

Genji Goes West: The 1510 *Genji Album* and the Visualization of Court and Capital

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The recently rediscovered album illustrating the Japanese eleventh-century courtly classic *The Tale of Genji* in the collection of the Harvard University Art Museums greatly enhances our understanding of elite literary and artistic culture in late medieval Japan (Fig. 1). The Harvard *Genji Album*, dated to 1510, represents not only the earliest complete album visualizing the most important prose tale of the Japanese literary canon but also one of only a handful of dated works by the painter Tosa Mitsunobu (active ca. 1462–1521)—indeed, one of the few dated court-related paintings of the entire Muromachi period (1336–1573). Furthermore, a wealth of primary documents presents a rare opportunity to understand the process by which the *Genji Album* came into being. The album thus opens a window onto a previously ill-defined world of intricate and overlapping elite social networks, the interaction and synergy between outlying provincial centers and the capital, and a wide range of cultural practices revolving around *The Tale of Genji*. When positioned within the matrices of human relationships, social and geopolitical mobility, and artistic and literary activity of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the leaves of the *Genji Album* reveal a compelling story about the role of images in the cultural life of medieval Japan.

I attempt to tell this story in the following discussion of the Harvard *Genji Album*, beginning with an introduction to the work that situates it within the larger history of *Genji* painting, and then within the local history of its production context. The first of three broad sections presents the cast of characters involved in the album's creation—the owner, painter, producers, and calligraphers—as well as the occasion that brought them together, and follows the album's journey from Kyoto to the provincial capital of Suō in western Japan. The second section describes late medieval Japan's "culture of *Genji*," which expanded greatly during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries across the western region of the Japanese main island. Within its world, this archetypal tale of courtly life was pictorialized, poetized, parsed, debated, studied, memorized, emulated, and lived. The final section traces the specific artistic traditions behind the album's calligraphy and paintings, while demonstrating the sophistication of word-image relationships found therein. Close readings of individual paintings point to certain emphases running through the album, including its relation to medieval *Genji* commentaries, digests, and exegetical texts, the role of its images as mnemonic devices and aids to the production of poetry, and its cultural capital as a visualization of Kyoto, the capital of culture, along with its aristocratic community. In visualizing the legendary tale, the Harvard *Genji Album* represented the sights and sounds of an idealized courtly life for military elites based in provincial centers. By doing so, it collapsed the literary and imagined past onto the political (and imagined) present, anticipating the plethora of paintings of *Genji* and

"scenes in and around the capital" that began to appear from the sixteenth century on.

In combination, the three sections described above bring into focus the importance of the Harvard *Genji Album* for an understanding of medieval Japanese painting and culture. Indeed, this artwork illuminates how *The Tale of Genji*, for the first time in history, came to embody a kind of timeless aristocratic social body in the capital, an image that I argue was fashioned and propagated by a small group of Kyoto courtiers, poets, and painters and then "exported" to outlying provincial centers. The text accordingly gave rise to newly shared social spaces and a sense of a communal literary past among a loose, highly decentralized network of political and cultural elites across a wide geographic span. The *Genji Album* reflects an age in which paintings became significantly more important in the reception of canonical literary works, a wide variety of cultural practices, and the social mobility of medieval Japanese.

The Harvard *Genji Album*

Authored about 1000 by Lady Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji* is a fifty-four-chapter prose epic centered primarily around the exploits of the ideal courtier, the "shining prince Genji."¹ Immediately popular among courtly circles, *The Tale of Genji* quickly became a fixture of the Japanese literary canon. Its evocative depiction of the imperial court and the ritualized aristocratic calendar caused it to be regarded in later eras as an embodiment of a golden age of courtly life, especially in light of the aristocracy's increasing loss of political power. As we shall see, the constituency for whom *The Tale of Genji* embodied this bygone era of courtly splendor expanded in the Muromachi period to include newly ascended warrior families who had come to represent the true governing class.

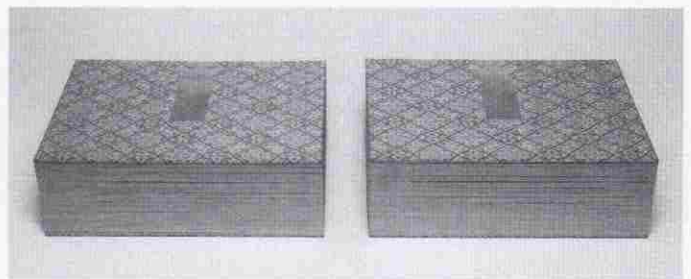
The Harvard *Genji Album*, datable to 1510, survives as the oldest complete cycle of album leaves of *The Tale of Genji*, preserving fifty-four paintings and sheets of calligraphy, with one image and one textual excerpt for each chapter in the tale (Fig. 2).² Although there are earlier examples of *Genji* paintings gracing the covers of traditionally bound books or occasionally illustrating their contents,³ the most common format for narrative painting in previous centuries was the horizontal handscroll, beginning with the earliest and most famous example from the twelfth century (Fig. 3).⁴ The late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries witnessed the popularization of the fan painting format for narrative illustration, and several sets of *Genji* fan paintings from this period survive (Fig. 4).⁵ Large-scale *Genji* paintings in the folding-screen format began to appear later on in the sixteenth century.⁶ The era of the painting and calligraphy album did not truly begin, however, until the early seventeenth century, when artists, primarily of the Tosa school, produced *Tale of Genji*



1 Tosa Mitsunobu and Reizei Tamehiro, *Spring Shoots II (Wakana ge)*, chap. 35, from the *Tale of Genji Album*, 1510. Cambridge, Mass., Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Bequest of the Hofer Collection of the Arts of Asia (photo: Peter Siegel, ©President and Fellows of Harvard College)

albums in great numbers.⁷ The Harvard *Genji Album* of 1510 thus prefigures these later, Edo-period albums and demonstrates that the hallmark style of the Tosa *Genji* album had developed by the first decade of the sixteenth century. As shown in the discussion below, however, the leaves of this *Genji Album* were pasted onto folding screens at some point after their production, and it remains unclear whether or not they were originally intended to be mounted into an album or displayed on folding screens, as in a late sixteenth-century example (Fig. 5). The most likely answer is that they were meant for both; the leaves could be appreciated in either format, although in radically different ways. Strictly speaking, then, the Harvard *Genji Album* takes its real “format” from the 108 rectangular sheets of paper, known as *shikishi*, that constitute the work.⁸

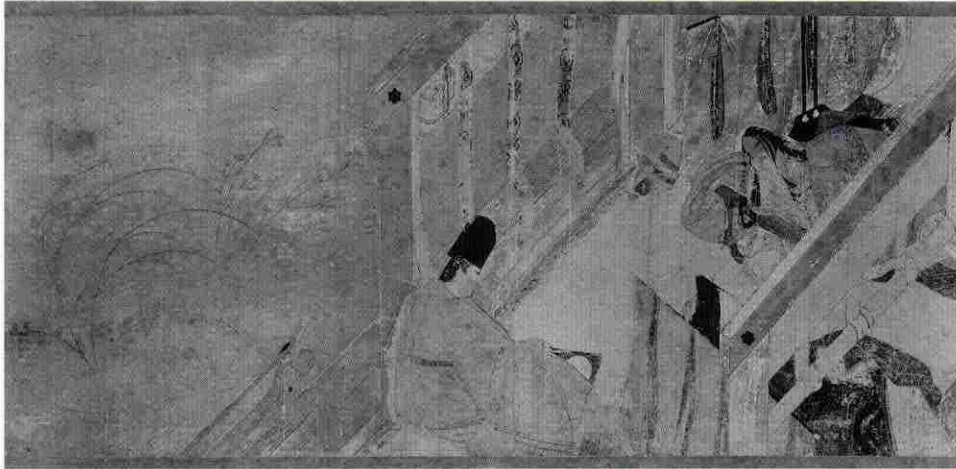
The album’s fifty-four sheets of calligraphy transcribe poetic and prose excerpts from the *Genji* narrative, brushed onto papers dyed in five different colors. Decorative “dragon borders” on the colored papers emulate high-quality Chinese paper imported and used primarily in Zen circles since the fourteenth century. On them are preserved the calligraphic hands of six prominent Kyoto courtiers from aristocratic lineages of distinguished pedigree. Each calligrapher employs a distinct style, ranging from the voluptuous, inky brushwork of Reizei Tamehiro (1450–1526), as seen in the



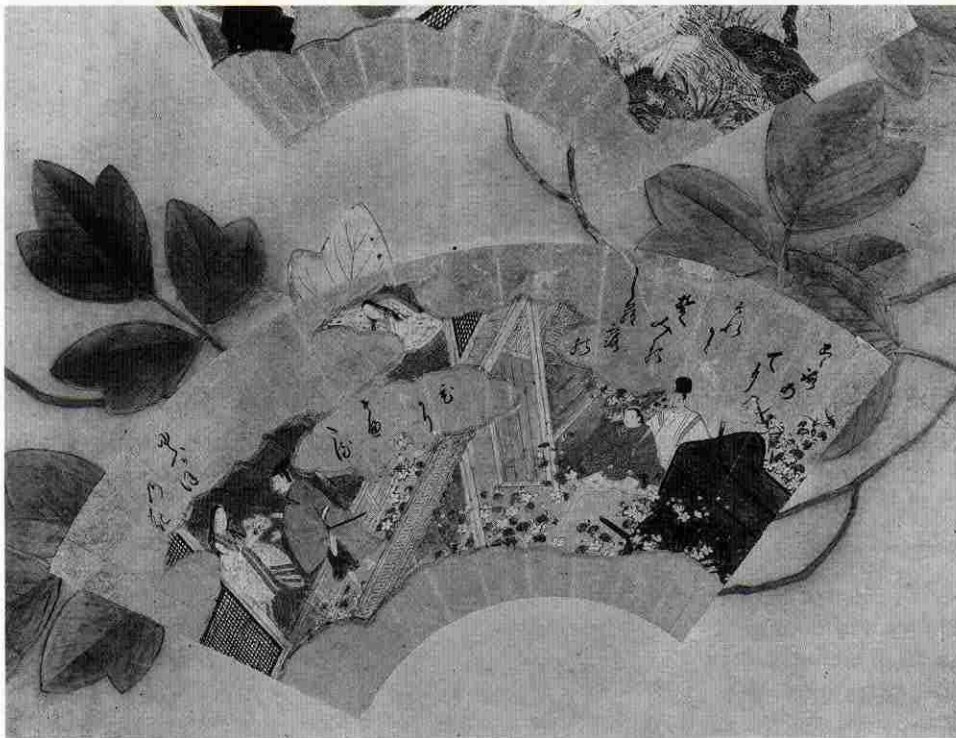
2 *Tale of Genji Album* (photo: Katya Kallsen and Junius Beebe, ©President and Fellows of Harvard College)

excerpts of *Spring Shoots II* (Fig. 1) and *The Picture Contest* (Fig. 21), to the wiry, frenetic characters of Jōhōji Kōjo (1453–1538, Figs. 20, 23, 25); each positions his words across the surface in a different manner, from the evenly spaced lines of Konoe Hisamichi (1472–1544, Fig. 13) to the elegant scatterings of Crown Prince Fushiminomiya Kunitaka (1456–1532, Figs. 12, 26, 27). The various calligraphic lineages represented in the *Genji Album* played a prominent role in shaping the overall significance of the work for its owner.

The painted leaves of the album evoke classical narrative paintings of the Heian period (794–1185), imagined in later centuries as a golden age of courtly life, with their vibrant



3 *The Law (Minori)*, chap. 40, from the *Tale of Genji Scrolls*, 12th century. Tokyo, Gotoh Museum

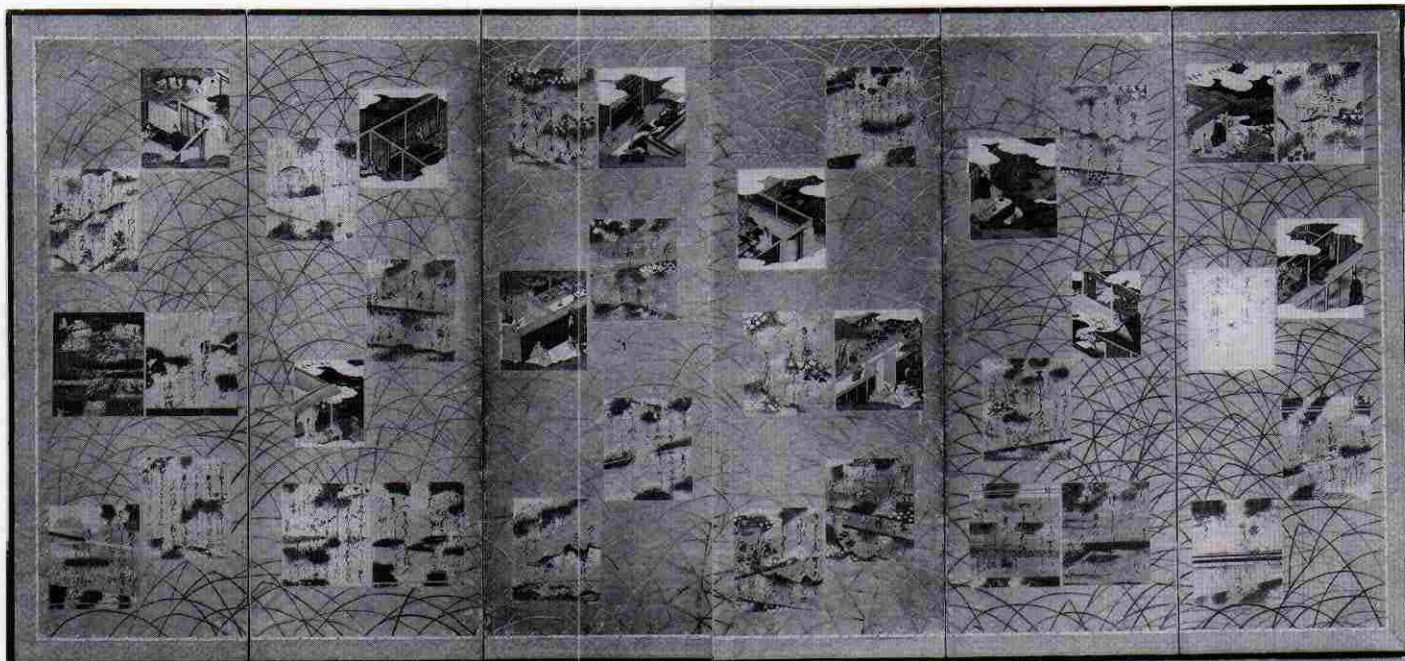


4 *The Twilight Beauty (Yūgao)*, chap. 4, one of sixty fans mounted on a pair of folding screens, ca. 1500. Hiroshima, Jōdoji

palette of mineral pigments (primarily blue, green, red, and orange, along with shell white), the fine ink lines and gold paint added for details, the abundant use of gold foil in the wafting clouds that frame and order each composition, and the sophisticated interplay between the organic shapes of these clouds and the straight lines and zigzagging diagonals of the architectural components. The paintings are divided between outdoor scenes in which a group of figures typically takes part in some courtly ritual or activity and indoor scenes in which the roofs are “blown off” (a technique known as *fukinuki yatai* in Japanese) to provide direct visual access to domestic interiors, where figures face each other in silent and elliptical encounters. While the clothing of these figures is gorgeously represented, their faces are depicted with an economy of means (Fig. 6). The preferred vocabulary that has developed to describe the seemingly characterless faces of classical courtly figures refers to the “lines” employed for

the eyes and the “hooks” that delineate the noses (*hikime kagihana*). Although many of these figures seem indistinguishable from one another, as we shall see, each of them is subtly differentiated by means of techniques detectable only to the trained eye. Furthermore, for the sixteenth-century audience, these figures were activated when read in conjunction with the textual excerpts that lay next to them, and by the entire “Genji culture” of the late medieval period.

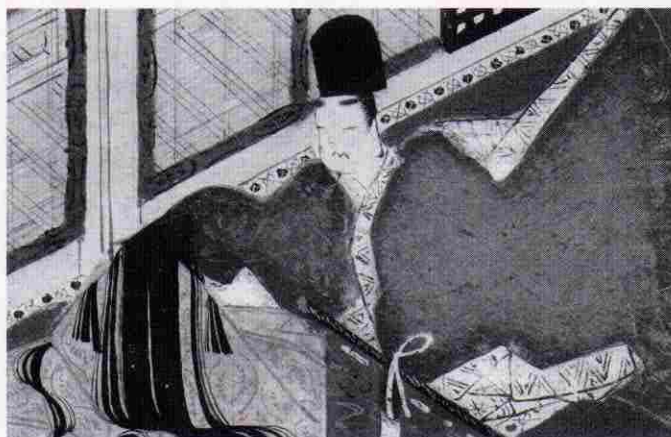
Although the leaves of the Harvard *Genji Album* date to the early sixteenth century, the album in which it was mounted is of Edo-period (1615–1868) manufacture; silk frontispiece paintings on the insides of the album covers (Figs. 7, 8) date to the late seventeenth century and bear authentication slips signed by the artist Tosa Mitsuoki (1617–1691), which certify that the paintings were executed by his ancestor Tosa Mitsunobu. Ironically, the authentication slips may have had the effect of throwing doubt on the Muromachi date for the



5 Tosa Ittoku, *Folding Screen of Genji shikishi*, left half of a pair of six-fold screens, late 16th century. Tokyo National Museum

album, since countless works bear spurious Mitsunobu attributions made by Edo-period authenticators seeking to connect them to an artist who, by the seventeenth century, had come to symbolize courtly painting of the Muromachi period.⁹ Only in the last few decades have non-Chinese-style works from this era, especially screen paintings, become the focus of sustained scholarly attention, and only in the last few years has the general understanding of the Tosa school and Mitsunobu's oeuvre qualitatively improved. This lack of understanding of the Tosa school, combined with the abundance of extant Edo-period pictorial albums of *The Tale of Genji*, no doubt had led to a dismissal of the Harvard *Genji Album* as a later work.¹⁰

The album, therefore, failed to attract much notice until 1992, when the Japanese art historian Chino Kaori recognized its importance as a genuine work by Tosa Mitsunobu, assuring it a prominent position on the art historical map.¹¹ Chino, along with a team of Japanese and North American scholars, published the album in a 1997 special issue of the Japanese journal *Kokka*, the first publication to illustrate the album in its entirety and introduce it to the Japanese art historical community.¹² Important questions remained, however, including the album's exact date, patron, and circumstances of production. These facts, it transpired, were hidden in a series of diary entries discovered by the present author in 1999¹³ and confirmed the following year by the further discovery, during the album's conservation, of inscriptions on the backing papers of the leaves giving the names of all six calligraphers, a date, and the name of the temple to which the work was later donated.¹⁴ This article adds substantially more to the empirical record concerning the album, which can now be placed squarely in its original spatial and temporal coordinates, and introduces the cast of characters involved in its making. Beyond reconstructing the circumstances surrounding the album's production, the succeeding



6 *Spring Shoots II*, detail (photo: Katya Kallsen, ©President and Fellows of Harvard College)

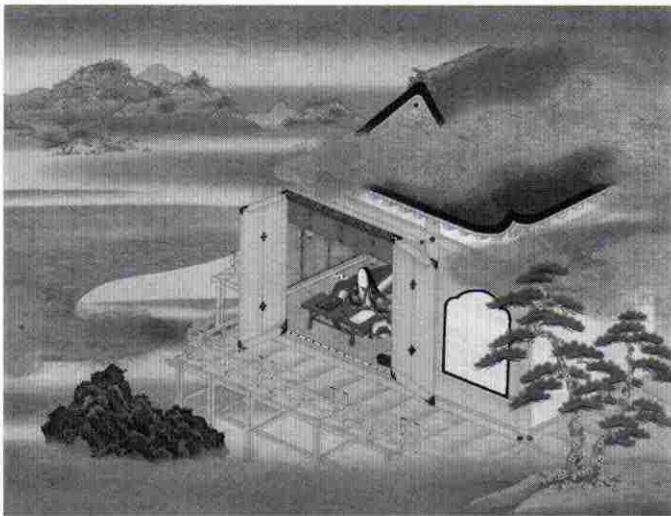
sections also attempt to chart the oftentimes invisible and far-reaching networks of social elites that fanned out, in weblike fashion, from Kyoto to distant provincial centers. The story begins in 1508, when the young warrior who commissioned the *Genji Album*, a retainer to the powerful daimyo Ōuchi Yoshioki, followed him from distant Suō Province to the capital city of Kyoto.

The Era of the Ōuchi Ascendancy, 1508–18

In the sixth month of 1508 Ōuchi Yoshioki (1477–1528) marched into Kyoto and restored the shogun Ashikaga Yoshitane (1466–1523) to power, marking the latest in a series of tumultuous events that had maintained a state of upheaval in the ancient capital. Yoshioki had been harboring the shogun in Suō Province since his ouster several years earlier in a coup orchestrated by the warrior Hosokawa Masamoto (1466–1507).¹⁵ When Masamoto, the de facto ruler of the military government, was assassinated in 1507, Yoshioki



7 Tosa Mitsuoki, *Ishiyamadera Landscape* and authentication slip, 17th century, from the *Tale of Genji Album*, second frontispiece (photo: Peter Siegel, ©President and Fellows of Harvard College)



8 Tosa Mitsuoki, *Murasaki Composing "The Tale of Genji,"* 17th century, from the *Tale of Genji Album*, frontispiece (photo: Peter Siegel, ©President and Fellows of Harvard College)

seized the opportunity to reinstate the shogun. Joining forces with Hosokawa Takakuni (1484–1531), a son of the slain Masamoto, Yoshioki took control of Kyoto. His entrance into the city in 1508 inaugurated a ten-year period during which the capital was ruled by a military triumvirate consisting of Ashikaga Yoshitane, the shogun, Hosokawa Takakuni, who assumed the official title of shogunal administrator, and Ōuchi Yoshioki, who became his deputy administrator.¹⁶ The shift in authority represented the latest in a chain of reversals that had plagued Japan since the violent civil war of the Ōnin era (1467–77). The Ōnin War had devastated the capital, leaving tremendous destruction in its wake, and instilled a high degree of anxiety in its citizens, including members of the imperial court and nobility, who never knew when the political landscape would undergo its next transformation.

Throughout the incessant warfare and political fracture of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, however, the Ōuchi had managed to remain one of the most powerful regional warrior clans in the land, emerging as virtually autonomous rulers of several key provinces in western Japan.¹⁷ Not only did they establish themselves as a military powerhouse, they also proved to be generous and consistent patrons of literature, painting, and scholarship as well, a role that stood out all the more against the marked inability of both court and shogunate to finance extensive cultural projects in this period. The Ōuchi established in western Japan what later historians would categorize as a “little Kyoto”: a cultural center in the provinces that emulated the capital, if not in scale, then in the quality of its artistic and scholarly enterprises.¹⁸ Suō Province, located at the western tip of Japan’s main island (Fig. 9), was an ideal setting for such a satellite capital; this region included one of the few available ports for carrying out the lucrative official trade with Ming China, while the inland waterways that led out to sea passed directly through Ōuchi-controlled territory.¹⁹ The Ōuchi sponsored their own trade ship, one of only three officially sanctioned envoys to China that set sail once every ten years.²⁰ The trade ships brought wealth, to be sure, but also a stream of paintings, texts, and luxury objects from the Chi-



9 Map of western Japan, Korea, and coast of China, ca. 1510 (author and Matthew Stavros)

nese continent that put the Ōuchi, as well as the artists and men of letters they had attracted to their province, at the vanguard of new artistic and literary trends abroad.²¹

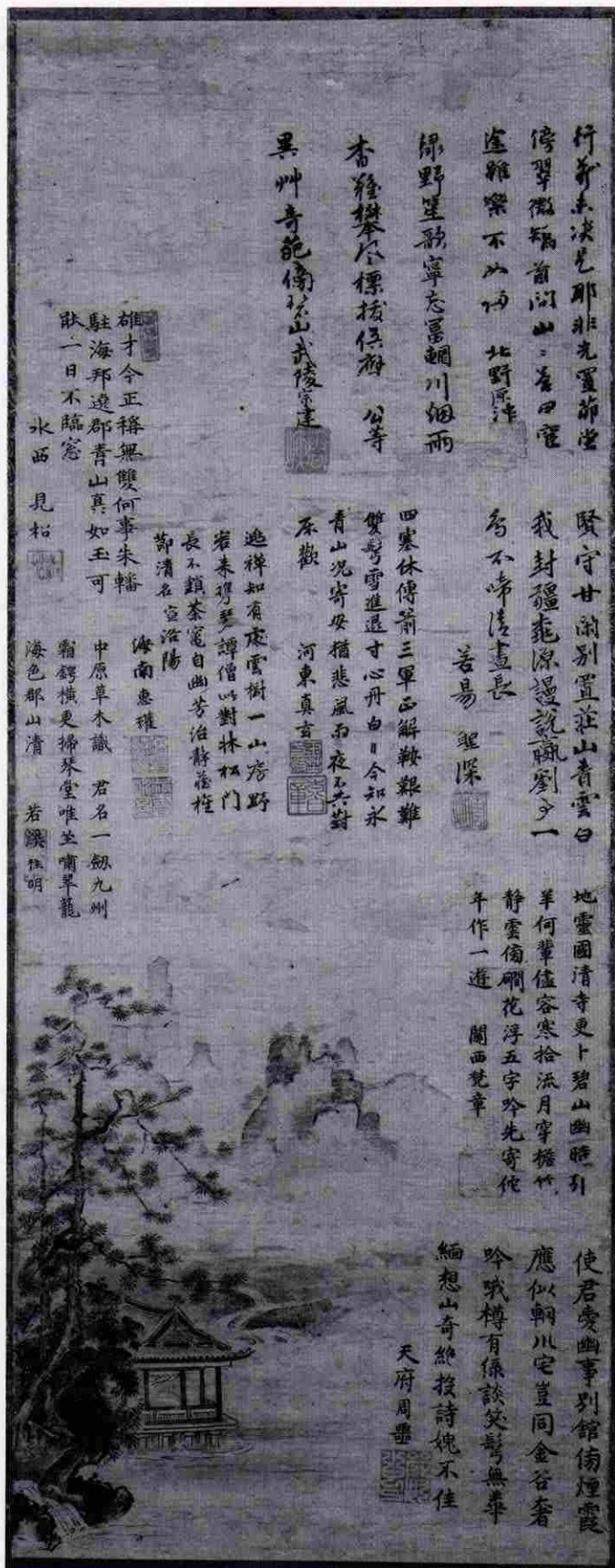
The cultural activities of the Ōuchi represented more than an attempt to acquire cultural legitimacy; Ōuchi leaders realized early on that a true mandate for rulership demanded an inextricable combination of military, economic, political, and cultural mastery.²² As early as the rule of Ōuchi Morimi (1377–1431), for example, house leaders commissioned paintings that epitomized a warrior-scholar ideal that the Ōuchi themselves sought to embody. *Mountain Villa* (Fig. 10), a painting meant to recall Morimi's own scholar's studio in Suō, bears inscriptions by nine prominent Zen monks that praise the owner of the painting, his mountain retreat, and above all his lofty ideals as a cultivated military leader. The painting provides a glimpse of the rarefied visual environment that surrounded the Ōuchi, and which surely impressed upon their retainers the importance of outfitting their own residences with scholarly texts, impressive paintings, and art objects.

When Ōuchi Yoshioki moved his base of operations to Kyoto in 1508, he brought with him a host of these retainers, including members of the Sugi, Toda, Ryūzaki, and Sue families. During Yoshioki's decade-long tenure in the city, diary accounts record that these temporary residents of the capital engaged in a flurry of cultural activities, seeking out famous aristocrats in the hopes of acquiring the knowledge and trappings of classical courtly culture considered a necessity for a warrior in the Ōuchi sphere.²³ One such retainer eager to acculturate himself while in the capital was a young man by the name of Sue Saburō, for whom the paintings and calligraphy in the Harvard *Genji Album* were made.²⁴

Sue Saburō's Genji Paintings and Calligraphy of 1509–10

Although the Sue are now best known for their ultimate destruction of the Ōuchi house,²⁵ they were originally an Ōuchi branch family with a distinguished history of military service on behalf of their lords.²⁶ The Ōuchi rewarded the Sue with positions in the regional government, including the hereditary post of deputy governor of Suō Province.²⁷ Sue Saburō's father, Hiroaki, and other members of the Sue family acted as local representatives and tax collectors and performed similar services for institutions with landholdings in the west, such as the venerable monastic complex of Tōdaiji in Nara. In 1509, for example, Tōdaiji began to rely extensively on the Sue for the collection of tax revenues for its estates in Suō Province, a relationship that was to prove financially lucrative for the latter.²⁸ This new influx of revenue no doubt expanded the options of the aspiring retainer Sue Saburō in his patronage activities. His effectiveness in this capacity, however, called for more than martial skill and a full purse. What Sue needed above all else was entrée into the complex web of interpersonal relationships that overlay the cultural landscape of the capital. He began fostering these relationships as soon as he arrived.

Luckily, Sue was well equipped to achieve his goals: his connection with an acclaimed poet named Gensei (1443–1521) provided him with numerous introductions to members of Kyoto's elite society.²⁹ Gensei, who played a pivotal role in Sue's cultural pursuits in Kyoto, including the pro-



10 *Mountain Villa*, before 1415. Osaka, Masaki Art Museum

duction of the Harvard *Genji Album*, was a prime example of an important class of cultural facilitators in the medieval period known as linked-verse masters. These master poets



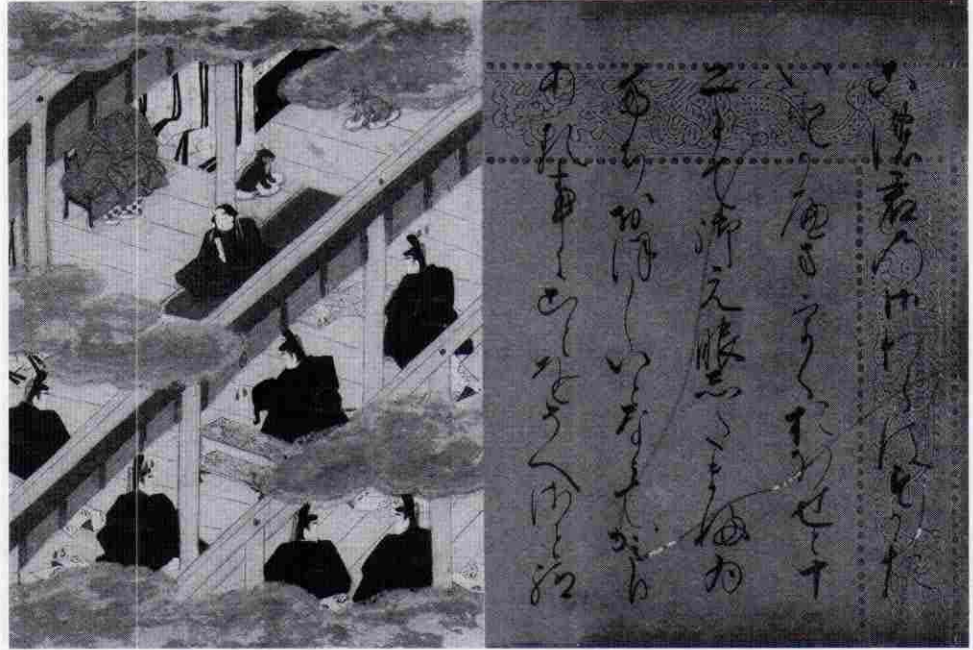
11 Kano Motonobu, *Portrait of Sōgi*, 16th century. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Frederick L. Jack Fund (photo: courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Reproduced with permission. ©2002 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. All rights reserved)

possessed thorough knowledge of the complex rules for a type of poetry called *renga*, or “linked verse,” which enjoyed great popularity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As with other forms of Japanese poetry, a poet created a linked verse by employing appropriate references to past poems, which required more than a passing familiarity with the poetic canon. But the linking of verse, often performed publicly at a large gathering of one’s social peers, demanded that one produce those allusions on the spot, in response to a previous poet’s verse, all the while observing the many rules that governed the genre.³⁰ Linked-verse masters proved valuable as instructors to aristocrats as well as members of the military elite; they coached their patrons in the successful navigation of *renga* gatherings and regularly corresponded

with them, correcting or sending advice on their written poems.³¹ Scholars as well as poets, linked-verse masters typically rose from humble backgrounds to mingle with the highest-ranking members of elite society, often earning their respect and friendship. Even more important for our purposes, *renga* poets lacked the strictures of court rank or military status and were thus able to function as social mediators, moving among disparate social groups as go-betweens for a variety of transactions and traveling throughout the country transporting texts and offering their services in distant provinces.

Gensei was one of the many disciples of Sōgi (1421–1502), the medieval period’s most famous *renga* poet, whose peripatetic lifestyle is evoked by a celebrated portrait depicting him on horseback (Fig. 11). Sōgi had traveled to the Ōuchi domains on two separate occasions and forged strong ties to the daimyo and his retainers. On his first trip in 1480, at the invitation of Ōuchi Masahiro, Yoshioki’s father, Sōgi spent nearly a year in Yamaguchi and the southern island of Kyūshū, visiting famous poetic landmarks and conducting *renga* sessions and tutorials at the regional residences of Ōuchi vassals, who hosted him throughout his journey.³² One of those retainer hosts was Sue Saburō’s father, Hiroaki, then twenty years old and governor of Chikuzen Province in northern Kyūshū.³³ During a two-day stay at Hiroaki’s residence, Sōgi held a *renga* session and composed a poem in honor of his host.³⁴ Sōgi met Hiroaki again during his second trip to the west in 1489, this time in quest of Ōuchi Masahiro’s financial backing for an imperial anthology of linked verse.³⁵ The friendly relationship between Sōgi and Hiroaki was inherited by members of the succeeding generations of both parties: Sōgi’s disciple Gensei and Hiroaki’s son Saburō. Gensei was instrumental in orchestrating Saburō’s cultural activities in Kyoto; within six months of Sue Saburō’s arrival in the capital in 1508, he had arranged a meeting for Sue with one of the most prominent and scholastically inclined courtiers of the period, Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (1455–1537).³⁶

Sanetaka had worked on the *renga* anthology with Sōgi, contributing to its editorial content while acting as a liaison between the poet and the imperial court. A prolific scholar-calligrapher, Sanetaka left a wealth of texts in his own hand, including a remarkable sixty-two-year diary that survives as a crucial record of the cultural landscape of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.³⁷ As entries in his diary make clear, the almost daily requests for Sanetaka’s calligraphy ranged from copies of manuscripts, scrolls of poetry, Buddhist sutras, and primers on classical texts to inscriptions on paintings, fans, and grave markers, and they account for the relatively numerous examples of his writing that have survived up to the present.³⁸ More than simply a scribe, Sanetaka was a font of knowledge concerning classical literature and court precedent, an individual who not only transcribed texts but also edited them. He frequently selected various excerpts for the literary projects of others or composed his own poems and texts for the many associates who requested them. As a high-ranking member of the court hierarchy, with ties through marriage to the imperial court, Sanetaka had direct and frequent access to the emperor.³⁹ At the same time, reflecting the general impoverishment of the imperial court and the nobility in his time, Sanetaka’s income was low



12 Tosa Mitsunobu and Prince Fushiminomiya Kunitaka, *The Paulownia Pavilion* (*Kiritsubo*), chap. 1, from the *Tale of Genji Album* (photo: Peter Siegel, ©President and Fellows of Harvard College)

enough to encourage him to make his learning available, for a price, to regional daimyo, their families and retainers, and Buddhist institutions.

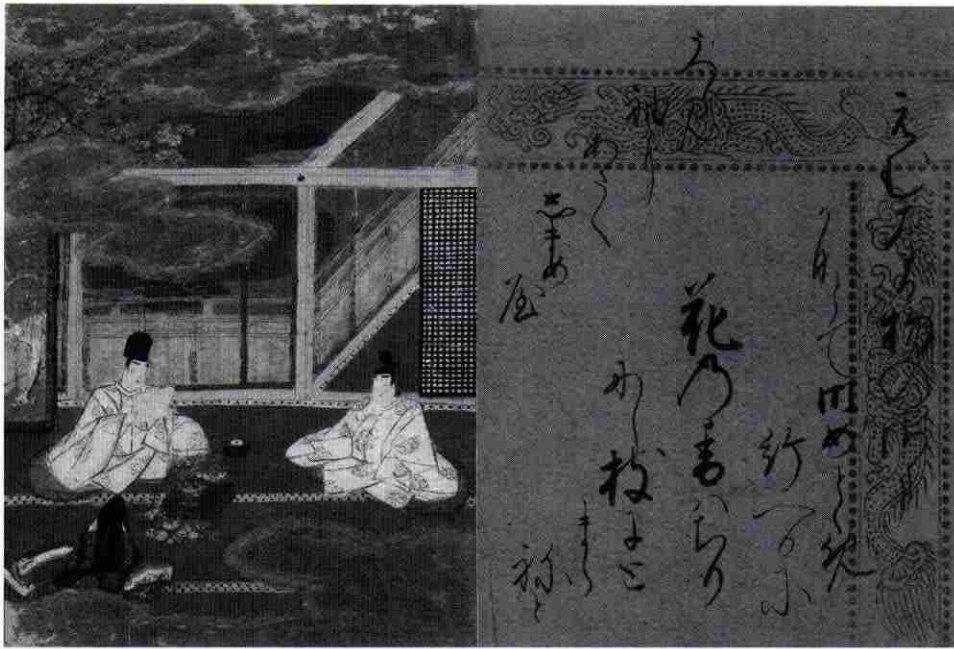
When Sue Saburō had Gensei arrange a meeting for him with Sanetaka, he had a specific goal in mind for which he needed Sanetaka's assistance: the sponsorship of a poetry gathering in the capital (which he held early in 1509).⁴⁰ On his first meeting with the courtier, Sue brought with him a payment, no doubt as compensation for future poetry tutorials in preparation for the event.⁴¹ They met at least twice in the month leading up to the gathering, during which time Sanetaka discussed poetry and made comments on drafts of Sue's compositions.⁴² The sponsorship of a poetic gathering entailed a fairly public display of one's erudition and skill in front of whomever the host decided to invite. Although Sue's complete guest list on this occasion remains unknown, it is certain that he gathered together a combination of his compatriots from Suō and new acquaintances, including aristocrats, from Kyoto.⁴³ Thanks to Sanetaka's guidance, Sue could return to his home province with the distinction of having held a successful poetry gathering in the capital.⁴⁴

Before he left Kyoto, however, Sue called on Sanetaka's expertise and connections in Kyoto, five months after the poetry gathering, to carry out another project: the set of texts and paintings of *The Tale of Genji* that now constitute the Harvard *Genji Album*. In this case their collaboration would result in a luxury object that he could take home in triumph: his own personal compendium of paintings and excerpts from what was considered the key text with which any aspiring poet or cultured individual had to be thoroughly familiar. Numerous diary entries over the course of the project indicate that Sanetaka was put in charge of the organization of the album's texts, which involved selecting the excerpts, procuring the participation of five other calligraphers (in addition to himself), and collecting and collating their sheets of writing.⁴⁵ Sanetaka took the responsibility seriously and went about his task with diligence and speed; all told, the organi-

zation, writing, and collection of the calligraphy were accomplished in only four months.⁴⁶ Sanetaka began organizing the textual excerpts roughly one month after Sue first appeared at his residence with the *Genji* calligraphy papers.⁴⁷ He continued this work a few days later with the assistance of Gensei, and together they wrote instructions for the various calligraphers, which were sent out with the assignments.⁴⁸

A number of the requests for calligraphy required personal visits by Sanetaka, who began with the highest-ranking of the participants, Prince Kunitaka (1456–1532).⁴⁹ As Prince Kunitaka was a close relative of the emperor, his calligraphy would necessarily occupy the most privileged position in the album, gracing the first sheet, which bore the excerpt for the first chapter, *The Paulownia Pavilion* (Fig. 12).⁵⁰ It was crucial, then, to secure his participation at the beginning of the project. Sanetaka made a personal visit to Kunitaka to discuss the calligraphy, recording in his diary that they talked for several hours into the night.⁵¹ Prince Kunitaka was an avid reader of *The Tale of Genji*, among other works, and many years earlier had acquired from Sanetaka a "*Genji* genealogy," intended to sort out the tale's complex cast of characters and their tangled interrelationships.⁵² A particularly learned member of the imperial family, Kunitaka was one of a limited number of individuals in possession of a complete manuscript of the tale.⁵³ Given the prince's interest in the *Genji* as well as his frequent reliance on Sanetaka, it did not take long to secure his participation in Sue's project.⁵⁴

The next-highest-ranking individual among the album's calligraphers was Konoe Hisamichi (1472–1544, Fig. 13).⁵⁵ In 1509, the thirty-seven-year-old Hisamichi held the title of "Former Minister of the Left, First Rank," but he was also a former regent, the highest position within the court hierarchy.⁵⁶ Hisamichi's elevated status as well as his elegant calligraphic style would have enhanced the prestige of any project, a fact borne out by the numerous extant picture scrolls from the sixteenth century with texts in his hand.⁵⁷ Hisamichi's name does not appear in Sanetaka's diary in



13 Tosa Mitsunobu and Konoe Hisamichi, *The Plum Tree Branch* (*Umegae*), chap. 32, from the *Tale of Genji Album* (photo: Peter Siegel, ©President and Fellows of Harvard College)

relation to the *Genji* calligraphy, but the former's close relationship with Sōgi (Gensei's mentor) suggests that Gensei may have contacted the courtier directly rather than go through Sanetaka.⁵⁸

Sue possessed a keen understanding of the lineages of the Kyoto aristocracy and made specific demands concerning the inclusion of certain calligraphers in his project. Through Gensei, for example, Sue sent word to Sanetaka that he would like to include the calligraphy of Reizei Tamehiro (1450–1526, Figs. 1, 21).⁵⁹ Tamehiro was a direct descendant of Fujiwara Teika (1162–1241), one of the most renowned poets of the classical era. Teika and his father, Shunzei (1114–1204), were accomplished practitioners of *waka*, a thirty-one-syllable poetic form, whose mastery was culturally de rigueur for aristocrats of all ranks. These two figures not only ushered in a new era in the history of *waka*, they were also important compilers of imperial poetry anthologies and exerted a strong influence as editors and theorists of classical literature. As a member of the Reizei lineage, which was founded by Teika's grandson Reizei Tamesuke (1263–1328), Tamehiro bore a literary pedigree second to none; the most standard edition of the *Genji* in use by his time had even been put together by his distant ancestor Teika. Sue's eagerness to include Tamehiro's calligraphy for his album should therefore come as no surprise; Sanetaka complied with his request and immediately contacted Tamehiro.⁶⁰ A little more than two weeks later, Sanetaka received the completed calligraphy papers from Tamehiro, who had agreed to Sanetaka's request and executed the papers in a timely manner.⁶¹

Two other calligraphers, Jōhōji Kōjo (1453–1538) and Son'ō Jugō (d. 1514), added the distinctive style of what was characterized as the Shōren'in school of calligraphy to Sue's album (Figs. 20, 23, 25, 28).⁶² Although an expert calligrapher with several extant narrative handscroll texts to his name, Jōhōji apparently made an error in his calligraphy. When Sanetaka showed Sue Jōhōji's completed work, the patron noticed an error in a poem in the text of chapter 10, which Sue promptly had corrected.⁶³

Finally, Sanetaka himself executed calligraphy for Sue early in the ninth month of 1509.⁶⁴ In lending his own brush to the album he was simply repeating what he had done on numerous occasions for Sue's fellow retainers from the western provinces.⁶⁵ Yet Sue's project stands out from those of his peers in its ambition and in the evident enthusiasm of Sanetaka's participation. Several widely disparate factors motivated the learned courtier to devote his considerable energies to the production of the *Genji Album*.

Perhaps the most immediately evident motive was financial. The Sue were wealthy and could readily compensate Sanetaka for his services.⁶⁶ Sanetaka had long realized that offering his services as a calligrapher, scholar, or all-around courtier-statesman to provincial warriors could provide a route to financial solvency in what were economically difficult times for Kyoto courtiers.⁶⁷ Indeed, the image of Sanetaka as an impoverished aristocrat selling off his cherished copy of *The Tale of Genji* has come to symbolize the decline in the political fortunes of the imperial court as a whole in the medieval period.⁶⁸ I would argue, however, that a closer scrutiny of the interaction between provincial warriors and Kyoto aristocrats reveals that along with monetary compensation, a much more complex web of motivations lay behind the remarkable intermingling of geographically and socially separate groups during this period.

When Sanetaka entered into a working relationship with members of the Sue clan in 1509, he acquired what to him must have been an even more important asset than financial patronage: a direct line of communication to Suō and Nagato Provinces. Precisely during the time that Sue's *Genji* paintings and calligraphy were being produced, Sanetaka's third and youngest son, the Zen acolyte Keiyō (1494–1526), was bidding his time in Suō and Nagato Provinces hoping to board a ship to China to accompany his teacher as a liaison for the Ōuchi.⁶⁹ The western provinces at that time served as the gateway to Ming China, and personal connections in the provinces were essential to those hoping to make the trip (Fig. 9).⁷⁰ As entries in Sanetaka's diary make clear, Sue Saburō

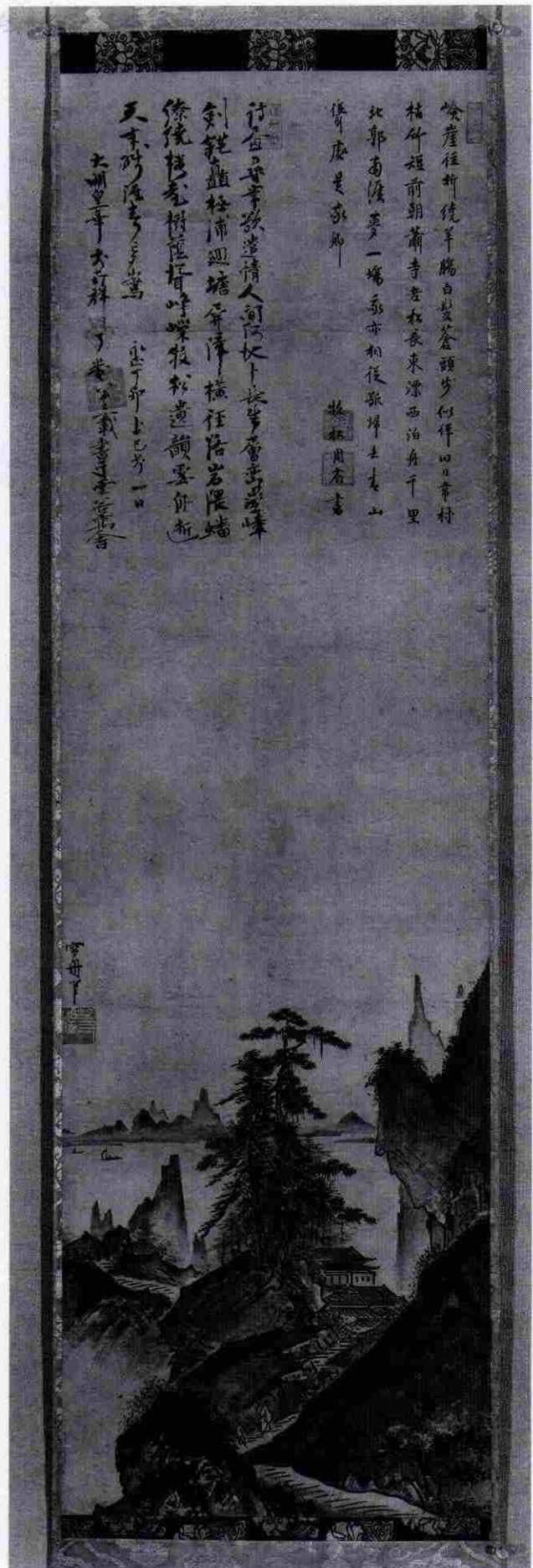
and his father, Hiroaki, who as governor of Hyōgo may have overseen the Ōuchi-controlled trade ships, acted as intermediaries for Sanetaka and his son, delivering communiqués back and forth and reassuring Sanetaka about his son's well-being. While Sanetaka may have had other means of acquiring information about the situation in Suō through his many acquaintances, including Ōuchi Yoshioki himself, the lower-ranking Sue Saburō, with whom he was in any case directly involved in the *Genji* calligraphy, could be counted on for more frequent updates and greater personal involvement than the higher-ranking deputy shogunal administrator.

In light of Keiyō's age and circumstances, Sanetaka's concern for his son and desire for information are quite understandable. When Keiyō set out for the western ports in 1506 he was merely twelve years of age and in the company of his religious master, the eminent Zen priest Ryōan Keigo (1425–1514).⁷¹ The boy had entered Tōfukuji monastery in Kyoto at age seven.⁷² Impressed by Keiyō's intelligence, Ryōan took him on trips outside the capital early on.⁷³ For Ryōan, who was eighty-one years of age in 1506, the young Keiyō must have provided companionship and support during the long journey to Ming China. For Keiyō, on the other hand, the close mentorship of the famous priest was a necessary part of his education and an important step toward the realization of his ambition to see the Chinese continent and eventually to succeed his master at Tōfukuji.⁷⁴

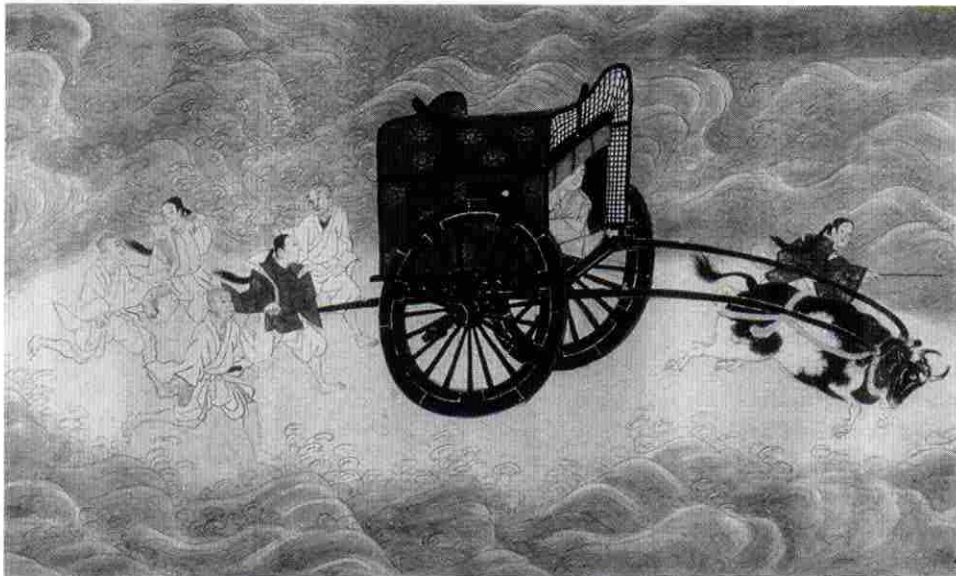
Ryōan and Keiyō remained in Suō for nearly five years before they were able to board a ship.⁷⁵ During this waiting period in Suō and Nagato Provinces, the elderly monk and his acolyte were welcomed into the community of monks, scholars, and artists in the Ōuchi territories. It was during this period that Ryōan executed his inscription on one of the most famous paintings by Sesshū Tōyō (1420–1506), who had died the previous year (Fig. 14).⁷⁶ When Ryōan and Keiyō finally departed for China, on the eleventh day of the first month (1.11), 1510, Ōuchi Yoshioki personally sent word to Sanetaka.⁷⁷ After his son had set sail, however, Sanetaka the worried father desired frequent reports on his son's welfare, reports that were provided by Sue Saburō. In the seventh month of 1510, Sue Saburō delivered a letter from his father, Sue Hiroaki, bearing the news that the Ōuchi ships had come within view of China when a fierce wind blew them back and forced their return to Japan. Fortunately, the vessel that carried Keiyō was unharmed and had returned safely to port.⁷⁸ The next day Sanetaka recorded that he was able to send off a letter to Keiyō through the good offices of Sue Saburō.⁷⁹ Sanetaka continued to rely on Sue Saburō for communication until Keiyō, then a young man of sixteen, finally returned to Kyoto in the tenth month of 1510.⁸⁰

Little more than a year before his son's return, Sanetaka collected all of the completed calligraphy sheets for the *Genji Album* and viewed them with Sue, nearly four months after taking on the project. Although it is doubtful that the paintings had been completed at this point, the most difficult organizational task, that of coordinating the calligraphic participation of six different courtiers, had been successfully carried out. After carefully examining all of the calligraphies sheet by sheet, the two parties toasted the occasion with servings of rice wine.⁸¹

Although Sanetaka's diary does not mention the paintings



14 Sesshū Tōyō, *Landscape*, early 16th century. Private collection



15 Tosa Mitsunobu, *Illustrated Legends of the Kitano Tenjin Shrine*, 1503. Kyoto, Kitano Tenmangū

for the *Genji Album*, there is little doubt that they had been entrusted to the studio of Tosa Mitsunobu. As Chino Kaori has demonstrated, the unsigned paintings are stylistically a perfect fit with Mitsunobu's other known works, and his close involvement in Sanetaka's sphere ensures that he is indeed the artist responsible for the fifty-four painted leaves of the album.⁸² Mitsunobu was in many ways the most logical choice to entrust with such a task. As painting bureau director (*edokoro azukari*) for over fifty years, a position that made him responsible for many of the painting needs of the imperial palace, Mitsunobu and his studio produced a staggering number of paintings and designs during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Aside from the court, Mitsunobu served a wide range of patrons, from leading aristocrats and temples to powerful provincial warlords.⁸³ The artist's prestigious title and relatively high court rank endowed his paintings with a particular cachet; to the Sue, his works would have epitomized "court culture" itself. Mitsunobu, the painterly counterpart to calligraphers and poets such as Sanetaka and Gensei, had in fact collaborated with both men before the production of Sue's album, for example, on the *Illustrated Legends of the Kitano Tenjin Shrine* (1503, Fig. 15).⁸⁴ As a result of Mitsunobu's interaction with this coterie of courtier-scholars, which included discussions concerning *The Tale of Genji*⁸⁵ and frequent participation in *renga* gatherings throughout his career,⁸⁶ his paintings exhibit a sophisticated understanding of the literary canon that he was so often asked to visualize.

Although the exact date of the completion of Mitsunobu's paintings remains unclear, it appears that by 5.16, 1510, after nearly ten months, Sue's *Genji* project was brought to a close. On that day Sue Saburō visited Sanetaka and brought with him the already completed calligraphy papers. They had been mounted into a "booklet" (*sōshi*), and Sanetaka noted that it was a "marvelous object."⁸⁷ The courtier was in fact so taken with the work that he insisted that Sue let him keep it for a while. Since Sanetaka had already seen the completed calligraphy, his response to the object in this entry suggests that it was his first time viewing the completed paintings.⁸⁸

Genji Goes West

After a four-year stay in Kyoto, Sue Saburō prepared to return to his home province in the ninth month of 1511 and made several final requests of Sanetaka immediately before his departure. Sue expressed a desire for one hundred *waka* poems composed by Sanetaka himself,⁸⁹ and he asked Sanetaka to brush the name of Sue's study in Suō, a common practice among Zen priests during the Muromachi period that soon spread to other groups.⁹⁰ The day before Sue left the capital, he received Sanetaka's calligraphy of his study name, professionally mounted and stamped with Sanetaka's seal.⁹¹ Along with these objects, Saburō returned with the *Genji* paintings and calligraphy papers, pasted into a booklet for easier transport back to the western provinces.

Inscriptions recently discovered on the backing papers of the Harvard *Genji Album* leaves offer several important clues that, when examined in conjunction with other documents, provide the basis for a relatively plausible account of the murky next phase in the story of the album: its use and reception in the western provinces. To begin with, the inscriptions reveal that the fifty-four pairs of leaves were remounted in 1516, that they were in the possession of Sue Hiroaki (Saburō's father), and that he donated them to a temple called Myōeiji. These rather obscure notations immediately raise several questions, including the motivations behind the remounting (to a screen format) and the meaning of the donation to a temple. It is my contention that answers to these questions lie in the confluence of several pivotal events of 1516 and the reception of *The Tale of Genji* in the Sue household.

The year 1516 was an eventful one for Sue Hiroaki. He had taken Buddhist vows two years earlier in preparation for the moment when he would turn over the affairs of the Sue household to his eldest son, Takayasu,⁹² and then retire from the secular world.⁹³ In 1516, however, Hiroaki continued to head his branch of the Sue, and with Yoshioki still in Kyoto, he became one of the most senior retainers in Suō and Nagato Provinces. Already wealthy from managing Tōdaiji's estates since 1511, Hiroaki amassed an even greater fortune

when the temple conveyed a land grant to him in perpetuity in 1516.⁹⁴ After years in the service of the Ōuchi, Hiroaki finally had the means and the seniority to enjoy the fruits of his labor. And it just so happened that in this year before his retirement, Hiroaki would have the opportunity to host several social events in his residence to honor an important visitor from the capital.

In 1516 the *renga* master Sōseki (1474–1533), Sōgi's disciple and artistic heir, traveled to Kyūshū, following in the footsteps of his deceased mentor.⁹⁵ Sōseki's trip fell on the thirty-sixth anniversary of Sōgi's 1480 journey, which it may have been intended to commemorate.⁹⁶ Sōgi had praised Hiroaki in his 1480 travel record as a generous host, and Sōseki, who retraced his master's route, must have been eager to visit the eminent retainer. Like his teacher before him, Sōseki spent roughly two months in the Suō capital of Yamaguchi before leaving for his tour of Kyūshū. During that time Hiroaki hosted several poetry gatherings led by the *renga* master and his entourage from Kyoto. Hiroaki, having already taken Buddhist vows, may have seen Sōseki's visit as a finale, one of his last grand social occasions before relinquishing leadership of his house and turning his attention to more scholarly pursuits.⁹⁷ Two of the poetry gatherings fell on important dates in the social calendar, including the festival of the "seventh night of the seventh month."⁹⁸

The highlight of Sōseki's visit for Hiroaki and other residents of Suō and Nagato, however, must have been a series of lectures on *The Tale of Genji* conducted by the poet-scholar, again at Hiroaki's own residence.⁹⁹ The lectures apparently covered all fifty-four chapters of Murasaki's narrative.¹⁰⁰ Hiroaki clearly had more than a passing interest in the *Genji* and other court classics; he likely possessed a complete manuscript copy of the *Genji* (a prerequisite for serious participation in lectures on the tale)¹⁰¹ and was in the process of accumulating other classical literary and historical texts, including the poetry anthology *Kokinwakashū* (Collection of *waka* old and new)¹⁰² and the lengthy Kamakura-period military chronicle the *Azuma kagami* (Mirror of the East).¹⁰³

Hiroaki greatly anticipated Sōseki's *Genji* lectures; he surely spared no expense in preparing his residence for the event, outfitting it with paintings and other artworks to be displayed during the literary gatherings. In his 1480 travel diary, Sōgi lauds an Ōuchi retainer for the elegantly appointed rooms arranged for his visit; he notes the impressive flower arrangement, the interesting paintings hung on the walls, and the finely executed underdrawings of the paper used to transcribe the poetry proceedings.¹⁰⁴ The set of *Genji* leaves acquired by Sue Saburō would have been the perfect work to display for Sōseki's visits in 1516: coordinated by Sanetaka and Gensei (close friends of Sōseki) and bearing the succinct representation of the classic text in pictorial form as well as the calligraphic traces of six prominent aristocrats, the leaves were visually stunning, they connected the Sue to the capital and its culture, and they would have elevated Hiroaki's standing in the eyes of his guests.

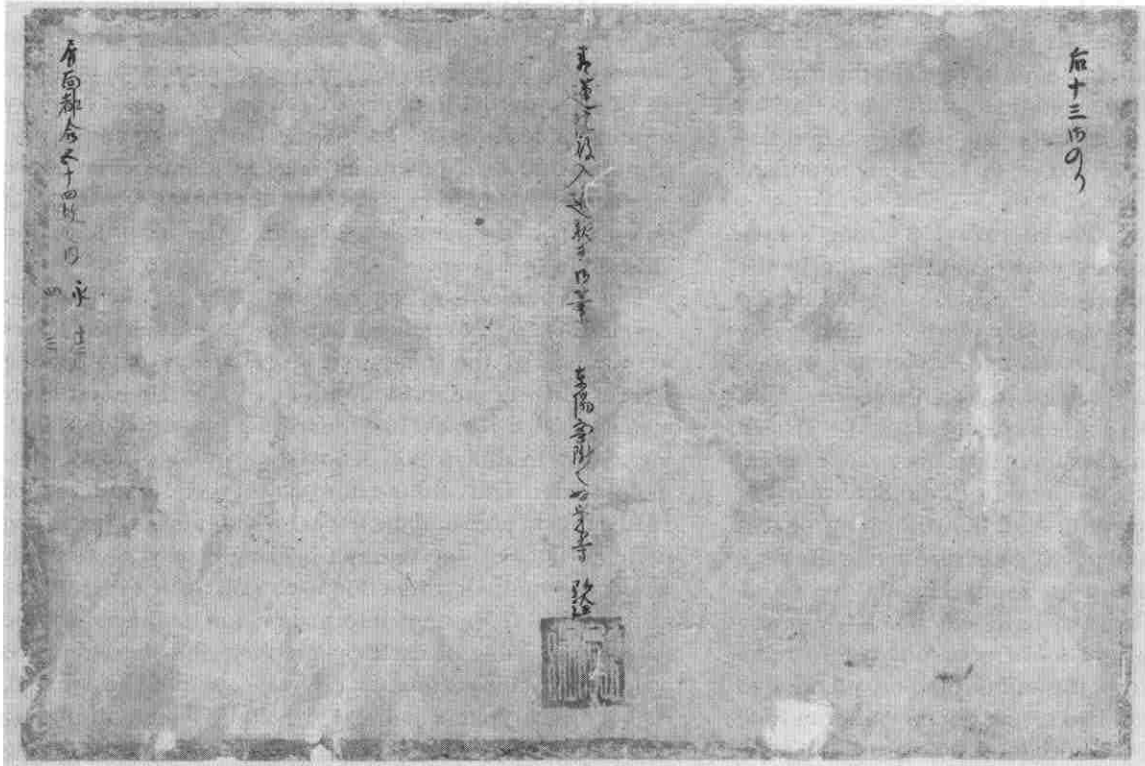
To display fifty-four pairs of leaves to a sizable audience to maximum effect, the folding screen, rather than the booklet or album, offered an ideal format. Arranged across the panels of a pair of large folding screens, the multicolored calligraphy papers and Mitsunobu's vibrant paintings in polychrome

and gold would have enlivened the space, providing a colorful, refulgent backdrop for any social event taking place before them. But the mounted leaves did more than brighten an interior decor. If displayed for one of Sōseki's poetry sessions or lectures on *The Tale of Genji*, for example, the paintings and texts potentially engaged their viewers more interactively, perhaps inspiring new lines of verse, prompting questions on the narrative, or aiding the lecturer in the illustration of a point.

The inscriptions on the backing papers of the Harvard *Genji Album* (Fig. 16) indicate that the fifty-four pairs of leaves were prepared for remounting, presumably onto folding screens, early in the third month of 1516.¹⁰⁵ The most likely scenario is that Hiroaki had the leaves remounted onto folding screens in anticipation of Sōseki's arrival in Suō just a few months later. Thus, on the third day of the fourth month of 1516, Hiroaki prepared the leaves for mounting by inscribing pertinent information on their backing papers: he carefully noted the numeric order for each pair of leaves and the chapter title (important information for mounters),¹⁰⁶ the date,¹⁰⁷ the name of each calligrapher, and the temple to which the paintings and calligraphy sheets would be donated, followed by his name and seal.¹⁰⁸ Folding screens displaying all fifty-four pairs of leaves could thus be set up for use during the upcoming lectures. In fact, the Harvard *Genji Album* paintings and texts were surely made with some form of public display in mind. Along with fan paintings, the practice of pasting a set of *shikishi* illustrating a courtly tale or poetry anthology onto screens had existed since the thirteenth century, and it became more and more common in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹⁰⁹

The inscriptions explicitly connect the work to Hiroaki as the owner,¹¹⁰ stating his intention to donate the paintings and calligraphy to a certain temple named Myōeiji, the precise nature of which has eluded scholars. The reason for their donation to this particular temple lies in the nature of Myōeiji as the Sue family mortuary temple. Hiroaki built the Sōtō Zen-sect temple for his mother sometime before her death in 1508.¹¹¹ Although the monastery still stands in present-day Yamaguchi Prefecture, temple legend states that the only surviving element from the medieval era is the old front gate (Fig. 17).¹¹² Myōeiji's founding abbot was the Zen priest Zengan Tōjun, who was also the second abbot of Rurikōji, the temple that Hiroaki had dedicated in 1492 to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of his father's death.¹¹³ Thus, like Rurikōji, Myōeiji was established as a temple to memorialize one of Hiroaki's parents, and he constructed it near the site of one of his own residences.¹¹⁴

A number of reasons can be posited for the donation of the *Genji* leaves to a family mortuary temple. The offering of objects to a Buddhist temple in the name of the deceased was a common form of memorialization. The donation may have been intended to commemorate one of his mother's important death anniversaries that were (and still are) observed at regular intervals in Buddhist mortuary practice.¹¹⁵ The production of the *Genji* paintings and calligraphies themselves, begun the year after her death, might even have been carried out with a donation to Myōeiji in mind. Still another possibility is that the death of Saburō himself (whose dates are unknown) could have inspired the donation of this object he



16 Inscriptions on backing paper, 1516, from the *Tale of Genji Album, The Law (Minori)*, chap. 40 (photo: Katya Kallsen, ©President and Fellows of Harvard College)



17 Temple gate, Myōeiji, Yamaguchi Prefecture (photo: author)

so painstakingly acquired during his short stay in Kyoto. The possibility of the *Genji Album* being conceived of or ultimately offered as a memorial object does not, however, rule out other functions for the paintings and texts prior to their offering to the temple. Moreover, there was nothing incongruous about the donation of paintings illustrating *The Tale of Genji*—often described as a secular text—to a temple as a form of religious offering. As we shall see, numerous examples of the *Genji* employed in ritual or memorial contexts appear during this period.

Without conclusive documentation, it is impossible to define the exact intentions of the owner of the *Genji Album* in having it created. I speculate, however, that the leaves were employed at poetry gatherings after Saburō's return and, later, donated to Myōeiji, on one of the occasions mentioned

above. This speculation is based on a knowledge of various other cultural practices concerning *The Tale of Genji* that were popular during the Muromachi period. Indeed, the fact that the *Genji Album* leaves could be employed for two such disparate functions points to the sheer complexity of the text's identity during this era. Categories such as "religious" or "secular" fail to capture the full horizon of associations, uses, and practices surrounding *The Tale of Genji*—summed up in what I call the culture of *Genji*—in the life of the literate classes in medieval Japan. While the passages above have attempted to narrate the album's production in the capital and its journey westward, as well as flesh out the full network of human relations within which the album was embedded, the following section casts its net wider, taking a look at this culture of *Genji* that emerged and came to characterize much of the visual and literary culture of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The Culture of *Genji* in Late Medieval Japan

A few centuries after Lady Murasaki Shikibu wrote *The Tale of Genji* in the early decades of the eleventh century, its language had become antiquated and difficult to follow, even for the educated reader. How much more impenetrable the text must have seemed some five centuries later, then, in the generations following the Ōnin War, the period that witnessed the production of the Harvard *Genji Album*. Contrary to what one might expect, however, in no prior age had the courtly tale become so ubiquitous in the lives of those with any claim to cultural distinction. During this period, the fifty-four chapters of *Genji* were inextricably woven into the fabric of literary life through readings, lectures, discussions, plays, calligraphic inscriptions, and paintings. The sum total of these activities was a *Genji* culture that surrounded its

partakers both aurally and visually. This culture, as we shall see, provides a crucial context for an understanding of the full significance of the Harvard *Genji Album*.

In one sense, a “culture of *Genji*” begins with the authorship of the tale itself and extends throughout the entire medieval period. *The Tale of Genji* was inspiring new courtly poetry and “pseudo *Genji*” narratives by the twelfth century; the first theoretical treatise engaging *Genji*, the *Story without a Name* (*Mumyō zōshi*), appeared about 1200;¹¹⁶ two standard editions of the classic, anthologized respectively by Fujiwara Teika and members of the Kawachi Minamoto family, were established by the thirteenth century; and highly influential *Genji* annotations such as the *Kakaishō* were circulating by the fourteenth century.¹¹⁷ A combination of several factors led the reception of *Genji* to undergo qualitative change during the fifteenth century.

The first of these was the revival of interest in *renga*, or linked verse, during the mid- to late fifteenth century, due primarily to the efforts of the courtier Ichijō Kanera (1402–1481) and the poets Shinkei (1406–1475), Sōgi, and Sōchō (1448–1532). As described below, *Genji* proved to be the most important repository of classical models and potential allusions for this popular poetic form. A second reason for the rise of *Genji* culture in the fifteenth century was its importance as source material for plays of the Nō repertory, which also emerged as a highly popular art form at this time, especially among the military elite. A final reason for the emergence of a culture of *Genji* in the late medieval period lies in the disorder and decentralization caused by the Ōnin War, which was waged primarily in the capital and its immediate surroundings. No account can fully capture the disruption this conflict represented for the denizens of Kyoto, and many scholars have pointed to the Ōnin War as a turning point in the political and social history of the Muromachi period. It resulted in the near total loss of authority by the Ashikaga shogunate, along with the empowerment of numerous regional warrior families. Many residents of the ravaged capital were forced to move elsewhere; some fled to relatively nearby Nara, from where they lamented the destruction of the capital.¹¹⁸ Indeed, it has become commonplace to describe the cultural history of this period in terms of a diffusion of Kyoto culture to outlying regions after the Ōnin War, accompanying the flight of courtiers and other members of elite society to the surrounding regions.

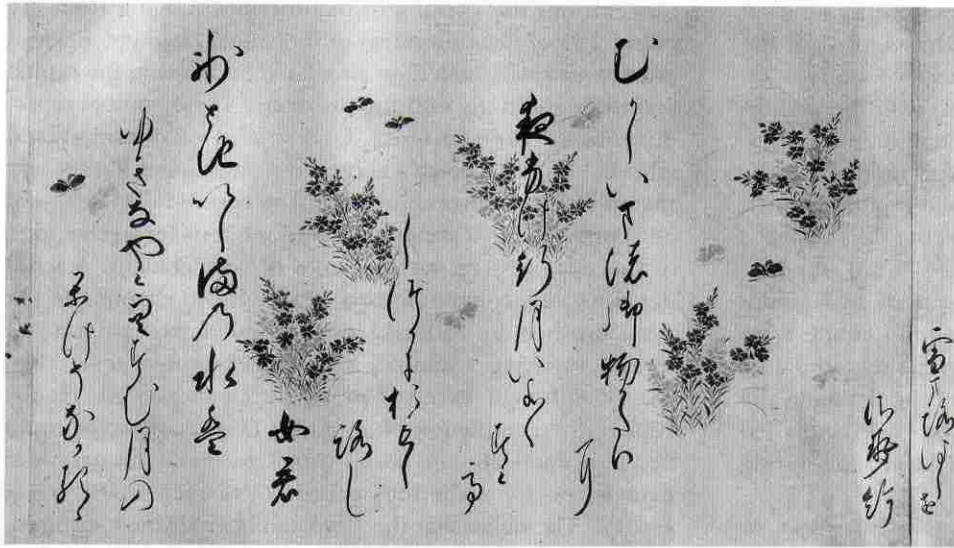
I would argue that the civil war of the Ōnin period caused not so much a diffusion of a “central” culture to the periphery as the construction and active propagation of a “culture of the capital” *simultaneously* in Kyoto and the many “little Kyotos” that dotted the realm. In the aftermath of the war, a new group of figures emerged in the devastated capital who took it upon themselves to preserve the remnants of aristocratic traditions that now seemed particularly fragile in the face of military aggression. At the center of this group were the *renga* poets Sōgi and Shōhaku, along with Sanetaka and the courtiers in his circle, including those who would lend their calligraphy to the Harvard *Genji Album*. To this list must also be added the painter Tosa Mitsunobu, who played a unique role in providing a visual component to the *Genji* culture of the late medieval period.

One of the principal activities of this core group of cog-

noscenti was the copying of manuscripts, ranging from the entire *Tale of Genji* narrative to individual chapters, or even poetic excerpts, which then circulated both within the capital and throughout the outlying provinces. These manual reproductions of *Genji* involved a great deal of erudition and editorial skill. Sanetaka’s access to a substantial library and the opinions of other courtly scholars ensured that he would be kept busy with a steady stream of requests for fresh copies of the *Genji* text, in various states of abridgement. A scroll dated to 1528 containing passages from two chapters of the *Genji* brushed by Sanetaka on decorated paper is one of several surviving examples of such excerpted texts (Fig. 18).¹¹⁹ Although excerpts or single chapters were readily copied, the completion of an entire *Genji* manuscript could be cause for elaborate social rituals to mark the occasion, namely, poetry gatherings called “*Genji* memorials” (*Genji kuyō*).¹²⁰ The belief that the *Genji* had been divinely inspired, authored by Murasaki on a moonlit night at Ishiyamadera temple, and that the author herself was a reincarnation of the bodhisattva Kannon, lent spiritual overtones to the act of copying the *Genji*.¹²¹ Moreover, the apotheosized Murasaki emerged as an iconic figure whose (imaginary) painted portrait became the centerpiece of *Genji* memorials, with one of the earliest examples surviving at Ishiyamadera itself (Fig. 19).¹²²

The same individuals who busily copied *Genji* manuscripts were also responsible for the authorship of secondary *Genji* texts—manuals, digests, and commentaries—whose production reached a fever pitch during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹²³ Commentaries were usually based on *Genji* lectures (*Genji kōshaku*), diligently recorded by attendees, which provide glimpses of the spoken content during these gatherings, such as the one delivered by Sōseki at the Sue residence in 1516. Typically, a *Genji* lecture could span several sessions, with a single chapter remaining the topic of discussion for as many as four or five days.¹²⁴ The lecturer would address the author’s biography, her intent, the origins of the fifty-four chapter titles, and the structure of the narrative as a whole. *Genji* lectures also provided detailed descriptions of the court customs of the early Heian period, including everything from sartorial to gastronomical practices, many of which demanded excavation from long-forgotten manuals of court etiquette. The heart of each lecture, however, rested in line-by-line readings and exegeses of the text.

Aside from the lectures and commentaries on *Genji*, during the late medieval period the work was recycled endlessly in the form of linked-verse poetry. Nobody took more to heart the famous poet Shunzei’s dictum that “to compose poetry without having read the *Genji* was deplorable” than *renga* poets of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹²⁵ Handbooks provided appropriate “linking” words from *Genji* for use in *renga* gatherings, boiling the narrative down to discrete semantic units, including chapter titles, character names, and seasonal motifs, that formed the building blocks for new, collectively authored “chains” of poetry. New genres of *Genji*-specific *renga*, in which poets composed links exclusively related to the narrative and its poetry (*Genji kotoba renga*), came to rival traditional modes of linked verse.¹²⁶ There even arose a genre known as “*Genji* province-name *renga*” (*Genji kokumei renga*), in which poets composed verse based alter-



18 Sanjōnishi Sanetaka, *Tale of Genji Excerpts*, 1520. Private collection



19 *Portrait of Murasaki Shikibu*, ca. 14th century. Ishiyamadera

nately on the names of provinces throughout the realm and the titles of the fifty-four *Genji* chapters.¹²⁷

In addition to its role as the most important muse of linked-verse poets, the *Genji* experienced an extended after-life in the Nō repertory of the Muromachi period. The *Genji* narrative, in which a dashing young courtier enters into myriad love relationships with women, all of which end unhappily, was particularly well suited for rehabilitation by Nō

playwrights; in their works the vengeful ghosts of Genji's brokenhearted lovers often returned to seek karmic retribution or Buddhist rebirth, both major themes of the Nō repertory. The "shining prince" himself almost never appears in these plays, although, as Janet Goff has stated, his "presence is everywhere," serving as a symbol of the earthly attachments from which these ghosts must sever themselves in order to find final peace.¹²⁸ Thus, in the play *The Cicada Shell* (*Utsusemi*), the prince's lover from the *Genji* chapter of the same name appears in the dream of an enthralled Buddhist priest, performing a hypnotic dance for him in exchange for prayers on behalf of her restless spirit; in *Lattice Shutters* (*Hajitomi*), another former lover, the woman of the "Twilight Beauty [*Yūgao*]" chapter, materializes before a curious priest who has wandered into her dilapidated abode in the Fifth Ward of the old capital. She provides her own account of her affair with Genji and her tragic death at the hands of the spirit of a jealous rival; this jealous rival, the Lady Rokujō, is the protagonist of *Lady Aoi* (*Aoi no ue*), a haunting play in which the spirit of this beautiful, elegant, and yet wildly jealous woman is finally subjugated, but not until she has sung her own version of her tempestuous relationship with the philandering prince. Such plays extended the world of Genji into the real-time lives and religious imaginary of their audiences, artfully and mysteriously expanding on Buddhist truths via the raw material of the courtly classic itself. Through the costumes, stage props, and theatrical performance of these *Genji* ghosts, Nō theater played a prominent role in visualizing the text for warriors and aristocrats of the late medieval period. Muromachi elites were so enthralled by this theatrical art that some even tried their own hand at composing librettos.¹²⁹

Not immune to the allure of the Nō theater themselves, Ōuchi clan members and their retainers frequently patronized troupes and actors and often sponsored individual performances at their residences and elsewhere. These performances constituted elaborate spectacles both onstage and off; for programs with as many as a dozen or more plays that lasted well into the night, members of the audience often brought their servants and an abundance of food and drink,

some of which was consumed in sake cups specifically designed for the occasion.¹³⁰ They also provided an important social space for the intermingling of members of the elite classes. Just a few months after Ōuchi Yoshioki entered Kyoto in 1508, when our story concerning the Harvard *Genji Album* begins, he arranged for a Nō performance at his residence, to which he invited the shogunal administrator Hosokawa Takakuni as well as members of the Kyoto aristocracy.¹³¹ This was no coincidence, for such events helped to secure his standing among the social elite of the capital.¹³²

Yoshioki, Sanetaka, and others involved in the production of the Harvard *Genji Album* were thoroughly immersed in the late medieval culture of *Genji*, which has been described above in terms of its manifestations in lectures, linked-verse poetry, and the Nō theater. It is important to keep in mind why *The Tale of Genji* was so meaningful to the cultural life of this period. Any list of answers would have to include first and foremost the high quality of the original text, the legitimation of newly risen social classes, and the maintenance of cultural distinctions among elites in general. But aside from these ready responses, is there any other way of articulating the reasons behind the primacy of these texts in late Muromachi cultural practice? Perhaps the answer lies in how the *Genji* served as source material for activities that brought people together and defined social relationships. It functioned as a bridge between disparate groups from faraway regions, providing them with an imaginary shared literary canon, an imaginary shared past. In the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Japanese social elite, scattered across a broad region, could look to the *Genji* as a communal metanarrative of past glory, which it could continuously re-create, for which it could continuously long. As will be demonstrated below, a close reading of the calligraphy and individual leaves from the Harvard *Genji Album* reveals just how much this shared metanarrative also served to emphasize the idealized imperium of Kyoto itself as a setting for *The Tale of Genji*, collapsing tale and city into each other in order to fashion an image of the capital and its aristocracy for the album's provincial owners.

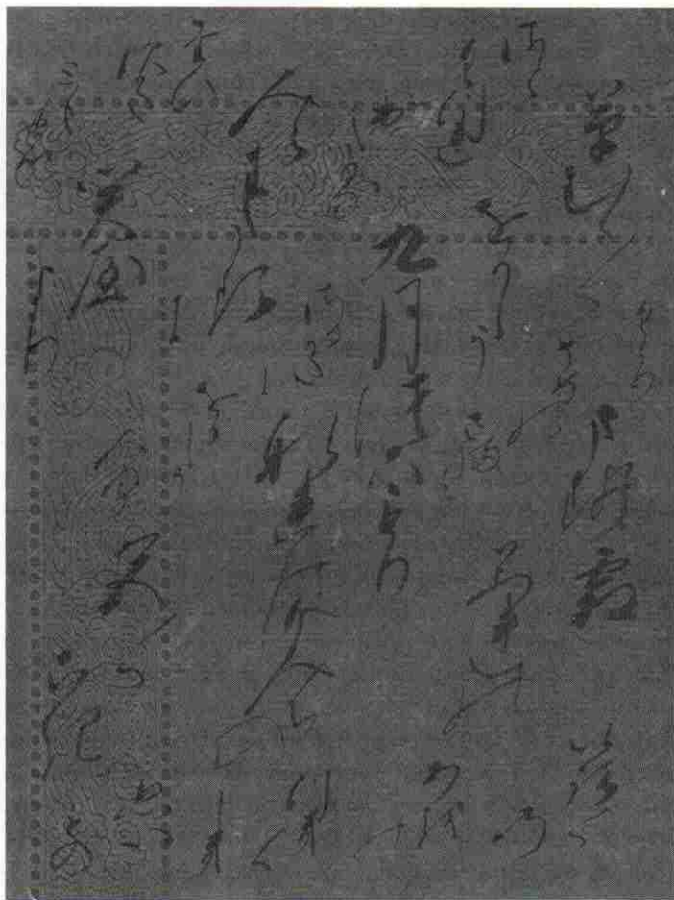
Digesting Genji: Word and Image in the Harvard *Genji Album*

One of the most revealing aspects of the Harvard *Genji Album* is the way in which it coordinates the interplay between its textual excerpts and painted leaves. The dialogic choreography of word and image in many of the album's leaves is a product of the late medieval *Genji* culture within which the album was born—the lectures, readings, annotations, manuals, digests, *renga* gatherings, and Nō plays discussed above—which in many instances determined the *Genji* excerpt chosen for each chapter and allowed viewers to activate the accompanying paintings through these excerpts. It was this frenetic activity and the resulting vast, nebulous store of *Genji* knowledge that the album's editor (Sanetaka) and painter (Mitsunobu) drew on in creating their work. This final section of the article examines first the textual excerpts and calligraphy and then the paintings to demonstrate the results of their collaboration and the range of relations between word and image found amid the leaves of the album. Each of the three leaves taken up for analysis demonstrates in a different manner how a secondary *Genji* text, whether it be a

digest, a *renga* manual, or a Nō play, affected the visualization of the excerpt. At the same time, each leaf also illuminates Mitsunobu's idiosyncratic but sophisticated approach to the paintings in the *Genji Album*. Finally, the most salient features of Mitsunobu's artistry are summarized, along with the album as a whole, most prominently, the tendency of its leaves to emphasize the setting of the tale: the imperial court and, by extension, Kyoto, in its most idealized form. It is this equation of the court and capital with the *Genji*, its most famous cultural product, that imbued the album with significance on its journey westward and pointed the way to important new visual genres of the sixteenth century.

Let us first assess the general nature of the excerpts from the *Tale of Genji* narrative chosen for the album. Although *The Tale of Genji* itself is primarily a prose narrative, it contains some 795 poems that perform a crucial function throughout the text, elliptically revealing the psychological states of its main characters and providing open-ended resolutions to many of their brief encounters that punctuate the narrative. Needless to say, these poems were especially intriguing to later poets, who continuously cited, invoked, and reworked them in the creation of new verse, often on the occasion of linked-verse and other poetry gatherings. This interest in the poems of *The Tale of Genji* also characterizes the Harvard *Genji Album*; of its fifty-four textual excerpts, two-thirds (thirty-six leaves) transcribe poetic passages. Whereas some of these texts excerpt only the poems themselves, sometimes including two poems on one leaf, others include extremely brief prose fragments that either precede or follow the verse and place it in context.¹³³ The album's emphasis on poetry parallels the contemporary interest in *Genji* as source material for linked verse. The abundance of poetic excerpts in the album also recalls the contemporary practice of reading *Genji* poetry on its own, extracted from the narrative and brushed in elegant calligraphy.¹³⁴ The mnemonic function of these excerpts was of particular importance, underscored by the fact that many poems were chosen because they contained the titles of the chapters in the *Genji* and could serve as a kind of shorthand to memorize the flow of the lengthy narrative.

From these poetic excerpts and the eighteen leaves in the Harvard *Genji Album* that transcribe prose passages, the album emerges as an idealized microcosm of *The Tale of Genji*, offering a highly edited sampling of the original text. This sampling tends to emphasize spectacles of courtly life, including processions (chapters 16, 42, 47), ritual performance (chapters 1, 7), and subject matter related to the act of viewing itself, epitomized by numerous scenes of male voyeurs spying on women. Seven such voyeuristic scenes are included in the Harvard *Genji Album* (chapters 3, 5, 28, 34, 45, 50, 52), almost all of which are accompanied by passages describing the scene in front of the male viewer.¹³⁵ The poeticized and fragmented *Genji* embodied by the album was a reflection of the ways in which the tale was experienced in this period. At the same time, the specular *Genji* of Sanetaka and Mitsunobu is the result of a new way of fashioning the *Genji* as representative of a timeless courtly way of life, one in which the tale's visual component was emphasized and imbued with voyeuristic interest as a whole. A closer look at the calligraphy of the excerpts provides insight into how this



20 Jōhōji Kōjo, *At the Pass (Sekiya)*, chap. 16, from the *Tale of Genji Album* (photo: Katya Kallsen, ©President and Fellows of Harvard College)

process of refashioning the *Genji* was (literally) inscribed in the album.

Aristocratic Traces

While the six aristocratic scribes of the *Genji Album* excerpts were all prominent courtiers and active calligraphers, their work has received little attention from historians of Japanese calligraphy. This neglect is due more to disciplinary blind spots than to the quality or influence of their writing style. Medieval courtly calligraphy, especially that of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, has been the target of undeserved prejudice, described by one prominent art historian as “fixed,” having lost “creative will,” and being “of truly poor quality.”¹³⁶ During the same period, the calligraphy of renowned Zen monks, known as “ink traces” or *bokuseki* in Japanese, has received much greater scholarly attention. These works, derived from Chinese calligraphic styles of the Song (960–1279) and Yuan (1279–1368) periods, were increasingly admired by practitioners of the tea ceremony from the sixteenth century on, when a canon of medieval *bokuseki* began to emerge. Courtly calligraphy was thought to have experienced its heyday during the Heian period, and some of that glory was revived only toward the end of the sixteenth century, when Kyoto courtiers and townsmen such as Karasumaru Mitsuhiro (1579–1638), Konoe Nobutada (1565–1614), and Hon’ami Kōetsu (1558–1637) developed highly individual-

istic writing styles based in part on the study of classical calligraphy traditions.

While a full assessment of medieval courtly calligraphy must await another study, this body of work in fact represents an extraordinarily rich and diverse genre in the history of the Japanese art of writing. Far from remaining static, courtly calligraphy during the Muromachi period alone witnessed the birth of at least seventeen new stylistic lineages, some of which went on to play a major role in shaping the calligraphic canon of the Edo period.¹³⁷ Perhaps the fact that many of these lineages branched off from earlier stylistic traditions such as the Sesonji school has led to the widespread perception that they lacked originality. Yet not only does this perception ignore the rich variation and subtle visual appeal of this body of writing, it also fails to take into account one of the primary functions of medieval courtly calligraphy, which was to convey the visible marks of a distinct aristocratic family lineage. The handwriting of these aristocrats consequently came to function as something like a “signature” of their respective lineages, which their descendants developed into calligraphic “schools” in their own right.

The six calligraphic hands of the Harvard *Genji Album* represent five of the most important calligraphic lineages of the early sixteenth century, lineages that were as indicative of the identity of the calligraphers as their names and court rank: both Jōhōji Kōjo (Figs. 20, 23, 25) and Son’ō Jugō (Fig. 28) claimed membership to the oldest and most venerable calligraphic tradition in Kyoto, the Son’en (also known as Shōren’in) school. Founded by the acclaimed calligrapher Prince Son’en (1298–1356), the seventeenth abbot of Shōren’in temple in Kyoto, this lineage in many ways constituted the backbone of courtly calligraphy in the medieval period.¹³⁸ Known for its vigorous brushwork and emphasis on vertical linkage, the Son’en style energized the elegant and understated calligraphy of the earlier Sesonji school. Son’ō Jugō bore the first character of his calligraphic ancestor’s name in his own. His calligraphy was so accomplished that it was distinguished as a separate school, the Son’ō school, with ten practitioners who carried on the tradition.¹³⁹ Jōhōji, although from a different family, was also an accomplished practitioner of this style; his calligraphy was sought out frequently during this period and appears on several contemporary handscrolls.¹⁴⁰

Prince Kunitaka’s calligraphy (Figs. 12, 26, 27) belongs to the Go-Kashiwabara’in school, named after Retired Emperor Go-Kashiwabara (1464–1526); its associations with the imperial seat were unambiguous. Reizei Tamehiro’s brushwork (Figs. 1, 21) was linked to the writing of the legendary thirteenth-century courtier Fujiwara Teika, whose position in the Japanese poetic and scholarly canon was without peer; inclusion of Tamehiro’s calligraphy also added greatly to the prestige of the *Genji Album*. Konoe Hisamichi (Fig. 13), the minister of the left and a courtier of the first rank, traced his origins back to the prestigious Fujiwara family and served throughout the Muromachi period as one of the Five Regent families of the capital. Hisamichi’s institutional importance is reflected in the fact that his writing developed into a Hisamichi school of calligraphy practiced by his descendants and many other courtiers. This was also the case for Sanetaka

himself, who was the founder of his own Sanjō school of calligraphy.

The writing of these six prestigious calligraphers displays the full panoply of strokes, speeds, moods, inflections, and ink gradations at the command of the medieval courtly calligrapher, syncopated by the colorful papers dyed in vermilion, blue, ocher yellow, pink, and green. Each excerpt relates to the paper's dragon borders in a different manner, some ignoring and transgressing them, others skillfully using the borders to offset words or phrases of particular significance. The layout of the words also varies greatly from leaf to leaf, ranging from the controlled columns of *The Green Branch (Sakaki)* (Fig. 23) to the wildly jumbled writing that moves diagonally across the sheet of *At the Pass (Sekiya)* (Fig. 20), each offering a unique graphic design. The calligraphy of the *Genji Album* is thus brimming with visual appeal, and yet this effect is secondary to the sum total of calligraphic (and courtly) lineages it represents, the "aristocratic body" that is inscribed into the work itself. The album becomes, through the hands of its six calligraphers, both a manual reproduction of the *Genji* and a calligraphic representation of courtly society.

Sameness with a Difference: Mitsunobu's Paintings

Tosa Mitsunobu's fifty-four painted leaves respond to the excerpts and their calligraphic expressions in a multitude of ways. On first glance, each of the leaves appears to be a variation on the same simple pattern: gold foil clouds divide the vertical rectangular frame into discrete spatial units, containing one or more characters and seasonal motifs. The settings for these paintings could be either indoor, where prominent architectural lines complicated the compositional design, or outdoor, in which case landscape motifs played a much more important role in structuring the pictorial space. Most common, however, was a half indoor-half outdoor setting, where one or more characters might be placed on a veranda looking out onto a garden scene. Although no earlier or contemporary examples remain for comparison, it is possible that Mitsunobu employed templates in executing each leaf, as the analysis of *The Picture Contest* below suggests. Aside from the composition of each leaf, the characters themselves also appear generic, with distinctions made only between genders, as well as between courtier and noncourtier classes. Thus, the motif of a male courtier could represent any of a number of characters from *The Tale of Genji*, from Genji himself to his son Yūgiri to the young courtier Kaoru, one of the main protagonists of the tale's final chapters.

This apparent sameness of Mitsunobu's paintings was in one sense an intended effect. It represented the continuation of a centuries-long tradition of depicting courtly characters from narrative tales in similar settings with only the subtlest of distinctions, expressed in the razor-thin strokes that textured the eyes and eyebrows, the tilt of a head, or the relationship of the figure to surrounding figures and motifs. Most importantly, difference was *read into* each scene by a viewer informed by an accompanying textual excerpt. Mitsunobu's artistry in the *Genji Album* is most apparent in the way in which he closely calibrates each image with its corresponding inscribed leaf. Such inscriptions, as mentioned above, no longer consisted of the long descriptive prose passages excerpted for handscroll illustrations of the *Genji*, as in earlier

works, but, rather, of allusive poems and brief prose passages chosen for their relevance to the body of secondary texts, linked-verse gatherings, and Nō dramas that characterized late medieval *Genji* culture, brushed by courtiers of impeccable pedigree. Viewers projected identities onto and thereby individualized the figures within the *Genji Album* by taking clues from the accompanying excerpt and all of the associations to which it gave rise. The same applied to the various motifs found in each leaf; this process allowed the album's viewers to employ their own erudition and thereby fully participate in *Genji* culture. In other words, while sameness was the point of Mitsunobu's paintings, only the uninformed would have found them repetitive. At the same time, the artist himself greatly enriched the experience of matching excerpt to picture by inflecting each painting with a different type of word-image relationship, by pictorially embodying this relationship in different ways. The following analyses of three leaves from the *Genji Album* demonstrate the variety found in Mitsunobu's approach.

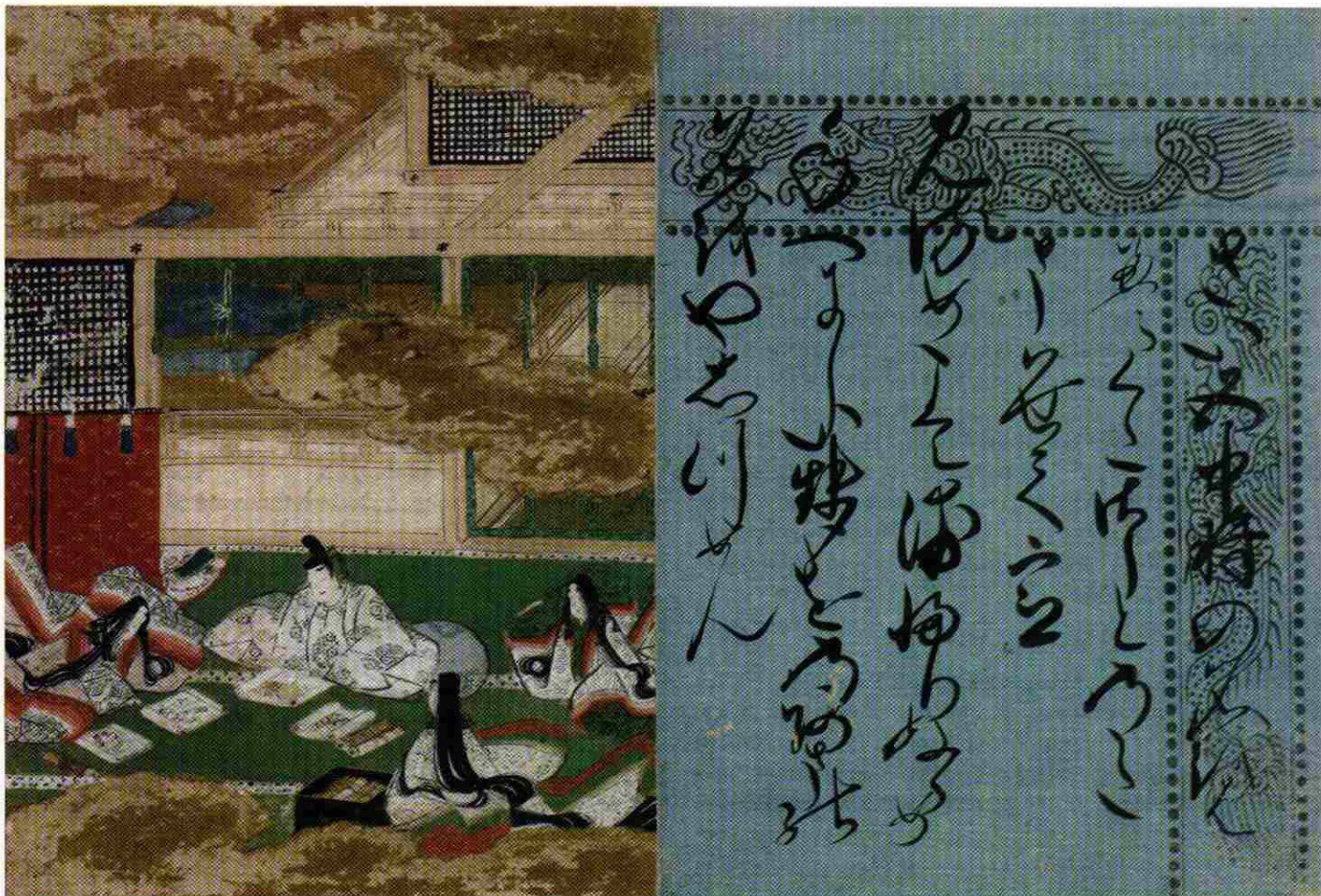
The Picture Contest

A good example of Mitsunobu's ability to adjust *Genji* scenes to differing literary parameters can be found in *The Picture Contest* (Fig. 21), the painted leaf illustrating the seventeenth chapter of *The Tale of Genji*. In this scene, Genji shows his principal wife, Murasaki, the pictorial diaries he kept during a period of exile to the shores of Suma and Akashi from which he has just returned, while the two prepare for a picture contest to be held in front of the emperor. Mitsunobu's painting situates Genji and Murasaki near the center of the composition, in the act of viewing several picture scrolls in the interior of his residential mansion, with two maid-servants looking on to the right. Gold foil clouds border the top and bottom of the composition and waft across the middle. The scene is set with a minimal number of motifs: only the scrolls themselves, a black lacquer box in which they are kept, and a standing red silk screen behind Murasaki. The raised bamboo blinds behind Genji reveal the veranda leading to other portions of the building and a flowing stream in the garden.

Mitsunobu's painting is accompanied by an excerpt from the chapter "The Picture Contest" that cites Empress Fujitsubo's judgment (in verse) on a scroll in a slightly later scene, during a preliminary picture contest among the female attendants at the palace:

"... the name of Narihira is not to be despised.
At first glance, indeed, all that may seem very old, but despite
the years
are we to heap scorn upon the fisherman of Ise?"¹⁴¹

Read in combination with this excerpt, the painted leaf takes on a more unnerving cast than its tranquil surface appearance would indicate. Fujitsubo, a favored consort of the emperor with a striking resemblance to Genji's mother (of whom she represents a surrogate), is Genji's forbidden lover. Her poem, in response to one of Genji's handscrolls presented at the picture contest, makes reference to the famous ninth-century courtier Ariwara no Narihira during his exile,



21 Tosa Mitsunobu and Reizei Tamehiro, *The Picture Contest (Eawase)*, chap. 17, from the *Tale of Genji Album* (photo: Peter Siegel, ©President and Fellows of Harvard College)

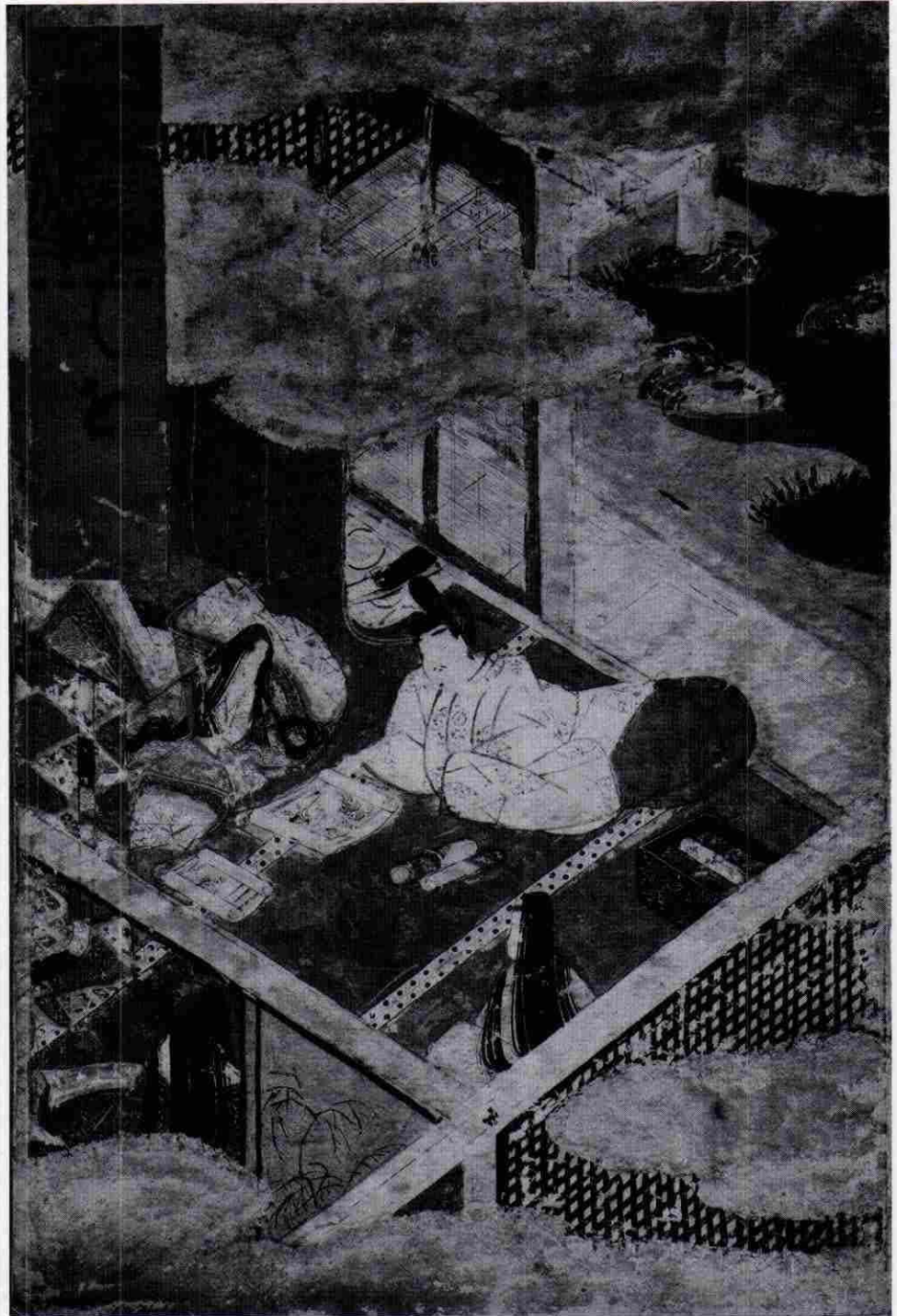
obliquely showing sympathy for Genji's own exile experience. The juxtaposition of Fujitsubo's poem with Mitsunobu's painting has the effect of isolating Genji from Murasaki and the maidservants, associating him instead with Fujitsubo.

To demonstrate how Mitsunobu represents this isolation visually, let us compare it with another Mitsunobu depiction of the same subject, a book cover in the collection of the Tenri University Library in Nara, Japan (Fig. 22), whose dimensions are roughly equal to the leaves of the Harvard *Genji Album*. This work represents one of only two remaining from a set of bound *Genji* volumes with covers painted by Mitsunobu.¹⁴² The Tenri version includes a label in the upper left corner identifying the chapter.¹⁴³ The two paintings are strikingly similar, from the position of Genji and Murasaki and the number of female attendants in the room to the red curtain set up behind Murasaki and the lacquered box containing several unopened scrolls. The similarity of these two illustrations of *The Picture Contest* suggests that Mitsunobu worked with standard compositional formulas when painting *Genji* imagery. The two paintings differ, however, in their depiction of the emotional tenor of the scene.

The Tenri painting accentuates the intimacy between the couple: Genji unrolls one of the pictorial diaries with his right hand in a deliberate gesture of display for Murasaki, as

a gold cloud hovering above visually unites the couple. The two figures tilt their heads slightly toward each other as they examine the same image, sharing a poignant moment, while the borders of the flooring and the architectural lines spatially separate them from the two female attendants. On the other hand, *The Picture Contest* in the Harvard *Genji Album* emphasizes the contrasting emotions of Genji and Murasaki elicited by the painted diaries. The composition suggests that even during this intimate exchange, Genji and Murasaki have withdrawn into their own thoughts concerning the prince's exile. Rather than reaching over and affectionately showing Murasaki a painting, Genji is instead absorbed in his own set of scrolls. The single gold cloud crowning the couple in the Tenri painting here wafts above Genji alone, stressing his position as the protagonist of this scene and visually cuing the viewer to apply Fujitsubo's excerpted poem exclusively to him. Whereas the Tenri painting highlights the harmony between the couple, the Harvard version underlines their alienation from one another.

Why were two such contrasting interpretations of the same moment from the "Picture Contest" chapter possible? To understand the discrepancy between Mitsunobu's two versions of this scene, it is necessary to refer to the common understanding of this passage in certain medieval *Genji* di-

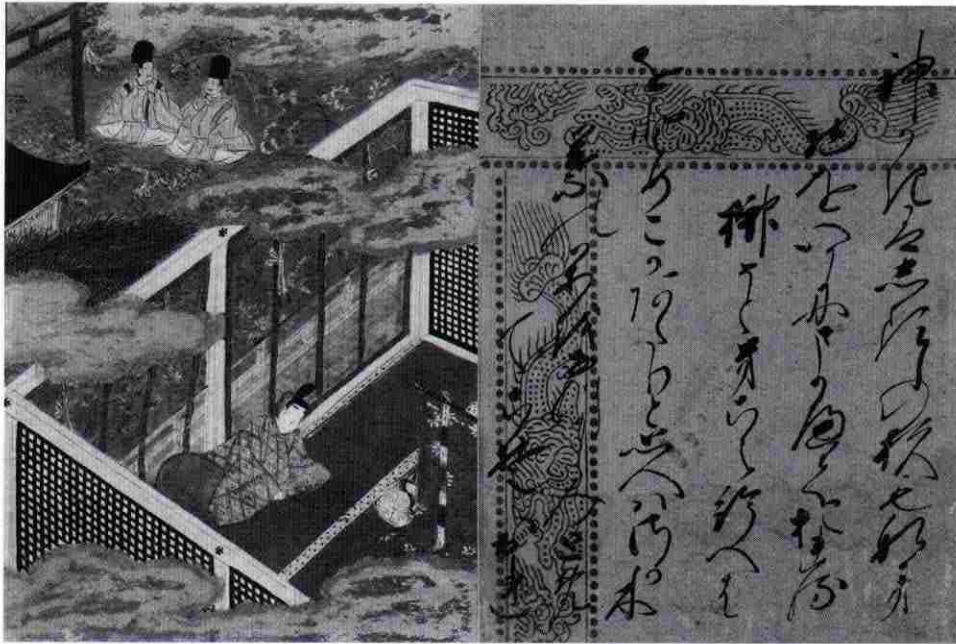


22 Tosa Mitsunobu, *The Picture Contest*, book cover, 16th century. Nara, Tenri University Library

gests as a moment of disunity between the couple. One popular explanatory text focuses, for example, on Murasaki's disappointment that Genji had waited until the imminent public forum of the picture contest to show her these personal renderings, as opposed to sharing them with her privately sooner after his return from exile.¹⁴⁴ Viewing the images deeply saddens Murasaki, as she recalls her lonely days in Genji's absence and feels distant from him now even after his return. Meanwhile, the pictures prompt Genji's thoughts to wander immediately to two other women: the one he has left behind in Akashi and Fujitsubo, with whom he had an affair long ago. Genji admires his own work for its ability to capture the loneliness of his exile in pictorial form and longs

to show the scrolls to Fujitsubo, whose critical judgment he greatly respects. In a sense, the textual excerpt paired with this painting in the Harvard album reflects Genji's wandering mind.

Only the subtlest of differences, however, distinguishes Mitsunobu's two painted versions of the same chapter: the distance between characters, the placement of the tatami borders, the position of a cloud overhead. While they alone may not drastically differentiate the two images, Mitsunobu's variations in *The Picture Contest* become suggestive when viewed in conjunction with Fujitsubo's excerpted poem, and decisive when informed by contemporary *Genji* digests.



23 Tosa Mitsunobu and Jōhōji Kōjo, *The Green Branch (Sakaki)*, chap. 10, from the *Tale of Genji Album* (photo: Katya Kallsen, ©President and Fellows of Harvard College)

The Green Branch

At times, however, Mitsunobu's paintings could be informed by emphases in the calligraphy of its accompanying excerpt, as in *The Green Branch (Sakaki)* (Fig. 23), the leaf illustrating the tenth chapter of the *Genji*. Here Genji is depicted visiting his former lover Lady Rokujō at a temporary shrine lodging in the fields of Saga, on the edge of the capital. Having long been remiss in his communications with her, Genji attempts to mend things with a visit, but their encounter is filled with tension and mutual distrust. Their highly charged exchange would be immortalized in the Muromachi period by the popular Nō play *The Shrine in the Fields (Nonomiya)*.¹⁴⁵ The painted leaf includes a number of motifs commonly associated with this famous scene: an unpainted, rough-hewn Shintō shrine gate in the upper left corner and a brushwood fence announce the rustic atmosphere of the shrine in the fields of Saga; two attendants who have accompanied Genji point to the distance he has traveled; and a profusion of bush clover indicates the autumn setting. Lady Rokujō sits behind a patterned curtain, only the edge of her robe and a flowing strand of hair hinting at her presence. Genji occupies the center of the composition and offers her a branch from a *sakaki* tree, literally, "sacred tree," from which the chapter takes its name. Lady Rokujō rebuffs his overtures in a poem, followed by Genji's response; both poems are transcribed in the album's calligraphy:

[Lady Rokujō's poem]

"When no cedar trees stand as though to draw the eye by the sacred fence

what strange misapprehension led you to pick *sakaki*?"

[Genji's poem]

"This was where she was, the shrine maiden, that I knew, and fond memories

made the scent of *sakaki* my reason to pick a branch."¹⁴⁶

The significance of the poetic exchange, painting, and calligraphy all revolve around the branch of *sakaki* given by Genji to Lady Rokujō as a peace offering. The calligrapher of this excerpt, Jōhōji Kōjo, clearly differentiates the word "sakaki" (also the chapter title) from the surrounding characters, declaring its importance and rendering it legible to the reader. The single character for *sakaki* appears in a highly visible position, at the top of the third line from the right, on an undecorated portion of the paper just below the decorative band at the top of the leaf. It is placed at the head of a column despite the fact that it does not come at a natural break in the poetry, and for further emphasis it is written as a single ideograph rather than phonetically (which would require three separate *hiragana* syllabic characters). The tops of the two lines of calligraphy to its right progressively descend and lead the eye downward toward this *sakaki* character. Occupying the center of the sheet, this character stands out as if announcing the content of the painting to its left.

While the calligraphy of the excerpt recalls the importance of chapter titles in the medieval appreciation of the *Genji*,¹⁴⁷ it also influences the way in which the painting is viewed, as the emphasis on the darkly inked and visually dense *sakaki* character prompts a search for its pictorial counterpart in the accompanying image to the left. The pictorial equivalent of the graph for *sakaki* can be found in the motif of the sacred tree branch held out by Genji (Fig. 24). Mitsunobu places the painted branch at the culmination of a diagonal line that begins with the sloping tops of the first two lines of the calligraphy on the adjacent paper sheet, a line that is continued by the white borders of the tatami and echoed by the architectural lines of the painting. The painting thus interacts with the calligraphy, while both the graphic and pictorial representations of the *sakaki* branch function as centripetal presences in their respective leaves. The sensitivity of *The Green Branch* to its accompanying leaf represents yet another

dimension of Mitsunobu's contribution to the Harvard *Genji Album*.

The Twilight Beauty

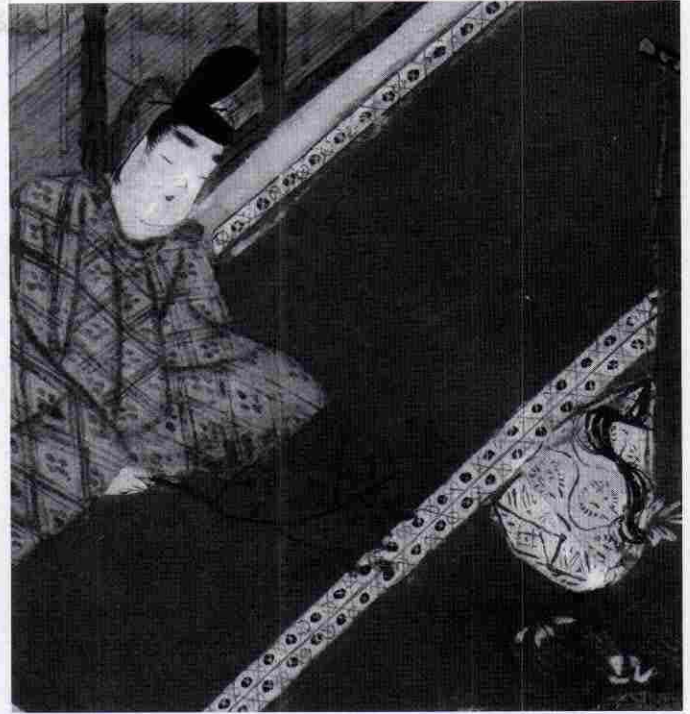
If *The Green Branch* resonates with its calligraphic counterpart, *The Twilight Beauty* (*Yūgao*) (Fig. 25), the fourth painted leaf in the album, embellishes its accompanying excerpt with chains of imagery filled with synesthetic and spiritual resonance. *The Twilight Beauty* depicts a highly unusual scene in *Genji* iconography: the prince's second visit to the home of Yūgao (named after the "twilight beauty" or "evening faces" flower), his lover of nonaristocratic origin.¹⁴⁸ The painting appears to correspond to a passage in the chapter describing how amid the unfamiliar surroundings of Yūgao's residence, Genji is distracted by a multitude of different sounds throughout the night: the chatter of neighbors' voices mingling with the more poetic calls of wild geese and the singing of autumn insects, women fulling cloth in the earliest hours of the morning while the moon is still bright, the voice of an old man at dawn prostrating himself while chanting Buddhist prayers. The painting visualizes many of the sources of these evocative sounds. It positions the central couple in the lower right corner of the composition, separated by walls and clouds from other rooms and residences. Sliding doors near the couple open onto a view of the garden, full of autumn grasses (from where the chirping emanates), flowers, and tall clumps of bamboo that extend up beyond the woven fence surrounding the courtyard. A full, silver moon (now blackened from oxidation) and a gaggle of wild geese appear in the upper left corner of the painting, while two women full cloth in the upper right. In the lower left corner, an old man kneels before an altar and intones Buddhist prayers.¹⁴⁹

Although *The Twilight Beauty* is thus filled with a broad array of motifs, the accompanying excerpt includes only Genji's simple poem commenting on the prayers of the pious old man:

*"Let your own steps take the path this good man follows so devotedly
and in that age yet to come still uphold the bond we share."¹⁵⁰*

Genji's poem, transcribed in the excerpt, adds a Buddhist, supernatural tone to an otherwise romantic interlude. It does so by invoking the tragic episode following the evening encounter of Genji and Yūgao in the "Twilight Beauty" chapter, in which Yūgao dies suddenly after Genji takes her to an abandoned villa, her death attributed to the jealous spirit of Lady Rokujō (Genji's neglected lover whom he visits in the "Green Branch" chapter).

The contrast between the single poem of the excerpt and the abundant imagery of the painting creates a discrepancy between word and image, a gap that is understood only through recourse to the dramatic and poetic commentary on the "Twilight Beauty" chapter of the medieval period. The supernatural mood of the "Twilight Beauty" chapter and Yūgao's death were made the subject of an elegant fifteenth-century *Nō* play, also entitled *The Twilight Beauty* (*Yūgao*), attributed to the playwright Zeami Motokiyo (1363–1443).¹⁵¹ Zeami's play focuses on the spirit possession, death, and subsequent salvation of the Yūgao character, whose ghost



24 *The Green Branch*, detail (photo: Katya Kallsen, ©President and Fellows of Harvard College)

becomes the play's protagonist. The same poem by Genji that graces the Harvard album's calligraphy leaf is chanted over and over in the *Nō* play and repeated again at the climax of the performance, immediately preceding Yūgao's embarkation on the path toward Buddhist enlightenment.¹⁵² Genji's evocative poem, which alludes to both bonds of love and karmic fate, would have been immediately recognizable to medieval viewers as the pivotal verse from the dramatic production of *The Twilight Beauty*.

Mitsunobu thus pictorialized the pious old man in the midst of his prayers, but he gives the image greater resonance by combining it with an illustration of Genji's last evening with Yūgao. By including motifs from distinct temporal moments throughout Genji's visit and distributing each source of sound across the pictorial surface, the artist mingled the intonations of the old man with the other, melancholic sounds of an autumn evening. In this way, the chanting echoes throughout the leaf, casting a supernatural and atmospheric pall across the illustration. Some of the motifs, however, also pictorialize verbal lists of linking words and phrases associated with the chapter of the same name in *renga* manuals—"Yūgao's cottage," the "sound of fulling cloth," and "prostrating" (a keyword for the old man intoning prayers)—situating them within the painting in such a way as to facilitate recollection: gold clouds and architectural lines clearly divide the painting into distinct quadrants, isolating motifs of symbolic and syntagmatic value.¹⁵³ These are combined with motifs not directly associated with the "Twilight Beauty" chapter in *renga* manuals, such as the wild geese, full moon, and bush clover, which functioned as standard seasonal motifs for autumn in the older poetic form of *waka*.¹⁵⁴ Thus, not only does Mitsunobu successfully recast Genji and Yūgao's romantic evening through the salvific lens of medieval *Genji Nō*,



25 Tosa Mitsunobu and Jōhōji Kōjo, *The Twilight Beauty* (*Yūgao*), chap. 4, from the *Tale of Genji Album* (photo: Peter Siegel, ©President and Fellows of Harvard College)

thereby allowing its accompanying excerpt to reverberate much more widely, but he creates an interactive image whereby the viewer, cued by the presence of *renga* linking words for the “Twilight Beauty” chapter, could construct new chains of poetry from the painting.

Genji “In and around the Capital”

In its evocative, montagelike transcription of sonic experience in spatial terms, *The Twilight Beauty* represents the highest achievement of Mitsunobu’s contribution to the *Genji Album*. Indeed, all three paintings examined above show Mitsunobu to be an informed artist fully engaged with the *Genji* culture of his time. They also suggest that he closely consulted Sanetaka, the editor of the excerpts, and possibly other contributors to the album, such as Gensei and the remaining calligraphers. Their coordinated efforts resulted in a pictorialized *Genji* well suited to the exigencies of its age. Yet aside from Mitsunobu’s creative solutions to the pictorialization of excerpts in individual leaves and the full referencing of secondary *Genji* texts throughout the album, what can be said about the overall nature of the *Genji Album*? What kind of *Genji* did it represent, and what did this signify for Sue Saburō and the rest of the album’s viewers in the “far west”?

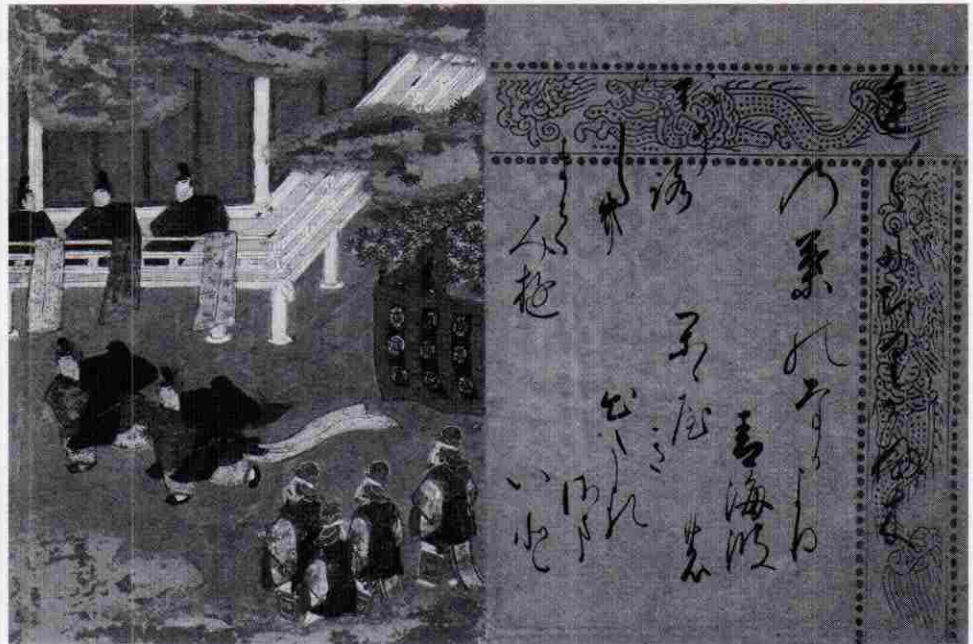
A number of leaves representing variations on a similar pattern help to place the significance of the *Genji Album* in a

broader context. All involve a male voyeur watching, through a fence or barrier, one or more women absorbed in some sort of activity. Take, for example, *The Maiden of the Bridge* (*Hashihime*) (Fig. 26), illustrating the forty-fifth chapter of the album. Here, Kaoru (one of the principal characters from the last ten chapters in the narrative after Genji’s death) stands in the lower right corner of the composition, peering through an opening in a bamboo fence to view one of two sisters absorbed in a discussion about the moon. The accompanying excerpt describes what Kaoru sees when he peers into the opening, allowing the viewer to gaze along with him, while simultaneously witnessing the prince’s voyeurism as a third party. The entire image is about looking. Such scenes—known as “peeking through the fence” (*kaimami*)—were popular components in the tradition of *Genji* pictorialization from its inception, dating as far back as the twelfth century.¹⁵⁵ Yet in the Harvard *Genji Album*, courtly voyeurism is taken to a new level; aside from *The Maiden of the Bridge*, five other leaves, *The Cicada Shell* (3), *Young Murasaki* (5), *The Typhoon* (28), *The Eastern Cottage* (50), and *The Mayfly* (52), follow a similar pattern: a male figure in the lower right corner, separated by a partition, viewing courtly women involved in activities ranging from gazing at the moon to playing *go*.¹⁵⁶ Aside from putting on display the unabashedly gendered gaze of the male viewer, these “peeks through the fence”

26 Tosa Mitsunobu and Prince Fushiminomiya Kunitaka, *The Maiden of the Bridge (Hashihime)*, chap. 45, from *The Tale of Genji Album* (photo: Katya Kallsen, ©President and Fellows of Harvard College)



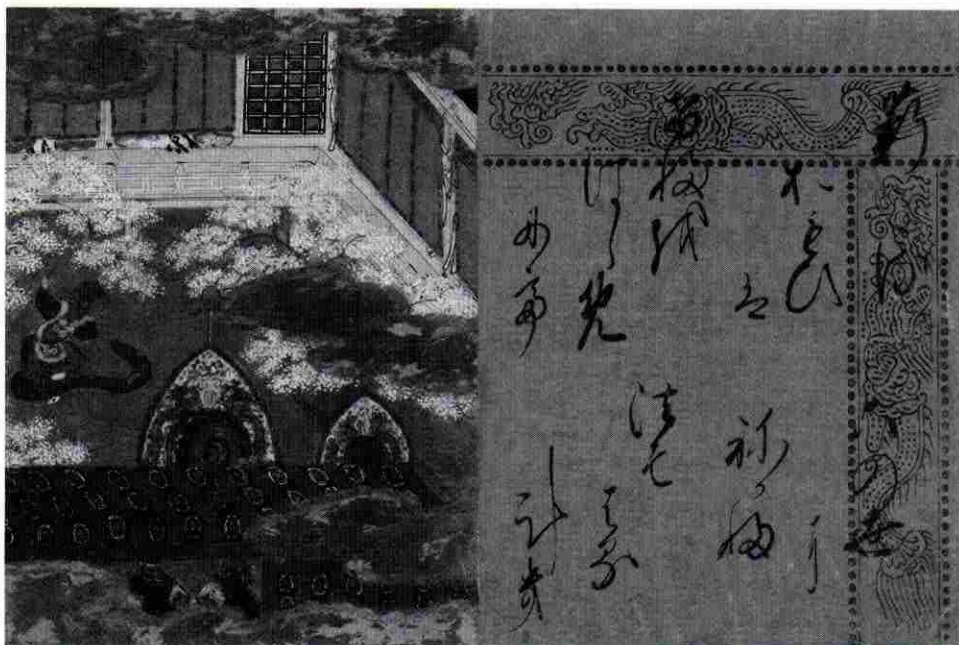
27 Tosa Mitsunobu and Prince Fushiminomiya Kunitaka, *Beneath the Autumn Leaves (Momijinoga)*, chap. 7, from the *Tale of Genji Album* (photo: Katya Kallsen, ©President and Fellows of Harvard College)



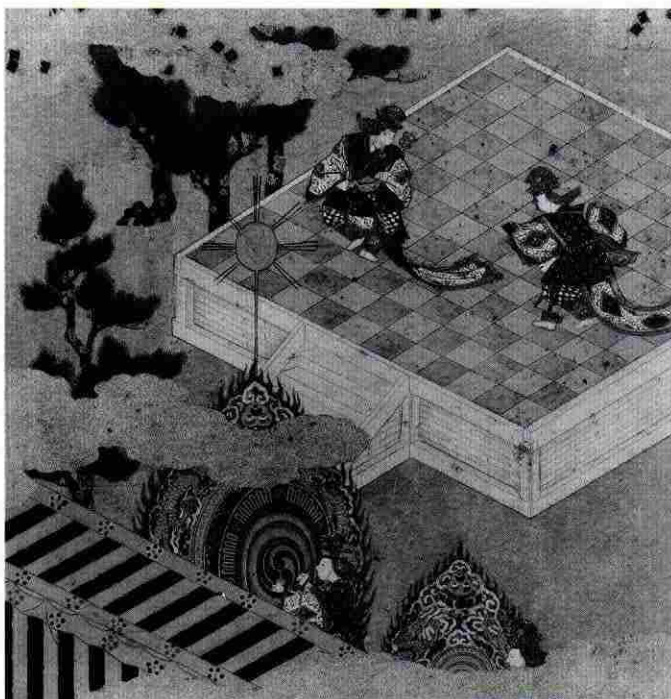
sprinkled throughout the album also effectively place the world of *Genji* on a stage, for audiences both inside and outside the painting.

Yet placing voyeurism on display is not the only characteristic of such leaves. When considered alongside a host of other paintings in the Harvard *Genji Album* that emphasize court custom, ritual, and pageantry, the world of the *Genji* takes on the trappings of a utopian imperial court, located in no specific tale or time. This idealized court is visualized, for example, through Genji and his fellow courtier Tō no Chūjō's performance of the "Dance of the Blue Waves" in *Beneath the Autumn Leaves* (Fig. 27), or in the form of two elaborate dragon boats that navigate the pond outside Murasaki's quarters in Genji's residence in *Butter-*

flies (chapter 24). Lavish aristocratic ritual and performance are the subjects of contemplation in the representations of the archery contest of *The Fireflies* (chapter 25) and the colorful "Dance of General Ling" in *The Law* (Fig. 28). In the latter image, the choice of such a sumptuous and spectacular scene is all the more striking when one considers that this is the most tragic chapter of the entire tale, during which Genji's principal consort Murasaki passes away, plunging the prince into the darkest and most brooding period of his life, one year before it, too, comes to an end. While the scene possesses religious content, taking place as it does within the context of services intended to cure Murasaki, the image in the Harvard album ultimately serves as a showcase for courtly splendor.



28 Tosa Mitsunobu and Shōren'in
Son'ō Jugō, *The Law (Minori)*, chap.
40, from the *Tale of Genji Album*
(photo: Katya Kallsen, ©President and
Fellows of Harvard College)

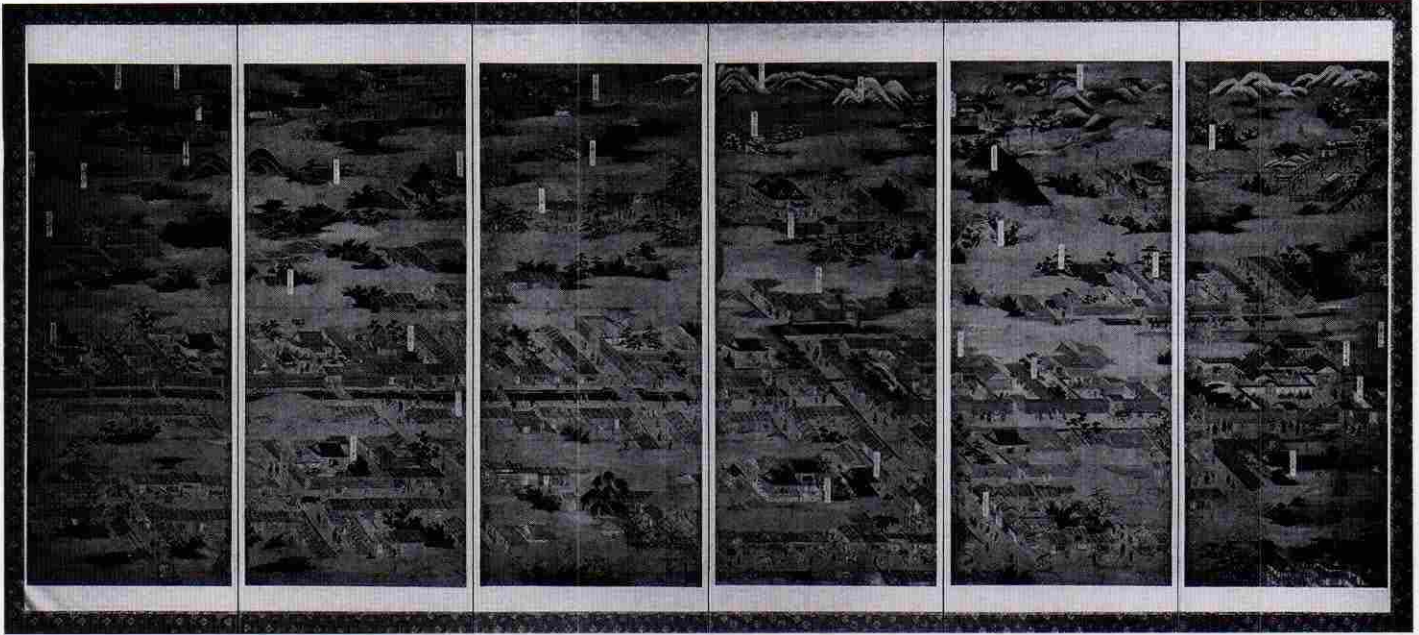


29 Tosa Mitsunori, *Bugaku: Shin'ohajin raku Dance*, from
Miscellaneous Album, ca. 17th century. Tokyo National Museum

This pictorialization of a timeless court is itself one of the most salient characteristics of the *Genji Album*. Leaf after leaf, it makes a point of cataloguing the rituals, musical performances, elegant pastimes, and Buddhist ceremonies of the aristocratic calendar, as if heeding Ichijō Kanera's insistence that *The Tale of Genji* be used as a "primer in aesthetics and good manners that all courtiers and all who wish to be thought of as courtly, including men of the warrior classes, should approach with the same seriousness as they do other canonical texts, from the *Tales of Ise* and the imperial anthol-

ogies to the Confucian classics."¹⁵⁷ The leaves mentioned above drastically reduce the number of spectators within the scene or remove them almost entirely from view. *The Law* (Fig. 28), for example, shows only the edges of robes peeking out from bamboo blinds, which distinguishes it from numerous other renditions of this scene that depict Murasaki and Genji as visible spectators.¹⁵⁸ Internal viewers are similarly absent from the paintings of the chapters *Beneath the Autumn Leaves*, *Butterflies*, and *The Fireflies*, for which the external viewer becomes the implied spectator of the courtly rituals on display. In this regard Mitsunobu's paintings bear a striking resemblance to those in albums by later Tosa artists (Fig. 29) that were unambiguous in their function as visual records of courtly pageantry.

For its eager viewers in Suō Province, the *Genji Album* fashioned an idealized imperial court, one that seemed all the more fantastic in an age when the real court's material base had eroded to the point where Emperor Go-Kashiwabara postponed his own enthronement ceremony by twenty-one years for lack of funds.¹⁵⁹ This was certainly not the luxurious cosmology of the imperial court witnessed in the leaves of the *Genji Album*, from the very first image of the first leaf, *The Paulownia Pavilion (Kiritsubo)* (Fig. 12), which depicts the interior of the emperor's living quarters (Seiryōden) in the imperial palace, the center of imperial life and symbolic axis of the Japanese polity. For Sue Saburō and Hiroaki, the depiction of courtiers lined up in attendance to the emperor, along with the courtly *gagaku* dancing, zither playing, moon gazing, surreptitious encounters on palace verandas, and appreciation of cherry blossoms in full bloom found in the other leaves, signified more than simply representations of the "original text" of *The Tale of Genji*. This visual corpus evoked a timeless imperium that, in conjunction with the calligraphic traces of the leading aristocratic lineages of the capital, amounted to an embodiment of the aristocratic social body in Kyoto, both in its imaginary, eternal manifestation and in its real-time, present existence. It was this image



30 *Scenes in and around the Capital*, left screen (*kamigyō*) of a pair of sixfold screens, 16th century. Sakura City, National Museum of Japanese History (Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan)



31 *Scenes in and around the Capital*, detail of the Hosokawa shogunal administrator's mansion

that Sanetaka and his circle took a leading role in fashioning in the generations after the Ōnin War.

That the painter Mitsunobu also played an important role in this process is evident not just from the Harvard *Genji Album* but also from another important painting genre associated with his name. "Scenes in and around the capital" (*rakuchū rakugai zu*), which depicted famous sites in Kyoto

and its environs in both the fan and screen format, represented one of the most prominent painting genres of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Japan, a genre thought to have been inaugurated by Mitsunobu himself.¹⁶⁰ In the last days of 1506, Sanetaka recorded in his diary that the courtier Kanroji Motonaga (1457–1527) showed him a pair of folding screens newly commissioned by Asakura Sadakage (1473–

1512) of Echizen Province, north of Kyoto along the Japan Sea coast.¹⁶¹ Sanetaka notes that the paintings were by Mitsunobu and depicted "scenes of the capital" (*kyōchūga*).¹⁶² Although Mitsunobu's screens no longer survive, later examples of such works, which came to be known as "scenes in and around the capital," give us a good idea of the appearance of what Sanetaka referred to as Mitsunobu's "new type of painting." The earliest extant example of this genre is a pair of screens in the National Museum of Japanese History (Fig. 30), thought to date to the first half of the sixteenth century.¹⁶³ Across the panels of this screen unfolds a panoramic view of the eastern and northern sections of the capital, complete with the imperial palace, warrior residences, famous temples and shrines, streets lined with commoners, and the famous Gion Festival of summer, with the surrounding hills and mountains serving as a backdrop. Such sweeping depictions of the city, as recent research has shown, may have represented the specific viewpoints of military leaders who wished to "possess" the city both militarily and virtually, through visual representation, and were highly popular among the warrior classes in the next two centuries.

Mitsunobu's "scenes of the capital" were surely of the same basic appearance, and it is of historical significance that his screens of this subject, dated to 1506, and the *Tale of Genji Album* of 1510 were both painted for powerful and culturally ambitious warriors—the Sue and the Asakura—based in provincial domains but who had spent some time in the capital. Through Mitsunobu's paintings, Sue Saburō and Asakura Sadakage were able to re-create the center on the "periphery." It was their efforts, primarily in the establishment of surrogate capitals in outlying regions such as Suō and Echizen, that provided the engine for new representations of imperial life and the capital in medieval Japan. The historical proximity of the Harvard *Genji Album* and screens depicting Kyoto is therefore no coincidence. Their representations of, respectively, the imaginary and timeless courtly elegance of *The Tale of Genji* and the real-time capital and its inhabitants (Fig. 31) stemmed from the same desire to fashion an image of the capital *pictorially* for new satellite capitals modeled upon it. Later chronicles record that in the late sixteenth century, the military warlord Oda Nobunaga made peace with his rival Ueda Kenshin by offering him two pairs of screens, one of *The Tale of Genji* and the other of *Scenes in and around the Capital* by the artist Kanō Eitoku (1543–1590), a screen that still survives and is now designated a National Treasure.¹⁶⁴ That such paintings were thought to have been paired in a gift from one provincial warlord to another is indicative of the close association of these two painting themes, of the work they performed in collapsing past and present, court and capital into one unified and imaginary cosmology of Kyoto court life and identity. The origins of this close association can be traced to the efforts of Sanetaka, his circle, and Mitsunobu in the generations after the Ōnin War. And it is most eloquently and sophisticatedly embodied by the 108 leaves of the Harvard *Genji Album*.

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Notes

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This article is dedicated to the late Professor Chino Kaori, whose scholarship and personal encouragement made the research presented here possible.

1. Passages and chapter titles used in this article are taken from Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, trans. Royall Tyler (New York: Viking, 2001), the third and most recent English translation of the tale.

2. During a recent conservation the fifty-four pairs of leaves were remounted in two albums, as seen in Fig. 2. Previously they were mounted in a single album but, as will be discussed below, this was not the original format. It should also be noted that the painting leaf for chapter 53 is a later replacement; the other 107 leaves in the album, however, are original.

3. Paintings from a booklet of chapter 52, "A Drifting Boat [*Ukifune*]," executed in ink monochrome, date to the mid-13th century and are divided between the collections of the Yamato Bunkakan and the Tokugawa Reimeikai; see Akiyama Terukazu, "Hakubyō-e-iri Genji monogatari: 'Ukifune,' 'Kagerō' no maki ni tsuite," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 227 (1962): 207–24.

4. The nineteen extant paintings and twenty-seven textual excerpts and fragments from this set are divided between the collections of the Tokugawa and Gotoh museums and private collections; for the best reproductions, see the Gotoh Museum catalogue *Kokuhō Genji monogatari emaki* (Tokyo: Gotoh Museum, 2000). Two scrolls from an early 14th-century *Genji* scroll set now in the Tenri University Library and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, are the only other extant *Genji* handscrolls that predate the 16th century; see Komatsu Shigemitsu, ed., *Nihon no emaki*, vol. 18 (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1988). Nevertheless, numerous documentary references to *Genji* scrolls attest to their continued production; see Akiyama Terukazu, *Genji-e*, vol. 119 of *Nihon no bijutsu* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1976).

5. For a survey that takes into account most of these *Genji* fan sets from the Muromachi period, some of which have only recently come to light, see Taguchi Eiichi, "Genji-e no keifu: Shudai to hensō," and "Genji-e chōbetsu bamen ichiran," in *Gōka 'Genji-e' no sekai: Genji monogatari*, ed. Akiyama Ken and Taguchi Eiichi (Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1998), 275–301. Among these sets, the sixty fans pasted on folding screens in the Jōdoji temple collection are close in terms of date and content to the Harvard *Genji Album*; see *ibid.*, 248–55; and Akiyama Terukazu, "Muromachi jidai no Genji-e senmen ni tsuite: Jōdoji zō 'Genji monogatari e senmen hari byōbu' wo chūshin ni," *Kokka* 1088 (1985): 17–42.

6. References to folding screens by Tosa Mitsunobu's son Tosa Mitsumochi (fl. mid-16th century) depicting a single scene from *The Tale of Genji*, the "Confrontation of Carriages" from the "Heart-to-Heart [*Aoi*]" chapter, appear in the diary of the female attendants of the imperial court (*Oyudono ue no*

nikki) in the year 1560. Aizawa Masahiko examines all of these diary entries and connects them to an extant painting now in the collection of Ninnaji temple; Aizawa, "Den Tosa Mitsumochi hitsu 'Kuruma arasoï byôbu' no hissha mondai ni tsuite," *Kokka* 1198 (1995): 9–21.

7. A wealth of extant *Genji* albums by Tosa Mitsuyoshi (1539–1613), Tosa Mitsunori (1583–1638), Tosa Mitsuoki (1617–1691), and Sumiyoshi Jokei (1598–1670), for example, demonstrate the boom in album production that occurred in the 17th century. Important studies on several of these albums include Sakakibara Satoru, ed., *Edo meisaku gajô zenshû*, vol. 5, *Tosa-ha, Sumiyoshi-ha: Mitsunori, Mitsuoki, Gukei* (Tokyo: Shinshindô, 1993); idem, "Sumiyoshi-ha 'Genji-e' kaidai: Tsukusho bon kotobagaki," *Suntory Bijutsukan romshû*, no. 3 (1989): 5–181; *Izumi-shi Kubosô Kinen Bijutsukan Genji monogatari tekagami kenkyû* (Izumi-shi: Izumi-shi Kubosô Kinen Bijutsukan, 1992); and Kano Hiroyuki et al., *Kyoto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan zô Genji monogatari gajô* (Tokyo: Benseisha, 1997).

8. *Shikishi*, literally, "colored papers," refer to square paper sheets, often dyed and decorated, traditionally used as the ground for calligraphic inscriptions of poetry since the Heian period (794–1185). The inscribed squares were frequently pasted onto folding-screen and sliding-door paintings and read in conjunction with painted images; later on, they became a format for small-scale paintings themselves. The earliest recorded example of *Genji* paintings on *shikishi* were those pasted onto a pair of folding screens for use by the shogun Prince Munetaka (1242–1274) in the mid-13th century; see Akiyama (as in n. 4), 38.

9. For more on the phenomenon of Edo-period attributions to Tosa Mitsunobu and the construction of this artist's identity in later periods, see Melinda Takeuchi, "Tosa Mitsunobu" to iu mei no chishikitai no kôsei to ikô/idô," in *Nihon ni okeru shûkyô to bungaku: Sôritsu jissainen kinen hokusai shinpojiumu* (Kyoto: Kokusai Nihon Bunka Kenkyû Sentô, 2000), 182–90. This article will appear in English in Melinda Takeuchi, ed., *The Artist as Professional in Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, in press).

10. One exception, however, was Julia Meech, who recognized the album's late medieval style and published it as a mid-16th century work by an anonymous Tosa artist, in "Lover's Adrift: A Matter of Interpretation," in *The Real, the Fake, and the Masterpiece*, ed. Mary F. Linda (New York: Asia Society Galleries, 1988), 20–22.

11. Chino Kaori introduced two leaves of the album in *Sesshû to Yamato-e byôbu*, vol. 13 of *Nihon bijutsu zenshû* (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1993). At the time, however, the calligraphic excerpts were considered later, Edo-period additions.

12. Chino et al. This issue of *Kokka* devoted to the Harvard *Genji Album* includes descriptions of its paintings, transcriptions of its texts, and a research note by Kasashima Tadayuki, "Hâbado Daigaku Bijutsukan zô 'Genji monogatari gajô' kotobagaki no shofû to seisaku nendai," *Kokka* 1222 (1997): 53, in which he identifies through stylistic analysis five of the album's six calligraphers.

13. Melissa McCormick, "Hâbado Daigaku Bijutsukan zô 'Genji monogatari gajô' to 'Sanetaka kôki' shosai no 'Genji-e shikishi,'" *Kokka* 1241 (1999): 27–28.

14. See the report published by the conservation studio, Oka Bokkôdô, *Shûfuku*, vol. 6 (Kyoto: Oka Bokkôdô, 2000), 6–16 and 51 for a summary in English.

15. For a concise description of Masamoto's coup of 1493 and his audacious capture of the shogun Yoshitane, see Mary Elizabeth Berry, *The Culture of Civil War in Kyoto* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 44–50.

16. Unable to become shogunal administrator (a hereditary post), Yoshioki assumed the newly created position of deputy administrator but remained the central figure in the new military alliance; see Fukuo Takeichirô, "Ôuchi Yoshioki," in *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kôbunkan, 1980), 515.

17. The Ôuchi constructed a mighty power base in their home provinces of Suô and Nagato and periodically extended their reach into the neighboring provinces of Iwami and Aki, as well as Buzen, Chikuzen, and Bungo provinces in northern Kyûshû; see Matsuoka Hisato, with Peter J. Arnesen, "The Sengoku Daimyo of Western Japan: The Case of the Ôuchi," in *Japan before Tokugawa: Political Consolidation and Economic Growth, 1500 to 1650*, ed. John Whitney Hall, Nagahara Keiji, and Kozo Yamamura (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 64–100.

18. As frequently noted, some "little Kyotos" even emulated the landscape of the capital, with mountains, rivers, and temples renamed after famous sites in Kyoto; see *Kyoto no rekishi*, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Gakugei shorin, 1968), 671. A detailed discussion of patronage and cultural activities in several "little Kyotos" can be found in Yonehara.

19. Most ships originated in Hyôgo and passed through the strait between Nagato and Buzen provinces in order to reach the port Hakata in Kyûshû, from which the boats would then set sail to the continent, coming ashore at Ningbo; see Tanaka Takeo, "Kenminsen," in *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kôbunkan, 1985), 227.

20. The Ming government imposed trade restrictions in the mid-15th century, limiting the number of Japanese ships to three and the number of passengers to three hundred, and enforcing ten-year intervals between envoys. The Japanese shogunate wielded the power to issue official certificates, or "tallies," which were inspected on a ship's arrival at the Chinese port of Ningbo and the Ming capital of Peking; see *ibid.*, 226–27. By reinstalling the shogun Yoshitane in 1508, Ôuchi Yoshioki ensured official authorization of

his own fleet of ships by the shogunate and paved the way for an Ôuchi monopoly of the Ming tally trade.

21. Over their successive generations of rule, the Ôuchi amassed a sizable library of Japanese classical literature, Chinese Confucian works, and Buddhist sutras, some of which were procured through special envoys to Korea, and by the late 15th century courtiers in Kyoto were borrowing works from Suô; see Yonehara, 579–608. A number of individuals from Kyoto took up permanent residence in Suô, including the courtier Sanjô Kimiatsu (d. 1507) and the most famous monk-painter of the Muromachi period, Sesshû Tôyô (1420–1506), who arrived in Suô in 1464, took an Ôuchi-sponsored boat to China in 1467, and returned in 1469. Residency in Suô provided the artist with consistent financial backing and privileged access to the Ôuchi's considerable Chinese painting collection.

22. The cultural arena was one of many in which the Ôuchi systematically attempted to imbue the daimyo with an authority and dignity on a par with that of the shogun. The "Ôuchi House Laws" (rules for territories under Ôuchi control, compiled by Yoshioki's father, Masahiro), for example, dictated to retainers how the daimyo should be received when visiting a residence, including what kind of entertainment should be provided (Arnesen, 204–5). Matters of display were therefore taken seriously; an inadequate reception could be seen as an affront to the daimyo's dignity and result in the retainer's censure.

23. Cultural activities of Ôuchi retainers are discussed by Yonehara, 689–710; in addition, nearly all Ôuchi-related references in medieval diaries are cited in Yamaguchi-ken, ed., *Yamaguchi-ken shi: Shiryô hen, chûsei*, vol. 1 (Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi-ken, 1996).

24. Sue (pronounced "soo-ê") Saburô, dates unknown, was the third son of the prominent Ôuchi retainer Sue Hiroaki (1461–1523), the governor of Hyôgo. Saburô's given name was Okinari, the first character taken from the name of Ôuchi Yoshioki in a show of solidarity with the daimyo, but he commonly appears as "Saburô" in contemporary diaries.

25. Sue Takafusa (1521–1555) overthrew the Ôuchi after initiating a rebellion against Ôuchi Yoshitaka (1507–1551) in 1551; for the events surrounding the Ôuchi's demise, see Arnesen, 216–19.

26. Sue Hiroaki's father, Hirofusa (d. 1468), had died in battle on behalf of the Ôuchi, while his brother, Hiromori (1455–1482), was murdered by a rival warrior at the age of twenty-seven. A portrait of Hiromori traditionally attributed to Sesshû bears a lengthy inscription by the Zen monk Isan Shûshô dated 1484 that relates a partial history of the Sue clan. For a reproduction of the portrait, see Yamaguchi Kenritsu Bijutsukan, ed., *Ôuchi bunka no ihôten*, exh. cat., Yamaguchi Kenritsu Bijutsukan, Yamaguchi, 1989, 27, no. 24.

27. In 1508 Sue Hiroaki held the title of governor of Hyôgo. Rather than accompany Ôuchi Yoshioki to Kyoto, as his son Saburô did, Hiroaki stayed behind in the provinces to manage domain affairs.

28. Landholdings belonging to Tôdaiji in Suô Province were returned to the temple in 1509 after years of Ôuchi possession, but the temple had to rely on the Sue to manage the distant estates and became financially indebted to them. Tôdaiji appointed Sue Okifusa (d. 1539) and Saburô's father, Hiroaki, as managers of three separate holdings between 1509 and 1511; see *Hôfu Tôdaiji ryô monjo*, docs. 25–27, in Yamaguchi-ken Monjokan, ed., *Bôchô fudo chûshin'an*, vol. 10 (Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi-ken Monjokan, 1965), 496–97; cited by Arnesen, 124.

29. Gensei descended from a warrior clan, the Kawata, and was a retainer of Hosokawa Masaharu, governor of Awa; see Inoue Muneo, *Chûsei kadanshi no kenkyû: Muromachi kôki*, rev. ed. (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1987), 194–95.

30. For a concise introduction to *renga* practice, see Konishi Jun'ichi, "The Art of Renga," trans. Karen Brazell and Lewis Cook, *Journal of Japanese Studies* 2, no. 1 (1975): 29–61.

31. A detailed study of one linked-verse master, Saiokuken Sôchô (1448–1532), and his patron is H. Mack Horton, "Saiokuken Sôchô and Imagawa Daimyo Patronage," in *Literary Patronage in Late Medieval Japan*, ed. Steven D. Carter, Michigan Papers in Japanese Studies, 23 (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, 1993), 105–61. See also *The Journal of Sôchô*, trans. and annot. H. Mack Horton (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), and its companion volume, H. Mack Horton, *Song in an Age of Discord: The Journal of Sôchô and Poetic Life in Late Medieval Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002). These two volumes provide a vibrant account of the place of linked-verse masters in 16th-century Japanese society as well as a discussion of several issues raised here, including the significance of travel and the role of social literary gatherings (what Horton calls "the road" and "the assembly") in the cultural practice of this period.

32. Sôgi recounted his travels in *Record of a Journey to Kyûshû* (*Tsukushi no michi no ki*), written at the end of his trip in the eleventh month of 1480; for the Japanese text, see Fukuda Hideichi et al., eds., *Chûsei nikki kikôshû*, vol. 51 of *Shin Nihon bungaku taikai*, 3d ed. (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1995), 405–32; for an English translation, see Eileen Katô, "Pilgrimage to Daizaifu: Sôgi's *Tsukushi no michi no ki*," *Monumenta Nipponica* 34, no. 3 (1979): 333–67. Recent scholarship has recast the image of Sôgi's journey (with implications for travel in the medieval period in general), arguing that his poetic wayfaring provided a pretense for information gathering and a written record of the state of Ôuchi domains; see Momota Masao, "Jûgo seiki kôhan, Inoo Sôgi no Yamaguchi—Akamaseki ôen ni tsuite," *Yamaguchi-ken shi kenkyû* 7 (1997): 43–58.

33. Hiroaki became governor of Chikuzen in 1479, after he and his older

brother Hiromori fought alongside the Ōuchi to oust rival warriors from northern Kyūshū and consolidate control of key waterways and ports in the region; see Fukuo Takechirō, "Sue Hiroaki," *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 8 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1987), 45.

34. Sōgi suggests in his poem that as governor of Chikuzen, Hiroaki should ensure the prosperity of the peasants in his province, and he embeds Hiroaki's name within the verse, a common practice in deference to a host or sponsor of a *renga* gathering. The sixty-year-old *renga* master was extremely taken with Hiroaki; the poet continued drinking with the young governor late into the night, explaining in his travel account that Hiroaki's handsome appearance was irresistible; see Fukuda et al. (as in n. 32), 416. A few weeks later, Hiroaki became the addressee in a love poem composed by Sōgi expressing his romantic (and apparently unrequited) longing; *ibid.*, 422.

35. Hiroaki participated at a *renga* gathering led by one of Sōgi's disciples during this trip; Yonehara, 622, 626. Sōgi secured Masahiro's support after this second journey to Yamaguchi in 1489; the linked-verse anthology *Shinsen tsukubashū* was completed in 1495. For more on the compilation, see Kaneko Kinjirō, "Sōgi and the Imperial House," trans. H. Mack Horton, in Carter (as in n. 31), 63–93.

36. Gensei visited Sanetaka to request a meeting on Sue's behalf, and Sue arrived at Sanetaka's residence later that day; see the entry for Eishō 5 (1508), eleventh month, twenty-second day (cited hereafter as 11.22) in Sanetaka's diary, the *Sanetaka hōki* (cited hereafter as *SK*), vol. 5 (1938), pt. 1, 125.

37. Sanetaka kept the diary between 1474 and 1536, from the age of nineteen until the year before his death at the age of eighty-two. Monographs on Sanetaka include Hara Katsurō, *Higashiyama jidai ni okeru ichi shinshin no seikatsu*, 6th ed. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1994); Haga Kōshirō, *Sanjōnishi Sanetaka* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1960); and Miyakawa Yōko, *Sanjōnishi Sanetaka to kotengaku* (Tokyo: Kazama shobō, 1995).

38. Sanetaka also wrote the texts for several narrative picture scrolls painted by Tosa Mitsunobu, such as *Miraculous Origins of Kitano Tenjin Shrine* (1503), *Miraculous Origins of Kiyomizudera* (1513), and *Tale of the Jizō Hall*. For more on these works, see McCormick.

39. The older sister of Sanetaka's wife had served at the court of Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado (1442–1500), while her younger sister, Fujiko, became the consort of Emperor Go-Kashiwabara (1464–1526) and gave birth to Emperor Go-Nara (1496–1557); Haga (as in n. 37), 28.

40. On Eishō 6 (1509) 3.2 (*SK*, vol. 5, pt. 1, 169), cited in Yonehara, 699.
41. Sue brought two hundred *hiki* (copper coins). Other clients, however, paid in kind, frequently with paper, an expensive necessity for a scholar. For example, the wife of Asakura Sadakage (1473–1512), daimyo of Echizen Province, sent two hundred sheets of paper and a bolt of cloth in thanks for a set of forty calligraphy sheets (*shikishi*) that Sanetaka had inscribed for her; Meiō 6 (1497) 10.26 (*SK*, vol. 3 [1933], pt. 2, 458).

42. Eishō 6 (1509) 2.3, 2.21 (*SK*, vol. 5, pt. 1, 159, 164).
43. Sanetaka mentions members of the Asukai and Anegakōji families in relation to the gathering on Eishō 6 (1509) 3.2 (*ibid.*, 169).

44. Other Ōuchi retainers sponsored similar gatherings, such as Toita Hiroyo, who sought poetic instruction from Sanetaka on Eishō 5 (1508) 9.29 (*ibid.*, 101) and subsequently hosted a poetry gathering in 1516 at his Kyoto residence; Yonehara, 705.

45. The project began for Sanetaka on Eishō 6 (1509) 8.3, when Sue arrived at his residence with "calligraphy papers to accompany *Genji* paintings [*Genji-e shikishi*]" (*SK*, vol. 5, pt. 1, 230); quoted in Yonehara, 669.

46. The calligraphy portion of the album was completed by Eishō 6 (1509) 11.19, when Sanetaka and Sue examined all of the papers (*SK*, vol. 5, pt. 1, 283); cited in Yonehara, 669.

47. Eishō 6 (1509) intercalary 8.18 (*SK*, vol. 5, pt. 1, 247).
48. Eishō 6 (1509) intercalary 8.20 (*ibid.*, 248). Roughly one week before they began organizing the calligraphy assignments; on Eishō 6 (1508) intercalary 8.12 (*ibid.*, 245), Gensei borrowed from Sanetaka the first two volumes of the *Kakashō*, a Kamakura-period commentary on *The Tale of Genji*. The two volumes that Gensei borrowed contain exegeses on chapters 1 through 4 of the *Genji*, which Gensei may have used in discussions with Sue concerning the selection of texts for the album, perhaps providing tutorials on the tale in the process. The phenomenon of *Genji* commentaries will be discussed in more detail below.

49. The fifth crown prince in the Fushimi line, Kunitaka was the grandson of the third Fushimi prince Sadafusa, also known as Go-Sukōin (1372–1456); Go-Sukōin's cultural and political pursuits are vividly recounted by Karen L. Brock, "The Shogun's Painting Match," *Monumenta Nipponica* 50, no. 4 (1995): 433–84.

50. In important handscroll projects as well, writing assignments were ordered according to the social status of their calligraphers; for example, the emperor might write the outermost title labels or the scroll's first section of text. The custom continued in later *Genji* albums, such as the Tosa Mitsuyoshi album in the Kyoto National Museum (ca. 1613), where the calligraphy of Retired Emperor Go-Yōzei (1571–1617) graces the first leaf, excerpting a prose passage from the "Pawlonia Pavilion" chapter; see Inamoto Mariko, "Kyoto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan hōkan 'Genji monogatari gajō' ni kansuru ichikōsatsu: Chōjirō ni yoru jūfuku roku bamen wo megutte," *Kokka* 1223 (1997): 7–15; and Kano et al. (as in n. 7).

51. Eishō 6 (1509) intercalary 8.25 (*SK*, vol. 5, pt. 1, 251).
52. On Chōkyō 2 (1488) 3.25 (*SK*, vol. 2 [1932], pt. 1, 47). Sanetaka created

this new genealogy (*keizu*) after hearing lectures on the *Genji* by Sōgi and another famous *renga* poet, Botanka Shōhaku (1443–1527); these two poets as well as Gensei all collaborated with Sanetaka in the creation of the genealogy. Prince Kunitaka got wind of the project and requested a copy before it was completed on 4.26. Sanetaka made countless copies of this work over the years for various individuals. For a detailed discussion of the genealogy, its recensions, and its content, see Ii Haruki, "Sanetaka no 'Genji monogatari keizu' seisaku," in Ii, 507–63.

53. On Meiō 4 (1495) 6.28, Prince Kunitaka requested fifty-four chapter-title labels brushed by Sanetaka for an edition of *The Tale of Genji* owned by the prince's top female attendant, suggesting a substantial library at the disposal of both Kunitaka and the women in his household (*SK*, vol. 3, pt. 1, 88).

54. Prince Kunitaka wrote the calligraphy for chapters 1, 7, 13, 19, 25, 33, 39, 45, and 51 of the *Genji Album*.

55. Hisamichi wrote the calligraphy for chapters 2, 8, 14, 20, 26, 32, 38, 44, and 50 of the *Genji Album*.

56. *Kugyō bunin*, in Kuroita Katsumi, ed., *Shintei Zōho kokushi taikai*, vol. 55 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2000), 324. Only members of five branch families of the Fujiwara line, known as the Five Houses of the Regency, could ascend to the level of Regent (*kanpaku*); the Konoe was one of the oldest and most prominent of these houses. For more on the court hierarchy and the significance of the regency in the Muromachi period, see Stephen D. Carter, *Regent Redux: A Life of the Statesman-Scholar Ichijō Kaneyoshi* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1996).

57. These include *Miraculous Origins of Kiyomizudera* (1513), in the Tokyo National Museum; the *Tale of the Drunken Ogre* (*Shuten dōji*) scrolls (1522), in the Suntory Museum; *Miraculous Origins of Hasedera* (1523), in the collection of Hasedera; and *Miraculous Origins of Taimadera* (1531), in the collection of Taimadera.

58. Hisamichi received the "secret teachings" of the famous 10th-century poetry anthology the *Kokinwakashū* (Collection of *waka* old and new) from Sōgi, and after Sōgi's death, transmitted them to Gensei; see Inoue (as in n. 29), 194–95. For more on Sōgi's relation to the Konoe house, see Tsurusaki Hiro, "Sōgi: Konoe-ke ni okeru koten kyōiku," *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō* 52, no. 3 (1992): 75–81; and on the "secret transmission" of the *Kokinwakashū*, see Lewis Cook, "The Discipline of Poetry: Authority and Invention in the Kokindenju," Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 2000.

59. On Eishō 6 (1509) 9.1 (*SK*, vol. 5, pt. 1, 253). During this same visit, Gensei borrowed a manuscript copy of "Young Murasaki," chapter 5 of the *Genji*, one of the chapters in the Harvard *Genji Album* for which Reizei Tamehiro brushed the calligraphy, suggesting that Gensei borrowed the manuscript in order to work on Reizei's portion of the textual excerpts or to discuss the chapter with Sue.

60. Eishō 6 (1509) 9.1 (*SK*, vol. 5, pt. 1, 253). Sanetaka refers to Tamehiro as "priest [*nyūdō*]," reflecting his recent entry into the monastic order; Tamehiro had been a close associate of the military government prior to Ōuchi Yoshioki's arrival in Kyoto and avoided any possible retribution by taking priestly vows in the fourth month of 1508 (Eishō 5 [1508]) 4.17 (*ibid.*, 36).

61. Eishō 6 (1509) 9.18 (*ibid.*, 262). Tamehiro executed the calligraphy for chapters 5, 11, 17, 23, 29, 35, 41, 47, and 53 of the *Genji Album*.

62. Jōhōji was the third son of Sanjō Sanekazu (1415–1483); he provided the calligraphy for chapters 4, 10, 16, 22, 30, 36, 42, 48, and 54 in the Harvard *Genji Album*. Son'ō Jugō was the second son of Regent Nijō Mochimoto (1390–1445), and he became the forty-fourth head of the Shōren'in monastery, a position traditionally assumed by imperial princes, from which the calligraphy school took its name. Son'ō's name does not appear in Sanetaka's diary, but he was revealed as the sixth calligrapher of the Harvard album in the inscriptions found on the album's backing papers.

63. Eishō 6 intercalary 8.28 (*SK*, vol. 5, pt. 1, 252). In the Harvard album, the text for chapter 10 contains two poems, but Jōhōji's mistake seems to have been corrected in accordance with Sue's request.

64. Eishō 6 (1509) 9.6 (*SK*, vol. 5, pt. 1, 256). Sanetaka executed the calligraphy for chapters 3, 9, 15, 21, 27, 31, 37, 43, and 49 in the *Genji Album*.

65. For example, Sanetaka inscribed *shikishi* with poems of the "Thirty-six Poets" on Eishō 5 (1508) 10.24 (*SK*, vol. 5, pt. 1, 111), as well as Chinese and Japanese poems on Eishō 6 (1509) 9.4 (*ibid.*, 255) for the Ōuchi retainer Sugi Jirō; cited in Yonehara, 695.

66. In addition to cash (see n. 41 above), Sue also sent Sanetaka extravagant gifts, including two buckets of sea urchins, a delicacy from Echizen Province, on Eishō 6 (1509) 1.26 (*SK*, vol. 5, pt. 1, 157).

67. Sanetaka was also rewarded for his political efforts on behalf of provincial warriors; for helping to facilitate his promotion in court rank, Ōuchi Yoshioki gave Sanetaka the astounding sum of 2,000 *hiki*; Eishō 5 (1508) 9.17 (*ibid.*, 96).

68. Sanetaka famously sold one manuscript to the Hatakeyama clan in Noto Province in Eishō 17 (1520) 3.7 (*SK*, vol. 5, pt. 2, 706), cited in, for example, Berry (as in n. 15), 62.

69. Sanetaka frequently refers to his son as *hasshiki*, a term for a young person in training at a Buddhist temple. While one son of an aristocrat usually carried on the family line, it was common practice to enter other sons into the priesthood. Zen priests, who could read and converse in Chinese, were frequently employed as diplomats and interpreters for trade missions to China (see n. 74 below).

70. Miyakawa Yōko (as in n. 37), 198, suggests that the many services

provided by Sanetaka for Ōuchi retainers were in return for the protection of his son while he was in Suō and Nagato.

71. Ryōan was a prominent monk within the Zen institutional hierarchy and the 171st abbot of Tōfukuji. Japanese art historians know him best, however, for his close friendship with Sesshū and his biographical sketch of the artist written in 1486, the *Tenkai togarō ki*; see Shimao Arata, *Sesshū*, vol. 1 of *Shinchō Nihon bijutsu bunko* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1996). For a reproduction of a portrait of Ryōan Keigo, as well as numerous paintings bearing his inscriptions, see *Sesshū: Master of Ink and Brush, 500th Anniversary Exhibition*, exh. cat., Tokyo National Museum and Kyoto National Museum, 2002, 35.

72. On Bunki 1 (1501) 6.22 (SK, vol. 3, pt. 2, 702), Sanetaka accompanied his son, with his head newly shaven, to Tōfukuji. Because of the boy's age and Sanetaka's reluctance to see him go, Keiyō temporarily commuted from home to the temple. The boy's loneliness over the separation from his family surfaces in a letter from Ryōan roughly one year after Keiyō entered the monastery, where he urges a visit by someone from the Sanjōnishi household to cheer up the boy. The letter is from the eighth month of Bunki 2 (1502); see Tokyo shiryō hensanjo, ed., *Dai sanjū ikkai shiryō tenrankai yehin mokuroku*, "Sanetaka kōki" to *Sanjōnishi-ke* (Tokyo: Tokyo shiryō hensanjo, 1995), 67–68.

73. On Bunki 3 (1503) 2.28 (SK, vol. 4 [1935], pt. 1, 102), for example, Ryōan took Keiyō (age nine) with him to Ise Province, where the elder monk possessed landholdings.

74. As the son of Sanetaka, a highly respected friend of Ryōan, Keiyō was not a typical acolyte but rather someone being groomed to succeed Ryōan at Tōfukuji, a position that brought with it a role as a diplomat to China for the Ōuchi; see Itō Kōji, "Chūsei kōki chiiki kenryoku no taigai kōshō to zenshū monha: Ōuchi-shi to Tōfukuji Shōichi-ha no kakawari wo chūshin to shite," *Komonjo kenkyū* 48 (1998): 20–40.

75. Although they had intended to travel on the Ōuchi tally trade ship scheduled to leave in 1506, turmoil in the government resulted in the trip's cancellation. The two stayed in the west, however, perhaps hearing of the political change about to take place; this was precisely the time during which Ōuchi Yoshioki advanced into Kyoto and reinstated the shogun Yoshitane. The trip to China itself (from Hakata, or sometimes Gotō Island off the coast of Kyūshū, to Ningbo) took between seven and ten days if the winds were favorable; see the discussion of Sesshū's 1467 trip in Shimao (as in n. 71), 77–78.

76. Ryōan (and presumably Keiyō) visited the Unkokuan studio of the deceased artist, where he added his inscription to the painting in 1507. In the inscription, the eighty-two-year-old Ryōan laments the passing of his friends, the artist Sesshū, and the first inscriber of the painting, Isan Shūshō (dates unknown), an abbot of a Zen temple in Suō and a son of Ōuchi Norihiro. The landscape painting depicts an elderly monk and his boy attendant approaching a mountain retreat, a scene onto which it is tempting to project an image of Ryōan and Keiyō visiting the empty studio of the deceased artist.

77. Eishō 7 (1510) 2.9 (SK, vol. 5, pt. 1, 330). Before crossing the sea, Ryōan and Keiyō first sailed from the westernmost tip of Honshū to Hakata Port, a journey that lasted roughly two months.

78. Eishō 7 (1510) 6.30 (ibid., 387). There was a considerable lag in communications; the boat returned to Japan approximately three months before Sanetaka was notified. On 7.10, for example, Sanetaka received a letter from Ryōan dated 4.19 from the Gotō Islands, where presumably he and Keiyō came ashore after their failed attempt to reach the mainland (SK, vol. 5, pt. 2, 391).

79. Eishō 7 (1510) 7.1 (SK, vol. 5, pt. 2, 388).

80. Sue delivered messages on Eishō 7 (1510) 8.26 and 10.16, for example (ibid., 405, 420); Keiyō returned home on 10.18 (ibid., 420). A brief account of Keiyō's return appears in Haga (as in n. 37), 164.

81. Eishō 6 (1509) 11.19 (SK, vol. 5, pt. 1, 283).

82. Chino et al., 11–14.

83. On the office of the painting bureau director, see Miyajima Shin'ichi, *Kyūtei gadanshū no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1996). Monographs on Mitsunobu include Tani Shin'ichi, "Tosa Mitsunobu kō," in *Muromachi jidai bijutsushi ron* (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō, 1942), 418–514 (first published in *Bijutsu kenkyū* 100 [1940]: 115–29; 101 [1940]: 156–69; 103 [1940]: 207–21); Yoshida Yūji, *Tosa Mitsunobu*, vol. 5 of *Nihon bijutsu haiga zenshū* (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1979); Miyajima Shin'ichi, *Tosa Mitsunobu to Tosa-ha no keifu*, vol. 247 of *Nihon no bijutsu* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1986); and Aizawa Masahiko, *Tosa Mitsunobu*, vol. 2 of *Shinchō Nihon bijutsu bunko* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1998). See McCormick for a study of Mitsunobu's narrative handscroll paintings, as well as a comprehensive annotated chronology of his activities.

84. This set of three handscrolls bears calligraphy by Sanetaka, title labels by Emperor Go-Kashiwabara, and paintings by Mitsunobu; it was coordinated by Gensei on behalf of the patron. Numerous entries in Sanetaka's diary record the process of production, including discussions between Sanetaka and Mitsunobu that went beyond the content of the paintings at hand to touch on classic examples of scroll painting from earlier periods. Entries from Sanetaka's diary related to the project begin on Bunki 1 (1501) 8.26 and continue until Bunki 3 (1503) 5.12; see McCormick, 5–8, 372–75; and Quitman E. Phillips, *The Practices of Painting in Japan, 1475–1500* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 113–17.

85. Mitsunobu is known to have had discussions about the *Genji* with prominent courtiers such as Nakanoin Michihide (1428–1494), who was the elder brother of the renowned *renga* master and commentator on classical

literature Botanka Shōhaku and an expert on classical literature himself. Michihide records the discussion in his diary in an entry from Bunmei 18 (1486) 6.27; see Nakanoin, *Jirin'in daifuki*, in *Shiryō sanshū* (Tokyo: Zoku gunsho ruiji kansaikai, 1972), 236.

86. In addition to *renga*, Mitsunobu also joined *waka* gatherings, as in 1491, when both he and Gensei participated in a poetry gathering at Sōgi's residence to commemorate the ancient poet Kakinomoto no Hitomaro (active ca. 680–700). A new Hitomaro portrait painted by Mitsunobu served as the focal point of the ceremony. The original text from this gathering survives and contains one poem by the artist; see Iwasaki Yoshiki, "Tosa Mitsunobu no bungei katsudō: Yōmeidō bunko zō 'Sanjū ku' uta to renga," *Gobun* 47 (1986): 36–37.

87. Eishō 7 (1510) 5.16 (SK, vol. 5, pt. 1, 372).

88. Since both the paintings and texts were probably completed around the time of the final entry on Eishō 7 (1510), 5.16, this year seems to be the most accurate date for the Harvard *Genji Album*, as opposed to the date of 1509 that I previously proposed, in McCormick (as in n. 13).

89. Eishō 8 (1511) 9.24 (SK, vol. 5, pt. 2, 560); cited by Yonehara, 699. The poems were delivered to Sue's residence while he was on a pilgrimage to Ishiyamadera, the legendary site of *Genji* authorship, located just outside the capital.

90. Eishō 8 (1511) 9.12 (SK, vol. 5, pt. 2, 554); the study's nickname, Quiet Hut, and its official name, Truly Untrammelled, evoke the names of the scholarly retreats of Zen monk-scholars as well as the image in *Mountain Villa* (Fig. 10), the painting of Ōuchi Morimi's mountain retreat mentioned earlier.

91. Eishō 8 (1511) 9.27 (ibid., 562). Sanetaka received the freshly mounted scrolls, impressed his seal on them, and returned them, noting Sue's plans to depart the following day.

92. Hiroaki did so in 1517 after receiving formal approval from Ōuchi Yoshioki; see Kondō, 232.

93. Hiroaki received the Buddhist precepts on Eishō 11 (1514) 10.8 and formally selected the Buddhist name Hōgo Shōzui, although he continued to use his secular name; see Kondō, 232. The vows were administered by the monk Zuigan, the head abbot of Rurikōji, a Sōtō Zen-sect temple originally founded by Hiroaki's mother in 1471 for her husband and Hiroaki's father, Sue Hirofusa, who had died in battle in Kyoto in 1468. Hiroaki relocated and rededicated the temple in 1492; see Tamura Tetsuō, "Rurikōji," in *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 14 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1993), 691.

94. This grant was compensation for cash that Tōdaiji had borrowed from Hiroaki in 1513. The same land parcel had been mortgaged to Hiroaki in 1514; see *Hōfu Tōdaiji ryō monjo* (as in n. 28), 498; docs. 28, 29, cited by Arnesen, 124. Based on the contents of a later document in which Tōdaiji states that it should have received the staggering sum of 5,000 *koku* of rice for lands conveyed to the Sue, Arnesen, 124, points out that the "total value of land granted to the Sue must have been immense."

95. Sōseki's position as Sōgi's successor is discussed in Inoue (as in n. 29), 196; for Sōseki's trip to Kyūshū, see Kidō Saizō, *Rengashi ronkō jō, zōho kaiteiban* (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1993), 605–9.

96. Thirty-six was an important symbolic number for poets; Sōgi himself invoked the auspicious number associated with the "thirty-six immortal poets" by claiming that his journey had taken exactly thirty-six days to complete; see Katō (as in n. 32), 367.

97. Hiroaki spent the last six years of his life copying the *Azuma kagami* (Mirror of the East), completed in 1522.

98. The one night every year when two constellations crossed paths was celebrated as the Festival of the Weaver Maid (*Tanabata*), named after the stars' mythical personifications, the Weaver Maid and the Herdboy, lovers forever separated save for this annual meeting. The other poetry gathering fell on "the fifteenth day of the eighth month," a date with Buddhist connotations, but also the legendary date that Murasaki Shikibu was said to have composed the *Genji* at Ishiyamadera. Poems that Sōseki composed at Hiroaki's residence on these occasions and elsewhere during his journey to Kyūshū appear in a text by Sōseki called the *Gesson nukiku*; cited in Kidō (as in n. 95), 607. The original manuscript is in Tokyo, Archives of the Imperial Household mos 353-66.

99. A copy of *The Tale of Genji* in the Tenri University Library contains a postscript referring to lectures on the *Genji* held at the residence of Sue Hiroaki in 1516; see Kidō (as in n. 95), 607, 618 n. 8; and li, 1189.

100. A commentary on *The Tale of Genji* written by Sōseki while in Kyūshū, entitled *Genji monogatari kikigaki*, is thought to have been based on the lectures he gave at Hiroaki's residence and in Kyūshū; see li Haruki, ed., *Genji monogatari chūshakusho, juyōshi jiten* (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō shuppan, 2001), 241–43. The only manuscript copy of this work is in the Ryūtan Daigaku Toshokan.

101. On Eishō 17 (1520) 4.2, Sōseki requested that Sanetaka write a postscript and chapter titles for a copy of the *Genji* owned by "Sue, Governor of Hyōgo" (SK, vol. 5, pt. 2, 711); cited in Yamaguchi-ken (as in n. 23), 289. Although Hiroaki held that title for most of his adult life, in 1519 he became the governor of Awa, while the title governor of Hyōgo went to Sue Mochinaga (b. 1497); see Tamura Tetsuō, "Shugo daimyō 'Ōuchi-ke bugyōshū,'" *Yamaguchi-ken Monjokan kenkyū kiyō*, no. 5 (1978): 18–19. Mochinaga, about whom little is known, may have been Hiroaki's second son; see Kondō, 235.

102. Sanetaka began copying the *Kokinshū* at Sue's request on 7.28 (SK, vol. 5, pt. 2, 673). The most likely year of the reference, which is unclear, is Eishō

11 (1514); cited in Yamaguchi-ken (as in n. 23), 289. The poetry anthology was to be delivered to Sue by Sōseki, who may have become Hiroaki's conduit to the capital after Saburō's return.

103. Hiroaki copied the entire chronicle of the *Azuma kagami* himself over the course of twenty years, acquiring various recensions in order to complete his forty-eight-volume manuscript in 1522, one year before his death. Though it currently lacks thirteen years from the eighty-six-year chronicle, Hiroaki's text contains few errors and is considered one of the best surviving versions; see Yamaguchi Kenritsu Bijutsukan (as in n. 26), 140, no. 2. (ill. on 12, no. 2).

104. Sōgi, in Fukuda et al. (as in n. 32), 431.

105. The wording of the inscription implies a folding-screen format: in the upper left corner of each backing paper the inscription reads, "out of the fifty-four total on the screen surface [*heimen tsugō gojūyon mai no uchi*]." Meanwhile, conservators detected traces of gold leaf on the edges of the backing papers, indicating that they were once pasted onto a ground of gold leaf, common to folding screens; see Oka Bokkōdō (as in n. 14), 14. In addition, Anne Rose Kitagawa determined that the discoloration of certain leaves could only have resulted from their placement on folding-screen panels abutting each other when closed for storage. She subsequently reconstructed the precise placement of the leaves on a hypothetical pair of folding screens; see Kitagawa, "Behind the Scenes of Harvard's *Tale of Genji* Album," *Apollo* 154, no. 477 (2001): 28–35, esp. 32–34. Chino, Ikeda, and Kamei (1997) also speculated that the leaves were affixed to folding screens, based on the popularity of the format in this period, as well as the absence of other albums from the early 16th century.

Evidence for the use of screens during poetry gatherings in the 15th century comes by way of Prince Fushiminomiya Sadafusa, who borrowed folding screens specifically for display during the Festival of the Weaver Maid held annually at his residence. Sadafusa frequently set up two or more pairs of folding screens around the room, on one occasion including screens of *Genji* fans; see, for example, the entries for Eikyō 6 (1434) 7.6 and 7 in Sadafusa's diary, the *Kanmon nikki*, supplement 2, pts. 1, 2, in *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, rev. ed. (Tokyo: Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseiki, 2000), pt. 2, 212.

106. This information appears in the upper right corner on the backing paper of each pair of leaves and reads, for example, "back 13, *The Law* [*ushiro jusan Minorū*]." The leaves for chapters 1 through 27 were labeled "front [*zen*]" 1–27, while those for chapters 28 through 54 were labeled "back [*go*]" 1–27; thus, "back 13" corresponds to chapter 40. The meaning of the "front and back" designation remains unclear, but some possibilities are given in Kitagawa (as in n. 105), 31.

107. The same date of "Eishō 13, 4.3" appears in the upper left corner of each backing paper.

108. The name of each calligrapher is written in the central line, followed by the statement of dedication, "Tōyō donates this to Myōeiji," followed by the name "Hiroaki" and his seal. Hiroaki impressed the same vermilion intaglio seal at the end of his manuscript copy of the *Azuma kagami*; for a photograph, see the exhibition catalogue edited by Yamaguchi Kenritsu Bijutsukan (as in n. 26), 12.

109. As noted above (n. 8), "*Genji*-painting *shikishi*" were pasted onto a pair of folding screens for use by the shogun Prince Munetaka in the mid-13th century. In addition to the numerous extant examples from the 16th century, Sanetaka records seeing a screen with *Genji* fan paintings, newly commissioned by a member of the Hosokawa family, on 12.12, 1489 (*SK*, vol. 2, pt. 1, 341).

110. Sue Saburō's name disappears from the historical record after he left Kyoto. However, as the third son of Hiroaki, Saburō's identity was to a certain extent subsumed under the Sue household, and even if he "owned" the *Genji* leaves, their donation to a temple in the name of Hiroaki, the head of the family, would not be unusual.

111. The temple was established about 1498 for Hiroaki's mother, who was known as the daughter of Nio Morisato, and who died on Eishō 5 (1508) 8.28. Hiroaki founded the temple in her name (her Buddhist name was Hōanji Dono Kadani Myōei Daishi). Hiroaki's elder brother Sue Hiromori also established a temple for their mother called Hōanji (in present-day Shinnan'yō City). During the Edo period Myōeiji was called Taiun'in, but the original name was reinstated in 1868. See Kondō, 232; and "Myōeiji," in *Yamaguchi-ken no chimei*, vol. 36 of *Nihon rekishi chimei taikō* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1980), 524.

112. The temple is located in Toyota-chō in Toyoura-gun. A plaque in the newly constructed founder's hall relates the temple's history and states that it was founded by Hiroaki on Eishō 2 (1505) 4.10.

113. A portrait of Zengan attributed to the artist Sesshū and inscribed by the priest Gesshi Isō in 1496 survives at the temple, now in Yamaguchi; see *Sesshū* (as in n. 71), 175.

114. Kondō, 232. According to a document from 1738 concerning the locality of Myōeiji, Hiroaki's estate (or the surrounding land) was occasionally referred to as Tōyō. This seems to clarify the meaning of the dedication line found on the backing papers of the Harvard *Genji* Album, which reads: "Tōyō donates this to Myōeiji," followed by Hiroaki's name and seal. For a transcription of the 18th-century document, see Yamaguchi-ken chihoshi gakkai, ed., *Bochō jige joshin*, vol. 3 (Yamaguchi-ken: Yamaguchi-ken chihoshi gakkai, 1979), 482–83.

115. As noted above, Hiroaki relocated and rededicated Rurikōji in 1492 to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of his father's death. In addition,

in 1518, fifty years after his father's death, Hiroaki compiled a fifteen-volume work of Buddhist sayings copied by himself and numerous others at a temple in Hakata and donated it to his father's temple; see "Rurikōji," in *Yamaguchi-ken no chimei* (as in n. 111), 324.

116. For a full English translation of the *Story without a Name* with introductory essay, see Michele Marra, "Munyōzōshi: Introduction and Translation," pts. 1, 2, 3, *Monumenta Nipponica* 39, no. 2 (1984): 115–45; no. 3 (1984): 281–305; no. 4 (1984): 409–34.

117. For a concise English summary of the compilation history of these two editions, see Haruo Shirane, *The Bridge of Dreams: A Poetics of "The Tale of Genji"* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), 225–26. It is important to note that it was only in the post-Ōnin War period that Fujiwara Teika's *Genji* edition, known as the "Blue Cover [*Abyōshibon*]" edition, became standard among the warrior classes. Before then, the Kawachi edition, which was considered less poetic but easier to read, was the mainstay of the military elite. See Mitamura Masako, ed., *Genji monogatari*, vol. 24 of *Shūkan Asahi hyakka: Sekai no bungaku* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1999), 122. For an authoritative discussion of early *Genji* commentaries, see Teramoto Naohiko, *Genji monogatari juyōshi ronkō* (Tokyo: Kazama shobō, 1970).

118. See, for example, the description of the courtier-scholar Kanera's stay in Nara and his reaction to the Ōnin conflict in Carter (as in n. 56), 144–46.

119. Sanetaka wrote the excerpts in the illustrated example for an individual by the name of Ifuku Tadakatsu (dates unknown) and received 100 *hiki* and a long sword for the task; see the entries for Daiei 8 (1528) 4.22, 24 (*SK*, vol. 7 [1957], 221). For a discussion of this piece, see Shimatani Hiroyuki, "Sanjōnishi Sanetaka to Sanjō ryū," *Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan kiyō* 26 (1990): 107–8.

120. In 1486, for example, after the courtier Kanroji Chikanaga completed his second copy of *The Tale of Genji* (the first having been lost to fire during the Ōnin War), he sponsored a *Genji* memorial to commemorate the occasion. Twelve participants composed poems on the chapter titles of the *Genji* arranged according to the four seasons; discussed in Ii, 1012–24.

121. *Genji*-related poetry could even memorialize the deceased in lieu of more explicitly Buddhist verse; such was the case when friends of Shōhaku composed twenty memorial poems based on *waka* from *The Tale of Genji* on the one-month anniversary of the poet's death; see the entry for Daiei 7 (1527) 5.4 (*SK*, vol. 7, 57); discussed in Ii, 1037–47.

122. For the use of *Genji* rituals involving portraits of Murasaki, see Ii, 1067–90. *The Miraculous Origins of Ishiyamadera*, a handscroll dating to the 14th century, relates the legend of Murasaki's supernatural authorship of the tale; see the reproduction in Komatsu Shigemi, ed., *Nihon emakimono taisei*, vol. 18 (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1978), 41–56. Mitsunobu and Sanetaka copied the fourth scroll of this work in 1487. The frontispiece paintings of the Harvard *Genji* Album (Figs. 7, 8) by Tosa Mitsuoki represent an Edo-period pictorialization of the legend.

123. Sanetaka was in the process of compiling a *Genji* commentary during the years that span the production of the *Genji* Album. The commentary, called the *Rōkashō*, was based on previous commentaries and notes taken by Shōhaku during *Genji* lectures and discussions between Sōgi and Ichijō Kanera; see Ii, 339–69.

124. A list of the appropriate number of days to spend lecturing on each chapter appears at the beginning of Sanetaka's commentary on the *Genji*; see Ii Haruki, ed., *Rōkashō*, in *Genji monogatari kochūshaku shūsei*, vol. 8 (Tokyo: Ofūsha, 1983), 9.

125. Shunzei made the statement in a judgment for the poetry contest *Roppayaku ban uta awase* (1193); see Ii, 984. Muromachi poets and scholars, such as Ichijō Kanera, continued to invoke this celebrated assertion, as did Sōgi when he applied the dictum to *renga* practice in his short treatise on linked verse, *Chorokubumi* (1466); see Kidō Saizō, ed., *Rengaronshū*, vol. 2, in *Chūsei no bungaku* (Tokyo: Miyai shoten, 1982), 122.

126. A *Genji kotobagaki renga* was held, for example, at the customary ninth-month *renga* gathering at the imperial palace on Daiei 1 (1521) 9.13 (*SK*, vol. 5, pt. 2, 761).

127. A *Genji kokumei renga* was held at the imperial palace on Daiei 5 (1525) 6.3 (*SK*, vol. 6, pt. 1 [1961], 290). For excerpts from a *Genji kokumei renga* manuscript thought to have been composed in 1505, see Ii, 1131.

128. Goff, 87. All of the plays mentioned here are translated and discussed by Goff.

129. In 1481, for example, Sanetaka wrote a play, at the request of the shogun Ashikaga Yoshihisa, based on the courtly narrative entitled *Sagoromo*, which was performed on Bunki 3 (1503) 9.19 (*SK*, vol. 4, pt. 1, 182–83). Sanetaka lists all twelve plays on the program that night, including one based on the *Genji* chapter "The Blue Bell" (*Mukuge* is the Japanese title, used instead of the usual *Asagao*), written by the warrior official Ōtagaki Tadatoki, and another play based on the *Genji* chapter/character "The Tendril Wreath [*Tamakazura*];" cited in Goff, 42–43.

130. On Eishō 7 (1510) 4.26, for example, Sanetaka assisted with the poem and picture design on a sake cup to be used at the shogun's Nō performance (*SK*, vol. 5, pt. 1, 358). Much care went into the selection of the poem as well as its graphic relation to the pictorial design on the cup's surface.

131. See the entry for Eishō 5 (1508) 9.25, in Konoe Hisamichi's diary, *Gohōseiji kanpakuki*, vol. 1, in Tokyo Daigaku Shiryōhensanjo, ed., *Dai Nihon kokiroku* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2001), 120. Other performances at the shogun's residence sponsored by Yoshioki or Hosokawa Takakuni include

Eishō 6 (1509) 4.14 and 12.22 (SK, vol. 5, pt. 1, 190, 306); Eishō 7 (1510), 4.29 and 5.11 (ibid., 359, 369); Eishō 8 (1511) 8.14 and 8.17 (*Gohōseiji kanpakuki*, 238); cited in Yonehara, 650.

132. Yoshioki's retainers exhibited a similar enthusiasm; in 1509, for example, Toita Hirotane requested that Sanetaka revise a new *Nō* play by the Hōshō troupe that he had sponsored; see Eishō 6 (1509) intercalary 8.26 (ibid., 251).

133. The majority of these leaves contain single poems (eighteen), or a single poem with a brief prose introduction (twelve), while some leaves contain two poems each (six examples). The remaining eighteen leaves in the album contain prose passages.

134. In 1506, for example, just a few years before the production of Sue's *Genji* leaves, Sanetaka wrote the calligraphy for a set of thirty-six poems excerpted from *The Tale of Genji* for his wife's sister Fujiko, a female attendant at the court of Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado; Eishō 3 (1506) 11.18 (SK, vol. 4, pt. 2, 651).

135. The painting for "Young Murasaki [*Wakamurasaki*]," chapter 5, depicting Genji's first glimpse of Murasaki (his principal romantic partner), is the only voyeuristic scene in the album accompanied by a text inscribing a poem.

136. Nakata Yūjirō, *The Art of Japanese Calligraphy*, Heibonsha Survey of Japanese Art, vol. 27 (New York: Weatherhill, 1974), 167–68.

137. Shimatani Hiroyuki (as in n. 119), 7–191, discusses these seventeen lineages of the Muromachi period and provides a comprehensive treatment of the calligraphy of Sanjōnishi Sanetaka.

138. Komatsu Shigemitsu, *Shoryū zenshū*, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1970), vol. 1, 323.

139. Shimatani (as in n. 119), 8.

140. *Seiryōji engi-e* (1515), *Shuten dōji-e* (1522), *Shin'nyōdō engi-e* (1524), and *Kusōshi-e* (1527) are all handscrolls that bear Jōhōji's calligraphy; see Sakakibara Satoru, "Shin'nyōdō engi gaisetsu," in *Zoku zoku Nihon emakimono taisei*, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1994), 150–51.

141. Murasaki, trans. Tyler (as in n. 1), 326. For the Japanese text, see *Genji monogatari*, ed. Abe Akio et al., 6 vols., Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū, vol. 21 (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 1995), vol. 2, 382.

142. The covers measure 9¹/₁₆ by 6³/₁₆ in. (25.3 by 17.2 cm) each (Harvard *Genji* leaves: 9¹/₂ by 7¹/₁₆ in. [24.3 by 18.0 cm]). The books each consist of a single handwritten chapter, bound with front and back covers bearing paintings that can be attributed to Mitsunobu on a stylistic basis. The back cover of the Tenri book depicts the scene of the imperial picture contest. The second extant volume, consisting of chapter 33, "New Wisteria Leaves [*Fuji no uraba*]," is in the Idemitsu Museum of Art and bears two scenes from that chapter on its front and back covers. The text for each volume was brushed by a different courtier-calligrapher, and the two volumes were probably originally part of a full set of fifty-four. For reproductions of all four extant cover paintings, see *Yamato-e: Miyabi no keifu*, exh. cat., Tokyo National Museum, 1993, 78.

143. Such labels were referred to as titles (*gedai*) in contemporary diaries, and, as with the title labels for handscrolls, their calligraphy was frequently executed by calligraphers of high rank, such as Sanetaka, or occasionally the emperor. I believe that the labels for the Tenri and Idemitsu book covers were brushed by a calligrapher of the Go-Kashiwabara'in school or, more likely, by Emperor Go-Kashiwabara himself. For further examples of Go-Kashiwabara's calligraphy, see Komatsu (as in n. 138), vol. 2, 200–204.

144. The *Small Mirror of Genji* (*Genji kokogami*), a digest thought to date to the 14th century, casts this episode from the "Picture Contest" chapter as one of Murasaki's "three disappointments"; see Takeda Kō, ed., *Genji kokogami: Takai-ke bon*, vol. 4 of *Shiryō sōsho* (Tokyo: Kyōiku shuppan sentā, 1978), 367.

145. Translated and discussed in Goff, 127–30, 140–45.

146. Murasaki, trans. Tyler (as in n. 1), 195. For the Japanese text, see Abe et al. (as in n. 141), vol. 2, 87; Rokuji's poem: *Kamikaki ha shirushi no sugi no naki mono wo ikani magahete overu sakaki zo*; Genji's poem: *Otomego ga atari to omoheba sakakiba no/ka wo natsukashimi tomete koso ore*.

147. As mentioned above, *Genji*'s 16th-century audience placed an emphasis on the tale's chapter titles, from exploring their origins to using them as the basis of new poetic compositions.

148. Most *Yūgao* paintings depict Genji's first visit to the woman's residence (as in Fig. 4), teeming with white "evening faces" blossoms, from which the chapter title derives. Moreover, the scene in the Harvard *Genji Album* does not appear in the "Genji Painting Manual," a medieval primer that offered a menu of excerpts and descriptions of painting scenes for each of the fifty-four chapters. For a translation and discussion of the text, which survives in a 16th-century copy, see Miyeko Murase, *Iconography of the Tale of Genji* (New York: Weatherhill, 1983); and Katagiri Yōichi, *Genji monogatari ekotoba* (Kyoto: Daigakudō shoten, 1983). Katagiri has suggested that patrons rather than artists used such manuals to aid in their selection of scenes for representation in *Genji* paintings. I have found one reference to what I believe is a *Genji* painting manual in Sanetaka's diary (referred to as *Genji eyō sōshi*), which is described as consisting of five volumes. He noted that it was owned by the Kanroji, a family of courtiers, not painters, thus seeming to support Katagiri's thesis; see the entry for Daiei 6 (1526) 1.20 (SK, vol. 6, pt. 2, 130). The majority of paintings in the Harvard *Genji Album* depict scenes found in the

manual cited above, scenes that by the 16th century had become part of a standard vocabulary of *Genji* paintings. As the discussion of the "Picture Contest" painting has shown, however, subtle yet significant variations find their way even into paintings based on standard templates, while a painting's interaction with a textual excerpt expands the range of meaning for any given image. The following discussion of the "Twilight Beauty" chapter will suggest that in certain instances artists eschewed the common iconography altogether, creating a unique image that was customized to the interests or demands of a specific patron. The "Twilight Beauty" painting is one of several in the album that bear no relation to scenes listed in the aforementioned manual.

149. Gene Phillips points out the prominence of the figure in the foreground and its suggestiveness of the ephemerality of life in his description of this scene in Chino et al., 39.

150. Murasaki, trans. Tyler (as in n. 1), 64; for the Japanese text, see Abe et al. (as in n. 141), vol. 1, 158.

151. Translated and discussed in Goff, 105–7, 115–19. Goff also provides a detailed structural analysis of the *Yūgao* play and its relationship to *renga*, 67–78.

152. Ibid., 106.

153. These motifs are found in the linked-verse manual compiled by Ichijō Kanera, *Renjū gapppekishū* (ca. 1476), listed consecutively under the category of "neighboring dwellings [*tonari*]" followed by their source, "The *Twilight Beauty* chapter from *Genji*"; see Ichijō Kanera, *Renjū gapppekishū*, in Kidō Saizo and Shigematsu Hiromi, comps., *Rengaron shū*, Chūsei no bungaku (Tokyo: Miyai shoten, 1972), vol. 1, 68. On Bunmei 10 (1478) 4.19, Sanetaka inscribed the title labels for a copy of the *Renjū gapppekishū* in the imperial collection, proof that the text was available to Sanetaka and his circle (SK, vol. 1, pt. 1, 280).

154. As we have seen with Sue Saburō's sponsorship of a *waka* gathering soon after arriving in Kyoto, traditional forms of poetry continued alongside linked verse, and the leaves of the Harvard *Genji Album* should be read in relation to *waka* aesthetics as well. For a more detailed discussion of *waka* in the late medieval period, see Stephen D. Carter, "Waka in the Age of *Renga*," *Monumenta Nipponica* 36, no. 4 (1981): 425–44.

155. Two such scenes appear already in the fragmented 12th-century *Genji* scrolls, in paintings for the "Bamboo River [*Takekawa*]" and "Maiden of the Bridge [*Hashihime*]" chapters; for reproductions, see *Kokuhō Genji monogatari emaki* (as in n. 4), 132, 140. For more on these scenes, see Joshua Mostow, "E no Gotoshi: The Picture Simile and the Feminine Re-guard in Japanese Illustrated Romances," *Word and Image* 11, no. 1 (1995): 37–54.

156. The "peeking through the fence" formula was occasionally subverted by replacing a male voyeur with a female one; see McCormick, "The 'Utatane sōshi emaki' and Representations of Female Subjectivity in the Muromachi Period," *Transactions of the International Conference of Eastern Studies* 42 (1997): 45–70.

157. Carter (as in n. 56), 162, from his discussion of Kanera's 1472 commentary on *The Tale of Genji*, called *An Evocation of Flowers and Birds* (*Kachō yosei*).

158. Examples with Murasaki and Genji as spectators include the fan depicting the chapter on the Jōdoji screens, as well as leaves from later *Genji* albums, such as the Tosa Mitsunori album in the Burke Collection and the Tosa Mitsuyoshi album in the Kyoto National Museum; for illustrations of all three paintings, see Akiyama and Taguchi (as in n. 5).

159. The emperor was finally enthroned in 1521 at the age of fifty-eight; Imatani Akira, *Sengoku daijō to tennō, Kōdansha gakujuutsu bunko*, no. 1471 (1993; reprint, Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2001), 138–47.

160. The best treatment in English of the most important examples of the genre is Matthew McKelway, "Capitalscapes: Painting and Politics in 16th–17th Century Japan," Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1999.

161. The Asakura house created one of the most prominent "little Kyotos" of the late medieval period in the city of Ichijōdani in the province of Echizen, which was frequently visited by scholars, *renga* poets, and courtiers. Countless requests by the wife of Asakura Sadakage for calligraphy and copies of classical Japanese texts appear in courtiers' diaries (see n. 41 above); for a detailed discussion of various aspects of Asakura patronage, see Yonehara, 215–53.

162. Eishō 3 (1506) 12.22 (SK, vol. 4, pt. 2, 675).

163. See Okudaira Shunroku, *Rakuchū rakugai zu to nanban byōbu*, vol. 25 of *Shinpen meisho Nihon no bijutsu* (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 1991); and Matthew McKelway, "In or Out of the Capital? Reading Point of View in Rakuchū Rakugai Zu: The Case of the Sanjō Version," *Transactions of the International Conference of Eastern Studies* 40 (1995): 100–118.

164. Handed down for generations in the Uesugi family, the screens are now housed in the Yonezawa City Museum. For the best reproductions, see *Kokuhō Uesugi-ke bon rakuchū rakugai zu taikan* (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 2001). Edo-period documents in the *Uesugi nenpu* and the *Hokuetsu gunki* recount that the screens were painted by Eitoku and given to Uesugi Kenshin, along with a pair of *Genji* screens, in 1574; cited in Kuroda Hideo, *Nazo-toki rakuchū rakugai zu* (Tokyo: Iwanami shinsho, 1996), 168–70; and McKelway (as in n. 160), 110.

