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers in southern China and all the poetic associations the topographical site possessed. Those associations included unjust exile, a theme that was central to the *Genji* (its Suma and Akashi chapters in particular form part of the genesis legend) and resulted in part in Tanemichi's personal attraction to the tale, given his own history of exile. The chances that the courtier Kujō Tanemichi saw such a painting, given the limited extent to which the nobility participated in the world of tea, seem slim.

One of the only references to courtiers in the Tennōjiya tea diaries involves Tanemichi. He attended at least one tea gathering in Sakai, as a guest of Tennōjiya Sōtatsu, for an event on the twenty-second day of the twelfth month of Eiroku 2 (1559), placing him in Sakai almost exactly one year before the Murasaki painting was completed.[36] Tanemichi attended the event along with a fellow courtier, Lord Koga.[37] Among the objects on display was a painting hung in the alcove, a hanging scroll depicting the legendary Tang-dynasty Chan monk Decheng, known as "Boatman Decheng" (Chuanzi Decheng, J: Sensu Tokujō), brushed by the thirteenth-century Chinese monk-painter, Muqi (J: Mokkei).[38] Thus Tanemichi had clearly seen a work by Muqi, but had he seen Yujian's

36 Ibid., 8:73.

37 The annotations in ibid. state that the "Lord Koga" (*koga dono sama*) who accompanied Tanemichi is Koga Harumichi (1519–1575). I believe a more likely candidate is Koga Michikata (1541–1575), whom the same editors identify as "Lord Koga" in an entry five days earlier. Both Harumichi and Michikata were referred to at this time by the title "former Gondainagon," making them difficult to distinguish. Koga Michikata was, however, among the poets represented in Tanemichi's *Genji* banquet poems one year later, making it more likely that both references refer to him.

38 *Yamanoue no Sōji ki* (*The Record of Yamanoue no Sōji*), Tenshō 16 (1588), makes clear that the painting of the famous untrammeled Chan eccentric the "Boatman," or "Boat Monk" Chuanzi Decheng (820–858), was by Muqi and was owned by Sōtatsu's son, Sōgyū, who must have inherited the work. The painting no longer survives, but at that time it was the left painting of a triptych that had Hotei in the center and a fisherman on the right. See Kumakura Isao, annot., *Yamanoue no Sōji ki tsuketari Chawa shigetsushū* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2006), 60. I am grateful to Andrew Watsky for pointing out this reference.

Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting, a work that could have inspired his unique image of Murasaki in moonlight?

Yujian's painting was, in fact, being displayed around this same time; its owner, Dōshitsu, was so proud of it that he reputedly unrolled it often and with no regard to season. Koga Michikata had been shown the work just five days before he accompanied Tanemichi to Sōtatsu's tea gathering.[39] Perhaps Koga described it for him, or perhaps Tanemichi had already seen it. I would venture to say that Dōshitsu, even without the pretense of a tea gathering, would have been eager to show his prized possession to someone of Tanemichi's stature. And he did have stature—as a former regent; as a grandson of Sanetaka, whose calligraphy graced the alcoves of Sakai tearooms;[40] and as an occasional resident with longstanding ties and landholdings in the southern port city. And while there is no evidence that Tanemichi hosted his own tea gathering, he did reciprocate the invitations he received in Sakai by including those individuals in his own *waka* offering.

At the very least, Tanemichi's potential exposure to Yujian's *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting* and its inscribed poem on the theme of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers provides a tantalizing suggestion of a link between the motifs in the Chinese poem and the imagery of Ishiyamadera. Yujian's poem reads:

四面平湖月満山、
一亜螺髻鏡中看
岳陽樓上聴長笛、
訴尽崎嶇行路難

In all directions the lake is flat, and the moon illuminates
the mountains
A single snail-shell curl, the center of the mirror visible
From high above in the Yueyang Pavilion, hearing the sound
of the long flute
Lamenting the difficulty of the journey on that rugged
mountain road

This is a highly allusive poem that suggests a range of meanings based on specific Chinese poems from the past, and yet it is capacious enough to

39 Nagashima Fukutarō, *Tennōjiya kaiki*, 7:74, entry for Eiroku 2 (1559).12.17.

40 The tea master Mozuya Dōan hung in the *tokonoma* alcove a letter in the hand of Tanemichi's grandfather Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (1455–1537), referred to as "Nishi Dono" (一床　西殿状, 懸テ); ibid., 7:57–58, entry for Kōji 4 (1558).2.29. That a letter in Sanetaka's hand was worthy of contemplation in the tea alcove speaks volumes about the stature of this particular family in the tea world.

FIGURE 9
Yujian (active mid-13th c.), *Autumn Moon over Dongting Lake*, from "Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang," Southern Song dynasty, 13th century. Handscroll mounted as a hanging scroll; ink on paper, 29.4 × 93.1 cm. The Agency for Cultural Affairs (Bunkachō), Tokyo.

invite Japanese comparisons.[41] Looking again at the Murasaki painting through the lens of Xiao and Xiang visual and poetic imagery, the Yueyang Tower seems to have been transformed into the temple building at Ishiyamadera, while moonlit Lake Dongting has become Lake Biwa. Murasaki thus takes the place of the Chinese occupant of the Yueyang Tower listening to the long flute. She sits in the pavilion and gazes at the mirrorlike surface of the lake illuminated by the autumn moon. She imagines her protagonist Genji gazing up at the same moon during his exile in Suma, and writes the Suma and Akashi chapters, those most inflected by a *kan* sensibility, in a setting that cites the visual language of the most celebrated Chinese paintings of the day.

If Tanemichi conceptualized the Murasaki at Ishiyamadera painting as an analogue to *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting*, it might even have been instrumental in the formation of the "Eight Views of Ōmi," one of the most enduring themes in Japanese art and literature. By the late fifteenth century, Gozan monks and poets had drawn parallels between the sites of the "Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang" and spots along the shores of Lake Biwa, but the poetic sites of the standard "Eight Views of Ōmi" were not yet codified in Tanemichi's day. In fact the origins of the theme remain shrouded in mystery. Ōsen Keisan (1429–1493) of Shōkokuji, one of several

41 Alfreda Murck points out many of them, such as the "snail shell curl," which she translates as "a spiral headdress" (an informal name for Śākyamuni Buddha), and argues for the political implications of Xiao Xiang poems, many of which could have resonated in the Japanese context as well. See Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China: The Subtle Art of Dissent* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute, 2000), 256–57.

monks whose inscriptions on ink landscape paintings loom large in scholarship on Muromachi Sino-Japanese painting, is viewed as pivotal to the early process of associating the scenery around Lake Biwa with that of Xiao and Xiang poetry in a general sense.[42] In 1501 Tanemichi's grandfather Sanetaka had used Chinese poems on the "Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang" composed by the Rinzai Zen monk Ten'in Ryūtaku (1422–1500) as the basis for his own *waka* poems on the theme that he then brushed on poem sheets (*shikishi*) to be pasted on a folding screen with paintings of the same theme.[43] Sanetaka's poems, however, are strictly *waka* interpretations of the Chinese poems and make no mention of the Ōmi sites. In fact, the standard belief is that it would take another one hundred years for the pairing of "Eight Views" topics and Lake Biwa sites to become fixed, as the brainchild of Konoe Nobutada (1565–1614).[44] Nobutada's poems on the topic are the earliest extant examples of the standard ones in use throughout the Edo period and today, and they are often credited as being the originating ones. Nobutada's Ishiyamadera poem reads as follows:

石山寺秋月
石山やにほの海てる月かげは
　あかしも須磨もほかならぬ哉

Autumn Moon at Ishiyamadera
Ishiyama, shimmering on the surface of Lake Biwa,[45]
　the moon's shadow in Akashi and Suma must have
　been one and the same.

Nobutada's poem would have fit perfectly above Mitsumoto's image of Murasaki at Ishiyamadera; she is the absent presence in his verse. She is the first perceiving subject to envision the same moon above Lake Biwa as

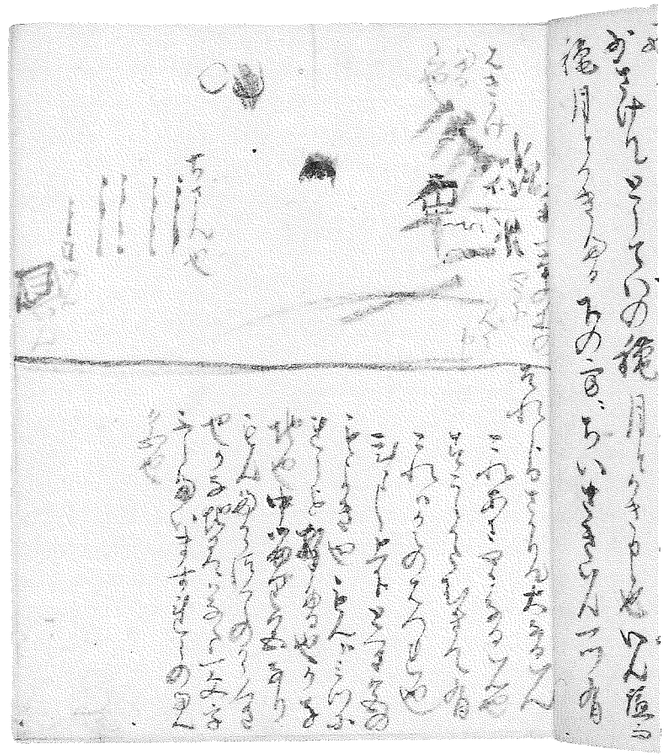
42 Judith Stubbs provides a wealth of information on the theme and makes the insightful point that though Ōsen's name has been associated with the Eight Views theme, he should be seen as representative of a number of less well-recorded individuals who were seminal in the formation of the topos. See Judith Stubbs, "Omi Hakkei" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1993), 57. For Ōsen's poems, see Shibata Minoru, "Ōmi Hakkei," in *Shiga Ken Meishō Chōsa Hōkoku*, ed. Shiga Ken Shiseki Meishō Tennen Kinenbutsu Chōsakai (Shiga Ken: Shiga Ken Shiseki Meishō Tennen Kinenbutsu Chōsakai, 1937), 7. My thanks to Edward Kamens for showing me this article and for his discussion of the topic in "Eight Views of Ōmi," a paper he delivered at Yale University in March 2015. I have yet to locate the original source for the Ōsen poem, which Shibata does not cite.

43 This was at the request of the *renga* poet Sōgi, as recorded in Sanetaka's poetry collection along with all eight poems; see Kubota Jun, ed., *Sōkonshū, Gondaisōzu Shinkeishū, Saishō*, vol. 66 of *Waka bungaku taikei* (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 2005), 135–37.

44 Edo-period sources suggest that the Eight Views of Ōmi were the idea of Konoe Masaie (1472–1544), inspired during a visit there in 1500; no record of Hisamitsu traveling to Ōmi on the date has come to light, nor has any contemporary source linked Hisamitsu to the theme. See Stubbs, "Omi Hakkei," 62–72.

45 *Nio-no-umi* ("Sea of grebes") is an alternative name for Lake Biwa.

FIGURE 10
Tennōjiya (Tsuda) Sōgyū (d. 1591), "Record of Tea Utensils Seen" (*Dōgu haiken ki*), second month of Eiroku 10 (1567), detail. Thread-bound book; ink on paper. Private collection.



above Akashi and Suma. It is her mind, engaged in "calming and contemplation" (*kokoro o sumasu*), that understands how time and space should be collapsed, as her viewing of the moon becomes one with that of her character in exile. Medieval *Genji* commentaries situated Murasaki's moment of inspiration within the framework of Buddhist meditation, and posited that she had achieved the ultimate perception of non-duality, the "threefold contemplation in one thought" (*isshin sangan*) as found in Zhiyi's *Great Calming and Contemplation* (C: *Mohe zhiguan*, J: *Maka shikan*).[46] As a long-standing visual metaphor for non-duality, the moon in the Ishiyamadera genesis myth allows for a metaphysical pivot rooted in Tendai Buddhist

46 Murasaki Shikibu's place in the Tendai lineage is noted in *Genji* commentaries from as early as the *Genchū saihishō* (ca. 1265), in Ikeda Kikan, ed., *Genji monogatari taisei* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1956), 7:594. A particularly clear discussion of the fundamental tenets of the threefold contemplations is in Jacqueline I. Stone, *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999). The relationship between the *Genji* origin myth, Murasaki imagery, and Tendai Buddhist thought is the subject of my forthcoming article "Murasaki and Metaphysics: The Thinking Female Author as Buddhist Icon," based on public lectures delivered in 2015–16.

belief, suggesting the intersubjectivity of self and other, past and present, China and Japan.

With their belief in Tendai Buddhism, their knowledge of classical Chinese poetry and *waka*, and their devotion to Ishiyamadera, Tanemichi and his Sanjōnishi relatives were as likely as anyone to have paired the temple with the autumn moon over the lake in southern China. It is intriguing to imagine that a visual image of a moon reflected on the water in China might have given rise to Ishiyamadera's prominent identity within the "Eight Views of Ōmi." No matter what precise role his painting played in the formation of the theme, Tanemichi's reenvisioning of Ishiyamadera's lakeside vista as a view over Lake Dongting reflects an understanding of the profoundly meaningful, even spiritual way in which *wa* and *kan* themes could be collapsed.[47]

Purple Displaces Crimson

One final issue concerning the meaning of the *wakan* aesthetics of the Murasaki painting remains. It should be clear by now that the *kan* associations do not simply enrich the *wa* elements through proximity to ancient Chinese precedent. From what I have been able to discern, Tanemichi was confident in his pedigree but mindful of the actions needed for its perpetuation. He believed in the power of *Genji* as a transformative work and as a spiritually significant text, and he was unapologetic about Murasaki's soteriological status, at least in regard to this project. His blending of *wa* and *kan* in the painting from 1560 clearly relates to his self-fashioning of identity and to his desire to situate himself and the Fujiwara lineage of which he was a part within a cultural matrix that extended beyond the archipelago. The *waka* that Kin'eda inscribed onto Tanemichi's painting epitomizes a shared worldview in this regard, and it does so by using an allusion to the Confucian *Analects*.

あけうばふ色はあやしな咲藤の
　さかへ久しき宿にうつして

The color that displaced crimson, color of the sacred wisteria,
　moves to the long-flourishing dwelling of the blossom

The color that "displaced crimson" is purple, or *murasaki*, a color that Confucius deplored, representing as it does a break from the purity of ancient ritual. The passage in the *Analects* laments the change in court ritual costume from the primacy of pure red to the growing status of purple, consisting of threads of mixed dyes.[48] Kin'eda's *waka* poem overturns the value judgment in the *Analects*, championing the synthetic, blended color of purple instead of the crimson of ancient China.

Without saying "murasaki" outright, the poem alludes to both the color and the name of the *Genji* author. According to Kin'eda's poem, *murasaki* has moved into the dwelling, as in the image where Murasaki literally occupies the structure. The "long-flourishing dwelling" of the sacred wisteria can refer only to the Fujiwara house, of which Tanemichi had been the titular head. And the poem echoes one in the "Wisteria Leaves" (*Fuji no Uraba*) chapter of *The Tale of Genji*, in which the "wisteria-covered dwelling" (*waga yado no fuji no iro koki*) symbolizes the consolidation of a family line.[49] The painting, inscription, and poem thus work as a unit to provide a stamp of approval attesting to Tanemichi's eligibility to inherit the mantle of *Genji* learning through metaphorical ownership over Murasaki as *Genji* embodied, who will now reside in his dwelling.[50]

The lineal triumphalism to this poem and its relationship to *wakan* dialectics are emphatic. Purple displaces red, Murasaki displaces the Chinese scholar in the Yueyang Tower to gaze at the bronze mirror of the lake and author what Tanemichi believes is a work of literature that defies all reasonable explanations for what is humanly possible. If the attitude expresses a kind of Fujiwara "*wa*" superiority, it would not have been out of place in Tanemichi's day and among his contemporaries, who were formulating systems of thought resembling the ideas of Nativist discourse in later centuries.[51] For Tanemichi, Murasaki is a metaphor; armed with his knowledge of Chinese literature and painting, he uses Murasaki to turn the *wakan* dialectic into a polemic, urging the Fujiwara lineage to claim its sacred pride of place.

47 A Tendai reading of Murasaki's meditation on the moon in turn suggests that the painting's creators may have appreciated this aspect of Yujian's painting and poem, thus encouraging us to reconsider the Buddhist nuances of "Eight Views" imagery by Chinese painters and poets.

48 The full passage reads, "The Master said, 'I hate the manner in which purple takes away the lustre of vermilion. I hate the way in which the songs of Chang confound the music of the Yā. I hate those who with their sharp mouths overthrow kingdoms and families." *Confucius Analects*, book 17, chap. 18, in *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, *Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, and the Doctrine of the Mean*, trans. James Legge, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893), 326.

49 Abe Akio, et al., eds., *Genji monogatari* 3, in *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 22 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1996), 434.

50 As noted above, Tanemichi received official "Genji transmission papers" (*Genji monogatari kirigami*) in 1574.

51 The sixteenth century witnessed the systematization of Yoshida Shintō, espoused by Yoshida Kanemigi (1516–1573); among other things, this inverted the *honji-suijaku* paradigm to posit buddhas and bodhisattvas as avatars of *kami*. For more on precursors to Nativism, see Andrew Bernstein, *Modern Passings: Death Rites, Politics, and Social Change in Imperial Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 47–50. Both Kanemigi and Tanemichi had connections to the Mōri family and had stayed at a shrine in the 1570s near the Mōri home base in Aki; see Nishimoto Ryōko, "Kujō Tanemichi no Aki gekkō," *Nihon bungaku* 49, no. 4 (2000): 62–65.

In practical terms, the portrait marked an important milestone in Tanemichi's efforts to sustain the Kujō line and to ensure a pivotal place for himself within it, on his own terms. Ten months before his *Genji waka* banquet, Tanemichi's newly adopted son, Kujō Kanetaka (1553–1636), a mere eight years old, was elevated to the Junior Third Rank from the Junior Fourth Rank Lower grade, initiating him into the upper levels of the courtier class. As a document in the Kujō archives shows, years later in the seventeenth century Tanemichi's grandson Yukiie (1586–1665) pointed to the Murasaki painting inscription in the family's possession and questioned his father, Kanetaka, about its meaning.[52] Yukiie went on to play a central role in *Genji* scholarship and skillfully negotiated his way through court and *bakufu* politics in the early years of the Tokugawa shogunate.[53] We should never lose sight of the fact that Tanemichi's heirloom painting was always intended to be a double image of Murasaki as Nyoirin Kannon, viewed as an auratic object and consecrated through the poetry-offering ceremony. Considering how Tanemichi's familial and literary lineage flourished, this was certainly an instance of the wish-fulfilling bodhisattva making good on her promise.

52 Sugimoto Mayuko, "Kujō Yukiie to Genji monogatari—Genji kirigami to Maboroshi no emaki," *Kokubun Mejiro* 49 (2010): 92–101.

53 Yukiie married the adopted daughter of Toyotomi Hideyoshi and his concubine Yodogimi (1569–1615) in 1604, a girl whose biological mother was then married to Tokugawa Hidetada (1579–1632), soon to become the second Tokugawa shogun. Kawamoto Keiko, "Kujōke denrai no kururna arasoi zu o megutte: sono seisaku jijō to kaishaku o chūshin ni," in *Nihon kaigashi no kenkyū*, ed. Yamane Yūzō Sensei Koki Kinenkai (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1989), 283–336.

Around Chigusa

TEA AND THE ARTS OF SIXTEENTH-CENTURY JAPAN

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