

ENVISIONING

The Tale of Genji

Media, Gender, and Cultural Production

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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 Rokujo's carriage off to the left. (PHOTO: JOHN BIGELOW TAYLOR)

Chapter 2

Figure and Factice in the *Genji Scrolls*

TEXT, CALLIGRAPHY, PAPER, AND PAINTING

Yukio Lippit

THE MOST celebrated object in the artifactual history of *The Tale of Genji* is a set of twelfth-century picture handscrolls commonly known as the *Tale of Genji Scrolls* (*Genji monogatari emaki*). The work originally consisted of ten to twelve scrolls containing more than a hundred excerpts and accompanying paintings, an average of two scenes from each of the fifty-four chapters of the *Genji*. Approximately one-fifth of the original set (twenty paintings and twenty-nine excerpts) survives. The subtlety of the paintings, the sophistication of the calligraphy, and the craftsmanship of the paper decoration mark the *Genji Scrolls* as the outcome of a significant mobilization of resources at the highest levels of the Japanese aristocracy. Because it is the earliest extant materialization of *The Tale of Genji* and a significant window onto the aesthetics of the high Heian court, the *Genji Scrolls* has attracted a commentarial literature of staggering size and detail.¹ All the same, there is little doubt that its scholarly overexposure is well deserved.

Despite the formidable historiography that has accrued, very little is known about the circumstances under which the *Genji Scrolls* came into being. A consensus is emerging about its approximate date (1120–1150), its courtly origins, and its coordination by five artistic supervisors, each of whom was responsible for two or three scrolls. Unsigned and unsealed, however, the *Genji Scrolls* remains anonymous. By the Edo period (1600–1867), most of the scrolls from the original set had been lost, with the remnants divided between the collections of the Owari Tokugawa and Hachisuka warrior families; these fragments came with no inscriptive enclosures or other clues as to their pedigree. Connoisseurs of the early modern era were in agreement only that they were a product of the

mid- to late Heian period (ca. 1000–1200), attributing the paintings and calligraphies to prominent members of this perceived golden age of courtly culture.² These attributions, however, were part of a widespread practice of assigning renowned proper names to anonymous artifacts of the pre-Edo period in order to calibrate value in the antiquities market to the Tokugawa status system and are, therefore, of limited reliability.³ In fact, most art historians of the modern era have abandoned attempts to assign the *Genji Scrolls* to a specific painter or calligrapher.⁴

Although the anonymity of the *Genji Scrolls* is one among many factors that have kept the circumstances of its production from being definitively established, numerous commentators have linked it to an entry from 1119 in the diary of the middle-level courtier Minamoto no Morotoki (1077–1136).⁵ The entry records an order from the imperial consort Fujiwara Shōshi (Taikenmon'in, 1101–1145) to prepare paper for “*Genji* pictures,” as well as a command from Retired Emperor Shirakawa (1053–1129) to proceed with the execution of the paintings themselves. Morotoki’s brief memo represents the only surviving mention of the pictorialization of *The Tale of Genji* in the Heian documentary record.⁶ The implication of the passage is that the work now known as the *Genji Scrolls* was created under the orders of Taikenmon’in and Shirakawa, both prolific cultural patrons and the most powerful figures at court in this era.⁷ Such a context is appealing because the involvement of the imperial family accounts for the care lavished on the work and confirms the widespread speculation that aristocratic middlemen such as Morotoki were involved in the day-to-day management of its production. Despite the attractiveness of this scenario, however, the association of Morotoki’s diary entry of 1119 with the *Genji Scrolls* is not unproblematic. Because the years 1120 to 1123 are missing from the diary, nothing further can be ascertained about the nature or execution of the “*Genji* pictures.” Furthermore, several careful studies of the paper decoration—of which many firmly dated, comparative examples from the twelfth century survive—strongly suggest that the *Genji Scrolls* dates to sometime during the 1140s.⁸ A date somewhat later than 1120 is also suggested by stylistic analyses of the painting and calligraphy, as well as by studies of the architecture, furnishings, and fashions (*fūzoku*) depicted in the scrolls.⁹ Thus the specific production context of the *Genji Scrolls* remains not only an open question, but in all likelihood unknowable.

Opacity of context, however, need not limit the horizon of potential commentary on the *Genji Scrolls*. Much more can be done to explore the inner mechanics of signification in this resonant and extraordinarily

complex work. Too often, the *Genji Scrolls* has been assumed to be a reflection rather than a representation of *The Tale of Genji*, a passive embodiment of a self-contained literary work, of which it illustrates occasional highlights. Only recently have the gaps between the work of art and its text of origin begun to be taken seriously by an interdisciplinary community of scholars. Measuring the distance between these two entities, one a lavishly ornamented paper object and the other an “immaterial” narrative, proves to be challenging in a particular sense. It is easy to lapse into the habit of idealizing the text and devaluing the artwork, the latter at one remove from the pure essence of the former. This hierarchical relationship is not without some justification, for the *Genji Scrolls* is saturated with an awareness of a shared and acknowledged phenomenon revolving around the narrative composed by Murasaki Shikibu. Yet the imposition of the essentially modern notion of the work of art as a fixed entity on *The Tale of Genji* does not adequately capture the open-endedness and plural existence of the Heian literary object, especially at this early stage in its reception. Judging from their manuscript histories, *The Tale of Genji* and other *monogatari* (courtly tales) of the time circulated in multiple copies and were subject to the type of creative scribal variation that resulted from practices of manual reproduction, especially in an environment in which theoretically anyone was a practitioner of the literary arts.¹⁰ The *Genji Scrolls* excerpts, in fact, are the oldest extant manuscript version (albeit incomplete) of *The Tale of Genji*, classified as part of the lineage of “variant” texts (*bepponkei*), they predate by some one hundred years the *Abyōshi-bon* (*Blue Cover Variant*), compiled by Fujiwara Teika (1162–1241) as one of his many redactions.¹¹ The numerous differences between the text of the *Genji Scrolls* excerpts and that of other variant editions, however, are far less significant than is the estrangement from any putative main narrative that can be demonstrated when the excerpts are considered artifactually—that is, as an ensemble of text, calligraphy, paper decoration, and painting. Only as a *gesamtkunstwerk* can the full measure of the *Genji Scrolls* and its rich dissonances from *The Tale of Genji* be taken.

This chapter proposes a holistic method for analyzing the *Genji Scrolls* that aims at a more precise articulation of the relationship between the handscrolls and *The Tale of Genji*. Eschewing a historiographical tendency to treat each major component of the scrolls—text, calligraphy, paper decoration, and painting—in isolation, the approach offered here regards them as being engaged in an interactive dynamic and contributing in equally significant ways to a larger semantic agenda. Such synthetic

treatment provides a common space for the gathering of insights previously developed only in highly specialized studies. Thus the roles of the text, calligraphy, paper ornamentation, and paintings are discussed from the perspective of their relationship with *The Tale of Genji* before an example is presented to demonstrate their interrelational logic. The goal of this inquiry is not to provide a chapter-by-chapter accounting of the *Genji Scrolls* so much as to propose new habits of thinking through its status as a signifying artifact.

TEXT

Although most examinations of the *Genji Scrolls* concentrate solely on the paintings, for the work's initial audiences, the accompanying excerpts inscribed on profusely decorated sheets of paper were equally the focus of visual attention (plate 2). The nagging perception of these inscriptions as "transcriptions" has relegated them to a subsidiary status. Even minimal attention to their physical properties, however, underscores the necessity of conceiving of them instead as carefully crafted representations at multiple removes from any notion of a mere copy. It is useful to analyze the excerpts from the perspective of their three main components: text, calligraphy, and paper decoration.

While the textual component of the *Genji Scrolls* excerpts consists of only a sampling of Murasaki Shikibu's tale, its invocation of a larger and denser narrative universe is sufficiently synecdochal. Twenty full excerpts survive, varying in length from two to eight sheets of inscribed calligraphy. In addition, there exists a group of nine fragments, many cut out of their original scrolls for inclusion in calligraphy albums during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; some remained unidentified or misrecognized until the postwar period.¹² Judging from the fully intact excerpts that remain, between one and three passages were lifted from each chapter of *The Tale of Genji* for representation in the *Genji Scrolls*. The decision about which and how many passages would be extracted from each chapter appears to have been left to the artistic director. Aside from aesthetic considerations, it is possible that the choices were partially determined by the number of sheets allotted to each supervisor. In many cases, the excerpt fills up all the space available for its inscription, suggesting careful coordination between the length of the passage and the allotment of paper.¹³ In several instances, the first passage of the chapter includes a title inscription.

The logic of passage selection is best explored by comparing the extant excerpts in the *Genji Scrolls* with *The Tale of Genji* as a whole. By mapping the inscribed segments against a flowchart of the larger narrative, their status gains the clarity of a figure-ground relationship. This idea of the *Genji* as a "ground" that frames the editorial possibilities of handscroll exception, however, needs to be tempered by a consideration of the essentially amorphous nature of the tale at the time. Instead of conceiving of *The Tale of Genji* as a self-contained literary work with fixed boundaries, a more fluid understanding of its formal delineations does justice to the proactive nature of its early reception. Because its community of readers consisted of courtiers and related elites who by definition were litterateurs, the *Genji* was viewed less as an impenetrable piece of prose than as a semidiscrete, open-ended composite of words that also functioned as a repository of narrative and poetic models for practitioners. This was certainly the case for *waka* anthologizers, who mixed and matched from among the 795 verses in the *Genji* for ideas for their own compilations, as for the many prose authors who mined the classic tale for their own compositions. While it is easy to grasp the use value of Murasaki Shikibu's *monogatari* for poets and authors of such late Heian tales as *Sagoromo monogatari* (*The Tale of Sagoromo*, ca. 1060), this functional aesthetic governed its relationship to the production managers of the *Genji Scrolls*. To these overseers, the *Genji* was less an object of emulation than a space of transformative intervention, an archive that could be freely raided in the creation of new iterations of the cultural past. It is in this sense that the narrative source of the *Genji Scrolls* excerpts hovers somewhere between "ground" (with its accompanying notion of fixity) and something like a "dimension" within which "figures" (the excerpts) could be floated. With this notion of text-as-dimension in mind, a new formulation of the relationship between the *Genji Scrolls* passages and *The Tale of Genji* becomes possible.

The nature of the *Genji Scrolls* excerpts is placed in high relief when compared with the method of scene selection that characterized the later history of *Genji* picture making. Throughout this later history, iconographic selection was governed by a scenographic sensibility, a manner of experiencing the narrative primarily as a pictorial sequence of settings, events, or moments of encounter. This mode of reading converted the literary text into a storyboard of scenic possibilities. Thus the pictorialization of *The Tale of Genji* over the centuries consisted in large part of variations on a few compositional templates that stage moments selected according to this scenographic imaginary. The most common result of

this practice can be seen in the *Genji* painting album, in which each leaf is devoted to the depiction of one scene from each of the tale's fifty-four chapters.¹⁴ Dozens of such albums were produced, and a manual survives from the Muromachi period (1336–1573) that reveals the degree to which the scenographic method of iconographic selection had become codified.¹⁵ According to this editorial mode, specific passages from *The Tale of Genji* were far less important than the generic visual *topoi* they invoked. Thus in *Genji* albums, the excerpts chosen to accompany the paintings, when there are any, tend to be brief and perfunctory; this is especially true of Edo-period albums. The negligible status of the narrative in these works is closely related to the precipitous decline in *Genji* literacy as time progressed, as well as the increasingly mediating role of readers' manuals and digests.

Although glimpses of a scenographic sensibility can be detected in the *Genji Scrolls* as well, its primary method of passage selection was governed by criteria that lay elsewhere.¹⁶ To begin with, the excerpts are lengthy enough to convey sequences of action, descriptive prose, or interior monologue that correspond to the textual blocks that constitute the raw material of the *Genji*'s narrative movement.¹⁷ Rather than scenes, then, the excerpts can more appropriately be thought of as vignettes, for which the accompanying paintings provide complex pictorial equivalences, more akin to tableaux than snapshots. This approach, to the selection of passages, focused as it is on intimate exchanges, contrasts with the emphasis on pageantry and spectacle in the later *Genji* painting tradition. Thus the excerpts often are of episodes of heightened tension. Frequently, they culminate in an exchange of poetry, with the verse functioning as a highly charged condensation of the narrative. Indeed, twelve of the excerpts either frame or lead up to a climactic poetic recitation. The most famous example is the passage in the "Minori" (The Law) chapter in which the highly elliptical poems exchanged between Genji and the dying Lady Murasaki represent the dramatic climax of the chapter. These excerpts can be understood as reflecting the intent of their coordinators to mirror the priorities of the *Genji* itself. In this sense, the amount of prose that a given editor included in an excerpt was the amount believed necessary to provide a context for the poetic exchange.

Other excerpts, however, appear to be irrelevant to the mood of a chapter or the development of the narrative. They transform interludes, or "filler," into passages somehow representative of a given chapter in *The Tale of Genji*. In this sense, they invert the priorities of Murasaki Shikibu's text to suit different prerogatives. A good example of such an inver-

sion is the passage from the "Yokobue" (The Flute) chapter chosen for representation in the *Genji Scrolls* (plate 2). Although the chapter itself deals with the aftermath of Yokobue's death and is suffused with a sense of mourning and even foreboding, the excerpt depicts a seemingly minor, lighthearted vignette, a domestic squabble between Yūgiri and his wife, Kumoinokari.

The larger narrative context of the excerpt from "Yokobue" has considerable significance. The passage begins with a baby's midnight screams that awaken an entire household, including its patriarch, Yūgiri. He proceeds to check on the situation and enters a tumultuous scene in which his wife, Kumoinokari, surrounded by ladies-in-waiting, is attempting to soothe the unhappy newborn; this is the scene depicted in the "Yokobue" painting. The excerpt begins, however, just after the most dramatic episode in the entire chapter: Yūgiri's oneiric encounter with the ghost of Kashiwagi. In Yūgiri's dream, Kashiwagi asks his friend for the flute that Kashiwagi's mother had given to Yūgiri. The flute, from which the title of the chapter derives, is an important motif of this and the surrounding chapters and carries great symbolic weight. It is from this encounter with his deceased friend that Yūgiri is awakened by his crying baby. For viewers unfamiliar with *The Tale of Genji*, the passage and its accompanying painting indicate nothing more than a purely domestic slice of daily life, a genre scene from an important work of literature. For viewers familiar with the tale, however, the excerpt reverberates with the aftermath of Yūgiri's dream sequence. As Yūgiri stumbles groggily onto the scene depicted in the "Yokobue" painting, therefore, informed viewers stumble in with him, dazed and half-conscious. Small details from the excerpt included in the painting, such as the door left slightly ajar and the scattered rice used to drive away evil spirits (*mono-no-ke*), take on an added significance as suggestions of the earlier presence of Kashiwagi's ghost. The beginning of the "Yokobue" excerpt is located so precisely, therefore, that it establishes a stratigraphy of levels of engagement with the passage, depending on the readers' degree of familiarity with the passage, de- editorial acumen reflected in this cropping of the *Genji* narrative could have come only with an intimate knowledge of the tale.

The precise moment at which the excerpt ends is no less significant. In "Yokobue," this comes at the moment after Yūgiri has poked fun at Kumoinokari for her irrationality. The narrative voice counters Yūgiri, however, by describing Kumoinokari under the lamplight as *nukukarazu* (not at all unattractive). This is the moment at which the excerpt ends, even while the source text goes on to describe how the child continued

to scream for the remainder of the night. In *The Tale of Genji*, therefore, the affirmation of Kumoinokari represents little more than a minor blip on the narrative surface, quickly washed over by the next tide of words and events. In the *Genji Scrolls*, by contrast, the excerpt from “Yokobue” ends with a spotlight on Kumoinokari, essentially creating an end-title with the affirmative declaration that she is “not at all unattractive.” With this editorial gesture, Yūgiri’s wife is elevated from the most minor of stock characters to the heroine of her own vignette. The transformation of the hierarchies operative in the *Genji* text through such redaction opens an important window onto the priorities that governed the coordination of the *Genji Scrolls*.

Ordered in sequence, the *Genji Scrolls* passages serve not so much as highlights of the text than as representatives of a new line of narrative progression along which the story is remapped and reimaged. In the process, the text ceases to be self-same; as the excerpt from “Yokobue” demonstrates, minor characters become major, incidental encounters gain in significance, secondary observations turn primary. The calculus of these shifts is partially affected by the manner in which readers bridge the empty spaces between neighboring excerpts. This negotiation, in turn, is programmed by the editorial skill of the artistic coordinator, who by cutting and pasting can allow new emphases to be highlighted and new lines of emplotment to emerge from the narrative surface.

CALLIGRAPHY

Calligraphy was a significant means through which fragments of *The Tale of Genji* were crafted into autonomous textual objects. The writing styles reflected in the *Genji Scrolls* were widely admired from the seventeenth century on for their elegance and their evocation of the golden age of Japanese courtly culture.¹⁸ They reflect two tendencies of twelfth-century calligraphy: a thin, wiry, elegant mode of the high Heian period, and a thickly inked, brusque but dynamic mode that anticipated a new trend epitomized by the handwriting of Fujiwara Teika (1162–1241), the influential thirteenth-century poet and canonizer. It is likely that at the time, these hands reflected recognizable family or lineal styles at court, and the manual reproduction of texts such as *The Tale of Genji* in legible autographic scripts had an intrinsic sociopolitical significance. Heian calligraphic culture was centered on the practice of the pure copy (*seissho*), in which aristocrats were expected to participate in the transmission of canonical cultural

forms through their formal and public reinscriptions.¹⁹ Whether an analysis of the calligraphy of the *Genji Scrolls* can recover the agents and historical conditions for this particular act of reinscription is an open question, but at the very least it may be possible to locate here a primary instance of the graphology of status that was operative at the Heian court.

Based on visual analysis, it is possible to divide the calligraphy of the handscrolls into at least five hands.²⁰ This attribution goes beyond mere documentary or connoisseurial interest, however, for a distribution chart of the different hands throughout the *Genji Scrolls* reveals that they may conform to patterns of distribution common to other large-scale artworks of the period, such as group-sponsored decorative sutras (*kechien-kyō*).²¹ According to custom, the highest-ranking participant inscribed the first and last sections (either scrolls or fascicles) of a given project; the remaining participants, in order of descending rank, oversaw each successive group of outer chapters, working their way inward to form a Russian nesting-doll pattern of distribution.²² In other words, calligrapher A inscribed the opening and closing sets of chapters, calligrapher B inscribed the second and penultimate groups of chapters, and so on, with the middle two sets of chapters being inscribed by the same calligrapher as well. With the *Genji Scrolls*, then, we might assume that whatever cast of characters was behind its production, its most important member oversaw the first and last chapters, and that four other artistic coordinators were also involved.²³

Calligraphic decisions not only were morphological, but could extend to such aspects as layout and pacing. The “Yokobue” sheet highlights the importance of the excerpt’s layout in conveying meaning. The final phrase, *nikukarazu*, is given its own column, separating it from the rest of the passage in a visually effective manner. The manipulation of column breaks highlights certain words and phrases through visual isolation. This practice occurs throughout the *Genji Scrolls* and ranges from the indentations used to set poems off from prose, a common practice of the time, to more complex layouts in which columns are abruptly lowered, shortened, or newly created in order to provide an elegantly scattered or cascading effect. Counter-intuitively, breaks in the columns do not always correspond to the metrics of *waka* (lines of 5/7/5/7/7 syllables). Rather, the distribution of phonemes in the inscription of a poem appears to be governed by “calligraphic meter”—that is, a distributional logic central to artful inscription that prioritizes the graphic effects and visual appeal of creative columnar arrangement over poetic meter. In premodern Japanese calligraphy, poetic and calligraphic meter rarely coincided. In fact, those instances where they did



FIGURE 4 Detail of excerpt from "Suzumushi I" (The Bell Cricket), in *Genji monogatari emaki* (*Tale of Genji Scrolls*, twelfth century). (Gotoh Museum, Tokyo)

coincide appear to reflect efforts to emphasize certain key words or verses. One effective example is found in the last poem of the first excerpt from the "Suzumushi" (The Bell Cricket) chapter in the *Genji Scrolls* (figure 4).²⁴

Genji's poem likens the Third Princess's poetry to a cricket's song and suggests that he will always desire it, even though she may have rejected him. The last three-plus columns of the "Suzumushi I" excerpt record his poem; the second column, however, ends with the word *suzumushi* (bell cricket) neatly nestled in the grass painted at the bottom of the sheet. Furthermore, the case particle *no* (of), which follows, instead of conforming to the established calligraphic flow and heading the last column, is simply inscribed next to the word *suzumushi* at the bottom of the sheet. This allows the word that follows, *koe* (voice, song), to head the final column. The cricket's song is, of course, the most important metaphor and image of the chapter, and its inscription in the scroll acknowledges this fact in a uniquely calligraphic arrangement. The placement of *no* at the bottom and the interval it opens up between the final two columns creates a space within which the words—as images and metaphors—reverberate within the decorated paper, which now oscillates between an inscriptive surface and the representation of an autumnal field, complete with blades of grass

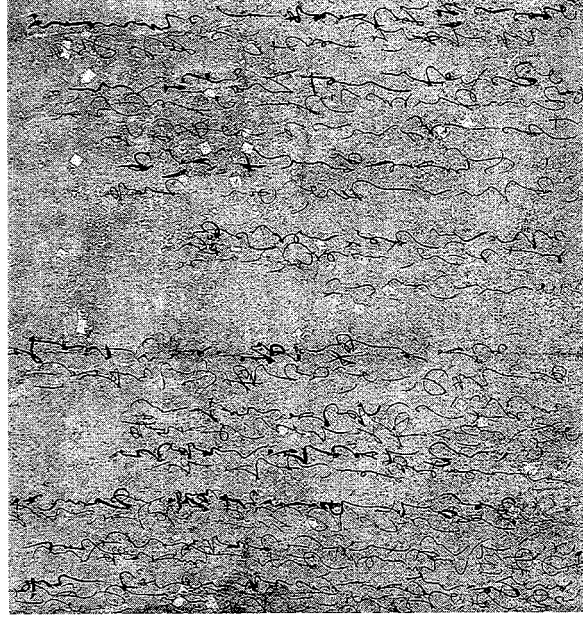


FIGURE 5 Excerpt from "Minori" (The Law), in *Genji Scrolls*. (Gotoh Museum, Tokyo)

painted at the bottom. Individual phonemes are thus arranged to conjure up meaning in irreducibly graphic ways.

Even more remarkable than the manipulation of calligraphic meter in the *Genji Scrolls* excerpts is a technique consistently employed by its inscribers to choreograph the tempo and columnar flow of the writing. While the establishment of tempo is a fundamental characteristic of all East Asian calligraphy, the way in which the manipulation of this temporal component manifests itself at the visual register is more stylized in Japanese *kana* writing of the high Heian period than in other calligraphic traditions, in large part because of the seamless vertical linkage between characters that constitutes one of this tradition's most important formal characteristics. In the *Genji Scrolls*, the movement down cascading columns of *kana* characters was in certain passages quickened to call attention to itself. The primary means of accomplishing this pacing was through a technique known as either "clustered writing" (*kasane-gaki*) or "tangled writing" (*midare-gaki*).²⁵ In this technique, characters are reduced in size so that a greater number can be compacted into a column, while the characters themselves are compressed or otherwise distorted in ways that create the impression of having been brushed under duress (figure 5).

The “tangled” appearance of tangled writing, however, results most directly from the proximity of adjacent columns. The vertical strands of characters sometimes are clustered so closely as to overlap, appearing like dangling filaments of bunched-up wire or string. At other times, small intervals are preserved between the columns, barely maintaining their legibility. In either arrangement, sets of four or five columns within each passage are inscribed at progressively lower starting points to create a cascading effect that also results in a powerful sense of drive toward resolution. Emotional tenor is heightened in those passages subjected to such techniques of compressed inscription. The degree of attenuation—whether columns are wildly tangled or elegantly “scattered”—appears to be closely calibrated to the degree to which an inscribed passage is intended to be estranged from its narrative context.

Intriguingly, these calligraphic techniques appear only in excerpts from the “Kashiwagi” (The Oak Tree) through “Minori” chapters, which because of their unity of painting and calligraphic style are thought to have been overseen by the same artistic coordinator.²⁶ This limited distribution suggests that the supervisor’s preferences in and understanding of *The Tale of Genji* could be accessed through a close examination of those passages chosen for calligraphic distortion. When each instance of tangled writing is isolated for analysis, for example, certain patterns come to the fore. An empathy for characters such as Kashiwagi, Onna san no miya (Third Princess), Kumoinokari (Yūgiri’s wife), and Lady Murasaki comes at the expense of characters ostensibly at the center of the narrative, primarily Genji himself but also his son Yūgiri. The “Kashiwagi group” of *Genji Scrolls* thus appears to champion the marginalization of Genji in his later years through calligraphic performance.

PAPER DECORATION

The opulence and visual appeal of the paper surface of the *Genji Scrolls* is often noted, but rarely has it been the subject of rigorous analysis.²⁷ Every sheet boasts a unique combination of chromatic hues and sheens, with a variety of sprinkled and scattered foils, stenciled designs, and painted motifs to conjure up a distinct visual mood. On each, a different environment for inscription was built up through multiple stages of decorative technique. A ground color was established for each sheet by its immersion in a container of dye. Typically tinted to either a creamy off-white or a light orange-beige, a sheet could gain additional streaks or patches of color

through the local application of dye by brush. Usually, these secondary applications gently blush the initial coloring with a complementary color, resulting in a subtly bruised effect to the paper “skin.” Sometimes, however, the brush-dyed area contrasts so strongly with the dip-dyed background that the scratchy traces of individual brush hairs are clearly visible, resulting in a kind of gestural expressivity. Brush-dyeing was also executed with stencils to create abstract motifs distributed across the background, the most common example being the perfectly round plum petals (occasionally gathered in groups of five to form full blossoms) found on a handful of the excerpts.

The next stage after dyeing was the application of gold and silver foil. The metallic decoration typically consists of tiny pieces of foil cut into various shapes and sizes and sprinkled in loosely arranged clusters across the surface of the paper. The largest pieces of foil were cut irregularly so as to appear haphazard or torn (hence the term used to refer to them: “torn foil” [*sakihaku* or *yaburihaku*]), thus resembling floating celestial bodies. This galactic effect also characterizes the other four foil sizes. Ranging from large squares to tiny, powder-like particles, the gold and silver pieces are scattered in groups that suggest clouds. The areas on which they are sprinkled were carefully chosen to provide the maximum amount of visual contrast between figure and ground; whereas gold foil is applied to reddish-orange and purple-toned regions, silver foil is scattered over off-white and light-beige sections. Because much of the silver has oxidized into black, its original appearance must be inferred from those few areas where it has been well preserved. One final shape into which the silver foil was cut are the “wild hairs” (*noge*), short, razor-thin strips also applied in local clusters over the white-beige ground. The hairs appear to have been sprinkled onto the paper from a point high enough above it to bend, cluster, and entangle with one another into chaotic, shavings-like jumbles, producing a sensation of elegant disarray and unkemptness.

The final stage of decoration involved the painting of a wide array of naturalistic motifs with either brush or stencil. Although not all the excerpts include painted decoration, in those that do it can provide the defining pictorial effect. In the second excerpt from “Suzumushi,” silver paint was applied along a straight-edge stencil to produce a dramatic diagonal across the sheet. For another passage, silver paint was used to create undulating horizontal forms that suggest clouds or bands of mist. Most of the time, however, smallish painted ornaments—willow trees, rock formations, birds in flight—blend quietly into the profusion of the

other background decorative elements. For one excerpt, waves are depicted across the paper surface, added not by brush, but by mica wood-block printing, mimicking a technique that was characteristic of imported Chinese paper (*karagami*) during the Heian period.

As a result of the sequential crafting, the paper was transformed into a ground rich with its own semantic charge. Most of its forms oscillate between abstraction and representation, always ready to be imagined into a motif. Visually, the crafted profusion of the surface is disciplined by the downward movement of the calligraphy and the leftward progression of the columns; in other words, once the beholder observes the protocols of reading, the dyed ground, sprinkled foil, and painted motifs no longer appear to be elements of an aimless, unanchored visual field. There are two ways to consider the extent to which the decoration *means* in this context. On the one hand, the decoration itself need not be assigned any narrative role whatsoever. Just as the elaborate ornamentation (*shōgorō*) of the paper ground in Heian-period sutra scrolls was generally meant to celebrate the Buddha's teachings and accrue merit for patrons, but without being charged with any specific religious significance, the decoration of the *Genji Scrolls* excerpts can simply reflect the status of the text, the project, and its courtly patrons. On the other hand, certain background motifs bear too directly on the narrative content of the inscriptions to be accidental. The grasses at the bottom of the "Suzumushi I" excerpt, to cite a previously mentioned example, visually echo the autumnal wilderness garden that Genji designs for the Third Princess, which, in turn, serves as the backdrop for the inscribed passage. While the grasses in this passage are illustrative, motifs in other excerpts appear to signify in more complex ways.

A passage from "Minori" provides one instance of this complexity. On the first sheet of the excerpt, designs of butterflies, whirls (*tomoe*), and seaweed roundels (*miru*) were stenciled onto the paper on the upper and lower portions of the left side (plate 3).²⁸ These motifs are unique to the *Genji Scrolls*. As Egami Yasushi has argued, the trio, in combination with a plum-petal design stenciled just underneath the upside-down butterfly, forms the rebus sentence "Unable even to look" (*miru koto mo ezū*).²⁹ Egami speculates that this phrase refers to Murasaki's state of mind after preemptive funerary services had been held for her and she no longer has the strength of body or will to view the festivities, as elegant as they may be.³⁰ Although the interpretation of these motifs as a rebus is not definitive, neither is it implausible, given the popularity during this period of the practice of "reed writing" (*ashidō*), the embedding of Japanese *kana*

characters within a landscape.³¹ Another manner in which this grouping of motifs may refer to the inscribed passage, however, is through visual allusion, with the whirls invoking the patterns of the large *bugaku* drums (*dadaiko*) and the butterflies of one of the *bugaku* dances performed as part of the festivities.

The selective valency of the decoration suggests that it functions in a manner analogous to a cinematic score. While it literally and figuratively lurks in the background of the inscribed narrative, on occasion it is called on to play an active role in signification and even in the promulgation of the narrative.³² Its primary contribution, however, is to establish the dominant interpretive mood or tenor of a given passage. In this sense, paper decoration may be understood as paradigetic: pertaining to the narrative only as a necessary supplement, often camouflaging its complementarity with obvious visual exuberance.

PAINTINGS

The paintings in the *Genji Scrolls* are often described as classic examples of *Yamato-e*, which, in turn, has been commonly understood as an indigenous mode of painting that achieved maturity during the Heian and Kamakura (1183–1333) periods. In this case, however, the label is almost meaningless. The term *Yamato-e*, along with its lexical companion *Karai-e*, was used in early Japan to refer to large-scale landscape paintings executed on wall or sliding-door panels and folding screens. Rather than style, it designated subject matter; the visual differentiation between a Japanese and a Chinese landscape had more to do with the types of buildings and figures depicted than with the modes of brushwork or the materials used. The designation of a scene as either Japanese or Chinese determined the contexts in which it was displayed and allowed viewers to engage it with the proper types of poetry, to be either recited in its presence or inscribed on square poetry sheets (*shikishi*) and pasted onto its surface.³³

For small-scale paintings, such as those found in the *Genji Scrolls*, the term "women's picture" (*onna-e*) is more appropriate. The precise meaning of *onna-e* is the subject of much debate and merits sustained examination in its own right.³⁴ According to Ikeda Shinobu, the term first appeared in the tenth century and designated simple sketches of figural groups in various arrangements, executed by amateur female courtiers or ladies-in-waiting.³⁵ Furthermore, as Melissa McCormick argues, these figural works were based on an

essentially projective aesthetics according to which a range of narrative vignettes were imagined onto generic configurations.³⁶ It should be noted that despite the label, women's pictures were not by any means limited to female artists or to an exclusively female audience. Much like their corresponding designations ("women's hand" and "men's hand") in calligraphy, the terms "women's picture" and "men's picture" (*otoko-e*) were not based on a simplistic gender dimorphism or practiced exclusively by one or the other sex.³⁷ Rather, the gender adjectives were meant to invoke modes of representation that were deemed appropriate for different spaces of social life at court and consequently elicited different kinds of viewer interaction. Men's pictures were better suited to illustrate satiric, miraculous, or historical narratives, whereas women's pictures accompanied poetry-driven texts of courtly fiction.³⁸ In this sense, their generic quality suited their function well, since it allowed them to accommodate the widest possible range of imposed scenarios. The pictorial qualities of the *Genji Scrolls*, particularly the compositions and figures, should be understood as evolving from this early tradition of undercrafted drawings from the salons of female courtiers and ladies-in-waiting.

Unfortunately, examples from the *onna-e* tradition in its early phase, the tenth and early eleventh centuries, have not survived. Approximations of its characteristics can be discerned from a late-eleventh-century *Lotus Sutra* booklet with decorative underdrawings that recall the mode.³⁹ Each of the drawings depicts a simple arrangement of one or several courtiers in a genre scene. One image, for example, portrays two female courtiers on a veranda overlooking a garden of pampas grass and maiden flowers; the woman on the right appears to be weeping, while the woman on the left stares at a waterfall. In another drawing, a male courtier sits and weeps in a rice field while a mysterious female presence lurks to the right. The mostly monochromatic rendering and simple, abbreviated brushwork hark back to the nonprofessional roots of women's pictures. A particularly rich trove of *onna-e* compositional templates is preserved in the *Senmen hokekyō* (*Lotus Sutra Inscribed on Fans*, 1152) (figure 6).⁴⁰ The paintings depict a broad spectrum of genre scenes from courtier life—writing lessons, encounters, annual observances, seasonal appreciations, and otherwise unidentifiable figural imagery—many of which emerged from practices associated with women's pictures. Yet the *Lotus Sutra Inscribed on Fans* and the *Genji Scrolls*, which dates to just a few years earlier, are highly polished works, clearly products of the leading imperial painting studios of the day. By this time, the *onna-e* mode had come to be executed by professional artisans as well as amateur

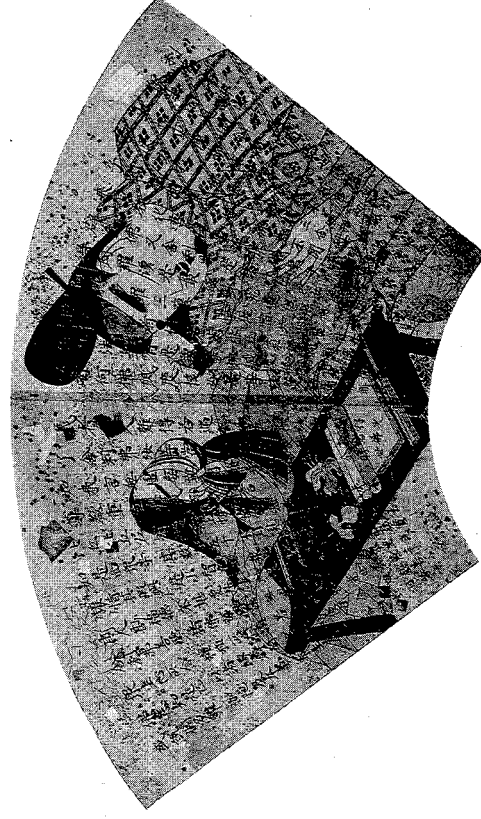


FIGURE 6 *Senmen hokekyō* (*Lotus Sutra Inscribed on Fans*, 1152). (Shitennō-ji, Osaka)

painters.⁴¹ For the *Genji Scrolls*, these artisans took preexisting, generic scenes of courtier life and applied them to the task of pictorializing specific vignettes from *The Tale of Genji* (figure 7). The majority of these compositions are of either indoor or veranda scenes, and some—for example, “Kashiwagi II” and “Yokobue”—employ the same basic template for the staging of different episodes.

Familiarity with elite residential architecture of the Heian period considerably enhances the legibility of the compositions. Although the

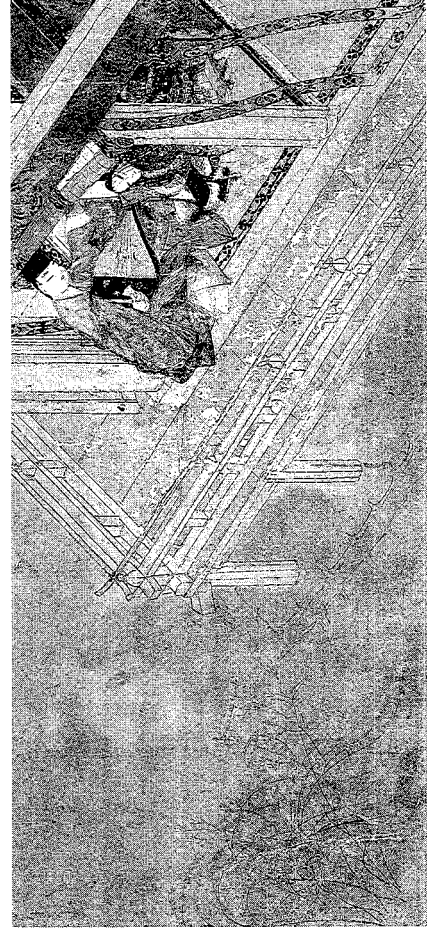


FIGURE 7 “Yadorigi III” (The Ivy), in *Genji Scrolls*. (Tokugawa Reimeikai, Tokyo)



FIGURE 8 "Kashiwagi I" (The Oak Tree), in *Genji Scrolls*. (Gotoh Museum, Tokyo)

settings differ, their scenography is part of the same archetypal aristocratic residence (*shinden*)—with a central room (*moya*), an outer corridor (*hisashi*) that wraps around it (sometimes surrounded by a second outer corridor [*magobisashi*]), and finally a veranda. During the Heian period, these southward-facing buildings opened onto a courtyard and were connected to one another by passageways to form the core of the *shinden zukuri*, a shoehorn-like complex that surrounded gardens, streams, and artificial lakes.⁴² Of the twenty surviving paintings from the *Genji Scrolls*, seventeen are staged either in the outer corridor or on the veranda of such a residence. These zones are separated from each other by sliding-door panels and bamboo blinds. In the outer corridor, however, because there were no fixed partitions, space could be divided in a fluid manner. Private cells could be quickly assembled and disassembled by arranging tatami mats, standing silk curtains, and painted folding screens in the appropriate manner. Paintings of indoor scenes depict them from an aerial perspective of modest elevation, famously "blowing off" the roofs (*fukinuki yatai*) and the architectural cross-beams to provide unobstructed views of the interior.⁴³ As in "Kashiwagi I," such a perspective can result in a highly chaotic composition, with the lines formed by the floor beams, tatami mats, and standing curtains criss-crossing one another at a variety of angles (figure 8).

The painters of the *Genji Scrolls* were skilled at manipulating the various vectors and directional axes that result from aerial perspectives of the built environment to create finely calibrated diagrams of interpersonal relations. Thus in "Kashiwagi I," although the Third Princess and Retired

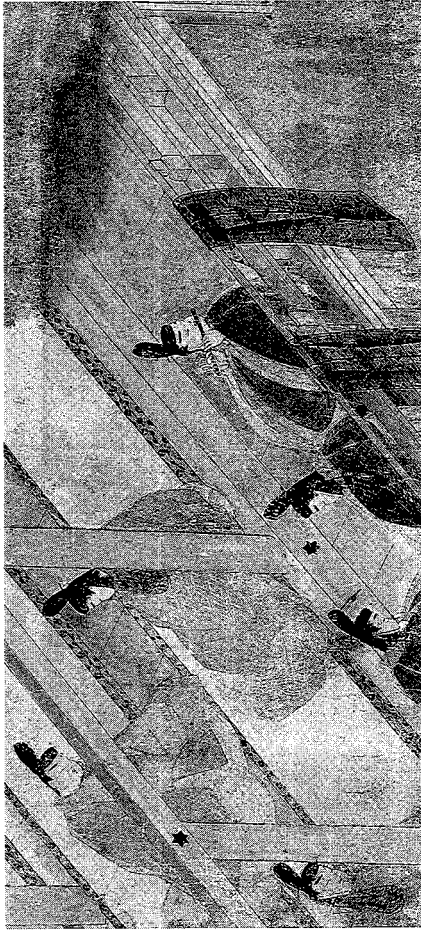


FIGURE 9 "Suzumushi II," in *Genji Scrolls*. (Gotoh Museum, Tokyo)

Emperor Suzaku-in face each other at the left to form a spatial cell within the painting, Genji is only half-included and, in fact, appears in danger of bifurcation by the standing curtain behind him. Two further curtains block off the remaining ladies-in-waiting to the right, although they are still visible to the beholder; a visual reminder of how the *Genji* narrative is always mediated by these ghostly presences. The tangle and disarray of the curtain ribbons provide further clues to the degree of tension and regret suffusing the scene. Other examples of the skillful use of architectural vectors to choreograph the representation of interpersonal relations can be found in "Suzumushi II," where Genji and his estranged son, Emperor Reizei-in, are separated from each other by a cross-beam (figure 9), and in "Yokobue," where Yūgiri is blocked (and curtailed) off from the space inhabited by his wife, Kumoinokari, and her ladies-in-waiting by a pillar of the central room (plate 4).⁴⁴

The *Genji Scrolls* was painted according to the constructed picture (*tsukuri-e*) mode, common to polychromatic narrative works produced at court.⁴⁵ It involved a three-stage process. In the first stage, the underdrawing of the composition (including figures) was applied with ink, along with instructions for coloration; the lead painter of the studio was responsible for this stage and was referred to in period documents as the "[master] ink draftsman" (*sumigaki*).⁴⁶ The underdrawings and markings exposed through damage in "Suzumushi I" demonstrate that revisions could be made at the stage when the initial compositional drawings were still being determined (figure 10). The lines of the architectural beams, for example,

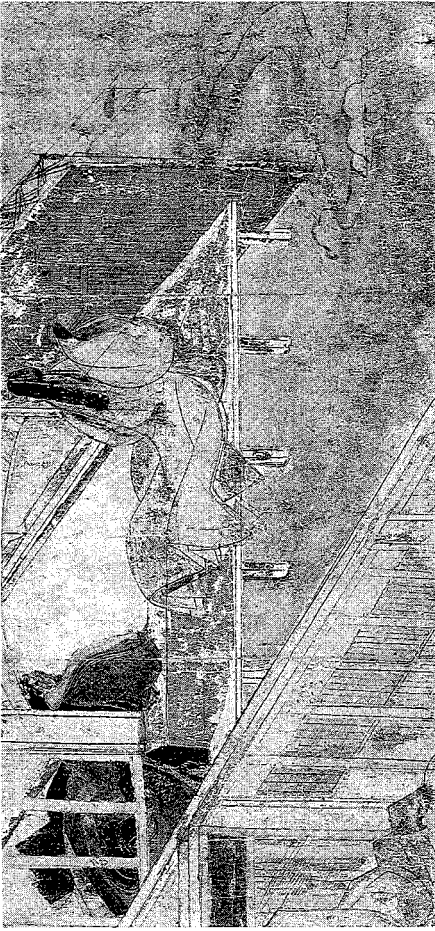


FIGURE 10 "Suzumushi I," in *Genji Scrolls*. (Gotoh Museum, Tokyo)

originally extended farther into the garden but were later shortened. It is likely that such revisions were made in consultation with the project coordinators.

The second stage involved applying color to the underdrawing.⁴⁷ While sometimes this was done by the *sumigaki* himself, at other times it was handled by studio assistants. The markings that are revealed by damage in "Suzumushi I"—the words *yarimisu* (stream), *kitefu* (standing curtain), *nawa* (garden), *sesai* (weeds), *tsumato* (door), and *tatami* (mat)—were instructions for the colorists; the motifs so named are stock ones with standard color applications, thus requiring no more than an indication of what the object is.⁴⁸ Many compositional revisions could take place during this phase as well. Through X-ray photography, for example, it was discovered that Yūgiri's figure in "Kashiwagi II" was diminished in size and the bamboo blind was raised, so the dying Kashiwagi would not appear dwarfed by the elements around him. The adjustments to Yūgiri were made by painting in the curtain and tatami areas around him. X-ray photography also has revealed that faces were frequently reduced in size by painting in the surrounding area after the initial color was applied.⁴⁹ The most dramatic instance of *pentimenti* in the *Genji Scrolls* is found in "Kashiwagi III," a scene in which Genji is depicted holding the baby Kaoru, born as a result of the Third Princess's affair with Kashiwagi, on the fiftieth-day celebration (*ikaga*) of Kaoru's birth (figure 11). The accompanying excerpt describes the shining prince's ambivalent feelings as he holds the innocent and playful Kaoru. Once again, X-ray photography



FIGURE 11 "Kashiwagi III," in *Genji Scrolls*. (Tokugawa Reimeikai, Tokyo)

revealed that the baby was originally portrayed with both arms stretched out toward Genji and that they were later painted over. Kaoru's outstretched arms are not mentioned in the text, but appear to resonate with his general description as "[smiling] winningly when Genji took him in his arms."⁵⁰ The elimination of the outstretched arms, however, allows the viewer to focus more intensively on Genji's interiority. Ironically, the excerpt states that "Genji's face betrayed none of these thoughts."⁵¹

In the final stage of the *tsukuri-e* process, the *sumigaki* rebrushed the compositional lines and details that had been effaced during the coloration. The skill of the master draftsman is most evident in the faces. Although on first glance they appear highly schematic, features such as the eyebrows in fact consist of multiple lines of remarkably thin brushstrokes drawn one on top of another. And whereas numerous conventions are mobilized—most famously, the "hook nose" and "line eyes" (*hikime kagihana*)—each one is subtly individuated through differences in the drawing of the eyes and the angle of the head. The eyes themselves vary subtly to reveal characters in different states of viewing, listening, and reflecting. Some are shown clearly in the act of looking or reading, such as Yūgiri holding a letter from Miyasudokoro in the chapter that bears his name (Evening Mist) and Ukifune viewing paintings to comfort herself after Niou's indiscretion in "Azumaya I" (The Eastern Cottage I). The eyes that consist of only a line are depicted that way for a specific reason, whether it is Kashiwagi on his deathbed in "Kashiwagi II" or Suzaku-in weeping over his daughter's tonsure in "Kashiwagi I." The most remarkable eyes,

however, are those that are assigned the difficult task of conveying the acts of looking and thinking simultaneously, such as Genji holding the illegitimate child Kaoru on the celebration of his fiftieth day after birth in "Kashiwagi III." In this painting, the eye lines of the downward-gazing Genji swell just enough to convey both his interlocking gaze with Kaoru and the interiority of his monologue, which occupies a significant portion of the accompanying excerpt.⁵² At its most successful, then, the *tsukuri-e* process achieves an ideal balance among the roles of painting, excerpt, and viewer in the realization of a given representation. In judging the nature of these roles, furthermore, it is helpful to think of the paintings as the result of a series of decisions made in order to complement or stage the scene chosen for the excerpt.⁵³

"Yokobue" demonstrates how a painting can be carefully coordinated with its accompanying excerpt, calligraphy, and paper decoration. As discussed earlier, the excerpt begins precisely at the moment when Yūgiri has been awakened from a disturbing dream by his crying baby. He investigates the situation and stumbles onto a chaotic scene in which his wife, Kumoinokari, the nursemaid, and several attendants are attempting to pacify the baby by breastfeeding it. Kumoinokari chastises Yūgiri for having stayed out late and let in the evil spirits (*mono no ke*) to which the infant's disturbance is attributed. Yūgiri makes light of her remarks, but the sequence ends with the comment that despite her disheveled state, Kumoinokari is "not at all unattractive." By closing with this observation, the excerpt has effectively turned her into the protagonist of this vignette. Both the calligraphy and the paper decoration contribute to the sense of drive toward this moment of closure and centering: the calligraphy switches from an even pacing into the tangled-writing mode in the final lines, while the light-violet clouds of the decorated first sheet darken into brooding, purple patches of brush-dyed color in the second. The painting is carefully calibrated to correspond to these features of the calligraphy and paper ornamentation (plate 4). It is clear from its scenography that the domestic conditions of Yūgiri's household are imagined with a great deal of empathy for his wife. The composition unambiguously centers Kumoinokari by placing her at the apex of an implied triangle, its centripetality enhanced by the sight lines of all the figures. The curtain and bamboo blinds of the central room are raised and the lamp stand is placed in front, as though to emphasize that the viewer is being provided a privileged glimpse of an enshrined heroine. The representation of Kumoinokari in a state of dishevelment (with her hair behind one ear) and in the midst of breastfeeding reinforces the

theme of the vignette, that she is radiant despite the pandemonium in which she finds herself. Depictions of aristocratic women in this state of domesticity were rare in early Japan. Most representations of breast-feeding women, for example, are of villagers, often stock characters amid the backgrounds of narrative painting scrolls.⁵⁴ The decision to excerpt this passage from the "Yokobue" chapter, therefore, had to do with both the strong empathy its creators felt for the neglected wife of Yūgiri, a decidedly minor character in the overall tale, and the opportunity it afforded to dress down a woman of the aristocracy in this manner. The visual transgression of "Yokobue" would have been immediately apparent to its first viewers and acknowledged as a sophisticated variation on pictorial convention.

Yūgiri, meanwhile, is cut off from Kumoinokari by a pillar and otherwise marginalized from the space of the household women. The sliding-door panel at the left is slightly ajar to indicate his arrival just moments earlier, but it also resonates with Kumoinokari's claim that Yūgiri's late return allowed evil spirits into the household. This accusation is saturated with double meaning, for it also suggests that his late-night escapades have made her jealous; Yūgiri does not grasp this semantic echo ("I make a strange guide for such spirits"), but the painting is at pains to visualize it, with the door ajar and the forbidding landscape depicted on the panels, suggesting the Ono Hills, from where Yūgiri returned that evening. Another possible interpretation of this motif is the one that takes literally Kumoinokari's words and interprets the *mono no ke* that has been let in as the ghost of Kashiwagi, who has just appeared in Yūgiri's dream to demand the return of his flute. The dream has been purposefully bracketed off from the excerpt, but the aware reader-viewer will recognize its aftermath in the painting: the open door, the screaming baby, the scattered rice. Thus the dream and the flute, the most dramatic episode and most important motif of the "Yūgiri" chapter, are in fact embedded in the painting and the excerpt through their absences, but with traces legible to the informed observer. In this way, the different interpretive possibilities of its carefully chosen motifs depend on the degree of familiarity the audience brings to it.



As witnessed in "Yokobue," the close coordination among the various elements of the *Genji Scrolls*—text, calligraphy, paper decoration, and painting—ultimately reflects the aesthetic supervision of the five or so

directors who shared oversight of its production. They were drawn from the critical mass of erudite ladies-in-waiting and learned middle-level courtiers who sustained the large-scale cultural projects of the late Heian period. The differences in patterns of decision making reflected in the important portions of the *Genji Scrolls*, therefore, can be attributed to the distinct sensibilities and sensitivities that each of these cultural facilitators brought to *The Tale of Genji*. An awareness of the polysemy of the *Genji Scrolls* complicates assertions of a unified agenda of interpretation, but also points to the fact that the multivocality of large-scale cultural projects at the early court were structurally enabled through the widespread practice of *awase* (matches). Whether involving the mixing and matching of poetry, things (*mono*), or interpretations through lectures on such texts as the *Lotus Sutra*, the practice of *awase* transformed cultural reproduction into a series of highly performative events.⁵⁵ The governing aesthetic expectation of such events was that they generate a creative internal tension based on the different ways in which its participants presented and reproduced received cultural forms. This narcissism of small differences applied to discrepancies both within a match and between a given *awase* and its predecessors.

Practices of mixing and matching were also the driving force behind the generation of luxury versions of classical texts. The *Sanjūrokunin shū* (*The Collection of Thirty-Six Poets*, 1112), based on the famous selection made by Fujiwara no Kintō (966–1041), consisted of hundreds of decorated sheets (originally thirty-nine booklets) of poetry inscribed by twenty courtiers.⁵⁶ The *Kunōji Sutra*, a decorated version of the *Lotus Sutra* overseen primarily by Imperial Consort Taikenmon'in and her entourage in 1141, originally consisted of thirty scrolls, each of which was supervised by a different individual.⁵⁷ The *Genji Scrolls* was similarly the result of group involvement; if the word “competition” is too strong to characterize the conditions under which it was brought into existence, at the very least it was viewed with the expectation that it would reflect the different representational preferences of its managers. In this sense, it epitomizes as well as any other surviving artifact the particular conditions that governed cultural production at the highest levels of the late Heian court: created by fiat, within a highly centralized sociopolitical environment, but also by committee, in order to guarantee a productive cacophony of interpretation. In the *Tale of Genji Scrolls*, the result was a remarkable estrangement of *The Tale of Genji* from itself during the process of its own reincarnation, one of many reincarnations to come.

NOTES

1. The literature on the *Genji Scrolls* is so extensive that only a sample of the major studies and exhibition catalogues can be listed here: Akiyama Terukazu, *Heian jidai se-zokuga no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1964), and *Genji monogatari emaki*, Shinshū Nihon emakimono zenshū 1 (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1975); Komatsu Shigemi, ed., *Genji monogatari emaki*, *Nezame monogatari emaki*, *Nihon emaki taisei* 1 (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1972), and *Genji monogatari emaki*, *Nezame monogatari emaki*, *Nihon no emaki* 1 (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1987); Gotoh Museum, ed., *Kokuhō Genji monogatari emaki: Takayoshi Genji no subete* (Tokyo: Gotoh Museum, 1990), and *Kokuhō Genji monogatari emaki* (Tokyo: Gotoh Museum, 2000); Sano Midori, ed., *Genji monogatari emaki*, *Shimpen meihō Nihon no bijutsu* 10 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1991), and *Jikkuri mitai Genji monogatari emaki* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2000); and Tokugawa Art Museum, ed., *Genji monogatari emaki* (Nagoya: Tokugawa Art Museum, 1995).
2. The paintings were attributed to either the court painter Fujiwara Takayoshi (1125?–1174?) or his son Takachika, while the calligrapher was designated as Fujiwara (Senji) Korefusa (1030–1096), Priest Jakuren (1143?–1202), or Asukai Masatsune (1170–1221). These attributions can be witnessed in the various authentication texts (*kiwamegaki*) and labels (*kiwamefuda*) that accompany the surviving portions of the *Genji Scrolls* in both the Tokugawa and Gotoh Museums. They are transcribed by Tokugawa Yoshinobu in “*Genji monogatari emaki ni tsuite*,” in Tokugawa Art Museum, ed., *Genji monogatari emaki*, pp. 147–151. See also the discussion of the Edo-period authenticators of the *Genji Scrolls* in Gotoh Museum, ed., *Kokuhō Genji*, pp. 193–197.
3. This “system” is described in Yukio Lippit, “The Birth of Japanese Painting History: Kano Artists, Authors, and Authenticators of the Seventeenth Century” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2003), chap. 3.
4. The exception here is one line of inquiry concerning the possible female authorship of the *Genji Scrolls*. This question was first raised by Tanaka Kisaku in “Takayoshi Genji ni kakaru ni, san no mondai,” *Bijutsu kenkyū* 130 (1943): 10–11. In this article, Tanaka introduces a diary reference to a painting studio run by court ladies-in-waiting (*nyōbō edokoro*). Akiyama Terukazu discusses the potential involvement of two ladies-in-waiting of the period, Tosa no Tsubone and Kii no Tsubone, in the production of the *Genji Scrolls* in “Inseiki ni okeru nyōbō no kaiga seisaku: Tosa no Tsubone to Kii no Tsubone,” in Ienaga Saburō kyōju Tokyō Kyōiku Daigaku taikan kinen ronshū kankō inkai, 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. Most recently, the question of the female authorship of the *Genji Scrolls* has been addressed in Minamoto Fumie, *Dare ga Genji monogatari emaki wo kaita ka* (Tokyo: Sōshisha, 2004).

5. The classic statement of this position is Inaga Keiji, "Genji higishō fusai" no kana chinjō," *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 40, no. 6 (1964): 22–31. Subsequently, its most vigorous proponent has been Tokugawa Yoshinobu, "Genji monogatari emaki no seiritsu, denrai, mōsha hozon," in *Kokuhō Genji monogatari emaki* (Nagoya: Tokugawa Art Museum, 1978), pp. 79–92, and "Genji monogatari emaki ni tsuite." Although too lengthy to describe in detail here, Tokugawa's reasoning is closely linked to the idea that the *Genji Scrolls* originally consisted of twenty scrolls.
6. Entry of 119.11.27, in Minamoto no Morotoki, *Chōshūki*, in Zōho Shiryō taisei kenkyūkai, ed., *Zōho shiryō taisei* (Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 1965), vol. 16, pp. 183–184. Morotoki received the orders at the retired emperor's Sanjō Nishi Palace through Minamoto no Arihito.
7. Mitamura Masako and Mitani Kunio have elaborated on this scenario and interpreted the *Genji Scrolls* (or, at the minimum, one sequence of paintings therein) as a pictorial allegory of the highly charged court intrigues and political contingencies of Morotoki's circle around 1120 in *Genji monogatari emaki no nazo o yomitoku* (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1998). This allegorical reading is the most sustained and significant contextualization of the *Genji Scrolls* ever attempted and, as such, deserves serious consideration. The basic thrust of Mitamura and Mitani's thesis is as follows: the *Genji Scrolls* represents a gift from Retired Emperor Shirakawa to Taikenmon'in on the birth of her son Sutoku in 1119. Two of its artistic supervisors, Morotoki and Minamoto no Arihito (1103–1147), through the section of the *Genji Scrolls* they were overseeing, interpreted *The Tale of Genji* in such a way as to appease the angry spirit (*onryō*) of Minamoto no Sukehito (d. 1119), an imperial prince and Shirakawa's lifelong rival, whose ambitions for imperial succession had been thwarted through the birth of Sutoku and left unfulfilled upon his death. All those proposed as having been involved in the making of the *Genji Scrolls* had a stake in this interpretation, for Shirakawa and Taikenmon'in wanted to avoid being the targets of the revenge of Sukehito's wrathful spirit, while Morotoki had been a close friend of the deceased. Arihito, meanwhile, was the son of Sukehito and viewed by many as a kind of reincarnation of Genji himself, a talented and handsome courtier to whom imperial succession was foreclosed as a career path. The tense dynamic among all these parties (both dead and alive) explains certain editorial decisions and the representation of the "Kashiwagi group" of chapters in the *Genji Scrolls*. This argument was subsequently elaborated on in Inamoto Mariko, "Kaoru no tanjō: *Genji monogatari emaki* Kashiwagi: Minori dan no jōkei sentaku saikō," in Kuge Hirotochi, ed., *Genji monogatari emaki to sono shūhen* (Tokyo: Shintensha, 2001), pp. 34–56. Despite the erudition and imagination with which it is argued, however, Mitamura and Mitani's thesis requires further consideration, for reasons discussed later in this chapter.
8. Yotsuji Hideki, "Genji monogatari emaki no kotobagaki ryōshi ni mirareru sōshoku ni tsuite," *Kinko sōsho* 16 (1989): 279–295; Egami Yasushi, "Genji monogatari emaki no ryōshi sōshoku to Genji monogatari honbun," *Sophia International Review* 19 (1997): 1–29, and *Ryōshi sōshoku, haku chirashi*, Nihon no bijutsu 397 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1999).

9. On the painting, see Akiyama Terukazu, "Genji monogatari emaki ni tsuite no shin-chiken," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 174 (1954), and "Genji monogatari emaki no kōsei to gihō," in *Heian jidai sezokuga no kenkyū*, pp. 213–264. For the dating of the calligraphy, see Minamoto Toyomune, "Genji monogatari emaki ni tsuite (jō)," *Hōun* 24 (1939), in *Yamato-e no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1976), pp. 119–162; Komatsu Shigemitsu, "Genji monogatari emaki no seiritsu," in Komatsu, ed., *Genji monogatari emaki, Nezame monogatari emaki*, Nihon no emaki 1, pp. 114–128; and Nagoya Akira, "Takayoshi Genji" to jūniseiki no kohitsu," in Kohitsugaku kenkyūjo, ed., *Kohitsu to emaki*, Kohitsugaku sōrin 4 (Tokyo: Yagi shoten, 1994), pp. 21–44. For a detailed study of the architecture, furniture, and clothing, see Suzuki Keizō, *Shoki emakimono no fuzokushiteki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1960), pp. 5–87.
10. The fluid circulation of multiple *Genji* manuscripts simultaneously in Murasaki Shikibu's own time is described in Haruo Shirane, *The Bridge of Dreams: A Poetics of The Tale of Genji* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), p. 225.
11. Nakamura Yoshio, "Genji monogatari emaki no kotobagaki," in *Emakimono kotobagaki no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kadokawa, 1982), pp. 1–87.
12. These albums were known as *tekagami* (calligraphy mirrors)—that is, albums that reflected the exemplary writing of past ages. For the history of these albums, see Kinoshita Masao, *Tekagami*, Nihon no bijutsu 84 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1973), pp. 19–29.
13. It is instructive to analyze each of the excerpts from this perspective. Some of them, such as "Takekawa II" (Bamboo River II), appear to cram the spacing of its calligraphy to fit the passage into the assigned number of sheets, while "Hashihime" (The Maiden of the Bridge) does the opposite in order to employ its third sheet, which bears only two columns of calligraphy. In "Azumaya I" (The Eastern Cottage I), the calligrapher condenses the writing but ends up with almost half the final sheet uninscribed, suggesting a lack of experience for this type of task.
14. On the history of the *Genji* album, see Melissa McCormick, "Genji Goes West: The 1510 Harvard *Genji* Album and the Visualization of Court and Capital," *Art Bulletin* 85, no. 1 (2003): 54–85.
15. On the "Osaka manual," see Katakiri Yoichi, *Genji monogatari ekotoba: Honkoku to kaisetsu* (Nagoya: Daigakudō shoten, 1983), and Miyeko Murase, *Iconography of The Tale of Genji: Genji monogatari emaki* (New York: Weatherhill, 1983).
16. Scene selection in the *Genji Scrolls* has been discussed in Horiuchi Yuko, "Monogatari no kaigaku: *Genji monogatari emaki* ni okeru kaigaku no hōhō," in Akiyama Terukazu hakase koki kinen ronbunshū kankōkai, ed., *Akiyama Terukazu hakase koki kinen bijutsushi ronbunshū* (Tokyo: Benridō, 1991), pp. 169–200. A recent study comparing the excerpts to the main *Genji* text is Yanagimachi Tokitoshi, "Genji monogatari emaki no kotobagaki," in Kuge, ed., *Genji monogatari emaki to sono shūhen*, pp. 57–78.
17. This movement is most succinctly described by Shirane, who discusses their "parallel segmentation": "Instead of being temporally continuous or causally linked, the . . . narrative blocks function like panels on a Heian screen painting, as spatially juxtaposed scenes." Shirane further describes the *Genji* as based not on "monocentric unity

(vertical extension) but constant digression. . . . Instead of moving toward a climax, peripeteia, and resolution, Murasaki Shikibu continually augmented and amplified her narrative in a semicircular motion" (*Bridge of Dreams*, pp. 56–57).

18. On calligraphy in the *Genji Scrolls*, see Minamoto Toyomune, "Genji monogatari e," in *Yamato-e no kenkyū*, pp. 1–32; Komatsu Shigemi, "Genji monogatari emaki kotobagaki 'Hotaru' dankan no shinshakken wo megutte," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 209 (1960): 20–34, and "Genji monogatari emaki kotobagaki no seiritsu," in Komatsu, ed., *Genji monogatari emaki. Nezame monogatari emaki*, Nihon no emaki 1, pp. 114–128; Tokugawa Yoshinobu, "Genji monogatari emaki shōfū dai ichirui" dankan: 'Maboroshi no dankan ka,'" *Kinko sōsho* 3 (1976); and Nagoya Akira, "'Takayoshi Genji' no kotobagaki to juniseiki no kohitsu," in Kohitsugaku kenkyūjo, ed., *Kohitsu to emaki*, pp. 45–64.
19. A social history of Heian calligraphy has yet to be written, although the raw material for doing so can be found in ambitious stylistic histories such as Komatsu Shigemi, *Nihon shōryū zenshi* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1970). My understanding of the calligraphic culture of this period has benefited from a reading of John Carpenter, "Fujiwara no Yukinari and the Development of Heian Court Calligraphy" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1997), and Thomas LaMarre, *Uncovering Heian Japan: An Archaeology of Sensation and Inscription* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2000). For a discussion of the symbolic capital of court calligraphy in the later medieval period, see McCormick, "Genji Goes West."
20. The first to do so was Komatsu, in "Genji monogatari emaki kotobagaki 'Hotaru' dankan."
21. For a brief account of the practice of the *kechien-kyō*, see Willa J. Tanabe, *Paintings of the Lotus Sutra* (New York: Weatherhill, 1988), pp. 46–47.
22. For a group-sponsored *Lotus Sutra* of 1002, for example, Emperor Ichijō inscribed fascicles 1 and 8; Prince Atsumichi, 2 and 5; Fujiwara Yukinari, 3 and 6; and Fujiwara Michinaga, 4 and 7. See Sano, *Ikkuri mitai Genji monogatari emaki*, p. 88.
23. A *Lotus Sutra* set dated to 1141 known as the *Kuno-ji Sutra* (*Kunōji-kyō*) offers a case study for the distribution of calligraphic assignments that is contemporary to the *Genji Scrolls*. See Gotoh Museum, ed., *Kunoji-kyō to Kōkyōrō* (Tokyo: Gotoh Museum, 1991), and Komatsu Shigemi, "Taikenmon'in to Kunōji-kyō," in *Kohitsu to shakkyō* (Tokyo: Yagi shoten, 1989), pp. 67–169.
24. The poem, recited by Genji, caps a somber passage that occurs at the point in the tale when Genji's wife, Onna san no miya, or the Third Princess, has taken vows after the death of Kashiwagi, with whom she had an affair. Genji is upset by her decision to become a nun but nevertheless aids in the preparation of her chapel and designs a rustic autumn garden, complete with the autumn crickets that provide the chapter with its title: "Suzumushi" (The Bell Cricket). The excerpt describes a mid-autumn visit by Genji to the Third Princess at her residence, where they exchange poetry against the backdrop of the bell crickets' autumnal chirping.
25. This technique was first analyzed in-depth in Yoshiaki Shimizu, "The Rite of Writing: Thoughts on the Oldest Genji Text," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 16 (1988): 54–63. For an intriguing comparative case in Chinese calligraphy, see Eugene Y. Wang, "The

Taming of the Shrew: Wang Hsi-chi (363–361) and Calligraphic Gentrification in the Seventh Century," in Cary Y. Liu, Dora C. Y. Ching, and Judith G. Smith, eds., *Character and Context in Chinese Calligraphy* (Princeton: Art Museum, Princeton University, 1999), pp. 132–173.

26. The term "Kashiwagi group" was coined by Akiyama, in *Heian jūdai sezokuga no kenkyū*, pp. 266–268.
27. Only recently have focused studies of the history of early paper decoration begun to appear, including Helen Alt, "Heian juniseiki no ryōshi sōshoku ni okeru haku chirashi," *Kobijutsu* 83 (1987): 44–63, and Egami Yasushi, *Sōshokukyō*, Nihon no bijutsu 278 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1989), and *Ryōshi sōshoku, haku chirashi*. Concerning the paper decoration of the *Genji Scrolls*, a classic article is Itō Teiji, "Shōfū to ryōshi ni tsuite," in Akiyama, ed., *Genji monogatari emaki*, pp. 18–34; an updated stylistic assessment can be found in Yotsuji, "Genji monogatari emaki no kotobagaki ryōshi ni mirareru sōshoku ni tsuite," 279–295, while a new approach that ties decoration to meaning is proposed in Egami, "Genji monogatari emaki no ryōshi sōshoku to Genji monogatari honbun."
28. The lower butterfly motif, however, appears to be the cut out inner portion of a stencil itself that has been pasted onto the paper.
29. The rebus operates as follows: *miru* = seaweed roundel, *tefuko* = butterfly (reversal of *kotefu* or *kochō* because the butterfly is upside down), *tomoe* = whirl pattern, and *zu* = round bead (circular plum-petal pattern).
30. Egami, "Genji monogatari emaki no ryōshi sōshoku to Genji monogatari honbun," pp. 13–14.
31. Joshua Mostow, "Painted Poems. Forgiven Words: Poem-Pictures and Classical Japanese Literature," *Monumenta Nipponica* 47, no. 3 (1992): 341–344.
32. Although it is tempting to understand the paper decoration only in relation to the calligraphy, it is more properly assessed in triangular relation to both the calligraphy and the painting. Thus visual echoes of elements in a given painting often are found in the decoration of its companion excerpt, such as the first sheet of "Suzumushi I," in which the strong diagonal rhymes with the angle of the veranda in the companion painting.
33. Because the subject matter of some landscapes (such as the Jingoji screens) was so ambiguous, one might go so far as to say that their subjects were determined only through acts of poetic engagement. There is an enormous literature on the historical nature of *Yamato-e* painting in early Japan, of which perhaps the most important study is Akiyama, *Heian jūdai sezokuga no kenkyū*, esp. pp. 1–66. An accessible, if dated, introduction to *Yamato-e* in English is Ienaga Saburo, *Painting in the Yamato Style* (New York: Weatherhill, 1973), also useful is Louisa McDonald Read, "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).
34. Tanaka Ichimatsu, "Otoko-e to onna-e," *Houn* 6 (1933): 75–94, in *Tanaka Ichimatsu kaigashū ronshū jōkan* (Tokyo: Chūōkōron bijutsu shuppan, 1985), pp. 86–102; Shirahata Yoshi, "Onna-e kō," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 132 (1944): 201–210, and "Onna-e hokō,"

Bukkyō geijutsu 35 (1958): 24–28; Minamoto Toyomune, “Onna-e: Yamato-e no seiritsu,” in *Kansai-gakuin daigaku bungakubu kinen ronbunshū* (Osaka: Kansai-gakuin daigaku, 1964), in *Yamato-e no kenkyū*, pp. 5–32; Tamagami Takiya, “Onna-e goi kō,” *Yamato bunka* 53 (1970); Read, “Masculine and Feminine Modes of Heian Secular Painting.”

35. Ikeda Shinobu also demonstrates that the category of “women’s pictures” was not necessarily conceived of in opposition to “men’s pictures,” which begins to appear consistently in the documentary record only some eighty years later (“Ochō monogatari-e” no seiritsu wo megutte: “Onna-e” kei monogatari-e no dentō wo kangaeru,” *Shiron* 37 [1984]: 31–48, and “Heian jidai monogatari-e no ichikōsatsu: ‘Onna-e’ kei monogatari-e no seiritsu to tenkai,” *Tetsugakkaishi* 9 [1985]: 37–61).
36. In a book currently in preparation (*White Lines: Gender, Authorship, and the Tradition of Hakubiyō Painting in Japan*), Melissa McCormick places them at the origin of a genealogy of “white-line drawing” (*hakubiyō*), associated with female amateurism at court throughout the Middle Ages.
37. Lamarre, *Uncovering Heian Japan*, pp. 107–113.
38. The most famous examples of “men’s pictures” from the Heian period include *Chōjū giga* (*Scroll of Frolicking Animals*), *Shigisan engi emaki* (*The Miraculous Origins of Mount Shigi*), and *Ban daimonon ekotoba* (*Major Councillor Ban*).
39. A total of six two-page underdrawings can be found in the booklet, which was originally part of a ten-booklet set illustrating the *Lotus Sutra*, with the opening and closing volumes illustrating the *Muryōgiyō* and *Fūgenkyō Sūtras*, respectively. It is currently in a Japanese private collection.
40. Akiyama Terukazu et al., *Senmen hokekyō no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kajima kenkyūjo shuppankai, 1972).
41. But these professional artisans were not necessarily exclusively male. In “Insei ki ni okeru nyōbō no kaiga seisaku,” Akiyama has noted the existence of a “painting studio of ladies-in-waiting” (*nyōbō edokoro*) during the reign of Taikenmon’in, and the possibility that members of this studio were among the painters responsible for the *Genji Scrolls*. See Graybill, “Women Painters at the Heian Court.”
42. For an in-depth study of architectural history in relation to *The Tale of Genji* and the *Genji Scrolls*, see Yasuhara Morihiko, *Genji monogatari kukan dokkai* (Tokyo: Kajima shuppankai, 2000).
43. Composition in the *Genji Scrolls* has been analyzed by Masako Watanabe, “Narrative Framing in Handscrolls and the *Tale of Genji Scrolls*” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1995), and “Narrative Framing in the *Tale of Genji Scroll*: Interior Space in the Compartmentalized *Emaki*,” *Artibus Asiae* 58, nos. 1–2 (1998): 115–146.
44. Important contributions to the study of viewing perspective and composition in the *Genji Scrolls* have been made by literature scholars, including Takahashi Toru, *Monogatari to e no enkinhō* (Tokyo: Perikansha, 1991), and Kuge Hirotoishi, *Genji monogatari emaki wo yomu: Monogatari-e no shikai* (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 1996).
45. The term *tsukuri-e* was already in use during the Heian period and, indeed, makes an appearance in *The Tale of Genji* itself. After Genji’s paintings executed in exile at

Suma have been appreciated at the picture contest, it is mentioned that the most accomplished painters at the time (Chieda and Tsunenori) should be summoned to apply color to them. From usages such as this one the painting process that involved a division of labor among the artists who did the underdrawing, coloring, and over-drawing (*kakiokoshi*) came to be referred to as *tsukuri-e*. It can be further observed that Genji’s drawings in exile must bear some resemblance to the “women’s picture” tradition. See Akiyama, *Heian jidai sezokuga no kenkyū*, pp. 93–104.

46. The word *sumigaki* appears occasionally in Heian-period sources such as the *Sankaiki* (*Diary of the Mountain Spirit*), in an entry (1184.8.22) describing the production of screens for the Daijō-e ritual during the reign of Emperor Gotoba. In explaining the division of labor among different painters, the term *sumigaki* is used for the lead painter responsible for the initial composition, while the colorists are listed under the word *tsukuri-e*. On occasion, however, the term *sumigaki* could refer to the underdrawing itself, as in *Fyōhanki* (entry of 1168.9.29). See Akiyama, *Heian jidai sezokuga no kenkyū*, pp. 93–104.
47. Knowledge of the materials employed in the *Genji Scrolls* has expanded dramatically in recent years through scientific investigation. The white color applied to the faces of the aristocratic men, for example, was once widely believed to be lead white (*enpaku*). Recent use of X-ray fluorescence spectrometry, however, has revealed that the colors previously grouped as lead white in fact are four types of pigments: (1) one consisting primarily of lead white, (2) one consisting primarily of shell powder (*gōfūru*), (3) one consisting primarily of mercury, and (4) one with no primary element, but close to a whitish clay (*hakuado*). Among these, the most interesting discovery is the use of mercury white, which has the same chemical composition as a type of facial make-up employed during the premodern period. The use of a white, mercury-based make-up as a pigment means that the faces of courtiers were painted with the same substance that actually covered the faces of their viewing audience at the time. See Hayakawa Yasuhiro et al., “Pootaburu yōkō ekkusu-sen bunseki sōchi ni yori Kokuho Genji monogatari emaki no ganryō bunseki,” *Hozon kagaku* 39 (2000): 1–14, and “Kokuho Genji monogatari emaki ni mirareru saishiki zairyō ni tsuite,” *Hozon kagaku* 41 (2002): 1–13.
48. Through X-ray photography, Akiyama discovered additional words inscribed under areas where the pigment remains, for a total of sixteen such markings. Akiyama further points out that when the underdrawings were laid out only in the form of outlines, the placement of stock motifs may have been unclear, thereby necessitating labels (*Heian jidai sezokuga no kenkyū*, pp. 224–238).
49. This is true of the ladies-in-waiting in “Takekawa II,” Yūgiri in the chapter that bears his name, and Kaoru in “Hashihime.” See Akiyama, *Heian jidai sezokuga no kenkyū*.
50. Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, trans. Royall Tyler (New York: Viking, 2001), p. 686.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 687.
52. Akiyama offers a somewhat different discussion of the representation of eyes in the *Genji Scrolls*. He points to the eyes of Kumoinokari in “Yūgiri” (Evening Mist), Lady

Murasaki in "Minori" (The Law), and Ukifune in "Azumaya I" as reflecting, respectively, the states of jealousy, profound melancholy, and buoyant contentment. Akiyama further discusses the eyes of Nakanogimi in "Yadorigi III" (The Ivy III) as a good example of the depiction of inner turmoil (*Ochō kaiga no tanjō* [Tokyo: Chūkō shin-sho, 1968], p. 108).

53. Recent studies have begun to add wrinkles to the by-now mainstream understanding of *tsukuri-e* technique as established by Akiyama. Tamamushi Satoko expands the parameters of the term to include other types of early painting practice in "Kazari to 'tsukuri' to kaiga no isō," in Tamamushi Satoko, ed., *Kazari to "tsukuri" no ryōbun*, Kōza Nihon bijutsushi 5 (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 2005), pp. 95–134. Shimao Arata, meanwhile, interprets the knowledge gained in recent scientific examinations and published in conservation reports to assert that early *tsukuri-e* technique did not involve such heavy application of pigment, necessitating a new "chromo-aesthetics" of Heian-period painting, in "Kaigashi kenkyū to kōgakuteki shuhō: *Genji monogatari emaki* no chōsa kara," in Satō Yasuhiro, ed., *Mono kara kotoba e, Kōza Nihon bijutsushi 1* (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 2005), pp. 79–112.

54. See, for example, the village woman in the third scroll of the twelfth-century *Shigisan engi emaki*, who has her hair tied back and her hand applied to her breast in a manner remarkably similar to that of Kumoinokari in the *Genji Scrolls*.

55. In poetry matches (*uta awase*), for example, predetermined *waka* poets and poems were divided into Left and Right teams, and then pitted against one another for evaluation. The focus of aesthetic judgment in such cases rested not with the literary qualities of a given poem, however, but with the manner in which it was presented physically. This presentation typically involved the inscription of poems by accomplished court calligraphers on sumptuously decorated papers, their display on carefully crafted objects such as landscape trays, and so forth. A full account of Heian literary culture would therefore have to take into greater consideration both its objecthood and its eventhood. The most systematic study of the practice of *awase* in this period is Hagitani Boku, *Heianchō uta awase taisai: Zōho shuntei* (Kyoto: Dōbōsha shuppan, 1995–1996).

56. Kinoshita Masao, *Sanjūrokunin kashū*, Nihon no bijutsu 168 (Tokyo: Shibundo, 1980).

57. The fullest treatment of this work is Gotoh Museum, ed., *Kunōji-kyō to Kokyōrō*.

Chapter 3

The Tale of Genji and the Development of Female-Spirit Nō

Reiko Yamanaoka

IN THE Muromachi period, two major performative genres emerged, *nō* and *renga* (classical linked verse), both of which made extensive use of classical Japanese literature as the source for literary inspiration and allusive variation. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when Zeami (1363–1443), the foremost *nō* playwright, was active, was also the time when Yotsutsuji Yoshinari (1326–1402) wrote *Kakaiishō* (*Book of Seas and Rivers*, 1387–ca. 1394), the first major *Genji* commentary, and when such *Genji* digests as *Genji kokagami* (*A Small Mirror of Genji*, ca. fourteenth century) were written. In short, *Genji nō* plays appeared at a pivotal time in the history of the reception of *The Tale of Genji*.

Along with *The Tales of Ise* (ca. 947) and *The Tales of the Heike* (mid-thirteenth century), *The Tale of Genji* became one of the key foundational texts (*honsetsu*, *honzetsu*) for *nō* theater, particularly women's plays. Compared with the *nō* plays based on *The Tales of the Heike*, which are primarily about warriors and of which there are close to thirty, including at least six by Zeami (*Atsumori*, *Kiyotsune*, *Nue*, *Sanemori*, *Tadanori*, and *Yoritomasa*), the number of *nō* plays based on *The Tale of Genji* is relatively limited. Nevertheless, the current repertoire includes at least nine *Genji nō* plays based on characters and their stories in *The Tale of Genji*: *Aoi-no-ue* (*Lady Aoi*), *Ukifune* (*Floating Boat*), *Ochiba* (*Fallen Leaves*), *Suma Genji* (*Genji at Suma Bay*), *Sumiyoshi-mōde* (*Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi*), *Tamakazura* (*Jeweled Chaplet*), *Nonomiya* (*Shrine in the Fields*), *Hajitomi* (*Lattice Shutter*), and *Yūgao* (*Evening Faces*).¹ Some of them, such as *Aoi-no-ue* and *Nonomiya*, remain popular and have become an integral part of the canon. Several *Genji nō* are among the plays no longer in the repertoire (*bangai-kyōku*): *Utsusemi* (*Cicada Shell*), *Kodama-Ukifune* (*Wood*