

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

ENVISIONING

The Tale of Genji

Media, Gender, and Cultural Production

EDITED BY

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Preface

Envisioning The Tale of Genji: Media, Gender, and Cultural Production is about the profound impact that *The Tale of Genji* has had on Japanese culture for more than a thousand years. Much has been written about the remarkable narrative that Murasaki Shikibu composed in the early eleventh century—its plot, its characters, its setting, its language, and its relation to earlier poetry and literature—but little has been written about the equally remarkable influence that *The Tale of Genji* has had on Japanese culture, an impact greater than that of any other single work of Japanese literature. Today, both in and outside Japan, the *Genji* is synonymous with Japanese literature and culture.

The contributors to this book, experts in diverse fields, examine the complex relationship between *The Tale of Genji* as the pinnacle of high culture and *The Tale of Genji* as a phenomenon of popular culture, looking at it not only in the context of the commentary tradition, textbooks, and modern nation building, but also as the object of parody and pastiche and the subject of works in such diverse forms as illustrated books, *ukiyo-e*, theater, film, *manga*, and anime. *Envisioning The Tale of Genji* analyzes the roles of literary genre (poetry, fiction, commentary, modern novel), media (painting, *nō* theater, *ukiyo-e*, printed book), and education in both the canonization and the popularization of the *Genji*, paying particular attention to the relationship between written text and visual culture, which played a major part in re-creating and re-envisioning of *The Tale of Genji* over the centuries.

This book also addresses gender in relation to cultural production. By the end of the medieval period, *The Tale of Genji* had come to be regarded as a major symbol of Heian court culture. Having been written by a

woman mainly about women and for women, it became closely associated with the portrayal of aristocratic women in fiction, poetry, painting, and *nō*. By the Edo period, the *Genji* had also become an integral but problematic part of women's education. *The Tale of Genji*'s female authorship and depiction of amorous relationships, particularly Genji's illicit affair with Fujitsubo, the emperor's chief consort and Genji's stepmother, made the tale a repeated target for harsh criticism—first by Buddhist writers in the medieval period, then by Confucian scholars in the Edo period, and finally by critics in the Taishō and prewar Shōwa periods.

Envisioning The Tale of Genji takes up where *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2000), edited by Tomi Suzuki and me, leaves off. *Inventing the Classics*, which also was published in Japanese and Korean editions, is the first book to examine seriously the canonization of noted works of classical Japanese literature and their relationship to power, authority, and academic institutions. While examining a wide range of major texts—from the *Kojiki* (*Record of Ancient Matters*) to *The Tales of the Heike* to the puppet plays of Chikamatsu Monzaemon—there was not enough room to address fully three related major issues—the canonization of *The Tale of Genji*, the role of popular culture, and the recreation and cannibalization of classical texts by a variety of media—that lie at the heart of this book. For this reason, *Inventing the Classics* and *Envisioning The Tale of Genji* should be read together.

Acknowledgments

Envisioning The Tale of Genji had its origins in an international symposium, "*The Tale of Genji* in Japan and the World: Social Imaginary, Media, and Cultural Production," held at Columbia University, New York, on March 25–26, 2005. Organized by Melissa McCormick and me, the conference included twenty-one speakers and ten respondents from the United States, Canada, Australia, and Japan.

The symposium was funded by major grants from the Japan Foundation and Toshiba International Foundation, with support from Japan Airlines, the Donald Keene Center for Japanese Culture, the Departments of East Asian Languages and Cultures and of Art History and Archaeology at Columbia University, and John Weber, who sponsored the final dinner. To all we are most grateful.

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This book is dedicated to the memory of Edward G. Seidensticker (1921–2007), who first taught me the joys of *The Tale of Genji* and provided me with much inspiration and friendship over the years.

Note to the Reader

ALL JAPANESE names are given in Japanese order, with family name first and personal name second, except for the Japanese contributors to this volume, whose names are given in English order.

The English translations of the Japanese chapter titles of *The Tale of Genji* are available at the back of this book.

Chapter 1

The Tale of Genji and the Dynamics of Cultural Production

CANONIZATION AND POPULARIZATION

Haruo Shirane

THE HISTORY of the reception of *The Tale of Genji* is no less than a cultural history of Japan, for the simple reason that the *Genji* has had a profound impact at various levels of culture in every historical period since its composition, including the twenty-first century, producing what is called "*Genji* culture." Most major texts enjoy a certain popularity in a particular period among a specific community of readers, but, remarkably, *The Tale of Genji* has become many things to many different audiences through many different media over a thousand years, a position unmatched by any other Japanese text or artifact. It is also one of the few Japanese texts that, in the modern period, has had a global reach, coming to be recognized as part of world literature, earning acclaim as perhaps the world's first novel, and being placed alongside such modern masterpieces as Marcel Proust's *À la recherche du temps perdu*. Two major Japanese literary genres—*nō* and haiku—have been exported and widely imitated outside Japan, but no single text has been as highly esteemed as *The Tale of Genji*. It has fostered at least three major English translations, each of which has sold and been read on a scale unmatched by any other Japanese literary text.

CANONIZATION AND POPULARIZATION

Envisioning The Tale of Genji examines the reception and cultural production of *The Tale of Genji* over time, from the early eleventh century, when it was written, through the twenty-first century. One major premise of this book is that the ideological and cultural value of a canonical text lies

not only in the text itself, but in the media and institutions through which it acquires such value. In the case of *The Tale of Genji*, these media and institutions have varied radically from period to period. Particular attention is paid to the reasons why the *Genji* was canonized or, more accurately, recanonized in so many historical periods. This book also looks at the popularization of the *Genji*, at the different forms that it has taken in both popular culture and mass culture, a process that often runs counter to or parallel to the canonization process. A careful distinction is made between popularity, which implies increased accessibility and wider audiences, and canonicity, which implies authority (often related, in the case of the *Genji*, to the emperor or imperial court), privilege, and pedigree (such as association with the aristocracy). As we shall see, in contrast to canonization, which has tended to emphasize the reading, interpretation, and transmission of the written or printed text, popularization typically transforms or dramatically alters the text, making it accessible to new audiences, frequently through or with the assistance of new media and visual technology.

One of the prominent characteristics of both the canonization and the popularization of *The Tale of Genji* has been its visualization through various media, from illustrated handscrolls (*emaki*) and screen paintings (*byōbu-e*) to *nō* theater and woodblock prints (*ukiyo-e*) to films and comic books (*manga*). Such paintings as the late Heian *Genji monogatari emaki* (*Tale of Genji Scrolls*), now designated a National Treasure, and the Muromachi large screen paintings represent *The Tale of Genji* as a symbol of court culture, imperial privilege, and cultural authority, first for royalty (such as retired emperors) and then for powerful warrior lords, but by the middle of the Edo period the woodblock prints and illustrated printed editions of the *Genji* had helped to make it part of both lower-ranking samurai and urban commoner culture. In the postwar years, free modern translations, *manga*, and films and anime, reflecting a new mass culture (unlike the artisanally based popular culture of the Edo period), absorbed the *Genji* as a staple of pop culture.

The first phase of *Genji* reception, from the late Heian (early to mid-twelfth century) through the Kamakura period (1183–1333), occurred primarily within the bounds of an aristocratic society centered on the imperial court. The many *monogatari* that appeared after and under the influence of *The Tale of Genji* in the late Heian and Kamakura periods were tales written by and consumed by the nobility (often aristocratic women, for whom this was an important pastime) and assumed a highly educated and aesthetically sophisticated audience. When the Mikohidari poetry

family, led by Fujiwara Shunzei (1114–1204) and his son Fujiwara Teika (1162–1241), promoted the use of the *Genji* as an important source for poetic allusion in the early thirteenth century, they helped turn *The Tale of Genji* into a literary classic recognized less as a *monogatari* (or narrative fiction) than as a source of diction for *waka* (classical poetry), a fundamentally aristocratic form and the most prestigious native literary genre.

By the fourteenth century, the number of aristocrats conversant with the *Genji* had drastically declined, and the patronage of *Genji* culture gradually shifted to prominent members of the warrior class who assumed power in the Nanboku-chō (Northern and Southern Courts) period (1336–1392). In 1472, Ichijō Kanera (1402–1481), the leading man of letters of his day, wrote *Kachō yosei* (*Intimations of Flowers and Birds*), which reflects a significant shift in the direction of *Genji* commentary in its efforts to guide novices through the complexities of the tale. In *Sayo no nezame* (*On a Sleepless Night*, 1478), which Kanera wrote for Hino Tomiko (1440–1489), the wife of the eighth Muromachi shogun, Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1449–1473), the author laments the recent scarcity of readers who had a proper grasp of the *Genji*, which was now more than four centuries old. By the mid-Muromachi period, *The Tale of Genji* had spread beyond the aristocracy and warrior elites to a wider base of readers, many of them brought into contact with the *Genji* through classical linked verse (*renga*), a new poetic genre that dominated the late medieval period.

The Muromachi period (1392–1573) marks a significant era in the reception of *The Tale of Genji*: from this time on, knowledge of the *Genji* was very often transmitted through intermediary genres such as digests, paintings, poetry handbooks, and so forth. The emergence at this time of *Genji* digests, notably *Genji kokagami* (*A Small Mirror of Genji*, ca. fourteenth century) and *Genji ōkagami* (*A Great Mirror of Genji*, ca. early fifteenth century), reflected a new demand for simplified access to the narrative outlines and poems of the tale, particularly for *renga* poets, many of whom found *The Tale of Genji* difficult to read but still needed to know enough about its contents to forge linked verses by allusion to both the story and the poems. Late medieval painters and *nō* playwrights (such as Konparu Zenchiku [1405–1470]) also depended on these digests and *renga* handbooks to re-create *The Tale of Genji* visually and on stage.

The audience for *The Tale of Genji* increasingly grew beyond the bounds of the nobility in the Edo period (1600–1867), when it was read by both urban commoners and educated samurai. In the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, scholars such as Andō Tameakira (1659–1716) and Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801)—a samurai and an urban commoner,

respectively—wrote commentaries on *The Tale of Genji* for a nonaristocratic audience. At the same time, *The Tale of Genji* became the source of inspiration for writers of prose fiction in popular genres including *kana-zōshi* (*kana* booklets), *ukiyo-zōshi* (books of the floating world, represented by Ihara Saikaku's *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* [*Life of an Amorous Man*, 1682]), *gōkan* (bound books, such as Ryūtei Tanehiko's *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* [*Fraudulent Murasaki's Bumpkin Genji*, 1829–1842]), and *yomihon* (reading books)—which reached a wide audience. A number of commoners, including high-class courtesans in the pleasure quarters, had access to the *Genji* through Kitamura Kigin's *Genji monogatari kogetsushō* (better known as *Kogetsushō* [*The Tale of Genji Moon on the Lake Commentary*], 1673), a printed edition of the *Genji* with interlinear glosses, diacritical marks, and headnotes giving the gist of major medieval commentaries. But most commoner audiences of this era did not read even such heavily annotated editions of the original, relying instead on *Genji* digests produced mainly by *haikai* (popular linked verse) poets or printed vernacular translations, both with many illustrations; or they discovered the *Genji* through *nō*, puppet plays (*jōruri*), and *ukiyo-e*. Sometimes they knew the *Genji* only through the *Genji* incense game signs (*Genji-kō*), which often marked *Genji ukiyo-e* and *Genji*-related books, or the *Genji* names used by courtesans in the pleasure quarters. It was often not *The Tale of Genji* as text that these commoner and samurai audiences were familiar with so much as its iconic representations—that is, *The Tale of Genji* as cultural sign or index of cultural sophistication.

One of the key distinctions between canonized texts and popular texts is that canonized texts become the object of extensive commentary and exegesis, while popular texts do not. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, *monogatari* were very popular and written and read in significant numbers by the aristocracy. But few of these *monogatari* acquired cultural authority. The *Genji ippon kyō* (*Sutra for The Tale of Genji*, 1176), a Buddhist text written by Priest Chōken (1126–1203), asserts that the following genre hierarchy prevailed as of the late Heian and Kamakura periods, in descending order:

- Buddhist scriptures
- Confucian classics
- Chinese histories, such as Sima Qian's *Shiji* (*Records of the Historian*), and their Japanese counterparts, such as the *Nihon shoki* (*Chronicles of Japan*, 720)
- Chinese poetry and literary prose
- Japanese classical poetry (*waka*)
- Tales (*monogatari*)

Thus the most highly regarded genres, at least from the Buddhist priest's point of view, were Buddhist scriptures, followed by the Confucian classics. Next came the two highest Chinese literary genres: history and poetry. At the bottom were the two genres written in the Japanese syllabary (*kana*), *waka* and *monogatari*, with classical poetry of much higher status than prose fiction. The prestigious field of calligraphy also held the *monogatari* in low regard in comparison with *waka* and *kanshi* (Chinese poetry by Japanese). Thus the *monogatari*, while a popular pastime among nobility, was at the bottom of the generic hierarchy in the late Heian and early medieval intellectual spheres.

By contrast, *waka*, which became the canonical native literary form, was the object of commentary and scholarship from as early as the eighth century (from Fujiwara Hamanari's *Kakyō hyōshiki*) and eventually assumed authority in the form of the imperial *waka* anthologies, beginning with the *Kokinshū* (*Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems*, ca. 905). Until the *Genji shaku* (*Genji Explicated*, before ca. 1160) by Sesonji Koreyuki (d. 1175), the oldest extant commentary on the *Genji*, the *monogatari* was not the object of commentary and scholarship, and even then it was viewed in relation to historical and poetic precedents (both Chinese and Japanese). Thus *The Tale of Genji* was first canonized not as a *monogatari*, which was held in low regard for most of the premodern period, but in relation to the two main literary genres: history and poetry. The only other Heian *monogatari* that became the object of extensive commentary in the medieval period was *The Tales of Ise* (ca. 947), which was also regarded in terms of history and poetry, as a biography of the poet Ariwara no Narihira (825–880) and as a poetry collection (*kashū*).

The fictionality of *The Tale of Genji*, which was much more obvious than that of the quasi-biographical *Tales of Ise*, became a major issue of debate among Muromachi- and Edo-period commentators. The *monogatari* also was criticized for being negative in content (dealing with amorous affairs), a stance often taken by both Buddhist and Confucian scholars. Motoori Norinaga, the nativist learning (*kokugaku*) scholar who eventually became the most influential Edo exegete of *The Tale of Genji*, countered with the argument that the *Genji* should be valued as fiction (revealing human truths that even the histories could not show), as suggested in the "defense of the *monogatari*" found in the "Hotaru" (Fireflies) chapter of the *Genji* itself, and that it should not be measured by either Buddhist or Confucian religious or

sociopolitical values not necessarily suitable to the understanding of literature. Instead, Norinaga argued, the *Genji* should be judged from the perspective of *mono no aware* (emotional sensitivity and empathy), which the hero demonstrates in larger degree than any other trait. In other words, the *Genji* should be judged on aesthetic grounds rather than on religious or moral principles, which were the realm of Buddhism and Confucianism (*kokugaku*'s twin adversaries).

At the beginning of the Meiji period (1868–1912), *The Tale of Genji* took a backseat to the new fields and genres imported from the West. However, as Tomi Suzuki shows in chapter 9, with the advent of the nineteenth-century European notion of "literature" as an aesthetic form that values imaginary fiction and with the importation of the new European notion of the "novel," the *Genji* was soon recanonized as a "novel," which was now considered, in the Spencerian evolutionary scheme, as the most advanced literary form. In an influential statement on the value of the novel as "Art," *Shōsetsu shinzui* (*Essence of the Novel*, 1885–1886), Tsubouchi Shōyō defined *The Tale of Genji* as a "realistic novel" (*shajitsu shōsetsu*) that depicts contemporary upper-class society: "One should call Murasaki Shikibu's *Tale of Genji* and Dai San'i's *Sagoromo* social narratives that describe exclusively the condition of high society." *The Tale of Genji* took on high value because it realistically portrays contemporary manners and human feelings.

Nihon bungakushi (*History of Japanese Literature*, 1890), written by Mikami Sanji and Takatsu Kuwasaburō and considered to be the first literary history of Japan, praises *The Tale of Genji* as "the earliest example of the 'realistic novel.'" As a "realistic novel," the *Genji* was placed in the same category as Ihara Saikaku's *ukiyo-zōshi*, as an important predecessor of the modern novel. With the advent of the *genbun-itchi* (unification of written and spoken languages) movement (from the mid-1880s to the 1910s, when it came into full effect), classical Japanese gradually became separated from modern Japanese, lowering its value as a stylistic model, but the same *genbun-itchi* framework, which stressed "writing as we speak," provided a positive spin once the language of *The Tale of Genji* was recognized as the spoken language of the Heian aristocracy.

At the same time that it became featured as a "realistic novel" in *Nihon bungakushi*, *The Tale of Genji* made its way into *kokubun* (national literature) and *kokugo* (national language) textbooks. *Kokubungaku tokuhon* (*Japanese Literature Reader*, 1890), the influential and pioneering reader of "Japanese" (*wabun*) literature edited by Haga Yaichi and Tachibana Kuwasaburō, features *The Tale of Genji*, *Makura no sōshi* (*The Pillow Book*, ca. 1017) of Sei Shōnagon, and the *Konjaku monogatari shū* (*Collection of*

Tales of Times Long Past, ca. 1120) as major representatives of Heian literature. The *Genji* is represented by the rainy-night discussion in the "Hahakigi" (The Broom Tree) chapter, the *kaima-mi* (peering through the fence) episode in "Wakamurasaki" (Lavender), and the autumnal scene during Genji's exile in "Suma," the last two becoming *the* representative Genji scenes in modern Japanese language and literature textbooks. (Significantly, both avoid the issue of Genji's clandestine relationship with Fujitsubo.)

The fate of *The Tale of Genji* was also closely tied to the rise of nationalism, through the institutional establishment of the new fields of national literature (*kokubungaku*) and national language (*kokugo*), which were thought to embody national character and were set up, particularly after the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), in opposition to Chinese, which had been an integral part of Japanese literature for over a thousand years.[1] Fujioka Sakutarō's *Kokubungaku zenshi: Heian-chō hen* (*Complete History of Japanese Literature: The Heian Court*, 1905), which marks the beginning of modern scholarship on Heian literature, defines the *Genji* in the context of both the novel (*shōsetsu*) and the nation (*kuni*): "Not only is the *Tale of Genji* the most important Heian novel, it is our nation's number-one novel of all time."[2] Thus by the mid- to late Meiji period, *The Tale of Genji* had been recanonized as a predecessor of the modern "realistic novel," placed in government-approved textbooks, made a central part of the *kokubungaku* and *kokugo* curriculum, and become the object of extensive modern scholarship.

From the mid-Meiji period, *The Tale of Genji* also became the source of inspiration for novels and short stories by such writers as Ozaki Kōyō (1867–1903), Higuchi Ichiyō (1872–1896), and Izumi Kyōka (1873–1939).[3] A major literary turning point was the modern Japanese translation of *The Tale of Genji* by the noted *tanka* and Myōjō poet Yosano Akiko (1978–1941).[4] Her first modern translation, *Shin'yaku Genji monogatari* (*New Translation of The Tale of Genji*, 1912–1913), which radically abbreviated the original text, transformed the *Genji* into a modern novel, thus making it part of modern Japanese literature. Her second translation, *Shinshin'yaku Genji monogatari* (*New New Translation of The Tale of Genji*, 1938–1939), was a translation of the entire text (except for the *waka*, which was left in the original). It eventually was succeeded by a series of twentieth-century complete translations by major novelists—Tanizaki Jun'ichirō (1886–1965), Enchi Fumiko (1905–1986), and Setouchi Jakuchō (b. 1922)—a phenomenon that was to be followed in the 1980s and 1990s by full *manga* translations, particularly *Asaki yume mishi* (*Fleeting Dreams*, 1979–1993) by Yamato Waki.

In the Shōwa period (1926–1989), *The Tale of Genji* continued to inspire such noted novelists as Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, Kawabata Yasunari, and Mishima Yukio. Tanizaki wrote his masterpiece novel *Sasameyuki* (*The Makioka Sisters*, 1943–1948) while translating the *Genji*: the fate of the four daughters of a declining merchant family in Osaka echoes the story of the three daughters of a displaced prince in the Uji chapters of the *Genji*. As Tanizaki's brilliant postwar novella *Yume no ukihashi* (*The Bridge of Dreams*, 1960), suggests, *The Tale of Genji* contains themes and plot patterns—such as a young man's search for the image of a lost mother (Genji/Fujitsubo), death as a result of forbidden or unattainable love (Kashiwagi/Third Princess), a man and a woman unable to unite as a result of excessive self-consciousness (Kaoru/Oigimi)—that appeal to the interests of modern Japanese writers, dramatists, and filmmakers.[5]

As we shall see, from the Muromachi period, *The Tale of Genji* became the subject of *nō* plays, particularly *onna-mono* (women plays)—concentrating on such figures as Ukifune, Yūgao, Lady Aoi, and Lady Rokujō—that took the form of double-structure dream plays, a topic taken up by Reiko Yamanaka in chapter 3. In the Edo period, the *Genji* was performed as a kabuki play called *Higashiyama sakura sōshi* (*Higashiyama Cherry Blossom Tale*, 1850) at the Nakamura-za Theater. Significantly, this play, like other kabuki plays on the *Genji* at the time, was based not on *The Tale of Genji* but on Ryūtei Tanehiko's *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, a *gōkan* mélange of characters and historical periods that came to represent the *Genji* at this time. In Edo-period kabuki and *jōruri*, the most popular characters from the *Genji* were the tragic pair of Kashiwagi and the Third Princess (Onna san no miya).[6]

In the modern period, *The Tale of Genji* has appeared both in kabuki, where young writers such as Tanizaki and Mishima were often first exposed to "court culture," and in Takarazuka, the musical revue performed by women, which began in 1913. Takarazuka presented a Genji piece (*Genji monogatari Sakaki no maki* [*Tale of Genji: Sacred Branch Chapter*]) as early as 1919 and has continued to stage new performances.[7] One of the most successful Takarazuka *Genji* productions, in 2000, was not of the original text, but of Yamato Waki's best-selling *manga Asaki yume mishi*. In the postwar years, the *Genji* also has been adapted to such mass media as film and anime, a phenomenon that Kazuhiro Tateishi examines in chapter 11. In short, from the late medieval period through the twentieth century, *The Tale of Genji* came to straddle both elite and popular cultures, taking on very different significations for each.

READERLY AND WRITERLY RECEPTION

Broadly speaking, *The Tale of Genji* has been received in two fundamental ways, which I have called readerly reception and writerly reception. In readerly reception, the text is approached as something primarily to be read, interpreted, and taught. In the history of *The Tale of Genji* reception, this has taken the form of collated manuscripts, commentaries, variorium and annotated editions, criticism, scholarship, character genealogies, chronologies, textbooks, and anthologies. In writerly reception, by contrast, *The Tale of Genji* is the source for literary production, ranging from a stylistic model to an object of allusive variation, parody, pastiche, digests, adaptations, and translations. In media reception, which can be considered a subcategory of writerly reception, the *Genji* is the basis for re-creation in such media as painting, drama, illustrated books, fashion, food, design, musicals, films, animation, and comics. One of the major characteristics of the reception of *The Tale of Genji* is the prominence of both readerly reception and writerly reception, which adapted and translated *The Tale of Genji* into many genres and forms, thereby making it highly popular.

Writerly reception differs fundamentally from readerly reception in that the writer looks to the text not only for the narrative, characters, and scene, but also for models of composition, style, and poetic diction and for creative inspiration. In premodern Japan, the reader was often a *waka*, *renga*, or *haikai* poet, who read with an eye to composing poetry. Japanese poetry, which is the shortest in the world, is designed for common use in social exchange. *Waka*, *renga*, *haikai*, and *senryū* (satiric haiku)—all of which drew on *The Tale of Genji*—are participatory genres in which the creator is the consumer, and the consumer the creator. In contrast to early modern and modern European literary criticism, which is primarily about consumption or appreciation of the text, most of Japanese literary criticism in the premodern period (especially before the emergence of *kokugaku* [nativist study] in the eighteenth century) is for the practitioner, the producer. The use of literary texts is closely tied to the process of creative writing.

Even with the emergence of print culture and printed books in the seventeenth century and the increasing linguistic distance from the Heian period (794–1185), *The Tale of Genji* remained a model for the composition of poetry (*waka*, *renga*, and *haikai*). Indeed, the *Genji* remained a model for the composition of both prose and poetry until at least the early twentieth century, when *genbun-itchi* (unification of spoken and written languages) began to be institutionalized in prose and novelistic writing. After around

1905, however, a sharp distinction emerged between "classical language" and "modern language," meaning that the language of the *Genji* could no longer be used as a model to write modern literary Japanese. As noted earlier, a historical watershed was Yosano Akiko's *Shin'yaku Genji monogatari* (*New Translation of The Tale of Genji*, 1912–1913), which bridged the new gap between the classical and the modern language and transformed *The Tale of Genji* into a modern novel.

Literary variation has long been regarded as part of the creative process in Japan. Citing from or borrowing from a base text is a major technique in both Japanese poetry and prose. In the Edo period, when the Heian classics were first printed and widely distributed, parody, *mitate* (visual transposition), adaptation, and translation became creative processes in both the literary and visual arts. This borrowing occurs on the levels of both language and content. For example, in "Asaji ga yado" (Lodging Amid the Weeds), a short story in *Ugetsu monogatari* (*Tales of Moonlight and Rain*, 1776), Ueda Akinari draws on the "Yomogiu" (The Wormwood Patch) chapter of *The Tale of Genji* both on the level of words (citing phrases from the original text) and on the level of the plot, in which a woman in a weed-surrounded house waits forlornly for a man to return.[8]

In the following pages, I explore major streams of *The Tale of Genji* reception: poetic reception, narrative reincarnations, *Genji* offerings, *Genji* gossip, *nō* plays, digests and adaptations, medieval and Edo commentaries, textbooks for women, and visual culture—all of which provide the background for the chapters that follow. I then examine the recurrent issues of cultural nostalgia, eroticism, and gender, which lie at the heart of this book. In the end, I return to the topics of canonization and popularization and of readerly and writerly reception through the subject of translation.

Genre and Poetic Reception

The Tale of Genji differs most significantly from the European novel, with which it has been so often compared, in its fusion of poetry and prose. The *Genji* contains 795 poems, which function as either dialogue or monologue. Equally important, the poems and the associated poetic imagery frequently mark the climax of a narrative, provide an inner voice for the characters, establish the natural setting, and take on symbolic or metaphorical functions. Murasaki Shikibu also makes extensive use of *hikiuta*, allusions to noted Japanese poems (and some Chinese poems), which are woven into the prose.

Despite the initial low status of *The Tale of Genji* as a *monogatari*, it was recognized by *waka* poets as being of value in composing poetry, and by the late twelfth century the leading poet of the day, Fujiwara Shunzei, made the now famous statement in a poetry judgment (*hanshi*) at the *Roppyakuban uta awase* (*Six Hundred–Round Poetry Contest*, 1193) that "those poets who compose poetry without reading *The Tale of Genji* are to be regretted."[9] Significantly, however, Shunzei never mentions the *Genji* in the *Korai fūteishō* (*Collection of Poetic Styles Old and New*, 1197), his magnum opus on *waka* poetics, and he avoided using poetry from *The Tale of Genji* as a base poem (*honka*) in an allusive variation (*honka-dori*), one of the major techniques of late Heian *waka*. The *Gotoba-in gokuden* (*Oral Transmissions of the Go-Toba Retired Emperor*) notes that Shunzei and Priest Jakuren had urged poets to "use the diction [*kotoba*] from poems in *The Tale of Genji* but *not* to use the content or poetic conception [*kokoro*] of those poems."[10]

Shunzei was the first to include poems based on *The Tale of Genji* in an imperially commissioned anthology of poetry (*chokusenshū*).[11] However, these are not *honka-dori* on poems in the *Genji*. Instead, *The Tale of Genji* appears as a setting for fictional poems. *Waka* in the late Heian period gradually replaced composition in real social situations with composition on fixed topics. For the surviving nobility, poetry became a means of reliving and imagining a courtly world that was rapidly disappearing. To write on the topic of love in a *waka* contest was not to write about a personal affair so much as to recall the imagined world of love in such texts as *The Tale of Genji* and *The Tales of Ise*.[12]

Like his father Shunzei, Fujiwara Teika showed a deep interest in the poems in *The Tale of Genji*, as is evident in his *Monogatari nihyakuban uta awase* (*Two Hundred–Round Tale Poetry Contest*, ca. 1190–1199), which pits 100 poems from the *Genji* against 100 from *Sagoromo monogatari* (*The Tale of Sagoromo*, ca. 1060), 20 poems from the *Genji* against 20 from the *Yoru no nezame* (*Awakening at Night*) by Daughter of Takasue (b. 1008), and so forth. The widespread interest in *monogatari* is reflected in the *Fūyōwakashū* (*Collection of Wind-Blown Leaves*, 1271), an anthology of over 1,400 waka from around 200 *monogatari*. However, the poems from *The Tale of Genji* were never included in the imperial *waka* anthologies, which were implicitly restricted to poems written by actual people. Instead, poetry from the *Genji* and other *monogatari* was relegated to nonimperial, private poetry collections.[13] (The exception was the poetry in *The Tales of Ise* and *Yamato monogatari* [*The Tales of Yamato*, ca. 950], which were thought to have been written by historical figures.)

In the *Maigetsushō* (*Monthly Collection Notes*, 1219) a *waka* treatise attributed to Teika, the author argues that the essence of poetry must be graceful (*yasashi*), deeply moving (*mono no aware*), and elegant (*yū*): the opposite of frightful (*osoroshi*). By reading the *Genji*, the elegance and grace of this work is transmitted to one's poetry. As Teika notes in *Kyōgoku chūnagon sōgo* (*Sendatsu monogatari* [*Conversations from the Kyōgoku Middle Counselor*], 1229), recorded by his disciple Fujiwara no Nagatsuna, "When one reads Murasaki Shikibu's writing, one's mind clears, and then one can compose poems of graceful style and diction."[14] Teika stressed that the first three imperial *waka* anthologies and the *Kokinshū*, in particular, must be the source of poetic diction. Yet as the preface to the *Kindai shūka* (*Superior Poems of Our Time*, 1209) reveals, Teika was not completely satisfied with the mainstream of *Kokinshū* poetry, as it was represented by Ki no Tsurayuki (868–945?), and felt that it did not embody his ideal of *yojō yōen* (overtones and ethereal beauty), which he found in *monogatari* such as *The Tale of Genji* and *The Tales of Ise*.[15] A good example is Teika's famous poem in the *Shinkokinshū* (*New Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems*, ca. 1205):

haru no yo no	The bridge of dreams floating
yume no ukihashi	on a spring night
todaeshite	breaks off:
mine ni wakaruru	parting from the mountaintop,
yokogumo no sora	a bank of clouds in the open sky.

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This poem is not an allusive variation on a poem in *The Tale of Genji*; instead, it draws on the ethereal mood and title of the last chapter of *The Tale of Genji*, "Yume no ukihashi" (The Floating Bridge of Dreams),[16] to re-create the atmosphere of a Heian court tale. In short, Teika's allusive variations on the *Genji* were primarily on its prose, while his allusive variations on foundational poems were based on *waka* in the *Kokinshū* and *The Tales of Ise*.

A turning point in the reception of *The Tale of Genji* is the Muromachi period, when the *Genji* began to pass from the hands of aristocrats to those of warriors and commoners. The powerful warlords (*daimyō*) of the late medieval period were drawn to the world of *The Tale of Genji*, probably initially through *renga*, which became a major cultural activity. Samurai offered linked-verse sequences as prayers for victory in war, and *renga* became an important communal poetic form in wartime. Nijō Yoshimoto (1320–1388), a *waka* scholar and *renga* poet in the Nanboku-chō (Southern and Northern Courts) period, was responsible for making the *Genji* indispensable for *renga*, creating *Genji yoriai* (word associations based on *The Tale of Genji*), which were used to link verses. In Yoshimoto's time, a gap had grown between court (*dōjō*) or aristocratic *renga* and commoner (*jige*) *renga*, and he sought a way to bring them together. As he notes in *Kyūshū mondō* (*Answers to Questions from Kyūshū*), "If a poet uses the *Man'yōshū* all the time, the appearance [*sugata*] of *renga* will become rough," but if *renga* relies solely on "the *Kokinshū* and the first three imperial *waka* anthologies, the language feels weak."[17] For Yoshimoto, *The Tale of Genji* bridged these two extremes.

In an age in which political and economic power passed from the nobility to the military, the appropriation of *The Tale of Genji* by the new warrior leaders in the fifteenth century represented a critical phase in the history of *Genji* reception. As Haruki Ii discusses in chapter 6, the lectures of Ichijō Kanera to Hino Tomiko, wife of the eighth Muromachi shogun, Ashikaga Yoshimasa, played a pivotal and symbolic role in the military appropriation of court culture. Of particular interest are Kanera's didactic readings in *Sayo no nezame* (*On a Sleepless Night*, 1478), which regards *The Tale of Genji* as a moral and political guide for military rulers.

Ichijō Kanera, grandson of Nijō Yoshimoto, not only was the author of *Kachō yosei* (*Intimations of Flowers and Birds*, 1472), the most influential Muromachi-period *Genji* commentary, but also compiled *Renju gappekishū* (*Coupled Collection of Jewels*, 1476), a handbook of *yoriai* used by *renga* poets to link verses. In *Renju gappekishū*, Kanera lists 886 key poetic words, divided into 41 categories, followed by lists of associated words. An example in the section "People" (*jinrin*) is: "As for the mountain dweller: Suma, hedge, pink, and to lose favor (*Genji*)."[18] If a previous linked verse (*maeku*) had the term "mountain dweller" (*yamagatsu*), a poet could add a new verse or link by using the words "Suma," "hedge," "pink," or "to lose favor," the last of which comes from a farewell *waka* from Genji to the crown prince toward the beginning of the "Suma" chapter:

Itsuka mata	When will I be able again
haru no miyako no	to see the cherry blossoms of spring
hana o mimu	in the capital?
toki ushinaeru	I, a mountain dweller,
yamagatsu ni shite	who has lost favor.[19]

All the associated words of *yamagatsu* derive from scenes and poems in *The Tale of Genji*, related to either Genji's exile or the "Yūgao" (Evening Faces)

chapter. There are, in fact, as many as 538 *yoriai* in *Renju gappekishū* based on *The Tale of Genji*. The chapter with the most *yoriai* by far is "Yūgao"—with 52, it had become a canon within the canon for *renga* poets.[20]

Another key turning point is the Bunmei era (1469–1487), immediately following the Ōnin War (1467–1477), which resulted in the destruction of Kyoto and the emergence of powerful, provincial warlords. The aristocracy, which had been the bearer of the classical tradition, lost its socioeconomic base, and many nobles fled to the provinces, where they often became tutors to powerful warriors and other nonaristocrats. One such scholar, Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (1455–1537), wrote the *Sairyūshō* (*Narrow Stream Gatherings*, 1534?), a major *Genji* commentary. *Renga* masters such as Sōgi (1421–1502), who traveled between the capital and the provinces, also became leading commentators on and teachers of *The Tale of Genji*. For warrior leaders, the *Genji* represented a connection to court culture that they desired but did not inherit, and it was these powerful *daimyō* who commissioned polychromatic *Genji* paintings, particularly large screen paintings, and took lessons on *The Tale of Genji*.

For *haikai*, which emerged in the Muromachi period and became the dominant popular poetic genre in the Edo period, *The Tale of Genji* was not as crucial as it had been for *waka* and *renga*, but it continued to play a significant role, both in the opening seventeen-syllable *hokku* (modern haiku) and in linked verse. In contrast to *renga* poets, who adhered to classical diction and its elegant associations, *haikai* poets attempted to use *Genji yoriai* in new ways, employing new language and new subject matter. Two of the many hundreds of extant *hokku* on *yūgao* are

Yūgao no shiroku
yoru no kōka ni
shisoku shite

Evening faces whiten—
arriving at the night outhouse
with a pine torch[21]

MATSUO BASHŌ

Yūgao ya
onago no hada no
miyuru toki

Evening faces—
when a woman's skin
is visible

NUN CHIYO

The first *hokku*, composed by Matsuo Bashō (1644–1694) in 1681, while living at his first Bashō Hut, is written in a Chinese (*kanshi*) style, using irregular meter (8/7/6). As the poet walks to a temple outhouse (*kōka*), bearing a pine torch (*shisoku*), the white flowers of the evening faces

suddenly become visible in the hedge. The pine torch appears twice in the "Yūgao" chapter, first when Genji and Koremitsu look at the scented fan carrying a poem by Yūgao, and later, at the abandoned house, when Genji orders an attendant to bring a torch after Yūgao is attacked by an evil spirit. The *Ruisenshū* (*Accompanying Boat Collection*, 1676), a *haikai* associated words (*yoriai*) handbook, lists "*shisoku* [pine torch]–*yūgao* [lodging of moonflowers]" as linked words. The *hokku* by the Nun Chiyo (d. 1775), which breaks away from these classical associations, focuses on the evening outside bath (*gyōzui*) used during the hot summer, setting up a parallel between the white of the *yūgao* flower in the evening and the white skin of a woman bathing in the evening.[22]

Medieval commentaries on *The Tale of Genji* focused heavily on historical precedents (*junkyo*) and poetic precedents (both Japanese and Chinese), stressing the relation of the *Genji* to history and poetry, the two most highly valued genres (besides Confucian classics and Buddhist scripture) at the time. Even in the eighteenth century, when Motoori Norinaga asserted the value of *The Tale of Genji* as prose fiction in his now famous theory of *mono no aware* in *Shibun yōryō* (*Essence of Murasaki Shikibu's Writings*, 1763), he defended the *monogatari* in terms of *waka*, as having similar functions. A full poetics of prose fiction did not develop until the nineteenth century, with the writings of Takizawa Bakin (1767–1848), the great *yomihon* author, and Hagiwara Hiromichi (1815–1863), who wrote *Genji monogatari hyōshaku* (*Appraisal of The Tale of Genji*, 1861), a notable commentary composed under the influence of Ming-Ching vernacular fiction theory.

Narrative Reincarnations and Apocrypha

Another important stream of the reception of *The Tale of Genji* is late Heian and medieval court tales (now referred to as *ōchō monogatari*). The first wave of court tales appeared in the mid- to late Heian period, led by such major texts as *Sagoromo monogatari*, *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari* (*Tale of the Hamamatsu Middle Counselor*, 1056), *Yoru no nezame*, and *Tsutsumi chūnagon monogatari* (*The Tales of the Riverside Middle Counselor*, 1055),[23] all of which show the heavy influence of the *Genji*. *Sagoromo monogatari* and *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari* are attributed to female authors, thus directly continuing the tradition of Heian women's writing. Heian *monogatari*, including Murasaki Shikibu's masterpiece, drew on such narrative archetypes as the courtship and the exile of the young noble. But in the post-*Genji* age, *The Tale of Genji* itself became a

narrative archetype for *monogatari*. Aristocratic readers in the late Heian period took pleasure in seeing variations on a familiar scene from the *Genji*, much as *waka* poets in the Kamakura period enjoyed composing allusive variations on poems from the *Kokinshū* and *The Tales of Ise*. As Royall Tyler has shown, late Heian aristocratic *monogatari* such as *Sagoromo monogatari* and *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari* can be taken as a kind of metacommentary on *The Tale of Genji*.[24] Parts of *Sagoromo*, for example, closely follow the relationship between Genji and Fujitsubo and the tragedies of Yūgao and Ukifune.

The late Heian *monogatari* were succeeded in the Kamakura period by what are now called medieval court tales (*chūsei ōchō monogatari*) or neoclassical tales (*giko monogatari*), written by aristocrats who depicted a Heian court society that had begun to disappear. These medieval court tales, which include such *monogatari* as *Torikaebaya monogatari* (*Changelings*, 1186), *Koke no koromo* (*Moss Robe*, 1271), *Hyobukyō no miya monogatari* (*Tale of Prince Hyōbu*), *Iwa shimizu monogatari* (*Tale of Clear Water Between the Rocks*, 1247), and *Shinobine monogatari* (*Tale of Shinobine*, 1271), incorporate scenes based on the *Genji*, particularly from the Young Murasaki or the Ukifune narrative. For example, *Koke no koromo*, *Hyobukyō no miya monogatari*, *Iwa shimizu monogatari*, and *Shinobine monogatari* all utilize the famous fence-peeping scene from the "Wakamurasaki" chapter.

A subgenre of the medieval court tales was *Genji* apocrypha, which fill in what readers perceived to be gaps in *The Tale of Genji*. For example, *Sakurabito* (*Cherry Tree Person*) depicts the relationship between Prince Hotaru and Tamakazura. *Kohon Sumori* portrays the relationship between Prince Hotaru's granddaughter Sumori, a biwa player, and Prince Niou and Kaoru. *Yamaji no tsuyu* (*Dew on the Mountain Road*, 1271) follows the relationship between Ukifune and Kaoru after "Yume no ukihashi," the last chapter of the *Genji*. *Kumogakure Rokujō* (*Hidden in the Clouds Six Chapters*), which uses a metaphor for death in its title, describes the life of the hero Genji after "Maboroshi" (The Wizard), the last chapter on Genji, and the lives of the other characters after the Uji chapters, the last ten chapters: Genji takes holy vows, Ukifune is returned to Kaoru, Niou ascends to the position of emperor, Nakanokimi becomes empress, and Kaoru becomes a Buddhist priest. These apocrypha no doubt reflect the emergence of *Genji* commentaries and chronologies (*toshidate*), which mapped *The Tale of Genji* on a larger time line, thus revealing potential gaps. (Another notable apocrypha is *Tamakura* [*Pillowed upon His Arm*, late 1750s], by the late-eighteenth-century *kokugaku* scholar Motoori Norinaga.)

The court tales of the Kamakura period were succeeded in the Muromachi period by so-called Muromachi tales (*otogi-zōshi*), which were written for a less educated audience, typically of commoners. The *otogi-zōshi* did not attempt to imitate the style or language of *The Tale of Genji*, as had the late Heian and Kamakura *monogatari*. The *Genji* had become difficult to read, except by a limited number of highly educated poets and scholars. But memorable scenes and characters from of the *Genji* became widely familiar through digests, adaptations, and such popular genres as the Muromachi tales and folk songs (*kayō*). Some *otogi-zōshi* borrowed well-known episodes from the *Genji*, probably drawn from *Genji* digests. For example, *Wakakusa monogatari* (*Tale of Young Grass*), which takes its title from the "Wakamurasaki" chapter, includes a scene in which the stepchild (Wakakusa), having been separted from her childhood love, throws herself into the Uji River, much as Ukifune does in *The Tale of Genji*. In these *otogi-zōshi*, allusions to the *Genji* often appear in a commoner context. For example, in *Saru Genji sōshi* (*Story of Monkey Genji*, 1597), a late Muromachi tale about a lowly sardine seller who successfuly courts a lady of high rank, the sardine seller displays to the lady his knowledge of old poems and of *The Tale of Genji*, using the story of how Kashiwagi (much like himself) caught a glimpse of a lady of high rank (Third Princess).

The most notable of *Genji*-related *otogi-zōshi* is *Kachō fūgetsu* (*Flowers and Birds, Wind and Rain*, 1457), which takes its name from its two female protagonists, the sisters Kachō and Fūgetsu, two shrine shamanesses (*miko*), who conjure up the spirits of Ariwara no Narihira, Genji, and Suetsumuhana, the female character ridiculed in the "Suetsumuhana" (The Safflower) chapter, all of whom speak about their lives and what has happened to them.

Genji Offerings

Not only was the *monogatari* held in low regard, but it became, under the increasing influence of Buddhism in the late Heian period, associated with the notion of the sin of deception (falsehood). Taira no Yasuyori's *Hōbutsu shū* (*Collection of Treasures*, 1179), a collection of anecdotes (*setsuwa*), records a legend in which Murasaki Shikibu, having fallen into hell for writing *The Tale of Genji*, appears in a dream and asks the listener to tear up the *Genji*, copy a sutra, and make poetic offerings to save her soul. Similar stories appear in *Ima kagami* (*Today's Mirror*, 1170) and *Ima monogatari*

(*Today's Tale*, 1239), indicating that this view had become fairly widespread by the end of the twelfth century.

To compensate for the sin committed by Murasaki Shikibu, aristocratic women began the practice of *Genji* offerings (*kuyō*), prayers for the salvation of the spirit of Murasaki Shikibu. The first historical record of a *Genji kuyō* is Priest Chōken's *Genji ippon kyō* (*Sutra for The Tale of Genji*, 1176), a *kanbun* prose prayer:

> Among *monogatari*, *The Tale of Genji* is superior, but it contains erotic words, which encourages human desire and weakens the human heart. If an unmarried young and sheltered lady were to read this *monogatari*, she would be secretly aroused to thoughts of amorous desire. It is for that reason that Murasaki Shikibu and the readers of her *monogatari* are unable to leave the cycle of death and rebirth and have fallen into the hell of forest of swords. They say that the dead spirit of Murasaki Shikibu appeared in people's dreams and confessed the heaviness of her sins. It is for this reason that the devout Nun Zenjō has become a sponsor for this *Sutra for The Tale of Genji*, to save the spirits of the author of *The Tale of Genji* and her devoted readers.[25]

In this offering, sponsored by the Nun Zenjō, the chapters of *The Tale of Genji* are used to copy the chapters of the *Lotus Sutra*, thus turning "delusion into enlightenment." *Genji ippon kyō* suggests that concern for the sin of reading the *Genji* was particularly widespread among women, who were the first to perform *Genji kuyō*. As Matsuoka Shinpei has pointed out, Murasaki Shikibu can be seen as implicitly standing in for the female readers themselves.[26] The Nun Zenjō is Bifukumon-in Kaga, an avid reader of *The Tale of Genji*, the wife of Fujiwara Shunzei,[27] and probably the mother (or grandmother) of the author of the *Mumyō-zoshi* (*A Nameless Notebook*, 1200–1201), the first critical essay on the *Genji* by a woman.

The legend about Murasaki Shikibu suffering in hell or writing *The Tale of Genji* at Ishiyama Temple continued into the Muromachi period and made its way into *otogi-zōshi*. These include the *Genji kuyō sōshi* (*Genji Devotional Offering Tale*, fourteenth century), which provides further evidence that the practice of *Genji kuyō* may have been for the salvation of female readers. In this tale, a beautiful young nun visits Seikaku (1167–1235), a noted Tendai priest and a master of musical sermons (*sekkyō*) at Agui Temple in Kyoto.[28] The nun confesses that although she has taken vows, she recalls phrases from *The Tale of Genji*, which she had read with passion as a young girl—a situation reminiscent of that in Daughter of

Takasue's *Sarashina nikki* (*Sarashina Diary*, ca. 1059). When the nun asks Seikaku to offer prayers for her salvation, he reads to her the "*Genji monogatari* hyōbyaku" (*Tale of Genji* Supplication), a prayer for salvation that takes the chapter titles of *The Tale of Genji* and uses them as Buddhist metaphors for grasping the impermanence and illusory nature of life to create a prayer for rebirth.[29] The "Genji monogatari hyōbyaku," which later became the centerpiece of the *nō* play *Genji kuyō* (*Sanctifying Genji*, mid-fifteenth century), follows the logic of *kyōgen kigo* (crazy words and fancy phrases), the Buddhist condemnation of literature as false, which turns the sin of writing fiction into the opportunity and means of achieving salvation.

As foreshadowed by the author of the *Sarashina nikki*, who laments her youthful engagement with *The Tale of Genji* and, in her later years, regards it as an impediment to her salvation, the practice of *Genji kuyō* suggests that the position of avid women readers of the *Genji* was much more ambivalent than the relationship of men to the *Genji*; for them, it did not appear to become a negative burden, at least in the Kamakura period. There is a stark contrast between Shunzei, who saw *The Tale of Genji* as indispensable to *waka* poets, and his wife, Bifukumon-in Kaga, who also loved *The Tale of Genji* but feared it might have a negative impact on her future.

Serious male involvement in *Genji kuyō* did not emerge until the appearance of the *nō* play *Genji kuyō*, which was composed by a man. In this drama, the spirit of Murasaki Shikibu herself (as the protagonist [*shite*] of the second act) appears before a priest of Agui (the *waki* [side character]) and sings and dances the "Genji monogatari hyōbyaku." In a new twist on the practice of *Genji kuyō*, Murasaki Shikibu is in hell because she did not offer prayers to the spirit of her hero Genji, thus endangering her own salvation. At the end, having offered prayers to the spirit of Genji, Murasaki Shikibu enters the road to salvation.

Genji Gossip

A stark contrast emerges between the early poetic reception of and commentary on *The Tale of Genji*, written almost entirely by male scholars (of the Kawachi and Mikohidari schools), which first canonized the text, and the popular reception of the *Genji* among women, which led to late Heian *monogatari* by women, to *Genji kuyō*, and to much of what Thomas Harper has called *Genji* gossip, the conversational games and contests on *The Tale of Genji*, which flourished from the Kamakura period onward. *Genji* gossip

texts, which typically consist of lists of superlatives or of comparisons of characters in the *Genji*, include *Genji hitobito kokoro kurabe* (*The Feelings of People in the Genji, a Match*), *Genji shijū-hachi mono-tatoe no koto* (*Forty-eight Exemplars from the Genji*), *Genji mono arasoi* (*Genji, a Contest*, 1413), *Genji mono-tatoe* (*Exemplars from the Genji*), and *Genji kai* (*Key to the Genji*),[30] the last of which lists the "best man," "best woman," "best nun," and such in *The Tale of Genji*. Although dating and authorship are uncertain, most of these texts were probably (though not necessarily) written by women. Significantly, they bear a strong resemblance to *Makura no sōshi* (*The Pillow Book*, ca. 1017), by the noted female author Sei Shōnagon, and its *mono-zukushi*, or humorous and entertaining lists of superior or inferior things.

The most notable text in this group is the *Mumyō-zōshi*, which can be regarded as a highly developed form of the "list of superlatives" genre, comparing the male and female characters in *The Tale of Genji* to one another according to different criteria. The *Mumyō-zōshi*, which is attributed to the daughter of Shunzei (actually his granddaughter), describes a woman's literary tradition beginning with Ono no Komachi (fl. ca. 850) and argues for the elevation of the *monogatari* over diaries and nonfiction. In contrast to the medieval commentaries on the *Genji* by male scholars, who regarded it as a classic similar to the Confucian classics and looked for historical, poetic, or court ritual precedents or who focused on the interpretation of specific words, writings on the *Genji* by women, such as *Sarashina nikki* and *Mumyō-zōshi*, focus on the characters, with whom the authors closely identified, and read the *Genji* as a tale, for its story line and for exploring and understanding their own lives.

Genji Nō and Female Protagonists

Gender also became a major factor in *Genji nō* plays, where *nō* made an impact on Genji reception in two basic ways: by using word associations drawn from the *Genji* and by re-creating characters and reenacting scenes from the *Genji*, using Murasaki Shikibu's tale as a foundational text (*honsetsu*) or as source material. The use of *Genji yoriai* is exemplified by the appearance of Suma in such *nō* plays as *Matsukaze* (*Pining Wind*), *Atsumori*, and *Tadanori*—all attributed to Zeami (1363–1443)—each of which draws on the associations of Suma found in the "Suma" and "Akashi" chapters of *The Tale of Genji*.[31] For example, *Matsukaze* depicts the exile of Ariwara no Yukihira (818–893), an early Heian poet, but overlaps it imagistically

with the exile of Genji; likewise, the warrior plays *Atsumori* and *Tadanori* focus on the defeat of a Heike warrior while evoking descriptions of Akashi and Suma from the *Genji*. These lexical associations are drawn from medieval *Genji* digests and *yoriai* collections, such as Nijō Yoshimoto's *Hikaru Genji ichibu renga yoriai* (*Linked Verse Associated Words from the Text of the Shining Genji*, fourteenth century), which categorizes associated words by chapter. The entry for "Suma" lists more than seventy phrases, such as "tempest from the four directions" (*yomo no arashi*), "separation from home" (*sato-hanare*), and "fisherfolk's home" (*ama no ie*).[32]

Sandō (*Three Paths*, 1423), which Zeami wrote for his son and which provides guidance on the composition of *nō* plays, notes that in composing "women plays" (*onna mono*) the model should be female characters in *The Tale of Genji*, such as Ukifune and Lady Aoi. Like *renga*, many of the *nō* plays draw on Heian texts to re-create or evoke the elegant and refined world of Heian aristocratic culture. Zeami took the aesthetics of *yūgen* (mystery and depth), which had been developed by *waka* poets such as Fujiwara Shunzei and Fujiwara Teika, and realized it in *nō*. Zeami, however, appears not to have written any *Genji nō* plays.[33] It would not be until the next generation, with Konparu Zenchiku, Zeami's talented son-in-law, and his play *Nonomiya* (*Shrine in the Fields*) that *Genji nō* came into its own, creating a distinct subgenre. Significantly, the most notable *Genji nō* plays—*Aoi-no-ue* (*Lady Aoi*), *Hajitomi* (*Lattice Shutter*), *Nonomiya*, and *Ukifune* (*Floating Boat*) are about women (Lady Aoi, Yūgao, and Lady Rokujō, respectively). Except for *Aoi-no-ue*, which is a play that predates Zeami, these *Genji nō* generally have the structure of dream plays, in which the past is recalled by the protagonist (*shite*) in the first act and then relived by the spirit of the deceased character in the second act.

One exception to the *Genji* women plays is *Suma Genji*, a dream play that recalls Genji's life: from his youth, through his exile at Suma, to his rise to the highest rank. The play focuses on the glory of the hero, whose spirit descends from heaven to dance the Seigaiha (Dance of the Blue Waves) in act 2. Equally unusual is *Genji kuyō*, a *nō* play that takes place at Ishiyama Temple and belongs to the larger tradition of *Genji* offering texts. The main body of *Genji nō* plays, however, consists of female-spirit or female-ghost dramas, such as *Nonomiya* and *Ukifune*, which, as Reiko Yamanaka discusses in chapter 3, focus on the suffering, attachment, and possible salvation of a female character in *The Tale of Genji*.

In the Kamakura period, the military government (*bakufu*) paid little heed to *The Tale of Genji*. It was not until the Muromachi period, with the rise of the Ashikaga, who moved the seat of the *bakufu* to the old capital, that

the military rulers took a serious interest in the *Genji*, manifested in the two major genres of period, *renga* and *nō*, both of which looked back to the *Genji* as a foundational text. The Ashikaga gradually become aristocratized, and *The Tale of Genji* came to symbolize the Heian court culture, with which the Ashikaga wanted to identify. In the Sengoku (Warring States) period (1467–1573), the military rulers continued to show profound interest in *nō*. The historian Amano Fumio has noted that in his later years, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536/37–1598), one of the military unifiers of Japan, was so fascinated by *nō* that he danced *Genji kuyō*—dressed as Murasaki Shikibu, thus re-creating the world of the Heian court on stage—and *Oimatsu* (*Old Pine*), a prayer for peace in the land, more times than any other *nō* plays.[34]

Digests and Adaptations

By the Muromachi period, *The Tale of Genji* had become difficult to read, except by the highly educated, due to the complexity and length of the text. This obstacle was overcome by *Genji* digests, which enabled *waka* and *renga* poets to have easy access to the plot, key scenes, and poems and to learn the word associations necessary for linking in *renga*. Other *Genji*-related Muromachi genres, such as painting, *nō*, and *otogi-zōshi*, also relied on these digests to re-create the *Genji*. The most popular and most widely read *Genji* digest was *Genji kokagami* (*A Small Mirror of Genji*), which was composed in the Nanboku-chō period.[35] The *Genji kokagami* uses relatively few *kanji* and a great deal of *kana*, suggesting that the audience was *renga* poets with relatively limited education. In the digest of the "Kiritsubo" (The Paulownia Court) chapter, the description of the visit by the Myōbu to the home of the mother of the deceased Kiritsubo lady is followed by these *yoriai*:

> *Yaemugura* [thick wild grass], *mushi no ne shigeki* [the incessant cries of insects], *suzumushi* [bell cricket], *kumo no ue* [above the clouds, the imperial palace], *Miyagino no kohagi* [the bush clover at Miyagi Field], *asajiu no yado* [lodging amid the weeds], and *tsuyu okisouru* [adding of dew].
>
> These are the words that appear in the scene at the home of the Kiritsubo lady, and as a result, if there is a verse about *a lodging of a deceased person* [*naki hito no yado*] or something like that, one should add a verse with one of these words.[36]

The *Genji kokagami* continued to be extremely popular in the Edo period, through the early nineteenth century, and was widely read by Edo-period

haikai poets, who, like their medieval *renga* predecessors, used *Genji yoriai* to link verses.

By the end of the seventeenth century, a widening body of commoners had begun to read *The Tale of Genji* in printed editions (*eiribon*), probably using *Genji monogatari kogetsushō* (*The Tale of Genji Moon on the Lake Commentary*, 1673), edited by Kitamura Kigin (1624–1705). Other editions that appeared in the first half of the seventeenth century were the *Shusho Genji monogatari* (*Tale of Genji with Headnotes*, 1640) and the *Eiri Genji monogatari* (*Illustrated Tale of Genji*, 1650). The *kokugaku* scholars Kamo no Mabuchi (1697–1769) and Motoori Norinaga also wrote commentaries for their commoner disciples. A passage in Shikitei Samba's *Ukiyoburo* (*Floating World Bathhouse*, 1809–1813) satirically describes two female *waka* students using Mabuchi's *Genji monogatari shinshaku* (*New Interpretations of The Tale of Genji*, 1758) and Norinaga's *Genji monogatari tama no ogushi* (*Tale of Genji, a Fine Jeweled Comb*, 1796).[37]

Most commoners, however, probably did not have the ability to read even the *Kogetsushō* and likely turned to one of the numerous *Genji* digests or adaptations that proliferated in the early Edo period. The most notable were Ryūho's *Jūjō Genji* (*Ten-Book Genji*, 1654; published 1661) and *Osana Genji* (*Genji for the Young*, 1661 in Kamigata and 1672 in Edo), which radically condensed the original text while preserving all the poems, even those that had no relation to the larger narrative development.[38] The "Yugao" chapter section of *Osana Genji*, for example, is only three pages long, but it includes all nineteen *waka* from the original. In short, these *Genji* digests transform *The Tale of Genji* into an *uta-monogatari* (poem-tale), much like *The Tales of Ise*, in which the poetry becomes the central focus and holds the narrative together.

The *Genji binkagami* (*A Hairlock Mirror Genji*, 1660), a popular digest of *The Tale of Genji*, is a good example of how *haikai* poets made the *Genji* accessible to less educated commoners. The *Genji binkagami* condenses the *Genji kokagami* so that each chapter becomes a short paragraph. Following the convention of *waka* based on *Genji* chapter titles (*Genji monogatari kanmei waka*), the *Genji binkagami* ends each chapter summary with a seventeen-syllable *hokku* (composed primarily by Teimon *haikai* poets) that weaves in the chapter title:

kiri tsubomu	The paulownia tree in bud,
tokimeku hana ya	a flower enjoying great favor
massakari	at its peak[39]

This *hokku* by Matsunaga Teitoku, the founder of the Teimon school, incorporates the title of the first chapter, "Kiritsubo," through the words *kiri* (paulownia tree) and *tsubomu* (to bud), which echoes the word *tsubo* (court). The *kiri* becomes a tree that is "at its peak" (*massakari*) and "is in favor" (*tokimeku*), referring to the famous opening line of the *Genji*.

Commentaries and Allegory

A major stream of the reception of *The Tale of Genji* is commentaries, a significant form of intellectual activity in the medieval and Edo periods. One of the earliest commentaries is the *Genji shaku* (*Genji Explicated*, before ca. 1160) by the poet-calligrapher Sesonji Koreyuki, which is characterized by its focus on close to 500 poetic and historical precedents.[40] The *Genji shaku* cites 360 *waka*, 49 Chinese texts, and 32 *kayō* as sources for either a prose passage or a poem in the *Genji*. Fujiwara Teika's *Okuiri* (*Endnotes*, ca. 1233), which "corrects" the *Genji shaku*, is also preoccupied with the identification of literary allusions and the citation of literary sources.[41] These early commentaries, which set the precedent for subsequent medieval commentaries, strongly suggest that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, *The Tale of Genji* was often treated by male scholar-poets as an *uta-monogatari*, in the vein of *The Tales of Ise*.

Commentary on *The Tale of Genji* in the late thirteenth century was dominated by family house traditions, primarily that of the Kawachi family (Minamoto Mitsuyuki, the governor of Kawachi Province, and his son Chikayuki), who competed with Fujiwara Teika and his heirs to establish an authoritative recension of the text. This created a rivalry between the Kawachi-*bon* and the Teika-*bon*, which would ultimately be decided in favor of the Teika recension. The Kawachi family provided the major commentaries from the Kamakura period, specifically Priest Sojaku's (Mitsuyuki's son) *Shimeishō* (*Notes on Explicating Murasaki*, 1267, 1294); Mitsuyuki and Chikayuki's *Suigenshō* (*Water Spring Notes*, thirteenth century), a compendium of Kawachi school teachings; and the *Genchū saihishō* (*Secret Notes of the Suigenshō*, 1313, 1364).[42] The *Suigenshō* differs from previous commentaries in providing a fairly accurate historical context for the social customs and court practices found in *The Tale of Genji*.

Yotsutsuji Yoshinari's *Kakaishō* (*Book of Seas and Rivers*, 1387–ca. 1394), the first major commentary written in the Muromachi period, is notable for drawing on the research from previous commentaries (such as the *Okuiri* and *Shimeishō*), paying close attention to the interpretation of

specific words, and examining poetic and historical precedents (*junkyo*). The *Kakaishō* puts forward the influential view that *The Tale of Genji* was "based on" (*junzuru*) the reigns of Emperors Daigo (r. 897–903), Suzaku (r. 930–946), and Murakami (r. 946–967), which were considered by Murasaki Shikibu's time, a century later, to have been a golden age of direct imperial rule and cultural efflorescence.

Late Muromachi commentators shifted their focus more toward narratological explication. In *Amayo danshō* (*Notes on the Rainy Night Discussion*, 1485), a short commentary on the rainy night discussion in the "Hahakigi" chapter of *The Tale of Genji*, the *renga* master Sōgi uses the word *sōshiji* (narrational marker) for the first time, examining the role of the narrator(s) who observe and comment on the action. Sōgi argued that the true key to the *Genji* is the title of the second chapter, "Hahakigi" (a legendary tree that disappeared when approached), which he viewed as a metaphor for the entire tale and for the fictionality of the *Genji* (of not being real, but suggesting things that had actually occurred).[43]

As Lewis Cook shows in chapter 5, the medieval commentaries have at least four main concerns: poetic allusion (*hiki-uta*), historical reference and precedent (*junkyo*), narrative structure, and narrational markers (*sōshiji*). The narrative structures include the notion of parallel chapters (*narabi no maki*), such as "Yomogiu," which was seen (from as early as the *Okuiri*) as a "parallel" chapter to the main narrative of *The Tale of Genji*; chronologies (*toshidate*); and genealogies of the characters (*keizu*), which became important apparatuses for following the long and complex narrative. The narrational markers indicate the speech of the narrators in the *Genji*, who often are ladies-in-waiting and eyewitnesses within the story, as opposed to the author. Of the four main concerns, the first two, poetic allusion and historical reference, are dominant and stress the relation of the *Genji* to poetry and history, the two most prestigious literary genres of the time.

A significant exception to these medieval commentaries, all of which were written by male scholars and poets, is the *Kaokushō* (*Kaoku's Gleanings*, 1594) by Kaoku Gyokuei (1526–1602?), a female *waka* poet. The *Kaokushō*, which is aimed at a female audience, is written largely in *kana*, provides a partial digest of *The Tale of Genji*, and stresses the *waka*.[44] As Gaye Rowley has shown, the *Kaokushō* differs significantly from the standard medieval commentaries in not concentrating on historical, poetic, and Chinese precedents and in not attempting to prove, as most medieval commentaries do, that the *Genji* is a "classic" equal to the Confucian classics or Buddhist scriptures through a perceived relationship to its historical or textual predecessors in China and earlier Japan.[45]

Very roughly speaking, the production of commentary on *The Tale of Genji* passes from *waka* poet-scholars in the Kamakura period to *renga* poet-scholars in the Muromachi period to *haikai* poet-scholars in the seventeenth century to Confucian and *kokugaku* (native learning) scholars in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A landmark in *Genji* commentary and reception was the publication of *Kogetsushō* (*Moon on the Lake Commentary*, 1673) by Kitamura Kigin, a *haikai* poet of the Teimon school responsible for making accessible to Edo commoners a number of literary classics. A printed edition of the *Genji* with extensive notes and interlinear glosses, the *Kogetsushō* draws on a range of medieval commentaries, making it a compendium of medieval *Genji* scholarship. This provided the basis not only for new readings of the *Genji* by scholars and commentators such as Motoori Norinaga and Hagiwara Hiromichi (1815–1863), but also for adaptations by such fiction writers as Ryūtei Tanehiko (1783–1842), who refers to the *Kogetsushō* in his famous *gōkan Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (*Fraudulent Murasaki's Bumpkin Genji*, 1829–1842).

Once a text is canonized, it is often expected to bear profound truths about larger issues. Allegorical readings are frequently used to account for seemingly transgressive aspects of a canonized text. For example, the love poems in the *Shijing* (*Book of Songs*, 600 B.C.E.), one of the Confucian classics, were interpreted by later commentaries as allegories of the relationship of a faithful prime minister to an emperor. A major concern of late medieval and Edo-period commentary was the eroticism in *The Tale of Genji*, particularly the adultery by Genji with Fujitsubo, his father's chief consort. The eroticism in *Genji* was frequently countered in commentaries by two fundamental techniques. The first, *gūgen*, was a kind of allegory in which, under the banner of *Zhuangzi*, the surface of the *Genji* was believed to contain deeper Buddhistic and Confucian meanings and lessons The following passage appears at the beginning of the *Myōjōshō* (*Notes for the Morning Star*, ca. 1539–1563), a major *Genji* commentary by Sanjōnishi Kin'eda (1487–1563):[46]

> When it comes to the main purpose of this *monogatari*, it is said to be based on amorous affairs [*kōshoku*] and bewitching beauty [*yōen*], but the true intent of the author was to take people and pull them onto the path of righteousness [*jingi*] and the five Confucian virtues [*gojō*], and in the end to make them awaken to the truth of the middle way [*chūdō*] and of the phenomenal world [*jissō*] and achieve the foundation for renouncing the world.[47]

On the surface, *The Tale of Genji* appears to be about licentious behavior, but in fact it leads the reader to an understanding of Confucian virtues and toward Buddhist awakening. This kind of interpretation, based on *gūgen*, begins as early as Yotsutsuji Yoshinari's *Kakaishō*, the first major *Genji* commentary. As Haruki Ii shows in chapter 6, Ichijō Kanera's *Sayo no nezame* (*On a Sleepless Night*, 1478) was one of the first treatises on the *Genji* to give a Confucian reading to the tale, which Kanera saw as a means of providing moral instruction to warrior leaders.

Kumazawa Banzan (1619–1691), a samurai scholar and administrator, argued in *Genji gaiden* (*Auxiliary Chapters on the Genji*) that "amorous matters are written on the surface, but the essence of the tale is not amorous." The erotic was used as a hook to pull in the reader. Furthermore, *The Tale of Genji* was not fiction but a serious historical record of a period in which Japan retained many features of an ideal Confucian society that was still articulated by "ritual and music" and in which authority resided in court and was exercised through virtue rather than by law or coercion.

Like Banzan, Andō Tameakira (1659–1716), a samurai and Confucian scholar who wrote the well-known work *Shika shichiron* (*Seven Essays on Murasaki Shikibu*, 1703), defended *The Tale of Genji*, particularly against criticism of its fictionality and immorality, from the perspective of Confucian values. His position also reflects the second technique used to counter eroticism in canonized texts, usually referred to in the commentaries as *fūyu*: a didactic reading in which those characters involved in amorous affairs were thought to be punished, thus teaching the reader about the dangers of such behavior or action. The *Genji*, in Tameakira's view, has the important Confucian function of encouraging good and chastising evil (*kanzen chōaku*), but it does so indirectly, through the depiction of "human feeling" (*ninjō*) and "social conditions" (*setai*). In *Shika shichiron*, Tameakira drew on the *Murasaki Shikibu nikki* (*Diary of Murasaki Shikibu*, 1010) to demonstrate that Murasaki Shikibu was a virtuous and morally upright figure. Her audience, having read *The Tale of Genji* and seen the consequences of various social transgressions, particularly Fujitsubo's great lapse (*mono no magire*), would be more cautious and aware in their behavior, for they would now know the consequences of such action.

This position is also evident in *Gengo teiyō* (*Grasping the Essence of The Tale of Genji*, 1791–1794) by Murata Harumi (1749–1811), a disciple of Kamo no Mabuchi and a *kokugaku* scholar with a strong Confucian background. In 1791, he copied Mabuchi's *Genji monogatari shinshaku*, and *Gengo teiyō* is thought to be an offshoot of that work. The most salient characteristic of this essay is the view that *The Tale of Genji* is a morally didactic work:

> Both men and women guard against the abundance of lascivious activity in the tale. No matter how amorous a person might be, if that person reads *The Tale of Genji* he or she will realize how impermissible this is and will no doubt show disgust. . . . Genji's worst offense is his affair with Fujitsubo, his surrogate mother, by whom he has a child whom he causes the world to regard as the son of his father the emperor. In addition, he steals the daughter of a person, commits adultery with someone's wife, and deceives a widow, etc. This is enough to make readers reflect on themselves and refrain from such acts. . . . The "Kumogakure" [Hidden in the Clouds] chapter does not exist since Genji's end was bad and something that could not be recorded. If "Kumogakure" existed, how could it not have described the fate of such a terrible person?[48]

In Murata's view, the *Genji* implicitly condemns and punishes Genji for having indulged in amorous and illicit affairs. It is for that reason that Genji is exiled to Suma and that Reizei, the child of the ultimate transgression, is without descendents. The women who have affairs with Genji likewise end up becoming nuns, as punishment for their actions.

The most famous defense of *The Tale of Genji* was that of Motoori Norinaga, who rejected both *gūgen* and *fūyu* and stressed that the work was not intended to demonstrate the consequences of good or evil actions or to be didactic, as earlier Buddhist and Confucian commentators had argued. Instead, Murasaki Shikibu described these painful love affairs and transgressions in order to reveal the depth of human emotion (*mono no aware*). Genji becomes the hero of *The Tale of Genji* primarily because he has the most emotive capacity. As Norinaga notes in *Shibun yōryō* (*Essence of Murasaki Shikibu's Writings*, 1763): "In general, *monogatari* create and describe various aspects of the good, the bad, the rare, the unconventional, the pleasant, and the moving phenomena of the world, sometimes to the accompaniment of illustrations, to serve as entertainment during one's idle hours, as consolation when one is depressed or lost in thought."[49] Norinaga goes on to argue for an empathetic theory of fiction, in which empathy with the plight of the characters leads to a cathartic process by which the reader's own sorrow is relieved..

Shibun kōshitsu (*Murasaki's Writings and the Crimson Pen*, 1785) by Tachibana Taka is one of the few, if not the only, commentaries on *The Tale of Genji* written by a woman in the Edo period.[50] Tachibana refutes traditional Buddhist and Confucian views of the *Genji*, criticizing the *Kakaishō*, one of the most influential of the medieval commentaries, for misunderstanding the main import of this text as "a means of entering into the Buddhist path and teaching righteousness and duty":[51]

> The main intent of this *monogatari* is not expedient means [*hōben*] nor is it moral instruction [*kyōkun*]. It was written instead simply as consolation [*nagusame*] for boredom and idleness. This text describes all things related to cultured elegance [*fūryū*] and flowering fortunes. For example, waiting for the cherry blossoms, breaking off the bright autumn leaves, watching the moon, gazing at the snow, regretting parting, praying for long life—these are all expressions of cultural elegance. In particular, it carefully describes the emotions between men and women.[52]

Throughout, she stresses that *The Tale of Genji* describes in intimate detail and exquisite language human emotions (*ninjō*). She also rebukes contemporary teachers of the *Genji* for reading into the narrative various Chinese and Buddhist references and models that Murasaki Shikibu never had in mind—using them as an excuse to show off their knowledge and deceive their students. Instead, commentators and teachers should concentrate on reconstructing the social context of the *Genji* because the social practices (such as marriage) have changed drastically since the time of Murasaki Shikibu. Tachibana's critique of contemporary teachers suggests that they continued to give Confucian and Buddhist readings of *The Tale of Genji* and that the position of Norinaga remained in the minority during the Edo period. Indeed, it would remain in the minority until the Meiji period (1868–1912), when Tsubouchi Shōyō (1859–1935), seeking to break from Edo-period didactic views of fiction and to establish the parameters of the modern novel, would move the pendulum of critical discourse decisively in the direction of the narrative depiction of human emotion and social mores.

Textbooks for Women

From the medieval period through the Edo period, *The Tale of Genji* was regarded as a textbook for women, becoming associated with a tradition of writing called *jokun* (educational textbooks for women). The earliest such text is thought to be *Niwa no oshie* (*Home Teachings*), better known as *Menoto no fumi* (*Letter from a Wetnurse*, 1263–1264), which appears to have been written by the Nun Abutsu (d. 1283) for her daughter Ki no Naishi, who was serving at court. As a guide to a lady-in-waiting (*nyōbō*) that draws heavily on the style of *The Tale of Genji*, *Menoto no fumi* provides advice on social interaction at court; on various arts, such as *waka*, music, painting, and calligraphy; and on how to behave after taking vows.[53]

The *Onna chōhōki* (*Record of Treasures for Women*, 1692) indicates that by the end of the seventeenth century *The Tale of Genji* had become essential reading for young women, along with the *Man'yōshū*, *The Tales of Ise*, and Fujiwara Teika's *Hyakunin isshu* (*One Hundred Poets, One Hundred Poems*, thirteenth century). In contrast to medieval *jokun* such as *Menoto no fumi*, however, the *Genji* was attacked by Edo-period *jokun* authors as a licentious book. The preface to *Onna shisho* (*Four Books for Women*, 1650), edited by Tsujihara Genpo, notes: "Because these *monogatari* and such generally dwell exclusively on licentious affairs [*inran kōshoku*], the reader will follow what she sees and before she knows it her heart will be changed. Since her heart will naturally melt and her intentions no doubt go astray, she must not read or become fond of these *monogatari*."[54] In the chapter "Rules for Teaching Girls" of his *Wazoku dōjikun* (*Instruction for Young Children*, 1710) Kaibara Ekiken (1630–1714), a noted Confucian scholar and educator, condemns both *The Tale of Genji* and *The Tales of Ise* for having a negative influence on young girls: "The language of such books as *The Tale of Genji* and *The Tales of Ise* is elegant, but one should not show [girls] at an early age these books that depict lewd and vulgar matters."[55] The *Jokyō fudanbukuro* (*Women's Learning Everyday Bag*, 1754) states: "Since *The Tales of Ise* and *The Tale of Genji* are books for poetry, there is no problem in reading them, but if one ends up understanding amorous matters [*kōshoku*] that is bad. One should acquire the elegant and gentle words [found in these texts]. One should not forget this under any circumstances."[56] The *Genji* is appropriate for women's education, since it was thought to represent an example of refined and gentle femininity and believed to be a practical model for writing style and diction, particularly in *kana*.

The other major tactic of Edo-period *jokun* was to present *The Tale of Genji* as a Confucian text. A good example is *Ominaeshi monogatari* (*Maiden Flower Tales*), a *kana-zōshi* probably written in the early seventeenth century, which uses the *Genji* to teach women how to behave. (The editor, listed as "the daughter of a Fujiwara," is thought to be Kitamura Kigin, the noted Teimon *haikai* poet and scholar.) A typical example is section 40, which lists seven things that Confucius stated women must avoid: being resentful, being amorous, stealing, being foulmouthed, boasting, not having children, and becoming seriously ill. Drawing on the description of a female character in the discussion of women in the "Hahakigi" chapter of *The Tale of Genji*, the author makes the point that women should not openly reveal their jealousy, but instead remain gentle and restrained: "In this way, even if a woman resents what she should resent, if she is of such a heart that she

speaks without being brash and hateful, her man will be moved and his compassion for her grow, and his wandering heart will settle down. Murasaki Shikibu wrote *The Tale of Genji* to teach the people of the world that her character Murasaki is indeed a true example of womanhood."[57]

Education for women in samurai families in the Edo period centered on private and domestic matters, focusing on the acquisition by women of artistic education and taste, for which *The Tale of Genji* was regarded as essential. Like *waka*, the *Genji* was thought to teach or transmit elegance, refinement, and gentleness (*yasashisa*), which was a highly regarded value in Confucian textbooks for women. The learning of cultured vocabulary and appropriate phrases, particularly poetic diction, was a key part of a woman's education. At the same time, in a controlled society that stressed the centrality of the family or house and that was underpinned by Confucian thought, the notion of *kōshoku* (love for love's sake, outside the family), which plays such a major role in *The Tale of Genji*, had no place except in the pleasure quarters, to which it was officially confined.

Genji Paintings

The early history of *Genji* paintings (*Genji-e*) revolves around four basic genres—scroll paintings (*emaki*), fan paintings (*senmen*), album paintings, and screen paintings (*byōbu-e*)—which were produced for those in positions of power and wealth, from leading aristocrats and retired emperors and empresses in the late Heian period to the powerful provincial lords and warrior leaders in the Muromachi period. The most notable scroll painting and the most celebrated pictorial representation of *The Tale of Genji* is the *Genji monogatari emaki* (*Tale of Genji Scrolls*), which dates to the twelfth century and survives only partially.[58] One of the most important characteristics of the *Genji Scrolls* is the relationship between the text (the oldest extant text of the *Genji*) and the paintings. As Yukio Lippit discusses in chapter 2, aesthetic interest in the *Genji Scrolls* was generated through multi-media—painting, textual excerpt, calligraphy, and decorated paper—which contributed in subtle and revealing ways to specific interpretations of the *Genji*. These interpretations reflected an intimate knowledge of the *monogatari* on the part of the creators.

Many of the scenes in the *Genji Scrolls*, using the *fukinuki yatai* (blown-off roof and aerial view) technique, simultaneously focus on the interior and the exterior, with the natural and physical setting (often a garden) becoming, as in the famous scene of Murasaki's impending death in the

"Minori" (The Rites) chapter, the primary means of expressing the emotional state of the characters.

Two *Genji* painting genres that appeared in the Muromachi period were fan painting and album painting. The most notable example of polychromatic fan painting, executed on the surface of a fan (and sometimes later mounted on a screen), is *The Tale of Genji Fan Painting Screen* (Jōdo Temple Archives, sixteenth century), which consists of six panels with sixty small fan paintings arranged by chapter in seasonal order, with a short text from the *Genji* on a cloud across the top of each fan (see plate 6).

One of the most outstanding examples of album painting, which was done on *shikishi* (small rectangular sheets of paper originally designed for poems), is the *Genji monogatari gajō* (*Tale of Genji Album*, Sackler and Harvard University Museums) by Tosa Mitsunobu (d. 1520), the founder of the Tosa school of painting (see plate 7).[59] Both the fan paintings and the *shikishi* album paintings draw on conventions found in the *Genji Scrolls*—such as the *fukinuki yatai* and *tsukuri-e* (line sketch with thick color paint on top) techniques and the juxtaposition of calligraphic text and image—but they also established a new set of conventions for *Genji* iconography, which would have a profound influence on the subsequent visual representations of *The Tale of Genji*.

The Muromachi period also witnessed the growth of large screen painting, which sometimes broke the multi-panel screen surface into many scenes separated by clouds of gilt, or sometimes depicted a single, continuous scene. The composition and iconography of screen paintings are similar to those of the small fan and *shikishi* album paintings, but on a much greater scale. The Kanō school of painting—led by Kanō Eitoku (1543–1590) and Kanō Sanraku (1559–1635)—produced a number of large-scale screen paintings that depict scenes from *The Tale of Genji* (see plate 11).[60] Significantly, the symbiotic relationship between the calligraphic text and the painting, which was a salient feature of the earlier scroll, fan, and album paintings, is now gone, leaving images but no text.

One characteristic of the polychromatic *Genji* paintings, especially the large screen paintings, is that many of the scenes tend to be focused on a festive court activity or an annual observance, either in the palace or at the Rokujō-in (Genji's palatial residence). The most popular episodes in this vein are the clash of the carriages in the "Aoi" (Heartvine) chapter (see frontispiece); Genji's procession along the shore to Sumiyoshi Shrine in the "Miotsukushi" (Channel Buoys) chapter; and the dance of the butterflies at the Rokujō-in in the "Kochō" (Butterflies) chapter (figure 1), each of which shows the splendor of court life in a seasonal context.

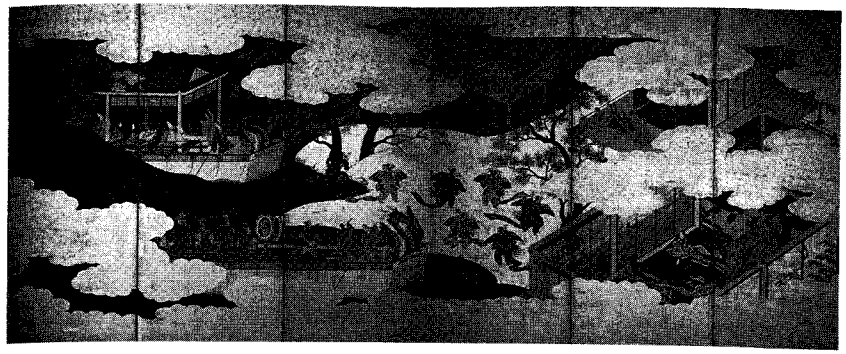


FIGURE 1 Artist of the Tosa school, *Kochō* (*Butterflies*): at the end of spring in Murasaki's spring garden at the Rokujō-in, young female attendants dressed as butterflies and birds perform the dance of the butterflies. (By permission of the Mary and Jackson Burke Collection, New York)

Other scenes depicted in *Genji* paintings are the young Murasaki's grief at Inuki's release of the sparrow in the "Wakamurasaki" chapter and Ukifune and Niou in the boat near the Island of Orange Blossoms in "Ukifune" (A Boat Upon the Waters). Not only did these episodes come to represent the chapters in which they appear, they often were reduced to a single imagistic detail in decoration, dress, and other forms of material culture. For example, the image of a carriage wheel on a lacquered box alludes to the carriage scene in the "Aoi" chapter, and willows over a bridge on a *kosode* dress symbolizes the Uji River in the "Hashihime" (The Lady at the Bridge) chapter. The warlords or military leaders who commissioned the fan, album, and screen paintings sought the prestige of Heian court culture, which was most dramatically displayed and embodied in these types of scenes.

The second oldest extant *Genji* paintings after the famous *Genji Scrolls* are in the *Hakubyō eiri Ukifune sōshi* (*Ukifune Booklet*), which dates to the Kamakura period and reproduces the text of the "Ukifune" chapter interspersed with five monochromatic paintings (*hakubyō*). Monochromatic paintings (such as the late medieval *Genji Scrolls* in the Spencer Collection) mark a departure from the polychromatic paintings that were commissioned by powerful male patrons. As Melissa McCormick shows in chapter 4, the small handscroll, monochromatic paintings were often done by aristocratic women in private settings, as opposed to the polychromatic paintings commissioned by samurai leaders and executed by professional painters. A direct parallel can be drawn between the tradition of monochromatic *Genji*

paintings and that of *Genji* reception (extending from the *Sarashina nikki* through the *Mumyō-zōshi* to the *Kaokushō*) by women.

Book Illustrations, *Ukiyo-e*, and Visual Codification

With a few exceptions, such as the "Yomogiu" chapter, the scenes depicted in the surviving *Genji Scrolls* are not repeated in later medieval *Genji* paintings. Instead, the Muromachi-period polychromatic paintings, mainly by the artists of the Tosa school, draw on one or two key episodes, centered on poetry, that in digests of *The Tale of Genji* (such as *Genji kokagami* [*A Small Mirror of Genji*, ca. fourteenth century]) had come to represent particular chapters. These scenes then became part of the standard repertoire for poets and painters and established the pattern for the vast majority of subsequent *Genji* paintings. These, in turn, became the basis for woodblock illustrations in the early Edo printed editions (*eiribon*) and digests of the *Genji*. Good examples are the illustrations by Yamamoto Shunshō (1610–1682) in the *Eiri Genji monogatari* (*Illustrated Tale of Genji*, 1650), the first major printed edition of the *Genji* (figure 2; see also figure 26), and those in *Osana Genji* (*Genji for the Young*, 1661, 1672), a widely read printed digest of *The Tale of Genji* for young readers (see figures 22, 28, and 31).



FIGURE 2 Yamamoto Shunshō, "Yūgao" (Evening Faces), in *Eiri Genji monogatari* (*Illustrated Tale of Genji*, 1650).

These seventeenth-century woodblock illustrations initially followed the iconography of polychromatic *Genji* paintings done in the sixteenth century. For example, illustrations of the "Yūgao" chapter in the *Eiri Genji monogatari* are based on the iconography found in the "Yūgao" fan painting in *The Tale of Genji Fan Painting Screen* (see plate 6). But since the polychromatic *Genji* paintings had been commissioned primarily by retired emperors, high royalty, powerful *daimyō*, and shoguns for whom they served as displays of power and cultural pedigree, inauspicious events (such as the death of Yūgao) were probably avoided. This attitude changed in the Edo period, with the publication of printed editions that were consumed by an urban commoner and educated samurai audience. Certain stories in *The Tale of Genji* became famous—such as Genji's love affair with Yūgao, Genji's exile to Suma and Akashi, the relationship between Kashiwagi and the Third Princess, and the rivalry between Kaoru and Niou for Ukifune—creating a kind of canon within the canon. A story that became particularly popular in the Edo period was that of Yūgao, probably because of the gothic romance and its position near the beginning of the *Genji*. Indeed, the *Eiri Genji monogatari* even has an illustration of the evil spirit (*mono-no-ke*), thought by many readers to be that of Lady Rokujō in the "Yūgao" chapter.

The latter half of the seventeenth century also witnessed the birth of the woodblock print. The *ukiyo-e* initially focused on portraiture, particularly of star kabuki actors and high-ranking courtesans in the pleasure quarters, depicting these beautiful men and women in contemporary dress and hairstyles. Those *ukiyo-e* artists who took up *The Tale of Genji* initially drew on the iconography of such printed editions as the *Eiri Genji monogatari* and *Osana Genji*, which, in turn, had followed the late medieval Tosa school tradition of *Genji* painting. But, as Keiko Nakamachi shows in chapter 7, such *ukiyo-e* artists as Sugimura Jihei and Okumura Masanobu (1686—1764) began to transform *Genji* pictures into genre pictures, depicting scenes from contemporary commoner life. Many of these *Genji ukiyo-e* resemble *bijinga* (portraits of beautiful women), a major subgenre of *ukiyo-e*, with the female characters in the *Genji* frequently appearing as the daughters of commoner townsmen or as celebrity courtesans (*yūjo*) in the pleasure quarters.[61] As in Edo-period kabuki, the most popular figure in Edo-period *ukiyo-e* is the Third Princess (Onna san no miya), Genji's principal wife, in the scene in "Wakana jō" (New Herbs, Part I) in which Kashiwagi catches a glimpse of her while playing *kemari* at the Rokujō-in. A string attached to a Chinese cat lifts up the blind, revealing the Third Princess, whom Kashiwagi consequently falls in love with (see figures 22 and 24).



FIGURE 3 The *Genji* incense sign for "Utsusemi" (The Shell of the Locust).

One popular type of *ukiyo-e* was the *mitate*, which presented a sophisticated visual puzzle in which the viewer, looking at a contemporary scene, had to figure out which classical, medieval, or Chinese story or figure was represented. A good example is *Mitate Yūgao zu* (*Visual Transposition: Evening Faces*, 1766) by Suzuki Harunobu (d. 1770), which shows a young woman in contemporary Edo dress, a *furisode* (robe with long sleeves), standing in front of a gate where the *yūgao* is blooming (plate 1). The young woman is being approached on the right by a young man, holding a fan and wearing a *haori* (light overcoat) with the *Genji* incense sign for the "Yūgao" chapter appearing as a crest on the sleeve. The young man is accompanied by a child servant with a shaved head, who is carrying an insect cage in the shape of a carriage (representing Genji's carriage in the noted scene in "Yūgao").

Another important mid-Edo development in *Genji* painting and design was the *Genji* incense (*Genji-kō*) sign (figure 3). The *Genji* incense game, which emerged in the imperial court in the late Muromachi period, used five types of incense, with five samples of each, for a total of twenty-five packages. Each of the five samples was burned in succession, and the players had to decide if each incense was the same as or different from the others. In the *Genji* incense sign, the five vertical lines represent the five successive samples. The *Genji* incense signs gradually took on an existence independent of the incense contest, as visual icons representing each of the chapters in *The Tale of Genji*. They appeared in card games, confectionary, tea utensils, architectural decorations, family crests, company logos, clothing, wrapping paper, and *Genji* pictures. For example, the card game *Fūryū Genji uta-karuta* (*Elegant Genji Poem Cards*), illustrated by the noted *ukiyo-e* artist Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849), is a four-sheet woodblock set, beginning with the first chapter, "Kiritsubo," and going to the fifty-fourth and last chapter, "Yume no ukihashi." Each card is marked by a *Genji* incense sign, a scene from the chapter, and the top half of a poem from the chapter (to be matched by another card with the bottom half of the poem, in the fashion of the New Year's card game on the hundred poems by a hundred poets).

A major turning point in the visual reception of *The Tale of Genji* was the publication of Ryūtei Tanehiko's *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (*Fraudulent Murasaki's Bumpkin Genji*, 1829–1842), a *gōkan* that became an immediate best seller. *Inaka Genji* did not attempt to produce a vernacular *Genji* so much as create a unique hybrid of different texts and historical periods (Heian, Muromachi, and Edo). It became so popular that it was through *Inaka Genji* that the populace largely came to know of *The Tale of Genji*, and late Edo *Genji* kabuki was based not on the original, but on *Inaka Genji*. As Michael Emmerich discusses in chapter 8, *Inaka Genji* attracted a wide readership, with its elaborate and colorful woodblock prints (*nishiki-e*). The illustrator Utagawa Kunisada (Toyokuni II; 1786–1864) depicted the characters in *Inaka Genji* in the latest fashions in the manner of *bijinga*, igniting a fad in which women imitated *Inaka Genji* hairstyles and clothes.

Kunisada went on to do many hundreds of *Genji* pictures, including a number of erotic *ukiyo-e*, such as *Shōutsushi aioi Genji* (*Exact Copy Growing Up Together Genji*, 1830–1843), which is set in the Muromachi period and parodies *Inaka Genji*.[62] As the *Kanmon gyoki* (a *kanbun* diary that records events from 1408 to 1453) reveals, pornographic *Genji* paintings appeared as early as the Muromachi period and their number continued to grow in the Edo period. The visual reception of *The Tale of Genji* from the Kamakura through the Edo period was closely associated with cultural nostalgia, particularly in the form of the Tosa and Kanō school *Genji* paintings, which were patronized mainly by the military elite, but as the *ukiyo-e* and printed books in the mid- to late Edo period reveal, the *Genji* also became closely associated, at least in popularly based *ukiyo-e* form, with the erotic and the pornographic.

CULTURAL NOSTALGIA, EROTICISM, AND THE FEMININE

The close association of *The Tale of Genji* with aristocratic and emperor-centered court culture—which emerged in the late Heian period and extended through the Kamakura and Muromachi periods into the Edo and modern periods—is a major reason for its cultural authority. As imperial court society gradually declined in the medieval period, coming to a near end with the Ōnin War (1467–1477), which devastated the capital, court culture was replaced by its symbolic images and objects. Foremost among them were the canonical Heian literary works in *kana*, such as *The Tale of Genji*, *The Tales of Ise*, and the *Kokinshū*. For late medieval

warlords who had gained power but lacked a cultural legacy, the *Genji* became an important source of cultural identity, and it is these warlords who commissioned most of the late medieval polychromatic *Genji* paintings, from the small painting albums to the large screen paintings, which depict Heian court life in all its splendor.

By the Muromachi period, *The Tale of Genji*, which had been heavily criticized earlier for being a work of fiction, was also treated as a form of history. The Ashikaga, who came to power at this time, traced their lineage to the Genji, or Minamoto, who, like the hero of the *Genji*, were direct descendents of the throne. The *Genji* thus came to represent a particular period (Heian) and a particular aspect of that period (court culture) of importance to the Ashikaga military rulers. As Miyakawa Yōko and Gaye Rowley have shown, Ōgimachi Machiko's *Matsukage nikki* (*In the Shelter of the Pine*, ca. 1710–1714), a diary kept by a daughter of a noble who was married to a high-ranking samurai, is replete with evidence that even in the early Edo period, *The Tale of Genji* remained an important part of high culture for powerful samurai leaders, long after the decline of the aristocracy and the rise of popular commoner culture.[63]

In the eighteenth century, *kokugaku* scholars regarded the ancient period as having been a pristine age, free from foreign influence, but in the Edo period the Heian era became the period most closely identified with court culture, even though Nara (710–784) had been equally aristocratic and emperor-centered. This identification of court culture with the Heian period persists even today in a variety of institutionalized events, such as the annual Hina matsuri (Doll's Festival, on the third day of the Third Month); Girl's Day, on which dolls are dressed like Heian royalty; the Heisei imperial accession ceremony; and the Aoi matsuri (Aoi Festival), a major festival held in Kyoto, for which participants dress as Heian courtiers.

As we have seen, another major association of *The Tale of Genji* was with amorous and forbidden love, which was condemned from the medieval through the Edo periods by both Buddhist and Confucian commentators. This led to what may be called the "negative *Genji*," which began, as we have seen, in the tradition of *Genji kuyō* and continued into the Muromachi and Edo commentaries. It was not only amorous and forbidden love that made the *Genji* controversial, but also the implicit transgression against the integrity of the imperial lineage by the protagonist, who has sexual intercourse with the chief consort of his father, the reigning emperor. In 1933, this aspect of the *Genji* (Fujitsubo's adultery with Genji and the birth of an illegitimate son, Reizei, who later accedes to the throne) resulted in a ban on the performance of Banshōya Eiichi's theatrical adaptation. Under pressure

from a noted Japanese literature scholar, Tanizaki Jun'ichirō eliminated controversial passages on Genji, Fujitsubo, and Reizei in his first modern translation of *The Tale of Genji* (*Jun'ichirō-yaku Genji monogatari* [*The Tale of Genji: The Jun'ichirō Translation*], 1939–1941). As Masaaki Kobayashi demonstrates in chapter 10, Genji's transgression implicitly questions the sacred notion of an unbroken line of emperors, foregrounding a long-suppressed paradox caused by the struggle between the northern and southern branches of the imperial family in the Nanboku-chō period.

The third and perhaps most intriguing aspect of the popularization of *The Tale of Genji* is its close association with women, particularly aristocratic women. The *Genji* was written by a woman and enjoyed a long history of female readership. Not surprisingly, its textual and visual reception became highly gendered. As Keiko Nakamachi shows in chapter 7, in Edo and other major castles, in late medieval and early Edo warrior society, *Genji* paintings were displayed in "feminine" spaces, particularly the shogunal harem quarters (*ōoku*). In the Edo period, elaborately and richly illustrated books and picture scrolls of *The Tale of Genji* became what are now called trousseau books (*yomeiri-bon*), given to a daughter as part of her dowry by a shogun or a powerful *daimyō*. The *Genji* paintings were deemed suitable for princesses and daughters of powerful families as everyday furnishings, as models for *waka* composition, and perhaps to initiate male–female relationships upon marriage. The famous *Hatsune e-maki no chōdo-rui* (*The First Warbler Picture Scroll for a Dowry*, 1639) was prepared for the marriage of Princess Chiyo, the daughter of the third Tokugawa shogun, Iemitsu. The *Genji monogatari-zu byōbu* (*Tale of Genji Painting Screens*) by Kanō Tan'yu (1602–1674) was apparently presented by the Tokugawa family to the shogun's adopted daughter, Princess Fū, when she was married to Prince Hachijō (Prince Toshitada). The *Genji* paintings, in the form of scrolls, albums, and screens, thus functioned as status symbols, connoting a woman's high level of cultural refinement and the wealth of her family—a tendency that was especially strong in powerful military households.

This association of the *Genji* with "feminine" space continued into the Edo period in the pleasure quarters of Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo, where high-ranking courtesans took on the names of characters and chapter titles in the *Genji*. Names in *Keisei iro shamisen* (*Courtesan's Colorful Shamisen*, 1701) include Yūgiri, Kashiwagi, Ukihashi, Suma, Kochō, Akashi, Hatsune, Tamakazura, Usugumo, Kaoru, Ukifune, and Umegae. According to one estimate, almost 7 percent of all names of high-ranking courtesans were taken from the *Genji*.[64] The custom of using Genji names

began in the late Muromachi period with female servants at court and among nobility, spread to ladies-in-waiting in the *ōoku*, and then appeared in the early Edo period in the pleasure quarters, where customers may have been motivated by the notion of embracing women of high status.

These features—nostalgia for court culture, amorous and forbidden love, and association with women—also mark the reception of *The Tale of Genji* and popular culture in the post–World War II period. In chapter 11, Kazuhiro Tateishi shows how Japanese film renditions of the *Genji* oscillate between a Heian court aesthetic, in which *The Tale of Genji* is presented as a "traditional" narrative worthy of display in the global marketplace as a cultural representation of Japan, and a sexual aesthetic that is implicitly disrespectful of the emperor system. From the 1970s, several distinct waves of "free translations" of *The Tale of Genji*, including *manga* versions, emerged. The first wave of comic books, in the 1970s and 1980s, epitomized by Yamato Waki's *Asaki yume mishi* (*Fleeting Dreams*), a runaway best seller that was serialized from 1979 to 1993, belonged to the genre of girls' *manga* that, as Yuika Kitamura argues in chapter 12, gave fulfillment to certain types of girls's dreams, particularly "love and the affirmation of self brought about by a man." This *manga* was succeeded by Maki Miyako's *Genji monogatari* (1986), which belongs to the genre of ladies' comics and appeals to women's sexuality. This was followed, from the 1990s, by *manga* and free translations from a male perspective, exploring men's sexual fantasies.

PIETISTIC AND CANNIBALISTIC RECEPTION

There has been a strong tendency to think of the literary canon and popular culture as contrasting phenomena, one associated with cultural authority and the other with subculture, but as this overview demonstrates, a key aspect of the reception of *The Tale of Genji* has been the constant interaction between the two. In his theory of translation, Serge Gavronsky makes a distinction between pietistic and cannibalistic types of translation. The pietistic type presents the translator as secondary to the original text, which is held sacred, while the cannibalistic type presents the translator as someone who consumes the original text, often beyond recognition, transforming it into his or her own possession.[65] The medieval commentaries of *The Tale of Genji*, which were mainly responsible for its canonization, closely resemble the pietistic model in that they attempt to preserve and transmit the original text, while writerly and media modes

of reception often follow the cannibalistic model, in which the writer, artist, or filmmaker uses the source text (an adaptation or a digest) to produce something unique and contemporary.

The *ga/zoku* (high/low, classical/vernacular) dynamic, which lies at the heart of much of early Edo popular culture, was cannibalistic in that it usually took a well-known, "high" classical text and adapted it to a "low" or contemporary situation, usually with a witty, *haikai*-esque, parodic twist, mixing classical and vernacular languages. Ihara Saikaku's *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* (*Life of an Amorous Man*, 1682) transforms Genji into an urban commoner who travels from one pleasure quarter to another in seventeenth-century Japan. The result is a vernacular parody of a Heian aristocratic text in which the humor derives from the unexpected transformation of a figure of cultural authority into a contemporary character with whom commoner readers could identify. The *mitate* technique found in mid- and late Edo *ukiyo-e* was also part of this larger phenomenon of cultural transference and "dressing down." The popularization of *The Tale of Genji* in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was fueled by *haikai*, *senryū*, and *kyōka*, comic parodic genres that give unexpected, often bawdy, twists to classical icons. In *haikai*, the *Genji* frequently appears under the topic of "love" (*koi*), which was a required topic, along with the "moon" and the "cherry blossoms," for linked verse.

The long-term effect of cannibalistic translation or reception (or what Yuika Kitamura, in chapter 12, refers to as "free translations" of *The Tale of Genji*) is that they both sustain interest in a classic that is no longer accessible in the original and make it part of a larger cultural memory. Cannibalistic reception arises in response to contemporary conditions, to new cultural paradigms (whether they be *nō* playwrights writing for their powerful Ashikaga patrons or young female consumers of the postwar period looking for self-affirmation or wish fulfillment in girl's comics). In short, these free translations or adaptations of the *Genji* often tell us more about the target audiences than about the source text. While the cannibalistic reception may be unfaithful to the original text, it responds to the demands and needs of a particular subculture or social group. In this regard, it makes the original (however distorted) accessible to new audiences who would otherwise have little interest in it.

The canonicity of *The Tale of Genji* has been heavily indebted to the pietistic reception of scholars and critics, who attempted to preserve or recover the original texts or variants, but the continuing popularity of *The Tale of Genji* has been due in large part to cannibalistic reception by novelists, playwrights, comic poets, filmmakers, *manga* writers, and others

who create their own new *Tales of Genji*. Today, the scholarly community prides itself on maintaining direct access to the classical text and tends to look askance at the ever-changing trends of popular culture, which are highly dependent on consumerism, marketing, and mass media. But, as Kazuhiro Tateishi points out, in Japan the existence of the academic study of Japanese literature is increasingly dependent on the popular interest in and material consumption of *The Tale of Genji*, which creates a market for books and college courses on the *Genji*, ultimately making it the most highly recognized text of Japanese literature both in and outside Japan. The unceasing transformation of the *Genji* in contemporary media and modern languages, including foreign languages, has also given a text that is over a thousand years old and almost impenetrable to modern readers an unfailing sense of contemporaneity in Japan and elsewhere. *The Tale of Genji* remains a work that deserves attention not only because of its canonicity or its place in the Japanese school curriculum, which allocates diminishing time to the classics, but as a result of its constant reenvisioning by writers, readers, artists, and new media.

NOTES

1. Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki, eds., *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1999).
2. Fujioka Sakotarō, *Kokubungaku zenshi: Heian-chō hen*, ed. Akiyama Ken et al., Tōyō bunko 247 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971), vol. 2, p. 92.
3. In her late years, Higuchi Ichiyō (1872–1896) wrote "Mizu no ue nikki" (On the Water Diary, 1894–1896), a diary that draws its title from a poem by Murasaki Shikibu (*Mizudori o mizu no ue to ya yoso ni mimu ware mo ukitaru yo o sugoshitsutsu*) and that bears a strong resemblance to parts of the *Murasaki Shikibu nikki* (*Diary of Murasaki Shikibu*, ca. 1010). One of Ichiyō's unfinished works (only the first part was published in 1896) is *Uramurasaki* (*Behind Murasaki*), a story about a woman who commits adultery at a time when it was highly taboo. Kawabata Yasunari, who wrote his undergraduate thesis on the history of Heian *monogatari*, apparently became seriously interested in *The Tale of Genji* during World War II, and the influence of the *Genji* is apparent in a number of his postwar novels, such as *Senbazuru* (*Thousand Cranes*, 1949–1951) and *Yama no oto* (*Sound of the Mountain*, 1949–1954), and in his Nobel Prize acceptance speech, "Utsukushii Nihon no watakushi" (Japan, the Beautiful, and Myself, 1968), given in his later years. See Itō Hiroshi, "*Genji monogatari* to kindai bungaku," *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō* 48, no. 10 (1983): 135–140.
4. For a major study of Yosano Akiko and her translations of *The Tale of Genji*, see G. G. Rowley, *Yosano Akiko and The Tale of Genji* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2000).

5. Hijikata Yōichi, "Monogatari shōsetsushi no naka no *Genji monogatari*," in Tateishi Kazuhiro and Andō Tōru, eds., *Genji bunka no jikū* (Tokyo: Shinwasha, 2005), p. 27.
6. Gunji Masakatsu, "Mukashi kara atta *Genji* no shibai," *Taiyō* 49 (1967): 169.
7. On the *Genji* in postwar kabuki and Takarazuka, see Tateishi Kazuhiro, "Kabuki to Takarazukageki no *Genji monogatari*," in Tateishi and Andō, eds., *Genji bunka no jikū*, pp. 158–187.
8. Suzuki Ken'ichi, "*Genji* kyōju no tasō kōzō," in Suzuki Ken'ichi, ed., *Genji monogatari no hensōkyoku: Edo no shirabe* (Tokyo: Miyai shoten, 2003), p. 14.
9. Hagitani Boku and Taniyama Shigeru, eds., *Uta awase shū*, Nihon koten bungaku taikei (NKBT) 74 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1965), p. 442.
10. *Gotoba-in gokuden*, in *Karonshū, nogakuronshū*, ed. Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Nishio Minoru, NKBT 69 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1961), p. 144.
11. The *Senzaishū*, the seventh imperial anthology, edited by Shunzei, includes two poems on "the topic of love, based on *The Tale of Genji*."
12. Matsumura Yūji, "*Genji monogatari* uta to *Genji*-tori," in *Genji monogatari kenkyū shūsei* (Tokyo: Kazama shobō, 2000), vol. 14, pp. 21–22.
13. In *Eiga no taigai*, his ultimate statement on *waka* poetics, Teika lists the first three imperial *waka* anthologies, *The Tales of Ise*, *Sanjūrokunin shū* (*The Collection of Thirty-Six Poets*), and *Collected Works of Bo Juyi* as the texts that all *waka* poets must keep in mind, but he does not mention *The Tale of Genji*.
14. Quoted in Fujiwara no Nagatsuna, *Kyōgoku chūnagon sōgo*, ed. Kubota Jun, in *Karonshū*, vol. 1, *Chūsei no bungaku* (Tokyo: Miyai shoten, 1971), p. 338, trans. Thomas Harper, in Thomas Harper and Haruo Shirane, eds., *The Tale of Genji Reader* (forthcoming).
15. Teramoto Naohiko, "Teika no *Genji monogatari* juyō," in *Genji monogatari juyōshi ronkō* (Tokyo: Kazama shobō, 1970), pp. 159–232.
16. In the "Yume no ukihashi" (The Bridge of Dreams) chapter, Ukifune, who has taken holy vows, continues to elude Kaoru, who wants her to return to him.
17. Nijō Yoshimoto, *Kyūshū mondō*, in Ijichi Tetsuo, ed., *Renga ronshū jō* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1953), p. 94.
18. Ichijō Kanera, *Renju gappekishū*, in Kidō Saizō and Shigematsu Hiromi, eds., *Renga ronshū*, vol. 1, *Chūsei no bungaku* (Tokyo: Miyai shobō, 1972), p. 129.
19. Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji monogatari*, NKBT 15 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1959), p. 27. Cherry blossoms of spring represent the crown prince.
20. The text with the most *yoriai* after the *Genji* is *The Tales of Ise*, with only twenty. The *Man'yōshū* has twelve, and the *Kokinshū* has nine. The *Renju gappekishū* also cites *waka* as sources of *yoriai*. The text from which the most poems are cited is the *Shinkokinshū* (47), followed by *The Tale of Genji* (41), *Kokinshū* (37), and *Man'yōshū* (22). See Kidō Saizō and Shigematsu Hiromi, "Kaisetsu," in Kidō and Shigematsu, eds., *Renga ronshū*, vol. 1, pp. 12–13.
21. Bashō, *Musashiburi* (1681), in *Bashō kushū*, NKBT 45 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1962), p. 120.
22. Teruoka Yasutaka, *Kigo jiten* (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō shuppan, 2002), pp. 262–263.

23. *Tsutsumi chūnagon monogatari*, which shows the profound influence of *The Tale of Genji* in at least five stories (such as "Kono tsuide" and "Ausaka koenu Gonchūnagon"), is a collection of short stories, composed almost as though they were meant to be independent chapters of the *Genji*.
24. Royall Tyler, "*Sagoromo* and *Hamamatsu chūnagon* as Commentaries on *Genji monogatari*" (paper presented at the conference "*The Tale of Genji* in Japan and the World," Columbia University, New York, March 25–26, 2005).
25. Chōken, "*Genji* ipponkyō," in Abe Akio, Oka Kazuo, and Yamagishi Tokuhei, eds., *Genji monogatari jō*, Zōho kokugo kokubungaku kenkyūshi taisei 3 (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1977), p. 37.
26. Matsuoka Shinpei, "*Genji* kuyō," in Akiyama Ken, Watanabe Tamotsu, and Matsuoka Shinpei, eds., *Genji monogatari handobukku* (Tokyo: Shinshokan, 1996), pp. 82–83.
27. Bifukumon-in Kaga was an avid reader of the *Genji*, as is evident in the love poems that she sent to her husband, Shunzei. She took holy vows when Shunzei fell seriously ill in 1176.
28. *Genji kuyō sōshi* is reprinted in Ii Haruki, *Genji monogatari no densetsu* (Tokyo: Shōwa shuppan, 1976), pp. 215–231. For a partial English translation, see D. E. Mills, "Murasaki Shikibu—Saint or Sinner?" *Japan Society of London Bulletin*, no. 90 (1980): 1–14.
29. "*Genji monogatari* hyōbyaku," in Abe, Oka, and Yamagishi, eds., *Genji monogatari jō*, pp. 133–134.
30. *Genji hitobito no kokoro kurabe*, *Genji shijū-hachi mono-tatoe no koto*, and *Genji kai*, in Abe, Oka, and Yamagishi, eds., *Genji monogatari jō*, pp. 108–117. For English translations of the latter two and *Genji mono-tatoe*, see Thomas Harper, "*Genji* Gossip," in Aileen Gatten and Anthony Chambers, eds., *New Leaves: Studies and Translations of Japanese Literature in Honor of Edward Seidensticker* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1993), pp. 29–44. *Genji mono-tatoe* is reprinted in Inaga Keiji, *Genji monogatari kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 1967), pp. 601–613.
31. Takemoto Mikio, "*Genji monogatari* to yōkyoku," *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō* 48, no. 10 (1983).
32. Nijō Yoshimoto, *Hikaru Genji ichibu renga yoriai*, in Okami Masao, ed., *Yoshimoto renga ronshū* (Tokyo: Koten bunko, 1952–1955).
33. *Go-on* (*Five Singing Styles*), a *nō* treatise by Zeami, indicates that Zeami may have written *Suma Genji*, a *nō* play about the hero Genji.
34. Amano Fumio, *Nō ni hikareta kenryokusha: Hideyoshi nōgaku aikōki*, Kōdansha sensho mechie 116 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1997).
35. The *Genji kokagami* has been attributed to Kazan'in Nagachika (d. 1429), better known by his pen name of Kōun, who was a *waka* poet and a scholar of the *Genji*. It has been suggested, alternatively, that the original author was Nijō Yoshimoto (1320–1388), whose *yoriai* lists closely resemble those found in the *Genji kokagami*. Later *renga* poets such as Sōgi (1421–1502), Shinkei (1406–1475), and Jōha (1525?–1602) may also have aided in the dissemination of the text.
36. *Genji kokagami: Takai-ke-bon*, ed. Takeda Kō, Shiryō sōsho 4 (Tokyo: Kyōiku shuppan sentaa, 1978), p. 342.

37. Shikitei Sanba, *Ukiyoburo*, ed. Nakamura Michio, NKBT 63 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1957), pp. 220–221.
38. Shimizu Fukuko, "*Jūjō Genji*, *Osana Genji* no honmon: kasho toshite no hanpon," *Bungaku*, July–August 2003, pp. 106–107.
39. Kojima Munakata and Suzumura Nobufusa, *Genji binkagami*, in Akiyama Ken, Shimauchi Keiji, Kobayashi Masaaki, and Suzuki Ken'ichi, eds., *Hihyō shūsei Genji monogatari*, vol. 1, *Kinsei zenki hen* (Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 1999), p. 39.
40. For two variants of Sesonji Koreyuki's *Genji shaku*, see Abe, Oka, and Yamagishi, eds., *Genji monogatari jō*, pp. 40–102.
41. Fujiwara Teika, *Okuiri*, in Abe, Oka, and Yamagishi, eds., *Genji monogatari jō*, pp. 136–177.
42. The *Suigenshō* survives only in part in the *Genchū saihishō*, which was written by Mitsuyuki and Chikayuki and then added to by Yoshiyuki and Tomoyuki.
43. Sōgi, *Amayo danshō*, in Abe, Oka, and Yamagishi, eds., *Genji monogatari jō*, pp. 328–332.
44. For a partial excerpt from Kaoku Gyokuei's *Kaokushō*, see Abe, Oka, and Yamagishi, eds., *Genji monogatari jō*, pp. 347–353.
45. Gaye Rowley, introduction to her translation of *Kaokushō*, in Harper and Shirane, eds., *Genji Reader*.
46. Saneeda, the son of Sanjōnishi Sanetaka, had taken notes from his father's lectures on the *Genji* and edited them into the *Sairyūshō*. The *Myōjōshō* is an expansion of the *Sairyūshō*, adding sections at the beginning on the author, the origins, the main purpose, and the like.
47. *Myōjōshō*, *Shugyokuhen jishō*, *Amayo danshō*, ed. Nakano Kōichi, *Genji monogatari* kochūshaku sōkan 4 (Tokyo: Musashino shoin, 1980), p. 5. *Chūdō* (middle way) is a Buddhist term referring to a meditative state in which one transcends the world and is freed from both pleasure and pain.
48. Murata Harumi, *Genji teiyō*, in Akiyama, Shimauchi, Kobayashi, and Suzuki, eds., *Hihyō shūsei Genji monogatari*, vol. 2, p. 25.
49. Motoori Norinaga, *Shibun yōryō*, in *Motoori Norinaga zenshū*, eds. Ono Susumu and Okubo Tadashi (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1969), vol. 4, p. 16.
50. Since the time of Sōgi's commentary on *The Tale of Genji*, the "Hahakigi" (The Broom Tree) chapter had been regarded as the preface to the *Genji*. Tachibana Taka elaborates on this view in *Shibun koshitsu*: "The Kiritsubo chapter is the introduction. The rainy-night discussion in the Broom Tree chapter should be seen as a cataloguing of the essence of the various chapters" (*Shibun kōshitsu*, in Akiyama Ken, Shimauchi Keiji, Kobayashi Masaaki, and Suzuki Ken'ichi, eds., *Hihyō shūsei Genji monogatari*, vol. 2, *Kinsei kōki hen* [Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 1999], p. 17).
51. Ibid., p. 17.
52. Ibid., p. 14.
53. Abutsu's *Menoto no fumi*, in turn, had a large impact on *Menoto no sōshi* (*The Tale of a Wet Nurse*), a Muromachi *otogi-zōshi* that also stresses the important role that *The Tale of Genji* had in a woman's education.

54. Tsujihara Genpo, ed., *Onna shisho*, in Ishikawa Matsutarō, ed., *Joshiyō ōrai*, Ōrai mono taikei 84 (Tokyo: Ōzorasha, 1994), quoted in Tan Kazuhiro, "Ōrai mono," in Suzuki, ed., *Genji monogatari no hensōkyoku*, pp. 225–226.
55. In the famous short story of the self-made millionaire Fuji-ichi in Ihara Saikaku's *Nippon eitai-gura* (*Japan's Storehouse of the Ages*, 1688), the Kyoto millionaire is fearful that screen paintings of the *Genji* and the *Tales of Ise* might lead his daughter astray; instead, he commissions a series of screens depicting the laborers in a silver mine.
56. *Jokyō fudanbukuro*, in Ishikawa, ed., *Joshiyō ōrai*, quoted in Tan, "Ōrai mono," pp. 227–228.
57. *Ominaeshi monogatari*, in Akiyama, Shimauchi, Kobayashi, and Suzuki, eds., *Hihyō shūsei Genji monogatari*, vol. 1, pp.130–132.
58. The *Genji monogatari emaki* is in the Tokugawa Art Museum, Nagoya, and the Gotoh Museum, Tokyo.
59. The two major late medieval painting schools involved with *Genji* painting were the Tosa and the Kanō houses, each of which developed its own style. Tosa Mitsunobu, the founder of the Tosa school and the painter of the Harvard *Genji* album, was followed by Tosa Mitsumochi, Tosa Mitsumoto, and then Tosa Mitsuyoshi (1539–1613), who continued to work in the small *shikishi* format.
60. A good example is Tosa Mitsuyoshi's screen painting *Genji monogatari Sekiya, Miyuki, Ukifune zu byōbu* (*Tale of Genji Gatehouse, Royal Outing, and Boat Upon the Waters*, sixteenth–seventeenth century) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
61. Naitō Masahito, "*Genji monogatari* to nishiki-e," in Imai Takuya, ed., *Bi no sekai, miyabi no keishō, Genji monogatari kōza* (Tokyo: Benseisha, 1992), vol. 7, pp. 226–227.
62. Fukuda Kazuhiko, *Enshoku Genji-e* (Tokyo: Bestoseraazu, 1991).
63. Miyakawa Yōko and Gaye Rowley, "Aristocratic and Warrior Reception of the Classics in the Age of Tsunayoshi: Cultural Commerce in the Edo Period" (paper presented at the conference "*The Tale of Genji* in Japan and the World," Columbia University, New York, March 25–26, 2005).
64. Niwa Kenji, "Yūri," in Suzuki, ed., *Genji monogatari no hensōkyoku*, p. 237; Ueki Tomoko, "Genjina," in Akiyama, Watanabe, and Matsuoka, eds., *Genji monogatari no handobukku*, pp. 86–87.
65. Serge Gavronsky, "The Translation: From Piety to Cannibalism," *SubStance* 16 (1977): 53–62, esp. 55, cited in Lori Chamberlain, "Gender and the Metaphorics of Translation," in Lawrence Venuti, ed., *The Translation Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 311–312.

Part 1

The Late Heian and Medieval Periods

COURT CULTURE, GENDER, AND REPRESENTATION

Chapter 2

Figure and Facture in the *Genji Scrolls*

TEXT, CALLIGRAPHY, PAPER, AND PAINTING

Yukio Lippit

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TEXT

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

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

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

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

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

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

Other excerpts, however, appear to be irrelevant to the mood of a chapter or the development of the narrative. They transform interludes, or "filler," into passages somehow representative of a given chapter in *The Tale of Genji*. In this sense, they invert the priorities of Murasaki Shikibu's text to suit different prerogatives. A good example of such an inversion is the passage from the "Yokobue" (The Flute) chapter chosen for representation in the *Genji Scrolls* (plate 2). Although the chapter itself deals with the aftermath of Yokobue's death and is suffused with a sense of mourning and even foreboding, the excerpt depicts a seemingly minor, lighthearted vignette, a domestic squabble between Yūgiri and his wife, Kumoinokari.

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

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

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

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

CALLIGRAPHY

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

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

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

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



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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

PAPER DECORATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PAINTINGS

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

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

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

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

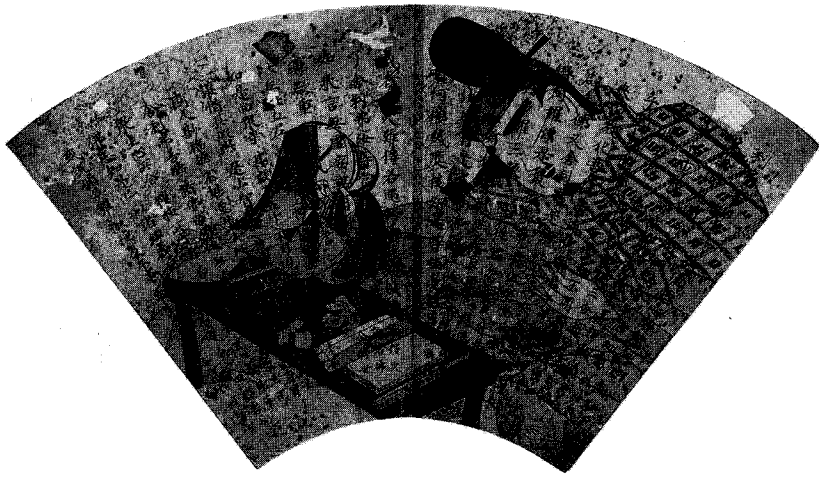


FIGURE 6 *Senmen hokekyō* (*Lotus Sutra Inscribed on Fans*, 1152). (Shitennō-ji, Osaka)

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

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

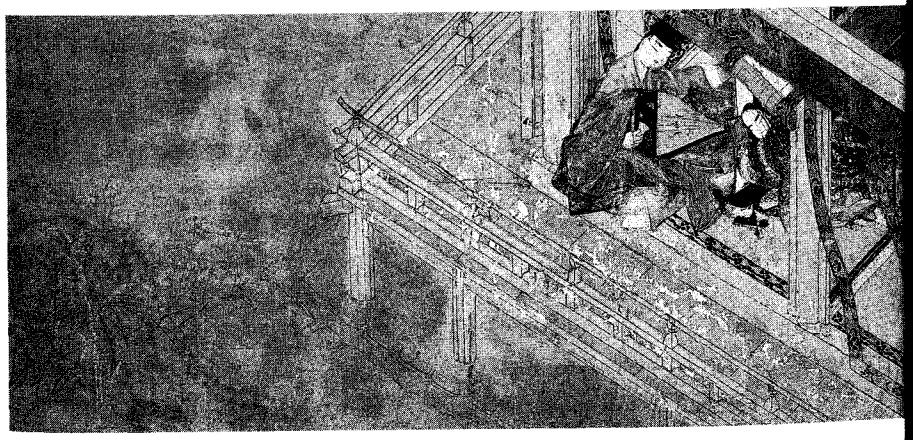


FIGURE 7 "Yadorigi III" (The Ivy), in *Genji Scrolls*. (Tokugawa Reimeikai, Tokyo)

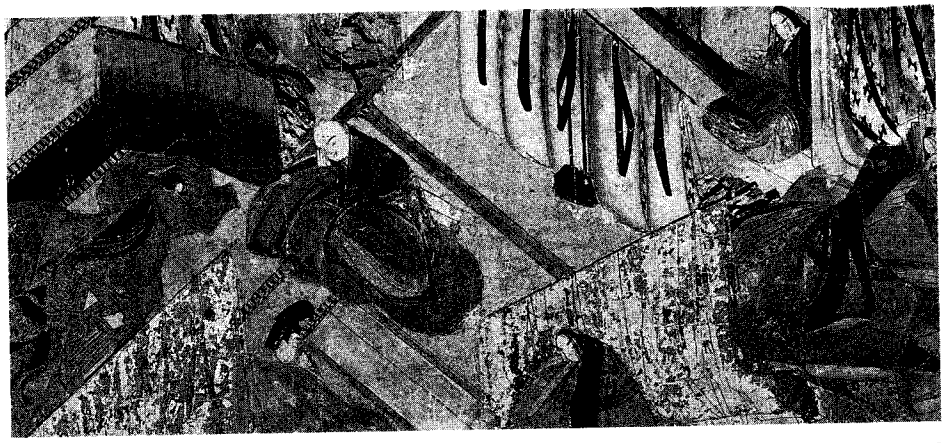


FIGURE 8 "Kashiwagi I" (The Oak Tree), in *Genji Scrolls*. (Gotoh Museum, Tokyo)

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

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



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

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

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

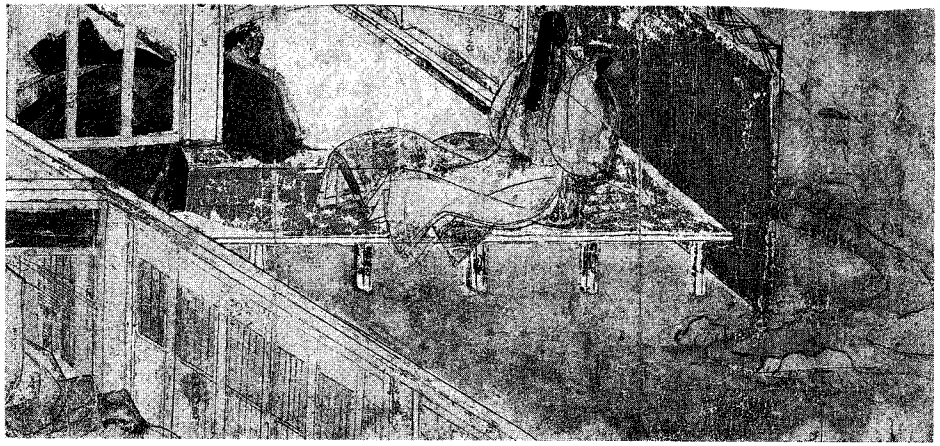


FIGURE 10 "Suzumushi I," in *Genji Scrolls*. (Gotoh Museum, Tokyo)

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

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

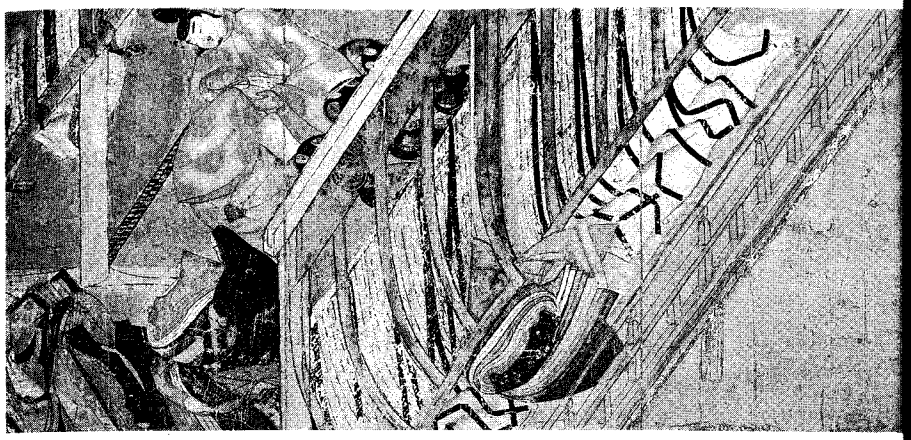


FIGURE 11 "Kashiwagi III," in *Genji Scrolls*. (Tokugawa Reimeikai, Tokyo)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NOTES

1. The literature on the *Genji Scrolls* is so extensive that only a sample of the major studies and exhibition catalogues can be listed here: Akiyama Terukazu, *Heian jidai sezokuga no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1964), and *Genji monogatari emaki*, Shinshū Nihon emakimono zenshū 1 (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1975); Komatsu Shigemi, ed., *Genji monogatari emaki, Nezame monogatari emaki*, Nihon emaki taisei 1 (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1972), and *Genji monogatari emaki, Nezame monogatari emaki*, Nihon no emaki 1 (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1987); Gotoh Museum, ed., *Kokuhō Genji monogatari emaki: Takayoshi Genji no subete* (Tokyo: Gotoh Museum, 1990), and *Kokuhō Genji monogatari emaki* (Tokyo: Gotoh Museum, 2000); Sano Midori, *Genji monogatari emaki*, Shinpen meihō Nihon no bijutsu 10 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1991), and *Jikkuri mitai Genji monogatari emaki* (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 2000); and Tokugawa Art Museum, ed., *Genji monogatari emaki* (Nagoya: Tokugawa Art Museum, 1995).
2. The paintings were attributed to either the court painter Fujiwara Takayoshi (1125?–1174?) or his son Takachika, while the calligrapher was designated as Fujiwara (Sesonji) Korefusa (1030–1096), Priest Jakuren (1143?–1202), or Asukai Masatsune (1170–1221). These attributions can be witnessed in the various authentication texts (*kiwamegaki*) and labels (*kiwamefuda*) that accompany the surviving portions of the *Genji Scrolls* in both the Tokugawa and Gotoh Museums. They are transcribed by Tokugawa Yoshinobu in "*Genji monogatari emaki* ni tsuite," in Tokugawa Art Museum, ed., *Genji monogatari emaki*, pp. 147–151. See also the discussion of the Edo-period authenticators of the *Genji Scrolls* in Gotoh Museum, ed., *Kokuhō Genji*, pp. 193–197.
3. This "system" is described in Yukio Lippit, "The Birth of Japanese Painting History: Kano Artists, Authors, and Authenticators of the Seventeenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2003), chap. 3.
4. The exception here is one line of inquiry concerning the possible female authorship of the *Genji Scrolls*. This question was first raised by Tanaka Kisaku in "Takayoshi *Genji* ni kakaru ni, san no mondai," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 130 (1943): 110–111. In this article, Tanaka introduces a diary reference to a painting studio run by court ladies-in-waiting (*nyōbō edokoro*). Akiyama Terukazu discusses the potential involvement of two ladies-in-waiting of the period, Tosa no Tsubone and Kii no Tsubone, in the production of the *Genji Scrolls* in "Inseiki ni okeru nyōbō no kaiga seisaku: Tosa no Tsubone to Kii no Tsubone," in Ienaga Saburō kyōju Tōkyō Kyōiku Daigaku taikan kinen ronshū kankō iinkai, ed., *Kodai, chūsei no shakai to shisō* (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1979), trans. and adapted by Maribeth Graybill as "Women Painters at the Heian Court," in Marsha Weidner, ed., *Flowering in the Shadows: Women in the History of Chinese and Japanese Painting* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1990), pp. 159–184. Most recently, the question of the female authorship of the *Genji Scrolls* has been addressed in Minamoto Fumie, *Dare ga Genji monogatari emaki wo kaita ka* (Tokyo: Sōshisha, 2004).

5. The classic statement of this position is Inaga Keiji, "'*Genji* higishō fusai' no kana chinjō," *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 40, no. 6 (1964): 22–31. Subsequently, its most vigorous proponent has been Tokugawa Yoshinobu, "*Genji monogatari emaki* no seiritsu, denrai, mosha hozon," in *Kokuhō Genji monogatari emaki* (Nagoya: Tokugawa Art Museum, 1978), pp. 79–92, and "*Genji monogatari emaki* ni tsuite." Although too lengthy to describe in detail here, Tokugawa's reasoning is closely linked to the idea that the *Genji Scrolls* originally consisted of twenty scrolls.
6. Entry of 1119.11.27, in Minamoto no Morotoki, *Chōshūki*, in Zōho Shiryō taisei kenkyūkai, ed., *Zōho shiryō taisei* (Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 1965), vol. 16, pp. 183–184. Morotoki received the orders at the retired emperor's Sanjō Nishi Palace through Minamoto no Arihito.
7. Mitamura Masako and Mitani Kunio have elaborated on this scenario and interpreted the *Genji Scrolls* (or, at the minimum, one sequence of paintings therein) as a pictorial allegory of the highly charged court intrigues and political contingencies of Morotoki's circle around 1120 in *Genji monogatari emaki no nazo o yomitoku* (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1998). This allegorical reading is the most sustained and significant contextualization of the *Genji Scrolls* ever attempted and, as such, deserves serious consideration. The basic thrust of Mitamura and Mitani's thesis is as follows: the *Genji Scrolls* represents a gift from Retired Emperor Shirakawa to Taikenmon'in on the birth of her son Sutoku in 1119. Two of its artistic supervisors, Morotoki and Minamoto no Arihito (1103–1147), through the section of the *Genji Scrolls* they were overseeing, interpreted *The Tale of Genji* in such a way as to appease the angry spirit (*onryō*) of Minamoto no Sukehito (d. 1119), an imperial prince and Shirakawa's lifelong rival, whose ambitions for imperial succession had been thwarted through the birth of Sutoku and left unfulfilled upon his death. All those proposed as having been involved in the making of the *Genji Scrolls* had a stake in this interpretation, for Shirakawa and Taikenmon'in wanted to avoid being the targets of the revenge of Sukehito's wrathful spirit, while Morotoki had been a close friend of the deceased. Arihito, meanwhile, was the son of Sukehito and viewed by many as a kind of reincarnation of Genji himself, a talented and handsome courtier to whom imperial succession was foreclosed as a career path. The tense dynamic among all these parties (both dead and alive) explains certain editorial decisions and the representation of the "Kashiwagi group" of chapters in the *Genji Scrolls*. This argument was subsequently elaborated on in Inamoto Mariko, "Kaoru no tanjō: *Genji monogatari emaki* Kashiwagi: Minori dan no jōkei sentaku saikō," in Kuge Hirotoshi, ed., *Genji monogatari emaki to sono shūhen* (Tokyo: Shintensha, 2001), pp. 34–56. Despite the erudition and imagination with which it is argued, however, Mitamura and Mitani's thesis requires further consideration, for reasons discussed later in this chapter.
8. Yotsuji Hideki, "*Genji monogatari emaki* no kotobagaki ryōshi ni mirareru sōshoku ni tsuite," *Kinko sōsho* 16 (1989): 279–295; Egami Yasushi, "*Genji monogatari emaki* no ryōshi sōshoku to *Genji monogatari* honbun," *Sophia International Review* 19 (1997): 1–29, and *Ryōshi sōshoku, haku chirashi*, Nihon no bijutsu 397 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1999).

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

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

18. On calligraphy in the *Genji Scrolls*, see Minamoto Toyomune, "*Genji monogatari* e," in *Yamato-e no kenkyū*, pp. 1–32; Komatsu Shigemi, "*Genji monogatari emaki* kotobagaki 'Hotaru' dankan no shinhakken wo megutte," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 209 (1960): 20–34, and "*Genji monogatari emaki* kotobagaki no seiritsu," in Komatsu, ed., *Genji monogatari emaki, Nezame monogatari emaki*, Nihon no emaki 1, pp. 114–128; Tokugawa Yoshinobu, "*Genji monogatari emaki* 'shofū dai ichirui' dankan: 'Maboroshi no dankan ka,'" *Kinko sōsho* 3 (1976); and Nagoya Akira, "'Takayoshi *Genji*' no kotobagaki to jūniseiki no kohitsu," in Kohitsugaku kenkyūjo, ed., *Kohitsu to emaki*, pp. 45–64.
19. A social history of Heian calligraphy has yet to be written, although the raw material for doing so can be found in ambitious stylistic histories such as Komatsu Shigemi, *Nihon shoryū zenshi* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1970). My understanding of the calligraphic culture of this period has benefited from a reading of John Carpenter, "Fujiwara no Yukinari and the Development of Heian Court Calligraphy" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1997), and Thomas LaMarre, *Uncovering Heian Japan: An Archaeology of Sensation and Inscription* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2000). For a discussion of the symbolic capital of court calligraphy in the later medieval period, see McCormick, "*Genji* Goes West."
20. The first to do so was Komatsu, in "*Genji monogatari emaki* kotobagaki 'Hotaru' dankan."
21. For a brief account of the practice of the *kechien-kyo*, see Willa J. Tanabe, *Paintings of the Lotus Sutra* (New York: Weatherhill, 1988), pp. 46–47.
22. For a group-sponsored *Lotus Sutra* of 1002, for example, Emperor Ichijō inscribed fascicles 1 and 8; Prince Atsumichi, 2 and 5; Fujiwara Yukinari, 3 and 6; and Fujiwara Michinaga, 4 and 7. See Sano, *Jikkuri mitai Genji monogatari emaki*, p. 88.
23. A *Lotus Sutra* set dated to 1141 known as the *Kunō-ji Sutra* (*Kunōji-kyō*) offers a case study for the distribution of calligraphic assignments that is contemporary to the *Genji Scrolls*. See Gotoh Museum, ed., *Kunōji-kyō to Kokyōrō* (Tokyo: Gotoh Museum, 1991), and Komatsu Shigemi, "Taikenmon'in to Kunōji-kyō," in *Kohitsu to shakyō* (Tokyo: Yagi shoten, 1989), pp. 67–169.
24. The poem, recited by Genji, caps a somber passage that occurs at the point in the tale when Genji's wife, Onna san no miya, or the Third Princess, has taken vows after the death of Kashiwagi, with whom she had an affair. Genji is upset by her decision to become a nun but nevertheless aids in the preparation of her chapel and designs a rustic autumn garden, complete with the autumn crickets that provide the chapter with its title: "Suzumushi" (The Bell Cricket). The excerpt describes a mid-autumn visit by Genji to the Third Princess at her residence, where they exchange poetry against the backdrop of the bell crickets' autumnal chirping.
25. This technique was first analyzed in-depth in Yoshiaki Shimizu, "The Rite of Writing: Thoughts on the Oldest *Genji* Text," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 16 (1988): 54–63. For an intriguing comparative case in Chinese calligraphy, see Eugene Y. Wang, "The Taming of the Shrew: Wang Hsi-chi (363–361) and Calligraphic Gentrification in the Seventh Century," in Cary Y. Liu, Dora C. Y. Ching, and Judith G. Smith, eds., *Character and Context in Chinese Calligraphy* (Princeton: Art Museum, Princeton University, 1999), pp. 132–173.

26. The term "Kashiwagi group" was coined by Akiyama, in *Heian jidai sezokuga no kenkyū*, pp. 266–268.
27. Only recently have focused studies of the history of early paper decoration begun to appear, including Helen Alt, "Heian jūniseiki no ryōshi sōshoku ni okeru haku chirashi," *Kobijutsu* 83 (1987): 44–63, and Egami Yasushi, *Sōshokukyō*, Nihon no bijutsu 278 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1989), and *Ryōshi sōshoku, haku chirashi*. Concerning the paper decoration of the *Genji Scrolls*, a classic article is Itō Teiji, "Shofū to ryōshi ni tsuite," in Akiyama, ed., *Genji monogatari emaki*, pp. 18–34; an updated stylistic assessment can be found in Yotsuji, "*Genji monogatari emaki* no kotobagaki ryōshi ni mirareru sōshoku ni tsuite," 279–295, while a new approach that ties decoration to meaning is proposed in Egami, "*Genji monogatari emaki* no ryōshi sōshoku to *Genji monogatari* honbun."
28. The lower butterfly motif, however, appears to be the cut out inner portion of a stencil itself that has been pasted onto the paper.
29. The rebus operates as follows: *miru* = seaweed roundel, *tefuko* = butterfly (reversal of *kotefu* or *kochō* because the butterfly is upside down), *tomoe* = whirl pattern, and *zu* = round bead (circular plum-petal pattern).
30. Egami, "*Genji monogatari emaki* no ryōshi sōshoku to *Genji monogatari* honbun," pp. 13–14.
31. Joshua Mostow, "Painted Poems, Forgotten Words: Poem-Pictures and Classical Japanese Literature," *Monumenta Nipponica* 47, no. 3 (1992): 341–344.
32. Although it is tempting to understand the paper decoration only in relation to the calligraphy, it is more properly assessed in triangular relation to both the calligraphy and the painting. Thus visual echoes of elements in a given painting often are found in the decoration of its companion excerpt, such as the first sheet of "Suzumushi I," in which the strong diagonal rhymes with the angle of the veranda in the companion painting.
33. Because the subject matter of some landscapes (such as the Jingoji screens) was so ambiguous, one might go so far as to say that their subjects were determined only through acts of poetic engagement. There is an enormous literature on the historical nature of *Yamato-e* painting in early Japan, of which perhaps the most important study is Akiyama, *Heian jidai sezokuga no kenkyū*, esp. pp. 1–66. An accessible, if dated, introduction to *Yamato-e* in English is Ienaga Saburo, *Painting in the Yamato Style* (New York: Weatherhill, 1973); also useful is Louisa McDonald Read, "The Masculine and Feminine Modes of Heian Secular Painting and Their Relationship to Chinese Painting—A Redefinition of *Yamato-e*" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1975).
34. Tanaka Ichimatsu, "Otoko-e to onna-e," *Hōun* 6 (1933): 75–94, in *Tanaka Ichimatsu kaigashi ronshū jōkan* (Tokyo: Chūōkōron bijutsu shuppan, 1985), pp. 86–102; Shirahata Yoshi, "Onna-e kō," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 132 (1944): 201–210, and "Onna-e hokō,"

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

35. Ikeda Shinobu also demonstrates that the category of "women's pictures" was not necessarily conceived of in opposition to "men's pictures," which begins to appear consistently in the documentary record only some eighty years later ("Ochō 'monogatari-e' no seiritsu wo megutte: 'Onna-e' kei monogatari-e no dentō wo kangaeru," *Shiron* 37 [1984]: 31–48, and "Heian jidai monogatari-e no ichikōsatsu: 'Onna-e' kei monogatari-e no seiritsu to tenkai," *Tetsugakkaishi* 9 [1985]: 37–61).
36. In a book currently in preparation (*White Lines: Gender, Authorship, and the Tradition of Hakubyō Painting in Japan*), Melissa McCormick places them at the origin of a genealogy of "white-line drawing" (*hakubyō*), associated with female amateurism at court throughout the Middle Ages.
37. Lamarre, *Uncovering Heian Japan*, pp. 107–113.
38. The most famous examples of "men's pictures" from the Heian period include *Chōjū giga* (*Scroll of Frolicking Animals*), *Shigisan engi emaki* (*The Miraculous Origins of Mount Shigi*), and *Ban dainagon ekotoba* (*Major Councillor Ban*).
39. A total of six two-page underdrawings can be found in the booklet, which was originally part of a ten-booklet set illustrating the *Lotus Sutra*, with the opening and closing volumes illustrating the *Muryogikyō* and *Fugenkyō Sutras*, respectively. It is currently in a Japanese private collection.
40. Akiyama Terukazu et al., *Senmen hokekyō no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kajima kenkyūjo shuppankai, 1972).
41. But these professional artisans were not necessarily exclusively male. In "Insei ki ni okeru nyōbō no kaiga seisaku," Akiyama has noted the existence of a "painting studio of ladies-in-waiting" (*nyōbō edokoro*) during the reign of Taikenmon'in, and the possibility that members of this studio were among the painters responsible for the *Genji Scrolls*. See Graybill, "Women Painters at the Heian Court."
42. For an in-depth study of architectural history in relation to *The Tale of Genji* and the *Genji Scrolls*, see Yasuhara Morihiko, *Genji monogatari kūkan dokkai* (Tokyo: Kajima shuppankai, 2000).
43. Composition in the *Genji Scrolls* has been analyzed by Masako Watanabe, "Narrative Framing in Handscrolls and the '*Tale of Genji* Scrolls'" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1995), and "Narrative Framing in the *Tale of Genji Scroll*: Interior Space in the Compartmentalized *Emaki*," *Artibus Asiae* 58, nos. 1–2 (1998): 115–146.
44. Important contributions to the study of viewing perspective and composition in the *Genji Scrolls* have been made by literature scholars, including Takahashi Tōru, *Monogatari to e no enkinhō* (Tokyo: Perikansha, 1991), and Kuge Hirotoshi, *Genji monogatari emaki wo yomu: Monogatari-e no shikai* (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 1996).
45. The term *tsukuri-e* was already in use during the Heian period and, indeed, makes an appearance in *The Tale of Genji* itself. After Genji's paintings executed in exile at Suma have been appreciated at the picture contest, it is mentioned that the most accomplished painters at the time (Chieda and Tsunenori) should be summoned to apply color to them. From usages such as this one the painting process that involved a division of labor among the artists who did the underdrawing, coloring, and overdrawing (*kakiokoshi*) came to be referred to as *tsukuri-e*. It can be further observed that Genji's drawings in exile must bear some resemblance to the "women's picture" tradition. See Akiyama, *Heian jidai sezokuga no kenkyū*, pp. 93–104.

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

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

53. Recent studies have begun to add wrinkles to the by-now mainstream understanding of *tsukuri-e* technique as established by Akiyama. Tamamushi Satoko expands the parameters of the term to include other types of early painting practice in "'Kazari' to 'tsukuri' to kaiga no isō," in Tamamushi Satoko, ed., *"Kazari" to "tsukuri" no ryōbun*, Kōza Nihon bijutsushi 5 (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 2005), pp. 95–134. Shimao Arata, meanwhile, interprets the knowledge gained in recent scientific examinations and published in conservation reports to assert that early *tsukuri-e* technique did not involve such heavy application of pigment, necessitating a new "chromoaesthetics" of Heian-period painting, in "Kaigashi kenkyū to kōgakuteki shuhō: *Genji monogatari emaki* no chōsa kara," in Satō Yasuhiro, ed., *Mono kara kotoba e*, Kōza Nihon bijutsushi 1 (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 2005), pp. 79–112.
54. See, for example, the village woman in the third scroll of the twelfth-century *Shigisan engi emaki*, who has her hair tied back and her hand applied to her breast in a manner remarkably similar to that of Kumoinokari in the *Genji Scrolls*.
55. In poetry matches (*uta awase*), for example, predetermined *waka* poets and poems were divided into Left and Right teams, and then pitted against one another for evaluation. The focus of aesthetic judgment in such cases rested not with the literary qualities of a given poem, however, but with the manner in which it was presented physically. This presentation typically involved the inscription of poems by accomplished court calligraphers on sumptuously decorated papers, their display on carefully crafted objects such as landscape trays, and so forth. A full account of Heian literary culture would therefore have to take into greater consideration both its objecthood and its eventhood. The most systematic study of the practice of *awase* in this period is Hagitani Boku, *Heianchō uta awase taisei: Zōho shintei* (Kyoto: Dōbōsha shuppan, 1995–1996).
56. Kinoshita Masao, *Sanjūrokunin kashū*, Nihon no bijutsu 168 (Tokyo: Shibundo, 1980).
57. The fullest treatment of this work is Gotoh Museum, ed, *Kunōji-kyō to Kokyōrō*.

Chapter 3

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

Reiko Yamanaka

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

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

Spirit Ukifune), and *Dharani-Ochiba* (*Buddhist Mystic Incantation and Fallen Leaves*).

Of these twelve plays, only two are about the hero Genji (*Suma Genji* and *Sumiyoshi-mōde*); significantly, the primary focus is on female protagonists in *The Tale of Genji*: Lady Rokujō (*Aoi-no-ue* and *Nonomiya*), Ukifune (*Ukifune* and *Kodama-Ukifune*), Yūgao (*Hajitomi* and *Yūgao*), Princess Ochiba (*Ochiba* and *Darani-Ochiba*), and Tamakazura (*Tamakazura*). A major characteristic of these *Genji nō* is that most of them are *mugen-nō* (two-act dream play), as opposed to *genzai-nō* (present play), which depicts the life of the protagonist as it unfolds in the present. In the dream play, the protagonist (*shite*) appears in a dream of the *waki* (literally, side character), usually a traveling priest. To be more precise, most of these *Genji nō* are female-spirit dream plays (*nyotai-mugennō*), in which, typically, the spirit or ghost of a beautiful female character from Heian court literature appears on stage and recalls her former life.

In the female-spirit dream play, a traveling priest comes to a place and meets a beautiful woman who tells him a story related to the locale. She then reveals that she is the protagonist of the story that she has just told and then disappears. In the second act, she reappears in the priest's dream in her original form as a famous female entertainer or as a noblewoman from a work of Heian court literature. The female spirit recollects and relives a special time in her past through beautiful song and dance. *Nonomiya*, *Ochiba*, *Hajitomi*, and *Yūgao* are female-spirit *Genji nō* plays in this style. Other female-spirit *nō* plays not related to *The Tale of Genji* include *Higaki* (*Cypress Hedge*), *Eguchi*, *Uneme* (*Maid-in-Waiting*), *Hotoke-no-hara* (*Buddha Field*), *Izutsu* (*Well Curb*), and *Tōboku* (*Northeast Temple*).[2] Scholars believe that Zeami, the author of *Izutsu*, was critical in establishing the genre of female-spirit *nō* dream plays but that most of the *Genji nō*, particularly the female-spirit dream plays, were produced in the late or post-Zeami era, after the other female-spirit dream plays had appeared. In other words, the female-spirit dream play based on *The Tale of Genji* is a relatively late development in the history of *nō* theater.

It is well known that many *Genji nō* plays were written by educated samurai, not by professional *nō* performers. Muromachi warriors such as Yokoo Motohisa,[3] Otagaki Tadatoki,[4] and Naitō Saemon,[5] who were well versed not only in *waka* and *renga*, but also in *The Tale of Genji*, knew how to write *nō* plays and contributed to the expansion of the *Genji nō* repertoire.[6]

This chapter explores how, when, and why the female-spirit *Genji nō* play emerged and its relation to the development of the female-spirit *nō* subgenre. I do this by comparing three key *Genji nō* plays: *Aoi-no-ue*, *Ukifune*, and *Nonomiya*, which were written in different periods: the pre-Zeami, Zeami, and post-Zeami eras, respectively. I start with *Aoi-no-ue*, which is known to have been part of the repertoire of Inuō (d. 1413), one of Zeami's contemporaries. I then discuss the maturation of *nō*, necessary to its successful utilization of *The Tale of Genji* as dramatic material, and the creation of *Nonomiya*, which is regarded as a masterpiece and the pinnacle of *Genji nō*. Finally, I return to the Zeami era and to *Ukifune*, for which Zeami composed the music, and argue that the play—with its use of the spirit of a noblewoman from the *Genji* as the *shite*—represents a historical turning point, after which *Genji nō* plays became exclusively female-spirit dream plays.

THE REENACTMENT OF A FAMOUS SCENE: THE STYLE OF *AOI-NO-UE*

There is no record of a *Genji nō* play being performed in the era of Kan'ami (1333–1384), Zeami's father. The female roles that we know Kan'ami played were of professional female entertainers such as Shizuka-gozen (Lady Shizuka), the beloved mistress of Minamoto Yoshitsune (1159–1189) and a noted *shirabyōshi* dancer, and madwomen wandering in search of their children. The structure of these dramas is unknown, but the subjects of such *nō* plays are evident from their titles: *Shizuka ga mai no nō* (*Shizuka's Dance*) and *Saga no Dainenbutsu no onna monogurui no monomane* (*Mimicry of a Madwoman at the Saga Dainenbutsu*).

The documents, while scarce, show that Kan'ami performed *Sumiyoshi-no-sengū-no-nō* (*The Sumiyoshi Festival*) and that Kongō Gon-no-kami (Kongō the Provisional Governor), a contemporary of Kan'ami, performed the old version of the *nō* play *Unrin-in*. (Both the old and the revised version were based on *The Tales of Ise*.) This Heian classic, together with commentaries on it, such as the *Waka chikenshū* (*Chikenshū*, thirteenth century?), was accessible to *nō* performers and playwrights in the pre-Zeami era and became the basis for so-called *Ise nō*, or *nō* plays based on *The Tales of Ise*. By contrast, the text of *The Tale of Genji*, at least in its entirety, was not readily accessible; it may have been considered too sophisticated and too complicated to be utilized as subject material for *nō* plays at this time, in the generation before Zeami. In any event, the full emergence of *Genji nō* would take much more time than that of *Ise nō*.

The first *Genji nō* play to appear in the historical record is *Aoi-no-ue*, which was performed by Inuō, a *sarugaku* entertainer from Ōmi. It is roughly based on the "Aoi" (Heartvine) chapter of *The Tale of Genji*. Lady Rokujō, a high-ranking noblewoman and the widow of the former crown prince, has an affair with Genji, but he gradually ceases to visit her. One day, she attempts to catch a glimpse of him at the Kamo Festival. Her carriage, however, is blocked by Lady Aoi's (Genji's principal wife's) rowdy attendants, who cause a fracas—referred to as the "clash of the carriages" (*kuruma-arasoi*)—bringing Lady Rokujō unbearable embarrassment and ignominy. Consequently, she spends her days in great agony until, unbeknownst to her, her evil spirit (*mono no ke*) attacks Lady Aoi, who has fallen ill, and lets her anguish be known to Genji. Lady Aoi dies shortly afterward, and the incident alienates Genji from Lady Rokujō even further. (The medieval commentators believed that the evil spirit of Lady Rokujō was also responsible for Yūgao's sudden death by possession in "Yūgao," an earlier chapter.) While *Aoi-no-ue* is based on this incident in *The Tale of Genji*, it deviates significantly from the original text, adding in particular a female shaman (Teruhi) and a priest from Yokawa (not to be confused with the bishop of Yokawa, who appears in the "Tenarai" [At Writing Practice] chapter), both of whom considerably enhance the *dramatic* conflict.

In act 1 of the current version of *Aoi-no-ue*, Teruhi is called to perform an exorcism on the bedridden Lady Aoi, who does not appear on stage but is represented by a kimono placed at the front of the stage.[8] The shaman chants an incantation to summon the demon. Then the *shite*, the spirit of Lady Rokujō, appears and expresses her hatred for Lady Aoi. Her fury builds until she attacks Lady Aoi, attempting unsuccessfully to destroy her spirit (figure 12). In act 2, the priest from Yokawa is called for and asked to pray for Lady Aoi. The spirit of Lady Rokujō (wearing a mask) reappears (as the later *shite*) as a demon and fights with the priest. The *mono no ke* tries to kill Lady Aoi but is defeated by the priest. He succeeds in ridding Lady Rokujō of her resentment, and she finally leaves Lady Aoi in peace.

Zeami describes Inuō's performance in *Sarugaku dangi* (*Reflections on Art*, 1430), indicating that the original *Aoi-no-ue* was basically the same play that we know today:

> In the play *Aoi-no-ue*, he rode on an ox cart wearing a robe lined in willow-colored cloth with a skirt so long that it concealed his feet. A maidservant, played by Iwamatsu, clung to the shaft of the cart. On the bridge he began his *issei*. "Riding on the three vehicles of the law, others may escape the burning house. Mine is but a cart in ruins like Yūgao's house; I know not how to flee my passion," and then moving the cart forward, he continued on, in a full voice. "Like an ox-drawn cart this weary world rolls endlessly on the wheels of retribution. . . ." In this *shidai*, he sang the last syllable of the word "cart" in a high-pitched and beautiful fashion; and, as he finished, he stamped his foot to the rhythm of the music. Later in the play, when he appeared as the spirit of Lady Rokujō, at the moment when the *yamabushi* priest—played by Toyo—prayed to the ghost, he looked back at the priest, holding the sleeves of his costume in such a way as to hide his face, truly a moment of theatrical effectiveness beyond any description.[10]

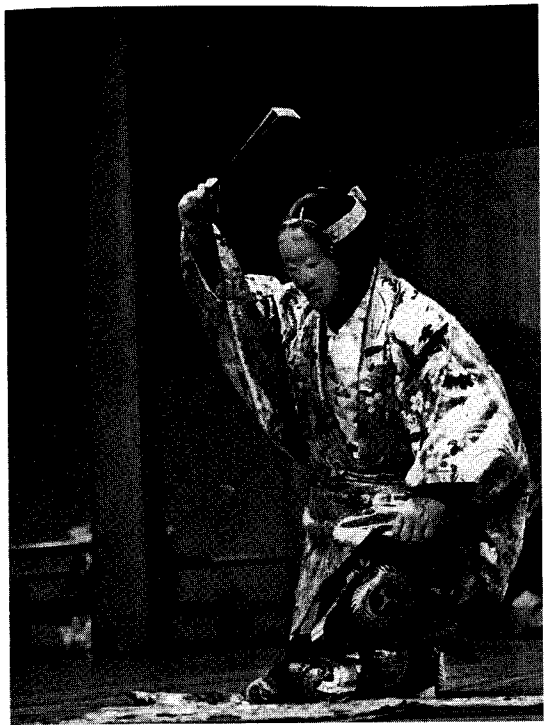


FIGURE 12 *Aoi-no-ue* (*Lady Aoi*): the living spirit of Lady Rokujō attacks Lady Aoi, represented by a kimono, on her sickbed and expresses her resentment. The *shite* is played by Asami Masakuni. (Photograph by Yoshikoshi Tatsuo. By permission of Yoshikoshi Studio)

The passage stresses the "clash of the carriages," the source of Lady Rokujō's deep resentment (and the cause for the emergence of her evil spirit), which

becomes a central matrix of metaphors, particularly Buddhist (the cart, the wheel, the endless cycle), for the play and represents all that Lady Rokujō is attempting to escape. Although there are some minor differences, such as the maidservant and the ox cart in Inuō's *Aoi-no-ue*, both the verse of the *issei* (first song of the *shite*) and the story of the battle between the *mono no ke* of Lady Rokujō and the priest remain the same in today's *Aoi-no-ue*. Therefore, it is clear that the *nō* play that is performed today is the direct descendent of Inuō's version.

In *Aoi-no-ue*, the progress toward the climax and the gradual expression of Lady Rokujō's emotions are well integrated. As her feelings become increasingly passionate, the movement on stage becomes more dynamic. This is probably one of the most successful methods employed in *nō* for portraying emotions. On the surface, *Aoi-no-ue*, with its two acts and its *shite* in the form of a spirit, is similar to a typical female-spirit *nō* play. But Lady Rokujō does not ask for salvation or narrate memories of her own life, two major characteristics of the archetypal female-spirit *nō* play. Instead, *Aoi-no-ue* differs from the "Aoi" chapter of *The Tale of Genji* in that the Yokawa priest and the shaman Teruhi appear and Lady Aoi does not die, but it does reenact the possession of Lady Aoi by the living spirit of Lady Rokujō.

The following are well-known quotations about *nyotai* (women's roles) from Zeami's treatise *Sandō* (*Three Paths*, 1423):

> Women's Roles. When a woman's role is central, the play must be composed with a special emphasis on graceful atmosphere. . . . Among those plays, there are some of the very highest aesthetic qualities. For example, there are women of high court rank who appear in the plays, such as ladies-in-waiting, or characters [from *The Tale of Genji*] such as Lady Aoi, Yūgao, and Ukifune. Their refined dignity and unusual air and appearance must be well thought out and carefully described.
>
> Among characters that exhibit such potential seeds of artistic excellence, there are those who achieve the position of jewels within jewels. For example, an even more refined quality than the quality of aristocratic elegance that I mentioned above can be found in such incidents as the curse laid upon Lady Aoi by Lady Rokujō, the evil spirit haunting Yūgao, or the possession of Ukifune: such a seed that is full of grace yet capable of providing a proper theatrical effect represents the source of an atmosphere that is rarely encountered. . . . And, indeed, the artists who are adept at creating such an atmosphere prove themselves to be actors of the highest calibre in aesthetic sensibility in terms of performance.[12]

The mention of Lady Aoi, Yūgao, and Ukifune does not necessarily presume the existence of the *nō* plays with these titles. It is generally thought that Zeami's discussion refers only to the suitability of the three characters for women's *nō*; the text does not list the titles of plays existing at the time. According to another theory, Zeami purposely avoided writing *Genji nō* plays in order to leave the material for his children and in *Sandō* cited several women in *The Tale of Genji* as the most appropriate characters for such plays.[13] However, Zeami's evaluation of Lady Aoi, Yūgao, and Ukifune as potential "jewels within jewels" hints that plays based on these characters may indeed have existed.

The passages suggest that the beautiful figure of a noblewoman was an ideal character for the artistic *nō* plays that Zeami was trying to create. Women of high rank and position (whether historical or fictional) did not perform in front of others, however, and thus could not be used to perform the kind of songs and dances that attracted audiences at that time. Instead, Zeami probably thought of re-creating famous scenes from *The Tale of Genji* in which graceful women are haunted or possessed: Yūgao and Lady Aoi by the spirit of Lady Rokujō, and Ukifune by unknown *mono no ke*. The reenactment of these episodes probably could satisfy Zeami's interest in high society and create dynamic stage movement. That is probably why Lady Aoi, Yūgao, and Ukifune were of such great interest to him. At this point, however, it is unlikely that Zeami thought of mining *The Tale of Genji* to write a *nō* play or to delve into religious issues of the kind that emerge in later *Genji nō*.

THE MATURATION OF FEMALE-SPIRIT *NŌ*: THE PATH TO *NONOMIYA*

It is not until the post-Zeami period that the many *Genji nō* plays that are performed today were written. One such masterpiece is *Nonomiya*, in which the spirit of Lady Rokujō recalls her momentary reunion with Genji in the lonely autumnal landscape of Sagano (Saga Fields). This drama, centered on Lady Rokujō, is based on the "Aoi" and "Sakaki" (The Sacred Tree) chapters of *The Tale of Genji*, particularly the noted scene in "Sakaki" in which Genji visits Lady Rokujō, his former lover, crossing the desolate field in front of the shrine not long before Lady Rokujō leaves the capital with her daughter for Ise. The passage and its imagery—the shrine gate, sacred branch, and withered fields—are cited repeatedly in the play, turning it into a highly lyrical poetic drama. Although both *Aoi-no-ue* and

Nonomiya are about Lady Rokujō, *Nonomiya* is much closer to the original text of the *Genji*.

In act 1 of *Nonomiya*, a traveling priest visits Sagano, the historic site of Nonomiya, on the seventh day of the Ninth Month. A beautiful woman appears and tells him that this is the day on which Genji visited Lady Rokujō long ago (figure 13). She relates the story of that time, confesses that she is Lady Rokujō, and disappears. In other words, the *nō* play reconstructs the scene from *The Tale of Genji* so that Lady Rokujō (now long dead) appears as a ghost and looks back on the past, with which the audience is familiar. Act 2 begins when the priest prays for her spirit, and Lady Rokujō reappears. Then she recollects her affair with Genji and performs a quiet dance (*jo no mai*) and a short dance (*ha no mai*), the short dance expressing her anxiety and inability to find inner peace.

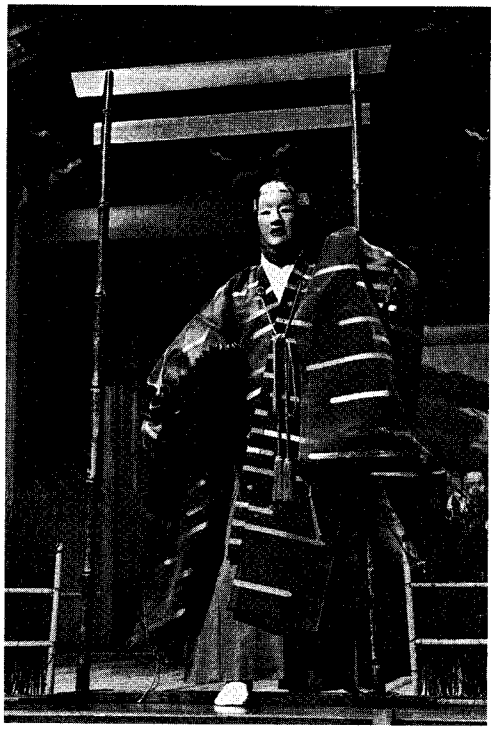


FIGURE 13 Komparu Zenchiku, *Nonomiya* (*Shrine in the Fields*, fifteenth century): Lady Rokujō in front of the *torii* (shrine gate). The *shite* is played by Asami Masakuni. (Photograph by Yoshikoshi Tatsuo. By permission of Yoshikoshi Studio)

At the end of the play, it appears that her spirit will be able to leave this world of unrest, but we are not sure if she is, in fact, saved. We do not know whether Lady Rokujō has been able to break off her ties to this world, which have resulted from her tragic involvement with Genji. In short, *Nonomiya* places the original story from *The Tale of Genji* in a retrospective, highly internal, and Buddhist perspective, with Lady Rokujō's inner conflict being dramatized on stage.

Nonomiya is presumed to have been written by Konparu Zenchiku (1405–1470?), perhaps the greatest of the later *nō* playwrights. In contrast to earlier dramatists, who had less access to the original text, Zenchiku was obviously intimately familiar with *The Tale of Genji* and made small but effective alterations in the details so that the landscape in the *nō* play became a vehicle for describing Lady Rokujō's feelings and inner conflict.[14] Zenchiku was able to create this dramatic masterpiece because the tradition of female-spirit *nō* had been fully developed. By Zenchiku's time, several conventions had been established, two of which are relevant here:

1. The spirits or ghosts of noblewomen from classical tales (*monogatari*) could return to the world of the living to seek relief from their suffering.
2. These spirits or ghosts could dance.

The incorporation of dancing into a role was no longer restricted to portrayals of such professional entertainers as Lady Shizuka, a noted *shirabyōshi* dancer, and Hyakuman, a famous *kusemai* dancer, historical figures who appear as "living" characters in *genzai-nō*.

In early *nō*, from around the time of Kan'ami, characters in hell, tormented by regret, recall the sins that they committed while they were alive. The reenactment of their evil deeds, which often were stories well known to the audience, forms the climax to plays of this type written in the pre-Zeami period. In the Buddhist and religious context of Muromachi Japan, it was understandable for characters in hell to appear on stage, seeking relief from suffering. Why, however, should characters from *monogatari* be portrayed as spirits of the dead rather than as living characters, and why should they seek salvation?

One answer lies in the structure of warrior-spirit *nō*, a major genre that Zeami created before that of female-spirit *nō*. The *shite* of the warrior-spirit *nō* play stands midway between the spirits of dead historical figures, agonizing in hell, and the spirits of fictional characters. The protagonists are the spirits of commanders who died in the Genpei Wars (1180–1186), in the battles between the Genji and Heike clans at the end of the twelfth

century. In this regard, they are both historical figures and literary characters. Their deaths, while historically factual, are movingly described and glorified in *The Tales of the Heike*, giving the characters greater literary stature. Thus in recounting their own deaths—revealing how bravely they died or showing how impressive their last actions were—these spirits of deceased warriors appear as men who were proud of their lives and of the sacrifices they made. The protagonists of these warrior plays are very different in their retrospective and internalized perspectives from the *shite* in earlier *nō*, who appear in hell and are tormented by their sins. Although both are spirits who come from the world of the dead, their attitudes toward their lives are very different.

As this kind of warrior-spirit *nō* play, in which the *shite* is depicted both as the spirit of a historical person and as a literary character, became more common, a new convention was established: literary characters could return to this world as spirits or ghosts to tell stories about the best or most indelible moments of their lives. In similar fashion, aristocratic women characters from *The Tale of Genji* could seek relief from their suffering and share their memories of their love affairs with Genji. Significantly, the *shite* in the female-spirit *nō* plays by Zeami do not necessarily regret their lives; rather, they need to talk about their pasts and return to the world of the living to do so, as do the *shite* in warrior-spirit *nō* plays.

The second key development in female-spirit *nō* was Zeami's introduction of characters who dance on stage, even though they are not professional dancers, like the *shirabyōshi* dancer in *Higaki* and the courtesan in *Eguchi*. Thus it was only after he created the female-spirit *nō* style and the artistic *monogurui-nō* (madwoman's play) that dancing for dancing's sake became prevalent. Zeami was the innovator in the use of the quiet dance (*jo no mai*) performed by the spirits of aristocratic women in the form of a "lyrical dance of recollection" (*kaisō no mai*). It was widely adopted by his successors and today is regarded as one of the most essential aesthetic elements of *nō* theater.

A *nō* play in which a spirit suffering in hell appears before a priest and reenacts an event in his or her sinful life did not originally include a dance performed by the spirit. As noted earlier, even a living character (as opposed to a ghost) usually did not dance unless she or he was a professional entertainer. It would have been even more unnatural for a spirit of the dead to dance while tormented with regret and then ask for salvation. Therefore, Zeami made a very careful choice in his characters and settings so that the dances of the spirits of the dead would seem plausible.

At first, he used the spirits of professional entertainers as characters in his female-spirit *nō* plays instead of the spirits of aristocratic women in classical court literature. The *shite* in Zeami's early female-spirit plays—such as *Higaki, Eguchi, Obasute* (*Old Woman Abandoned*), and *Uneme*—are women related to or familiar with the world of entertainment. Their dances are not *kaisō no mai*, but flashbacks to certain times when they actually danced or reenactments of experiences they had while alive. Thus their dances are similar to that of the spirit of the fisherman (*shite*) who appears before a traveling priest (*waki*) and performs again his sinful act of fishing where it was prohibited in *Ukai* (*Cormorant Fishing*) and that of the spirit of Fukakusa no Shōshō, who relives his painful love affair with Ono no Komachi in *Kayoi Komachi* (*Komachi and the Hundred Nights*). Since dancing was what the protagonists of *Higaki, Eguchi, Obasute*, and *Uneme* had done during their lives in this world, the reenactments of those dances by their spirits were acceptable to Zeami's audiences.

At the same time that Zeami used professional entertainers as *shite*, he introduced the concept of the *shite* as a bodhisattva. His audiences may not have been used to seeing the spirits of noblewomen dance, but they were likely to have been quite familiar with images of bodhisattvas dancing in Buddhist art. As long as a female character had become a bodhisattva, her spirit could dance, not only to reenact an actual entertainment, but also to generate a particular atmosphere in a play. In *Tōboku* (*Northeast Temple*), a two-act female-spirit dream play, the *shite* appears before a traveling priest as a woman of the place, reveals her identity, and reappears as the spirit of Izumi Shikibu, praising the power of poetry and dancing. Significantly, the spirit of Izumi Shikibu is called a *kabu no bosatsu* (bodhisattva of song and dance) before she dances.[15] Although the *shite* of *Izutsu* does not become a bodhisattva, by wearing the robe of her lover, Narihira, she is united with him. Narihira was widely considered to be a *kabu no bosatsu*, and thus the protagonist earns the right to dance on stage.

As a result of the innovations that Zeami encouraged and the masterpieces that he produced, the heroines of classical literature were able to appear as spirits and perform abstract dances in *nō* plays. However, this kind of drama was still far from being the full-fledged *Genji nō* play. For while the female characters Izumi Shikibu, Ono no Komachi, and the courtesan at Eguchi and the *shite* of warrior-spirit *nō* plays were believed to be based on historical figures, the aristocratic women in *The Tale of Genji* were completely fictional.

THE PURSUIT OF SALVATION: THE ROLE OF *UKIFUNE*

The only *Genji nō* plays that we can be certain existed during Zeami's lifetime are *Aoi-no-ue* and *Ukifune*, which are very different from each other. While *Aoi-no-ue*, enacted in the present, from the point of view of the living characters, re-creates a famous scene from the "Aoi" chapter of *The Tale of Genji*, *Ukifune* is a two-act female-spirit *nō* play that reorganizes three chapters of the original text in such a manner that the spirit or ghost of the female protagonist appears in act 2 seeking salvation, adding the perspective of the dead. Significantly, it was the style of *Ukifune*, not that of *Aoi-no-ue*, that later *Genji nō* plays adopted and that became the archetype for *Genji nō*. After *Ukifune*, *Genji nō* plays consistently utilize the two-act female-spirit structure, as is evident in such *Genji nō* plays as *Nonomiya*, *Hajitomi*, and *Yūgao*.

In the "Ukifune" (A Boat Upon the Waters) chapter of *The Tale of Genji*, the young woman Ukifune, the stepdaughter of a provincial governor, is caught between two high-ranking men: Kaoru, who first found her and gave her protection at Uji, and Prince Niou. The two men vie for her affections, with Niou initially winning out over Kaoru. By the end of the chapter, Ukifune, unable to bear the pressure, attempts suicide, flinging herself into the Uji River. Two chapters later, in "Tenarai," a nun discovers the unconscious body of Ukifune and takes her back to Ono, where she is eventually released from a spirit possession by the nun's brother, the bishop of Yokawa (Yokawa no Sōzu). Ukifune gradually recovers and, despite the pleas of those around her, manages to take holy vows.

In contrast to the *nō* play *Aoi-no-ue*, which is only loosely based on *The Tale of Genji*, the *nō* play *Ukifune* reveals an author who was thoroughly conversant with the original text and who drew from various parts of it. In act 1 of *Ukifune*, a traveling priest (*waki*) visits Uji and meets a person of the place, a beautiful woman (*shite*) who is poling a small boat (figure 14). The woman tells the priest the story of Ukifune, who, caught between Kaoru and Prince Niou, tried to drown herself in the Uji River. The woman then reveals that she is herself Ukifune and that she was possessed by an evil spirit at Ono, and then she disappears. At the beginning of act 2, the priest, who has moved to Ono at Ukifune's urging, prays for her soul. The spirit of the deceased Ukifune (*nochijite* [*shite* in act 2]) then appears; recalls her earlier suffering; and describes her attempted suicide in the Uji River, her possession by an evil spirit, and her rescue by the bishop of Yokawa. She reenacts her former possession and insanity through a *kakeri* (walk around the stage, with alternating quick and slow steps), and then shows her gratitude to the priest, announcing that she has now found salvation. The *nō* version takes the story of Ukifune—as found in "Ukifune," "Kagerō" (The Drake Fly), and "Tenarai"—and recasts it in the form of a *mugen-nō*, or two-act dream play that recounts the woman's tragedy from the point of view of her spirit. The spirit of Ukifune initially remains connected to this world as a result of her earlier suffering, but in the end, thanks to her own reenactment of the past and the priest's prayers, is freed from this attachment.

The period (before 1423) in which *Ukifune* was written was precisely when Zeami was struggling to establish a new style of female-spirit *nō*. The structure of *Ukifune* is typical of that of the two-act female-spirit *nō* play as they exist today. When *Ukifune* was first performed, however, this

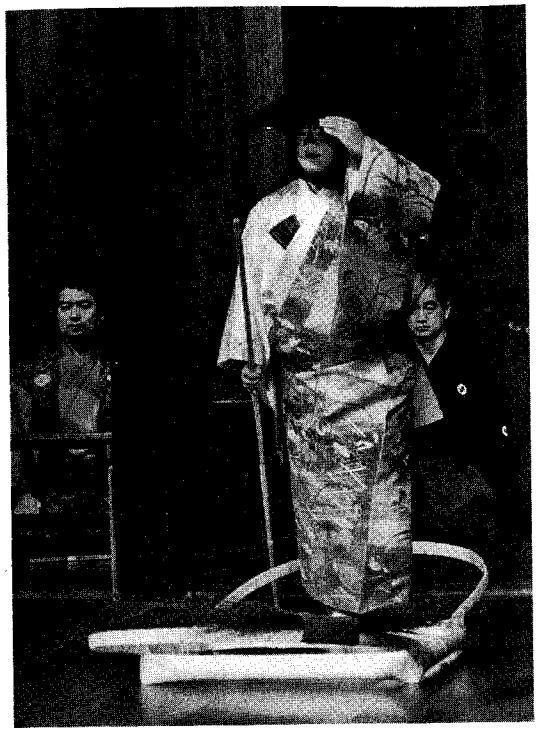


FIGURE 14 Yokoo Motohisa, *Ukifune* (*Floating Boat*, early fifteenth century): Ukifune, as the *maejite*, poles a boat and laments the uncertainty of life. The *shite* is played by Asami Masakuni. (Photograph by Yoshikoshi Tatsuo. By permission of Yoshikoshi Studio)

style was totally new. How, then, did *Ukifune*, a play written by Yokoo Motohisa, an amateur, became the standard for future female-spirit *nō* plays?

Modern scholarship has long considered *Ukifune* to be "amateurish,"[16] compared with the numerous other two-act female-spirit *nō* plays in the current repertoire. However, *Ukifune* was written according to conventions that predate those followed in the majority of the other female-spirit *nō* plays. Rather than emphasizing its deviations from today's norm, it is more valuable to appreciate the parallels between *Ukifune* and the female-spirit *nō* that Zeami was trying to establish. These similarities were the result of Yokoo's attempt to produce a faithful theatrical rendering of *The Tale of Genji*, following the precedents of earlier spirit *nō* plays.[18]

The first major characteristic of *Ukifune* is that the *shite* in act 2 is seeking salvation. As mentioned earlier, the aristocratic women in *The Tale of Genji* are generally different from the spirits of warriors or of those who committed sins during their lives; they do not have to find relief from their torment. Compared with numerous other female characters in *The Tale of Genji*, however, those who became the *shite* of *Genji nō* plays—Lady Rokujō, Yūgao, and Ukifune—are likely to seek salvation because they are burdened with some sort of passion, obsession, or sin.[19] Of these female characters, Ukifune is the most likely to hope for redemption from Buddha, given her implicit betrayal of Kaoru and her attempt to commit suicide; her longing for religious release is probably stronger than that of any other female character in *The Tale of Genji*. In the original text, in "Tenarai" she urges Yokawa no Sōzu to make her a nun; in "Yume no ukihashi" (The Floating Bridge of Dreams), the last chapter, she clings to her religious life, refusing to reunite with Kaoru, her former lover.

Medieval readers of *The Tale of Genji* apparently had a special regard for "Yume no ukihashi," which some interpreted as a Buddhist text.[20] Thus Ukifune, associated with the idea of religious salvation, was the perfect protagonist for a *mugen-nō*, such as the play that bears her name. In the nō play, Ukifune's spirit appears before a priest seeking salvation not only because of the demands of the two-part female spirit nō but because she was thought by contemporary audiences to be a character seeking religious salvation. In much the same way that Ono no Komachi was depicted as an arrogant beauty, Ukifune was portrayed as a lady seeking release from her passion. The second feature of *Ukifune* is its use of two locations, one in each act: the spirit of Ukifune appears to the priest in one place in act 1, and then takes him to another in act 2.

Earlier female-spirit *nō* plays, such as *Kayoi Komachi* and *Higaki*,[21] introduced this two-act structure by changing the setting instead of employing the two-part convention of *keshin* (incarnation) and *hontai* (true form) found in god *nō* plays. Incarnation (in human form) makes sense when a god must appear in front of people, but the spirit of a human being does not have to change form to appear in this world. The two-setting structure can also be found in *The Tale of Genji*: the account of Ukifune's suffering at Uji is told in the "Ukifune" chapter, and the truth of her sudden disappearance is revealed in the "Tenarai" chapter through her recollection at Ono. The two settings of Ukifune's story in the *Genji* thus readily conform to the two-act convention of the spirit *nō* play, with the spirit of Ukifune taking the priest from one place (Uji) to another (Ono). Rather than conceiving of a new genre, Yokoo, the warrior author of *Ukifune*, wrote a play that follows the established conventions of spirit *nō*, thus incorporating Zeami's idea of a two-act spirit *nō* play. Probably for this reason, *Ukifune* received Zeami's highest praise. As Zeami commented in *Sarugaku dangi*: "It can be only said that when plays such as *Ukifune* and *Matsukaze* are well performed by an actor equal to their demands, he will be proven a peerless performer."[22] *Ukifune* proved very successful and set the standard for subsequent *Genji nō* plays.

The *Genji nō* plays depended on the establishment of two conventions: (1) the acceptability of a fictional character, such as an aristocratic woman from *The Tale of Genji*, appearing before a priest as a spirit of the dead, and (2) the acceptability of the spirit of such an aristocratic woman dancing, even though she was neither an entertainer nor a bodhisattva while living in this world. As we have seen, *Genji nō* plays such as *Ukifune* and *Nonomiya* do not just reenact famous episodes from *The Tale of Genji*, but transform the stories of female characters from the *Genji* into retrospective narratives in which the spirits of the dead look back on or are entangled in their pasts. These *Genji nō* take the form of the *mugen-nō* rather than the *genzai-nō*, which is set solely in the present. Zeami's two-act warrior-spirit *nō*, which he wrote before his two-act female-spirit *nō*, appear to have been critical in the development of female-spirit *nō* plays, particularly that aspect in which literary characters recollect not only their sins but also the happiest or most brilliant moments in their lives. Although the aristocratic female protagonists of classical literature had long been familiar to readers, it was not until the end of Zeami's career

that it became acceptable for them to perform dances on stage. These are the main reasons why *Genji nō* plays were not fully developed until the post-Zeami era.

ISE NŌ, GENJI NŌ, AND *IZUTSU*

Like *The Tale of Genji*, *The Tales of Ise*, another major Heian classical tale, depicts Heian aristocratic life in an elegant fashion and became an important foundational text for the creation of *nō* plays. *The Tales of Ise* centers on the poetry and "life" of the well-known *waka* poet Ariwara no Narihira (825–880). In what ways, then, did the development of *Genji nō* differ from that of *Ise nō*? How does this shed light on the character and nature of *Genji nō*, particularly the two-act female-spirit play?

The subgenre of *Ise nō* plays developed its own conventions—specifically, the reenactment of a famous scene or set of scenes from *The Tales of Ise* through the dream of a devoted reader. By means of the dream, the secret or truth of the story from the *Ise* is disclosed. A good example is the original version of *Unrin-in*, a two-act dream play that definitely predates most *Genji nō* and probably was written around the time of Kan'ami. In act 1, a man called Kinmitsu (*waki*), who lives in Settsu Province and is an avid lover of *The Tales of Ise*, dreams of a spirit and visits the Unrin-in Temple, where an old man (prior *shite*) appears, implies that he is "the man of old" (Ariwara no Narihira), and vows to meet again beneath the flowers, before disappearing. In act 2, while Kinmitsu is sleeping beneath a cherry tree, Empress Nijō and Mototsune (the empress's elder brother) appear in Kinmitsu's dream and reenact the scene in section 6 (Akutagawa) of *The Tales of Ise* in which Narihira and Nijō attempt to elope but fail.

Another typical *Ise nō* is *Oshio*, a two-act dream play based on section 76 (Cherry Blossom Viewing at Ōhara Field) of *The Tales of Ise*. In act 1, a person from the southern part of the capital (*waki*) goes cherry-blossom viewing at Ōhara Field, where an old man (prior *shite*) appears and tells the story of how Narihira composed a poem to the god in Ōhara Field and how Narihira loved Empress Nijō. In act 2, the spirit of Narihira (later *shite*) himself appears and dances. Once again, the spirit of the central character in the *Ise* appears in the dream of the *waki*, who in this play is not a priest, and reenacts a scene from the noted tale.

A third example is *Kakitsubata* (*Wild Irises*), based on the famous section 9 (Journey to the East) of *The Tales of Ise*, in which a traveler to Yatsuhashi (Eight Bridges), in Suruga Province, composes the famous

kakitsubata poem about the loneliness of travel, using each of the syllables *ka-ki-tsu-ba-ta* at the beginning of each of the five lines. The *nō* play gives this story a dramatic and unexpected twist. In act 1, a priest (*waki*) travels to Yatsuhashi. As he is admiring the wild irises growing there, a woman (*shite*) appears and tells him the story of the old poem "Karakoromo mo kitsutsu narenishi" (The Chinese robe that I had grown used to wearing), which Narihira composed at Yatsuhashi, and gives the traveler a night's lodging. In act 2, the woman puts on a Chinese robe and dons Narihira's hat, confessing to be the spirit of the *kakitsubata* and revealing that Narihira was the manifestation of a bodhisattva. As in two-act female-spirit *Genji nō* plays, the *shite* appears before a priest, but, significantly, she does not ask for salvation, as in *Ukifune* and *Nonomiya*; instead, her primary aim is to tell the secrets of *The Tales of Ise*.

Roughly speaking, there are two types of two-act spirit dream plays: that exemplified by *Unrin-in*, in which a fictional character from *The Tales of Ise* appears before the *waki* and reenacts some part of *The Tales of Ise*, and that represented by *Kayoi Komachi*, in which spirits seeking relief from their suffering are saved by the prayers of a priest. *Kayoi Komachi* probably was written by Kan'ami, making it an early play. In act 1, a woman *tsure* appears before a priest (*waki*), reveals that she is the spirit of Ono no Komachi, and disappears. In act 2, when the spirit of Komachi reappears in response to the prayers of the priest, the spirit of the deceased Fukakusa no Shōshō (later *shite*) also appears, revealing his resentment at having died before completing a hundred visits to Komachi—who had promised to marry him if he came to her home for a hundred nights in succession—and tries to prevent Komachi's salvation. But in the end, they both achieve redemption. The first type of two-act spirit dream play became the model for mainstream *Ise nō*, while the second type became the archetype for mainstream *Genji nō*.

Given this larger historical context, I would argue that *Izutsu*, a masterpiece of female-spirit *nō* written by Zeami and one of the best known *nō* plays, not only was influenced by *Ukifune* but represents the merger of the two types of spirit dream plays. It clearly includes aspects of the *Ise nō* genre, but act 1 also has a *shite* who appears before a priest and seeks salvation. Because its foundational text is section 23 (The Well Curb) of *The Tales of Ise*, the play *Izutsu* belongs to the category of *Ise nō*, but it differs in significant respects.[23] Section 23 of the *Ise* describes two children, a boy and a girl, who grew up together by a well curb and then married. When her husband's heart wanders, the wife recaptures it with a moving poem. In act 1 of *Izutsu*, a priest makes a pilgrimage to Ariwara Temple in Yamato

Province, where a woman of the place appears before him and speaks of Ariwara no Narihira. She reveals that she is the ghost of the daughter of Ki no Aritsune, the girl by the well curb, and then disappears. In act 2, the spirit of the daughter of Ki no Aritsune reappears in the dress of Narihira, a memento of her lover, and as she dances next to the well curb, she sees the reflection of Narihira in the water. In this act, the priest does not behave like the usual priest in a *nō* play, nor does the *shite* seek salvation. Instead of praying for the spirit at the beginning of act 2, the priest simply looks forward to seeing her again in his dream. The spirit also does not show any gratitude toward the priest.

While clearly possessing elements of *Ise nō*, *Izutsu* differs from other mainstream *Ise nō* plays (such as *Unrin-in* and *Kakitsubata*) in that the female protagonist appears before a priest, expresses an earnest wish to take vows, and achieves salvation. I believe that Zeami followed the example of *Ukifune* in creating *Izutsu*. Although the character in *The Tales of Ise* does not ask for salvation, in *Izutsu*, Zeami describes her anguish and desire for release and has her appear before a priest. Furthermore, he creates a quiet scene at a lonely temple appropriate for the presence of such a spiritually oriented character. *Izutsu* became a masterpiece of Zeami's new female-spirit *nō* style, which would contribute to the creation of subsequent two-act female-spirit *Genji nō*. In this larger context, it becomes evident that *Ukifune* paved the way for such important plays as *Izutsu*, which, in turn, had an enormous influence on such later female-spirit nō as *Nonomiya*, written by Zeami's son-in-law Konparu Zenchiku. While *Izutsu* is an aberration among *Ise nō*, it served an important precedent for what was to become the mainstream and apex of *Genji nō*.

NOTES

1. *Genji kuyō* (*Genji Offerings*) is also an important *Genji nō* play from the medieval period, but it is primarily about Murasaki Shikibu, the author of *The Tale of Genji*.
2. All these plays focus on a female protagonist who appears as the spirit of a woman now deceased. The *shite* in *Higaki* is an old woman and a former *shirabyōshi* dancer who composed a famous poem in the *Gosenshū* (tenth century). The *shite* in *Eguchi* is the courtesan at Eguchi who exchanged poems with the poet Saigyō. The *shite* in *Uneme* is a lady-in-waiting who commits suicide after the love of the emperor for her fades. The *shite* in *Hotoke-no-hara* is Hotoke-gozen, or Lady Buddha, a *shirabyōshi* dancer who appears in the story of Giō in *Genpei seisuiki* (*Rise and Fall of the Genji and Heike*, fourteenth century) and takes holy vows after a spectacular social ascent. The *shite* in *Tōboku* is the spirit of Izumi Shikibu, a famous poet.

3. Yokoo Motohisa was a retainer of the Hosokawa clan and a *waka* poet. Zeami claims in *Sarugaku dangi* (1430) that "the play *Ukifune* was written by an amateur, Yokoo Motohisa. Zeami set it to music" ("An Account of Zeami's Reflections on Art," in *On the Art of the No Drama: The Major Treatises of Zeami*, ed. Yamazaki Masakazu, trans. J. Thomas Rimer [Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984], p. 222).
4. Otagaki Tadatoki was a retainer of the Yamana clan and the author of the *Genji* commentary *Genji monogatari jinryūshō* (1484).
5. Naitō Saemon was a retainer of the Hosokawa clan whose close association with *nō* performers is recorded in a diary of Hirohashi Morimitsu (1471–1526).
6. Kōsai Tsutomu, "Shirauto," in *Zoku Zeami shinkō* (Tokyo: Wan'ya shoten, 1970), pp. 248–257; Itō Masayoshi, "*Ukifune*: Shirōto Yokoo Motohisa to iu hito," in *Yōkyoku zakki* (Osaka: Izumi shoin, 1989), pp. 11–14; Shimazu Tadao, "Renga to nō," in *Nō to renga* (Osaka: Izumi shoin, 1990), pp. 11–20; Amano Fumio, "Nōsakusha Naitō Kawachi-no-kami wo megutte," *Tessen* 347 (1987): 3–4.
7. For a translation of *Aoi-no-ue*, see *Lady Aoi*, in Haruo Shirane, ed., *Traditional Japanese Literature: An Anthology, Beginnings to 1600* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), pp. 925–936. The earliest translation is by Arthur Waley, in *The Noh Plays of Japan* (1921; repr., Rutland, Vt.: Tuttle, 1976).
8. Zeami, *Sarugaki dangi*, in *Zeami Zenchiku*, Nihon shisō taikei 24 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1974), p. 263; "Zeami's Reflections on Art," in Yamazaki, ed., and Rimer, trans., *On the Art of the No Drama*, pp. 176–177.
9. Zeami, *Sandō*, in *Zeami Zenchiku*, pp.137–138; "Zeami's Reflections on Art" and "The Three Elements in Composing a Play," in Yamazaki, ed., and Rimer, trans., *On the Art of the No Drama*, pp. 176–177, 152–154.
10. Matsuoka Shinpei, "Zeami to *Genji monogatari*," *Chūsei bungaku* 45 (2000): 13–19.
11. Miyake Akiko, "Zenchiku no gyōseki," in *Komparu Zenchiku: Hito to gyōseki* (Tokyo: National Noh Theatre, 1986), pp. 20–23; Itō Masayoshi, "Kaidai," in Itō Masayoshi, ed., *Yōkyokushū*, Shinchō Nihon koten shūsei 79 (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1988), pp. 450–453.
12. For a translation of *Tōboku*, a woman's play with a *jo-no-mai* dance, see Nippon gakujutsu shinkōkai, ed., *The Noh Drama* (Tokyo: Tuttle, 1955), pp. 77–89.
13. See, for example, *Ukifune*, in Yokomichi Mario and Omote Akira, eds., *Yōkyokushū*, Nihon koten bungaku taikei 40 and 41 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1960), vol. 1, p. 117.
14. Yamanaka Reiko, "*Ukifune* wo meguru ikutsuka no mondai," *Nōgaku kenkyū* 27 (2003): 1–23.
15. Some have wondered why other female characters in *The Tale of Genji*, such as Lady Murasaki and the Akashi Lady, were not dramatized in view of their deep anguish. Probably because the lives of these female characters lack "dramatic events," such as the possession described in *Sandō*, before the female-spirit *nō* was established, it would have been difficult to express their lives on stage compellingly. Conversely, once the standard was established, any lady could become a *shite* character; all she needed to do was appear in front of a priest to tell the story about her anguish and then dance, as Ochiba no miya (Princess Ochiba) does in *Ochiba* (*Fallen Leaves*).
16. Ii Haruki, "Sakuhin kenkyū *Ukifune*," *Kanze* 48, no. 5 (1981): 3–9.

17. For a translation of *Kayoi Komachi*, a fourth-category play by Kan'ami, see *Komachi and the Hundred Nights*, trans. Eileen Kato, in Donald Keene, ed., *Twenty Plays of the Nō Theatre* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), pp. 51–62; for *Higaki*, an old-woman play, see Kenneth Yasuda, *Masterworks of the Nō Theater* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), pp. 303–324.
18. "Zeami's Reflections on Art," in Yamazaki, ed., and Rimer, trans., *On the Art of the No Drama*, pp. 180–181.
19. For a translation of *Izutsu*, a woman's play with a *jo-no-mai* dance, see Nippon gakujutsu shinkōkai, ed., *Noh Drama*, pp. 91–105, and Royall Tyler, ed. and trans., *Japanese Nō Dramas* (London: Penguin, 1992), pp. 120–132.

Chapter 4

Monochromatic *Genji*

THE *HAKUBYŌ* TRADITION AND FEMALE COMMENTARIAL CULTURE

Melissa McCormick

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

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

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

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

POLYCHROMATIC *GENJI*

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

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

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

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

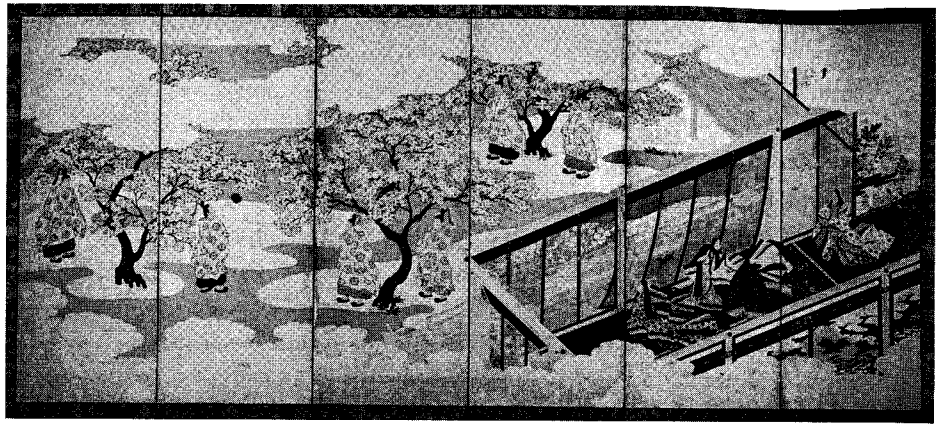


FIGURE 15 Tosa Mitsuoki, *Wakana jō* (*Spring Shoots I*, seventeenth century), one of a pair of six-panel folding screens. (Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1904.118)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The *Ukifune Booklet*

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

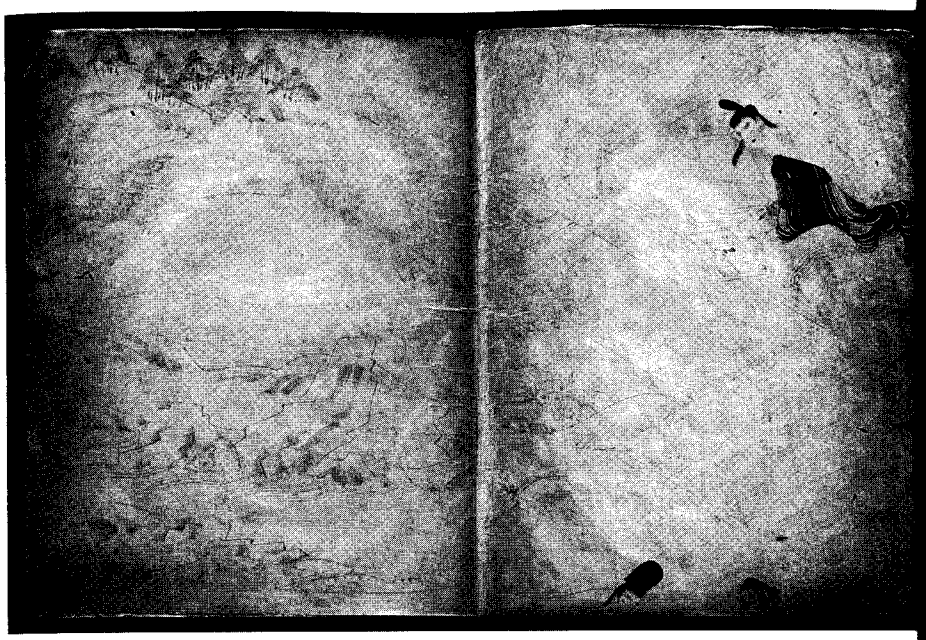


FIGURE 16 "Ukifune" (A Drifting Boat), in *Hakubyō eiri Ukifune sōshi* (*Ukifune Booklet*, thirteenth century): Niou, Ukifune, Tokikata, and Jijū. (Yamato Bunkakan, Nara. Photograph by Shirono Jōji)

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

A survey of extant *hakubyō Genji* paintings reveals that many of the thirteen examples are recensions of the same text and must have shared pictorial models. These scrolls range in size from 9.8 centimeters to just over 18 centimeters in height and were part of sets that originally included as many as ten scrolls. Being relatively easy to manipulate and requiring less paper than larger scrolls, the small format accommodated well an amateur mode of writing and drawing. As such, it opens a window onto the communities of amateur artists and literati who engendered a multifaceted reception of *The Tale of Genji* based on writing and drawing as well as reading. Normally there is a tendency to separate the textual reception of *The Tale of Genji* (scribal, for the circulation of manuscripts) and the production of *Genji* paintings (formal, iconographic). In this instance, the original texts that these manuscripts replicate were changed into hybrid word–image form. The *Genji* did not remain static as it passed through the hands of these artists and copyists, but was modified and personalized. Extant *hakubyō* pictures have to be seen as part of a unique

aspect of manuscript culture and as works that potentially generated a somatic connection between viewer and object qualitatively different from that of polychrome paintings. The image-texts served a key function for aristocratic women and ladies-in-waiting, for whom cultural engagement with *The Tale of Genji* could enhance their social well-being, such as their suitability for marriage or ability to entertain and educate their superiors.

The *Genji Poetry Match*

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

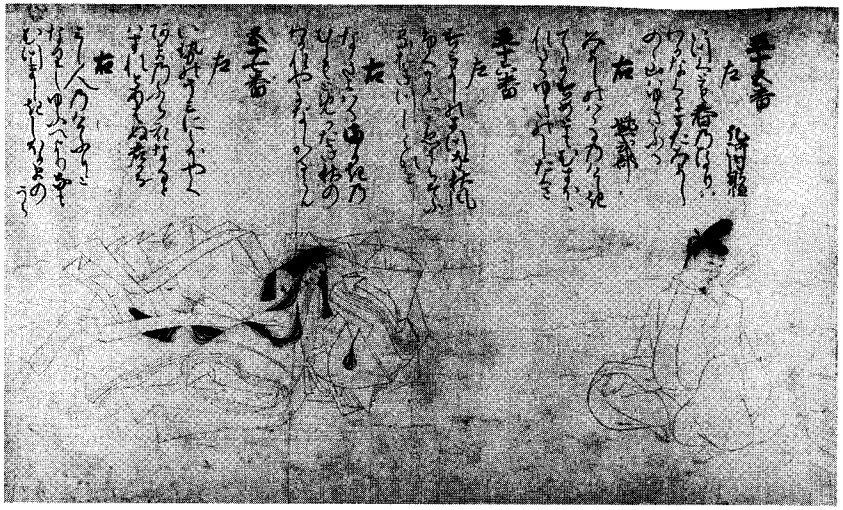


FIGURE 19 *Jidai fudō uta awase* (*Competition Between Poets of Different Eras*, Kamakura period): Ōshikōchi no Mitsune and Murasaki Shikibu. (Kubosō Memorial Museum of Arts, Izumi)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The *Monochrome Tale of Genji Scrolls*

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PROFESSIONAL *HAKUBYŌ*

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

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

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

NOTES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

56. For more on Yotsuji Haruko and a small *Genji* scroll attributed to her, now in the Nakano Collection, Tokyo, see Miyakawa Yōko, "Hakubyō *Genji monogatari* emaki: GoTsuchimikadoin kōtō naishi hitsu," *Kokusai keiei bunka kenkyū* 6, no. 2 (2002): 1–41.
57. For more on the Kohitsu and calligraphy authenticators, see, for example, Komatsu Shigemi, "Kohitsu kantei no rekishi," in *Kohitsu* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1972), pp. 106–144.

Chapter 5

Genre Trouble

MEDIEVAL COMMENTARIES AND CANONIZATION OF *THE TALE OF GENJI*

Lewis Cook

The Tale of Genji was taken as a pretext for literary composition almost from the moment it began to circulate, and the range of writings it spawned encompasses every identifiable mode or genre—from poetry to essay, diary (*nikki*), anecdote (*setsuwa*), fictional sequel, drama, criticism, parody, and, of course, so-called commentary. Collectively, such writings are now studied under the capacious rubric of "reception history," a reliable indication of the difficulties of both distinguishing genres and setting commentary apart from the rest.

THE FORM AND SUBSTANCE OF THE EARLY COMMENTARIES

Premodern exegetical literature on *The Tale of Genji* often took the form of interlinear or marginal notations in manuscripts of the text that were not compiled by their authors as separate books, although sometimes gathered as florilegia by later editors.[1] This may have been true of the earliest extant commentary, that of (Fujiwara) Sesonji Koreyuki (d. 1175), whose extensive interlinear notes and marginalia on a manuscript of the *Genji* in his own hand were revised and expanded at least once, and more likely twice, and were eventually assembled into a book, but the evidence of the earliest extant manuscripts is that Koreyuki compiled them himself into the volume now generally referred to as *Genji shaku* (*Genji Explicated*, before ca. 1160).

The format is significant: Koreyuki typically quotes a line or more of the passage under annotation, and then cites a poem (usually a *waka* used

as a *hikiuta* [allusive poem]) or another textual antecedent, without comment. But instead of simply quoting the text of the *Genji*, the commentary often supplies a brief synopsis or a few words to provide context—perhaps for a reader without a copy of the original at hand. Since Koreyuki was apparently intent on citing every recognizable allusion to poems, as well as a fair number of allusions to prose texts, his work takes on the aspect of a handbook of contemporary *Genji* scholarship supplemented by an intermittent digest of the story. The *Genji shaku* is regularly cited by subsequent commentaries on the *Genji*, and most of its proposed allusions were accepted by the tradition, as they are by modern readers.

Some of the interest of extant manuscripts of the *Genji shaku* hinges on their liberal citation of a late Heian version of *The Tale of Genji*. Koreyuki was a noted calligrapher and a direct descendant of Sesonji Yukinari (d. 1027), who had been a contemporary of Murasaki Shikibu. As Yukinari was the most celebrated calligrapher of his age, and a master of *kana* (women's script) in particular, it is not unlikely that he would have been called on to make a fair copy of the *Genji* shortly after its completion (assuming that it was in fact completed), and indeed there are scattered references to a manuscript in Yukinari's hand. Thus Koreyuki's received version of the text could be expected to correspond closely to one or another state of the Murasaki Shikibu's version. Unfortunately, citations of the text, poems excepted for the most part, in the *Genji shaku* are neither strict nor replete enough to guarantee confidence in their fidelity to any specific antecedent manuscript.

An obstacle to the task of surveying the history of commentary on *The Tale of Genji* in the medieval era is the practical problem of the sheer quantity and diversity of extant works that can be subsumed, one way or another, under this genre, however restrictively defined. Even if we exclude "digest" editions, many of which served some of the purposes of commentary in a broad sense, the number of more or less integral and distinct commentaries from the twelfth to the early seventeenth century, excluding marginalia and interlinear notations, easily exceeds a hundred and continues to grow as the archives are sifted. But while newly discovered and catalogued *Genji* commentaries add to the corpus of extant works, it is apparent that much has been lost. Setting aside the *Genji shaku* and *Okuiri* (*Endnotes*, ca. 1233)—a collection of notes on a manuscript of the *Genji* by Fujiwara Teika (d. 1242)[2]—to simplify matters, and beginning with texts that consist of sustained commentary on the *Genji*, a historical account should properly begin with the *Suigenshō* (*Water Spring Notes*, thirteenth century), a summa of Kawachi family teachings compiled by Minamoto

Mitsuyuki and his son Chikayuki, reportedly consisting of fifty-four fascicles, one for each chapter of the *Genji*. Unfortunately, it survives only in fragments and brief citations. Any history of *Genji* commentary is thus constrained to leap over a large gap shortly after its beginnings. Citations in surviving texts suggest that much else of the written record has been lost.

A perhaps more critical deficit in the *written* record is the result of much *Genji* commentary in the medieval era having been conducted viva voce in the mode of *kōshaku*, lectures or readings presented for the benefit of a select audience of readers who likely had texts of the tale before their eyes and listened to the lecturer read his or her text aloud, pausing to deliver comments orally. This was the standard format for the transmission or controlled dissemination of learned commentary on canonical works throughout the medieval era (and after), notably for the more readily canonizable *Kokinshū* (*Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems*, ca. 905) and *Tales of Ise* (ca. 950).

Examples from the late fifteenth century of what seem to be complete transcripts of *kōshaku*, recorded by disciples in training, as well as by amateurs and patrons, survive for *The Tales of Ise*. These are as a rule certified, by the lecturers, to be verbatim records of the lectures as delivered, and are referred to as (and often titled) *kikigaki* (transcripts of lectures).[3] By the logic of the genre and its mode of transmission, a *kikigaki* should be identical to the lecturer's own script, the only literal basis for certifying its veracity. In practice, however, it is clear in those cases where evidence is available that the transcripts may diverge substantially from the scripts on which the lectures presumably were based, and the most plausible explanation is that the talks were improvisations from memoranda of a prior stage of transmission, a set of prompts intelligible, perhaps, to only the lecturer. More than a dozen distinct commentaries on *The Tale of Genji* bear the generic title *Genji monogatari kikigaki* (some of them conventionally referred to in modern scholarship by alternative titles to avoid confusion), but few, if any, are thought to be literally complete, perhaps simply because of the length of the text and the speed with which lectures were delivered.

Much of the exegetical material on *The Tale of Genji* we have to rely on for the early medieval period, until the mid- or late fifteenth century, consists, instead, of commentaries meant to be read and studied by a limited audience of disciples and patrons or to be referred to as the basis for lectures that were not transcribed and thus cannot be reconstructed. A good example of this is the recorded legacy of Yotsutsuji Yoshinari (1326–1402). His major written work, *Kakaishō* (*Book of Seas and Rivers*, 1387–ca. 1394), is a massive commentary that absorbed through citation much of the preceding

exegetical tradition. Expanding on that base, while often correcting or disputing it, the *Kakaishō* cites verbatim and at length hundreds of texts—many in *kanbun*, notably Japanese historical records and diaries, as well as literary works in *kana*, Buddhist scriptures and commentaries, and Chinese historical and literary texts—mostly by providing glosses on specific words or phrases or by supplying *tameshi* (precedents, in a distinctively broad sense) for each instance in which the *Genji* cites, alludes to, or is in some degree confluent with other works.

Yoshinari's method is evident in his commentary on the beginning of the "Sakaki" (The Green Branch) chapter. As Lady Rokujō is considering accompanying her daughter, who is preparing to serve as the high priestess, to Ise, she reflects that "there was no particular precedent" for doing so. Earlier commentaries had noted that there was such a historical precedent, one only, in 975. Yoshinari suggests that since Murasaki Shikibu established a broad correlation between the fictive period of her tale and the historical Engi era (901–923), the lateness of this "precedent" can be taken to support Lady Rokujō's reflection that, as of the fictive time of *The Tale of Genji*, "no particular precedent" did indeed exist. He also argues that the historical precedent, whether or not it postdates the fictive period of the tale, is enough to support his claim that there is nothing in the *Genji* for which a historical or, more generally, linguistic precedent, ancient or recent, cannot be found.[4] Yoshinari's method was not so much one of seeking literal historical references or literary allusions as of finding intertexts that may or not have been actual or even possible "sources" for the author of the *Genji*.

The title *Kakaishō* alludes to a maxim in the *Wakan rōeishū* (*Japanese and Chinese Poems for Recitation*, ca. 1017–1021), drawn from a citation in the *Wen xuan* (J. *Monzen*; *Selections of Refined Literature*, sixth century) from a letter cited in the *Han shu* (*History of the Han Dynasty*, first century), that may be translated as "The rivers do not disdain even the smallest rivulet / and thus are the seas able to attain great depths." Yoshinari's title makes clear his aspiration to achieve profundity by gathering the sum of extant learning on *The Tale of Genji* from all available sources. He mentions in his preface that his teacher Tanba no Tadamori, a disciple of Minamoto no Yoshiyuki (Shōkaku, son of Minamoto no Chikayuki of the Kawachi family), had collected the *Genji* scholarship of seven lineages and achieved such acclaim as an authority that he frequently was called to court to resolve disputes of interpretation. Yoshinari extols his teacher with a view, we may assume, to establishing his own claim to authority; that he was successful is attested by the fact that the *Kakaishō* was commissioned by the shogun Ashikaga Yoshiakira (d. 1367).

The *Kakaishō* is a commentary that could not have been conveyed with any fidelity in an oral performance: it is intransigently graphemic. By contrast, the *Genji monogatari Chidorishō*, a partial transcript (although hardly a *kikigaki* in any strict sense) of a series of lectures that Yoshinari delivered from 1386 to 1388,[5] consists for the most part of a listing of terse glosses—supplying *ondoku* (phonetically Sino-Japanese) glosses for words or phrases in *kanbun*, thereby transgendering the script from *onnade* (*kana*; literally, female hand) to *kanji* (Chinese characters) in effect—with little of the exuberant citation of precedents that characterizes the *Kakaishō*. One implication of this, underscored by transcriptions from the mid- to late Muromachi period (1392–1573), is that some large portion of what we are likely to consider "commentary" proper was delivered impromptu and not committed to writing.

In 1472, Ichijō Kanera (1421–1520) completed an initial version of *Kachō yosei* (*Intimations of Flowers and Birds*), the title alluding perhaps to a phrase in the *Mana* (Sino-Japanese) Preface to the *Kokinshū* in which "flowers and birds" are taken as emblematic of the imagery of love poetry. It marked a significant new direction in the course of *Genji* commentary. Kanera's work is explicitly meant as a supplement to the *Kakaishō*, which he praises in his introductory remarks and cites more frequently than any other text, occasionally criticizing or refining Yoshinari's comments and methods while offering a more accessible guide to help the novice through the complexities of *The Tale of Genji*. Kanera comments on ambiguities in the language of the text without resorting to Yoshinari's method of supplying *ondoku* glosses from often obscure Chinese sources, distances himself from Yoshinari's insistence on finding precedents by stating unambiguously that the *Genji* is a work of fiction (*tsukuri-monogatari*), and offers suggestions that approximate what many modern readers expect of "literary criticism."[6] Indeed, reading such late-fifteenth-century commentaries as *Ichiyōshō* (*A Single Leaf*, ca. 1494) and *Rōkashō* (*Playing with Blossoms*, ca. 1510), based to a large extent on *kōshaku* by Sōgi (1421–1502) or his disciples, but closely pursuant to the *Kachō yosei*, we are struck by the new attention to stylistic matters, narrative technique, rhetorical and thematic questions, and aesthetic evaluation—the critical elements that "we moderns" tend to expect of literary commentary—and are reminded of the relative (although not complete) absence of such elements from commentaries that predate Kanera's *Kachō yosei*.

There is no firm basis, however, for therefore assuming that critical attention to such matters originated in the late fifteenth century or that a clear progression from "precritical" to "critical" commentary is observable.

Inaga Keiji has argued persuasively, on the basis of what little evidence is available, that at least some of what has been regarded in the *Kachō yosei* as a departure from the preoccupation of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century exegetes with philological and bibliographical allusions and precedents toward a more "literary" concern with the syntax and semantics as well as the aesthetics of narration has clear antecedents in fourteenth-century commentaries or *kōshaku* transcripts (such as the interlinear notes in *Shichigō Genji* [*Genji in Seven Hands*, late fourteenth century]) of relatively heterodox or marginal traditions, few of which survive in the written record but which came into view briefly in a moment following the dominance of the teachings of the Kawachi family and Teika's heirs.[7] If this is true, then the "turn" toward a more critical and "literary" reading of *The Tale of Genji* in the fifteenth century is not so much a departure as a revival, made possible partly by the publication and dissemination in the early fifteenth century of the esoterica of earlier traditions (in particular, those that underwrote much of the prestige of the Kawachi family teachings).

FOUR RULES AND THE QUESTION OF GENRE

What can be known of the history of medieval commentary on *The Tale of Genji* is limited, but the written record is sufficiently replete to allow for some broad generalizations or retrospective rules of the genre. Four such conventions are of particular interest because they distinguish commentary on the *Genji* from parallel traditions of commentary on the *Kokinshū* and *The Tales of Ise* and thus help define what is anomalous in the history of *Genji* commentary, considered in the larger exegetical and scholastic context. First, a significant aspect of medieval *Genji* commentary is the tendency toward cumulative exegesis within the framework of a more or less unified tradition, especially marked after the fourteenth century. In other words, new commentaries were regularly referred to and, indeed, were composed largely in response to the existing corpus of *Genji* scholarship. Second, the *Genji* was never as thoroughly or consistently allegorized as the *Kokinshū* and *The Tales of Ise*, at least not until the eighteenth century, when Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801) extracted from it the moral and, indeed, anagogic principle of *mono no aware*. Third, there are traces of a ludic, or playful, element in *Genji* commentary beginning in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and persisting in subtle but unmistakable forms to the end of the medieval era.[8] The modern reader might be excused

for supposing that some of the more extravagantly fanciful flights of "heterodox" medieval commentary on *The Tales of Ise* are deliberately self-parodic, if not simply ludicrous, but it must be acknowledged that parody is an obtrusive motif of that text (however seriously the poetry was absorbed into the canon of *waka*) and that parodic commentary is an entirely plausible response to that motif. The difference can be more starkly seen in contrast with the exegetical traditions of the *Kokinshū*, which occupied the center of gravity of medieval literary commentary as implacably serious business. Fourth, and perhaps most distinctive and least tractable, is the enduring problem of finding a genre for *The Tale of Genji*.

There may be causal relations among these rules. The second is at least one enabling condition of the first, and the third is likely an effect of or a response to the fourth. The driving force behind the esotericism and mutual exclusivism of family- and later school-based lineages in the *Kokindenju* (*Secret Teachings of the Kokinshū*, ca. twelfth–nineteenth century) was a set of proprietary claims to secret and often allegorical or allegoretic interpretations transmitted orally and attributed to Fujiwara no Mototoshi (1060–1142), Ki no Tsurayuki (870?–945?), and, ultimately, Sumiyoshi Myōjin and other patron gods of poetry.[9] Hermeticism and exclusivity, as well as competition among lineages, were the defining traits of *Kokinshū* commentary (the *Kokindenju* in a restrictive sense) until at least the mid-Edo period (1600–1867). It was not until the end of the seventeenth century that the first variorum edition of *Kokinshū* commentary—a compendium of multiple commentaries (*shochūshūsei*)—Kitamura Kigin's (1624–1705) *Kyōtanshō* (*Kokinshū Precepts*, 1699), was composed, and even at this date texts outside the scope of the Nijō school were not, apparently, available to Kigin. By contrast, both the so-called *Ihon shimeishō* (*Variant Notes on Explicating Murasaki*, 1252), close to the beginning of the tradition of *Genji* commentary, and Priest Sojaku's *Shimeishō* (*Notes on Explicating Murasaki*, 1267, 1294) intercalate five distinct commentaries and cite the *Suigenshō* and are thus regarded as *shochūshūsei*, and the *Kakaishō*, the first major extant commentary to follow, frequently references, while often contesting, these predecessors, together with the earlier commentaries by Koreyuki and Teika.[10]

It is true, of course, that both the Kawachi family commentators and Yotsutsuji Yoshinari, and certainly other *Genji* scholars of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, reserved some of their scholia (*setsu* ["spoken" interpretations]) to be transmitted as *kuden* (secret, oral transmissions), even if they were committed to writing. Throughout the medieval era, and with renewed enthusiasm in the Edo period, various "secret" interpretations

of *The Tale of Genji*—the "Sandaiji" (Three Great Matters) most prominently, as well as the "Jukka no narai" (Ten Lessons), "Jukka no kuden" (Ten Acroamata), and "Shichika no jiji" (Seven Secret Matters)—were treated with varying degrees of respect. But it appears that by the late fourteenth century, such esoterica had lost the aura of prestige that sustained the fortunes of the *Kokindenju* until well into the Edo period. The colophon to Ichijō Kanera's *Gengo hiketsu* (*Secrets of The Tale of Genji*, 1472), a collection of secret glosses suppressed in the *Kachō yosei*, begins with a variation on the usual formula for transcriptions of *kuden*: *yuiden isshi* (to be transmitted by a single heir, or "for your eyes only"), but Kanera had delivered most of these secrets to his patron, Ouchi Masahiro, before he inscribed this prohibition in a revised version meant for his son Fuyura, who was, nominally at least, the sole heir to his scholarly legacy.[11] In any case, many of the "secret" glosses on the *Genji* apparently were already in circulation, to some extent, by the late fourteenth century. Their prestige suffered accordingly, at least among the cognoscenti. As of 1453, the Nun Yūrin, in *Hikaru Genji ichibu no uta* (*Complete Poems of The Tale of Shining Genji*), still refers to *anagachi no chū*, or glosses to be transmitted orally and never committed to writing.[12] In retrospect, this can only be described as a remnant of the attempt to create a foundation of esoterica comparable to that on which the *Kokindenju* had been based. The crucial difference was that the arcana of the *Kokindenju* were attributed to unquestionably ancient authorities, sometimes putatively divine, whereas the secret glosses on the *Genji* were merely the product of diligent scholars with access to large libraries. None of them were attributed with any seriousness to oral transmissions from Murasaki Shikibu, for example.

With the *Kokinshū*, the genre of the work, the imperially commissioned anthology of Japanese poetry, could not have presented significant problems for the concept or the practice of either canonization or commentary. The precedent of the *Man'yōshū* (*Collection of Myriad Leaves*, ca. 785) is invoked in the *Kana* Preface to the *Kokinshū*, and the examples of imperially commissioned anthologies of *kanshi* (poetry in Chinese by Japanese authors) are tacitly acknowledged in the *Mana* Preface. The problem, a distinct one, of finding precedents for the work of commentary on the *Kokinshū* should have been more troublesome, given that—as is pointedly noted in the *Kana* Preface—as of a generation or two before the compilation of the *Kokinshū*, poetry in *kana* had not been taken seriously enough to warrant scholarly attention, much less commentary, a job reserved for men. It must be counted significant that the earliest commentaries on the *Kokinshū* deal with only the prefaces, not the poems. But

precedents for exegetical labors on *waka* are afforded in the anthology itself, in the form of footnotes (literally, left comments [*sachū*]) appended by the compilers to several poems and, although their provenance is uncertain, of interlinear "small-script" (or "old") comments on exemplary poems cited in the *Kana* Preface. Ki no Tsurayuki also offers an unimpeachable precedent for invoking the entire, predominantly Confucian tradition of commentary on the canonical *Shijing* (*Book of Songs*, 600 B.C.E.) with his essay on the six forms of *waka* in the *Kana* Preface.

The Tales of Ise was treated by early commentators as either autobiography, history, or legend, and its putative origins in Ariwara no Narihira's (825–880) personal collection of *waka* secured its generic identity as an elaborated *kashū* (poetry collection). Only much later was the term *utagatari* (poem tales), or stories giving the alleged context for the composition of specific poems, applied. While Kanera's regendering of *The Tales of Ise* as *tsukuri-monogatari* (fictional tales) in the mid-fifteenth century is regarded as a critical turning point, it took place well within the bounds of contemporary genre theory. As with the *Kokinshū*, precedents for commentary on *The Tales of Ise* are provided in the received text, in the form of the presumably fictitious quasi-editorial remarks that conclude the first section and many others and that purport to have been added to the text by a person (or persona) in a position to know more about matters behind the story than the narrators of the tales knew or admitted to knowing. This is very nearly the perspective staked out by the commentator, who claims to know more than the author (or narrator) lets on and certainly more than the reader could otherwise know. When we consider how precisely this is also the position of the implied editorialist who remarks on how much the narrator admits to knowing of the real story of *The Tale of Genji*—for example, at the beginning of "Hahakigi" (The Broom Tree), the end of "Yūgao" (The Twilight Beauty), and the improbable opening to "Takegawa" (Bamboo River), not to mention the so-called defense of the *monogatari* in "Hotaru" (The Fireflies)—we might wonder whether Murasaki Shikibu had not learned something from the *Kokinshū* and, more pertinently, *The Tales of Ise* about ways to incorporate commentary into the text and thus, incidentally, provide the scholars in her audience with the precedents they needed to do their work. There is no reason not to imagine the scholars finding their pretexts for exegetical elaboration in the self-reflexive commentary, or meta-narrative, that came to be called *sōshiji* by commentators in the late fifteenth century.

If there should have been a problem with writing commentary on *The Tale of Genji*, it would have been first of all that in the hierarchy of genres

as of the mid-twelfth century, when Koreyuki composed the *Genji shaku*, nothing was of lower prestige than fictional *monogatari*, routinely castigated as tales for the entertainment—not the edification—of women and children. A further and ultimately more serious difficulty with the *Genji* was that it was a tale that resembled no other before it. In exceeding the bounds of the genre of *monogatari*, to which it was conjoined at birth, it was without adequate precursors, and this failing was compounded by the absence of any precedent for taking even nominal *monogatari* seriously enough to annotate them. When writing the *Kakaishō*, Yoshinari was sensible of the twofold difficulty presented by such missing precedents and seems to have been the first to recognize it. He did so, not without some irony, by making the question of the precedent (*tameshi*) and, more distinctively, *junkyo*—a technical term suggesting an authoritative or a quasi-legal basis for the referents of fictional events or characters—the effective theme of his prodigiously laborious search for precedents for almost every distinctive lexeme, phrase, or substantive reference in the *Genji*.

Both Koreyuki's *Genji shaku* and Teika's *Okuiri*, the earliest extant texts recognized as exegetical of *The Tale of Genji* in a broad sense, are preoccupied with the identification and citation of allusions to *waka* and to Chinese historical writings and poetry. Neither pays much attention to the fact that the *Genji* is a *monogatari*. On the contrary, their tenacious pursuit of allusions to the canons of Japanese and Chinese literature might seem designed to efface the problem of genre altogether. This is consonant with a persistent tradition of treating the *Genji* as though it aspired to be a fictional *kashū* or an extended sequence of *utagatari*. Evidence of this tendency is reflected in an item in the "Apparatus" (*ryōkan*) to the *Kakaishō* citing—while also refuting with several examples—a convention attributed to certain poets of former times (*chūko*), most likely the late Heian (794–1185) and early Kamakura (1183–1333) periods, from Yoshinari's perspective, that words (*kotoba*, lexical items identified as *kago*, diction suitable for use in formal *waka*) from the *Genji* were acceptable for use in *waka* composition, but allusions to the narrative sense or meaning (*kokoro*) of the *Genji* were not. The implication is clearly that although the vocabulary of the tale was accepted as properly classical, the invocation of the *Genji* as a *monogatari* in the service of "literature" (*waka*) per se would be a violation of genre decorum.

Exegetical work on *The Tale of Genji* in the late thirteenth century was dominated by family traditions, notably that of the Kawachi, who were competing with Fujiwara Teika and his heirs in establishing their own recension of the text. But the *Kōan Genji Rongi* (*Kōan Era Genji Debate*, 1280), a nominally formal, if also partly ludic, debate on interpretative cruxes in the *Genji* conducted in the presence of the crown prince, makes it clear that other families were competing for custodial authority in the field of *Genji* scholarship, and the recorded proceedings suggest a relatively relaxed attitude toward the disclosure of interpretations that in relation to the *Kokinshū* and *The Tales of Ise* would have been closely guarded as proprietary learning.

The major commentaries that survive from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are those of the Kawachi family—*Ihon Shimeishō*; *Shimeishō*; and *Genchū saihishō* (*Secret Notes of the Suigenshō*, 1313, 1364), a compilation of esoterica from the *Suigenshō* and after—and Yoshinari's *Kakaishō*, which was often taken as a summation of early medieval *Genji* scholarship. Motoori Norinaga designated the last as the "premier" commentary on the *Genji*, in his view the only pre-Edo exegesis worth reading apart from Kanera's *Kachō yosei*.

The next generation was dominated by *renga* masters, Sōgi and his disciples, who learned much from Kanera and followed his lead in shifting the focus from glossing obscure lexemes and citing historical or literary precedents to explicating the text, its narrative structures, and its aesthetic force. Sōgi is apparently responsible for having coined the term *sōshiji* to draw an essential distinction between narration and auctorial or meta-narrative commentary. Literally, the word means "the ground (background as opposed to foreground or figuration) of the book" and refers to passages in the text in which the narrator or implied author interrupts the story to comment on or explicate the conditions or motives of the narration (and is thus similar to the use of parabasis in classical Greek drama). The term was first used by Sōgi in *Amayodanshō* (*Notes on the Rainy Night Discussion*, 1485), also called *Hahakigi betchū* (*Separate Commentary on "Hahakigi"*), a brief commentary on the "Hahakigi" chapter of *The Tale of Genji*. Kanera had employed the phrase *sakusha no kotoba* (words of the author, as opposed to those of the narrator) to roughly the same effect, and other precedents have been identified. But it was the *renga* master Sōgi, whose treatises on the composition of linked verse are among the first to confront questions of point of view and auctorial voice in that genre, who can be credited with proposing a term for the nuanced discrimination of narrative voices in the *Genji*.

Around the end of the fifteenth century, the courtier, calligrapher, and scholar Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (1455–1537) received the teachings of Sōgi and of some of his disciples and founded what was to become a lineage of his own, with indelible consequences for later readers of *The Tale of Genji*.

Sanetaka and his heirs elaborated on the definition of *sōshiji* and introduced Confucian elements into their readings of the text, often departing from the interpretations of preceding generations. An example is the insistence found in *Mingō nisso* (1598), a compendium of commentaries by Sanetaka's family and disciples, on tentatively following a tradition of identifying Utsusemi as an exemplary "chaste woman," a Confucian-inspired misprision of the kind that lacks serious precedent in the commentaries by Kanera, Sōgi, and their disciples.[13] But one act of Sanetaka that may have had an unanticipated impact on later generations of readers was his endorsement of Tominokouji Toshimichi's (fifteenth–sixteenth century) project of creating a compendium of canonical commentary on the *Genji*. Toshimichi at first thought to include only excerpts from the *Kakaishō* and *Kachō yosei*, but Sanetaka advised him to add the *Shimeishō* to his short list, which he did. The result was *Sangen ichiran* (*Three Genji Commentaries*, 1496), a compendium of commentary drawn from the *Shimeishō*, *Kakaishō*, and *Kachō yosei* that served several generations of readers in place of the texts it cites in abridged form. Toshimichi did not, however, specify which of the three commentaries he was referencing in any given comment, so the reader is left with a somewhat overwhelming sense of anonymous and therefore vaguely authoritative learning, especially if the reader is Kaoku Gyokuei (1526–1602?), who remarks in the epilogue to her *Genji* commentary *Kaokushō* (*Kaoku's Gleanings*, 1594) that the abundance of *saigaku* (learning, with the connotation of pedantry) displayed in *Sangen ichiran* threatens to distract the reader's attention from the pleasures of the text (*midoku* [reading as tasting]) or of the tale as such.[14]

If the earliest commentators on *The Tale of Genji* took their bearings from the genre of *waka*—and thus oriented their work of explication by seeking the prose equivalents of *shōka* (proof poems), poems that were invoked as precedents for a given expression or lexeme, and *honka* (source poems), those that served as the basis of an allusion—it did not take long for an exceptionalist view of the *Genji*, as a work that exceeds the conventions of genre, to open the way to the distinctive topics that medieval scholars writing in the margins of the tale felt compelled to address. Let me suggest that four of the most significant and characteristic of these topics are (1) poetic allusion (*hikiuta*) and historical reference or precedent (*junkyo*), (2) narrative structure (composed of the theory of parallel chapters [*narabi no maki*]),[15] (3) chronology (*toshidate*) and genealogy (*keizu*), and (4) meta-narrative commentary, or parabasis (*sōshiji*). The underlying thread joining these four topics describes the intersection of the concepts of genre and fictionality, which, in turn, suggests why so much of the *Genji* could not be accounted for by means of the exegetical apparatus—notably, the use of allegoresis to support typological and anagogic readings—brought to bear on the already securely canonical *Kokinshū* and *Tales of Ise*.[16]

An essential problem is that *monogatari* is a genre defined by formal features (oral or oral-mimetic narration using aspect markers to link the narrator with the events recounted and those, in turn, with the audience) that have no direct bearing on questions of fictionality per se. Thus any number of texts labeled as *monogatari* are purportedly nonfiction narratives—for example, *Izumi Shikibu monogatari* (*The Tale of Izumi Shikibu*, 1004), as the *nikki* is titled in some early manuscripts; *Eiga monogatari* (*A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, ca. 1092); *Saigyō monogatari* (*The Tale of Saigyō*, ca. mid-thirteenth century); and *Shōtetsu monogatari* (*Conversations with Shōtetsu*, ca. 1450). Therefore, the problem is that the veracity of the events recounted can be posited only on the assurances of the narrator—one of the prominent functions of *sōshiji* in *The Tale of Genji*. The difficulty in this respect with the *Genji* is that it is a *monogatari* and a fiction, but one without significant precedent, earlier fictional *monogatari* being clearly marked as such by an emphatic reliance on motifs of fantasy or palpable ahistoricism. By contrast, the *Genji* appears to belong to no genre but its own.

The trouble of assigning *The Tale of Genji* a genre—of "gendering" the text without erasing its recalcitrance to classification as historical or poetic narrative, on the one hand, or as fantasy, on the other—may explain why early commentaries seem to push it toward one preexisting genre or another: history, biography, poem tales, poetic diary (*uta nikki*). Such a hypothesis needs to be treated with caution, however. Judging from its title, Koreyuki's *Genji shaku* promises to be just that: a revelation of the obscurities of the text. But its contents, for the most part a list of citations of purported allusions (*hikiuta* and *honmon*), do little to explicate the text, and the conventional view that this is a form of primitive commentary is misleading. The title *Genji shaku* is perhaps best taken ironically; the existence of multiple (and discrepant) versions suggests that what is at stake is a matter of playing out rather than working through the fecundity of an intertextual sublime, the potentially endless range of allusions available to the adventurous or imaginative reader.[17]

The self-parodic signature of Yotsutsuji Yoshinari, his self-appointed title Monogatari no hakase (Doctor of Tales), underscores by irony his seriousness in seeking to establish a credible basis for commentary on *The Tale of Genji* with foundations in the exegetical sciences, bibliographical

and philological, and thus making the text a legitimate object of analysis. He suggests that the *Genji* is never *merely* fiction, never without precedents, and thus amenable to canonization by remote but not implausible analogy with the *Kokinshū* (which was not in any ordinary sense subject to distinctions between true and false or factual and fictitious). This is perhaps why the matter of precedents was foregrounded as the sustaining motif of the *Kakaishō*.

It is for this reason that it may be more useful to read Yoshinari's citations as intertexts, intersections between *The Tale of Genji* and contexts available to either its author or its readers at any given moment of writing or reading. How else to escape the dilemma of antecedence—the question of whether what is presumably a citation is an allusion (deliberate, unconscious, or indeterminable) or a coincidence? Such a question is inevitably bound up with those of auctorial intentions, which are so thoroughly overdetermined as to be indiscernible. The advantages of taking intertextuality, rather than citation or allusion, as the criterion of recognition of context are practical more than theoretical. Reading comes after the writing of a text, and readers must bring to the work their always idiosyncratic knowledge of other and often later texts. It is not a matter of choice to recognize certain resonances or echoes among intertexts. The reader who writes a commentary that purports to discern allusions may choose to discount intertexts that postdate the writing of the text as artifacts of personal experience, but the resulting commentary is not thereby necessarily more compelling or persuasive. It will be premised on the assumption that by sheer priority to the moment of writing, a given intertext *may* have been known to the author and therefore *may* have been the basis of an allusion. The only disputable evidence is the always tenuous claim of intentional reference, but such evidence rests on no firmer ground than does the recognition of an intertext.

MOTOORI NORINAGA AND THE WAKE OF MEDIEVAL COMMENTARY

By convention, histories of traditional commentaries on the core literary canon tend to mark the end of the medieval and the beginning of the early modern period by designating commentaries by Keichū (1640–1701) as "new" and all those preceding as "old" (sometimes further divided into "former" and "ancient"). One reason for this distinction is that Keichū was an autodidact who rejected the formal premises of learning—based on the

faithful transmission of received teachings to disciples and heirs within a biological or contractual lineage—that underlay medieval (or "premodern") pedagogy and its institutions. Although in some respects Kanera had been forced, by his exclusion from the recognized lineages of the *Kokindenju*, to anticipate Keichū's methods, the latter was more rigorous, or more systematic, in appealing to philological evidence acquired from his broad study of ancient texts (the *Man'yōshū* in particular) to solve problems of textual critique and interpretation. Keichū thus rejected the authority of received tradition as a criterion for editing canonical texts, just as he rejected didacticist and, especially, allegoretic readings of those texts, and is often regarded as one prototype of scholars affiliated with the nativist movement that came to be known as national studies or national learning (*kokugaku*).

With respect to commentary on *The Tale of Genji*, however, the division between "old" and "new" is more complex than the terms suggest. The text of the *Genji* that Keichū used as the basis for his own commentary, *Genchū shūi* (*Addenda to Commentary on Genji*, 1696), was Kitamura Kigin's annotated edition, *Genji monogatari kogetsushō* (*The Tale of Genji Moon on the Lake Commentary*, 1673). It is categorized as among the last of the "old" commentaries because Kigin worked closely within the framework of premodern pedagogy and situated himself within the extended Nijō school lineage originated by Tō no Tsuneyori (d. ca. 1490?) and Sōgi in the late fifteenth century. Kigin's edition of the *Genji*, in sixty volumes, includes the complete text of the tale, together with extensive headnotes and interlinear notes culled from ten of the most prominent pre-Edo commentaries, from the Kamakura period through the late sixteenth century, and supplemented by notes from the lectures of Kigin's teacher and his own subcommentary. Among Kigin's numerous other annotated editions of classical texts, the *Kogetsushō* sold especially well and remained in print well into the twentieth century.[18] One effect of the popularity of Kigin's edition of the *Genji* was to keep the most important medieval commentaries in circulation, in abridged form, well beyond the point at which the critiques of Keichū and the polemics of later "new" commentators might have been expected to render them obsolete.

Among the later Edo scholars identified as "new," the most influential was Motoori Norinaga, whose treatise on *The Tale of Genji* and its authorship, *Shibun yōryō* (*Essence of Murasaki Shikibu's Writings*, 1763), is assumed to be based on lectures he had given during the preceding few years. The core of this work is his discourse on *mono no aware*, a theory of human sentiment—more or less innate, yet susceptible to cultivation,

primarily through the reading of Heian literature, *waka*, and, above all, the *Genji*—as the proper foundation for the sympathetic understanding of human frailty and folly, to put it simply. The argument is accompanied by an anxious, protracted, and often contentious critique of the follies of medieval commentary on the *Genji*. A few decades later, Norinaga wrote another commentary on the *Genji*, *Genji monogatari tama no ogushi* (*The Tale of Genji, A Fine Jeweled Comb*, 1796), prefaced by several long introductory chapters recapitulating much of the *Shibun yōryō* while elaborating on and expanding the scope of his doctrine of *mono no aware*.

Given the immense prestige enjoyed by Norinaga and his school (he reportedly had about five hundred disciples at the age of sixty-eight, when he completed the *Kojikiden* [*Commentaries on the Kojiki*, 1764–1794]), as well as by his cohorts in the national studies movement, and the decisive influence of their teachings and their epigones on the founders of the modern discipline of national literature (*kokubungaku*), it is not surprising that Norinaga's influence on the academic reception of *The Tale of Genji* in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries should have been pervasive. Norinaga's readings of the *Genji*, and his thematization of *mono no aware*, were installed as dogma in the academy, and remained in place there until the latter decades of the twentieth century, when the postwar critique of complicity between *kokugaku*-inspired pedagogues and the architects of prewar fascism began to transform the discipline. In light of their tangible consequences for the tradition of commentary on the tale, it is a matter of some interest to the historian to examine Norinaga's polemics and his commentary, both on their own account and with a view to understanding their reception. For the narrower purpose of surveying the net outcomes of medieval exegetical traditions, the pertinence of Norinaga's writings on the *Genji* may without much distortion be limited to the following questions:

1. What were the long-term effects of Norinaga's polemic against antecedent *Genji* commentary and scholarship?
2. What is the basis of Norinaga's claim that he had achieved a decisive break with traditional scholarship?
3. Did Norinaga succeed, after all, in overcoming medieval *Genji* scholarship?

The discourse on *mono no aware* as elaborated in the *Shibun yōryō* purports to identify, for the first time, an aesthetic ideal derived from a proper reading of the Heian literary canon as defined in the most classical

terms: formal court *waka*, *The Tales of Ise*, and *The Tale of Genji*. As an aesthetic ideal (somewhat more precisely, an affective ideal with moral import), *mono no aware* was meant, explicitly, to establish the autonomy of literary fabrications, primarily the *Genji*, with a view to insulating the tale from ideological demands imposed by late medieval and early Edo Buddhist and Confucian allegoretic interpretations. During the decades following the completion of the *Shibun yōryō*, as Norinaga's interest in the *Kojiki* (*Record of Ancient Matters*, 712) and nativist ("Shinto") texts came to preoccupy him, the discourse on *mono no aware* was leveraged to support an ideological doctrine of Japanese ethnic originality (purity, simplicity, pristine distinction). The change can be discerned in the differences between the text of *Shibun yōryō* and the long introductory chapters of *Tama no ogushi* that correspond to the earlier work and yet extend the reach of its argument. Perhaps because of the resulting expansion of its scope and explanatory force, this inflated version of the ideal of *mono no aware* was enough to sustain interest in Norinaga's writings on the *Genji* among his academic heirs, helping to account for their ongoing influence on the scholastic—as opposed to the popular—reception of the *Genji* well into the twentieth century.

If the implications of this tentative answer to the first question are accepted, the second question—Norinaga's claim to having broken decisively with medieval traditions of *Genji* scholarship—acquires considerably greater interest, even as it calls for more delicate and circumspect treatment than can be afforded here. A further distinction has to be made between Norinaga's broad acknowledgment of the philological and exegetical value of the substantial legacy of medieval commentary and his somewhat contrary claim to have been the first to discover the truth of *The Tale of Genji* or, more precisely, of its author's intentions: to teach by fictional example the *practical* aesthetics of *mono no aware*, making this a matter of knowing how and when and even to what degree a properly acculturated human being will respond to (be moved by) an event that should evoke this sentiment, in effect not an aesthetic ideal but a moral imperative.[19]

With regard to the second question, in the brief section of the first volume of *Tama no ogushi* titled "Chūsaku" (Commentary), Norinaga singles out Yoshinari's *Kakaishō* as the most important of earlier commentaries (even if it is to be faulted for frequent factual errors). In the same passage, he also allows that Kanera's *Kachō yosei* is a valuable supplement to Yoshinari's work (although also in need of correction). These judgments fall very closely in line with the "old" tradition; virtually

all medieval commentators acknowledge their indebtedness to both of these seminal works by liberally citing them or, more often, simply advising their readers to refer to them as authorities, while proposing refinements and supplementary commentary. Norinaga departs from the post-Kanera (Muromachi through early Edo period) tradition by dismissing all further commentary until Keichū's *Genchū shui* as of no scholarly value.

Norinaga's antagonism toward post-Kanera medieval commentary on *The Tale of Genji* rests on two distinct premises: that the institutional form of and privileges accorded to orally received teachings of literary canonical works had impeded objective philological investigation, and that the allegorization of the *Genji* in Buddhist and Confucian terms, taking the tale as a didactic aid to the realization of the evanescence of human existence or of the importance of rewarding good and chastising evil, had prevented recognition of the significance of *mono no aware* as the proper theme of the tale. A third claim, which he implies must follow from these impediments, is that all prior commentaries on the *Genji*, despite their bibliographical or philological utility, had been superficial in failing to attend to the letter of the text and probe the intentions of its author.[20] The motives behind Norinaga's antagonism could be disposed of under the rubrics of ideology or psychobiography or both, but his claims are of interest in their own right, for both what they bring to light and what they obscure of the legacy of medieval commentary.

Criticism of the secretive and proprietary institutions of medieval scholarship was almost as old as the institutions themselves. Scholarly knowledge or learning (*saigaku*) was generally regarded from as early as the Heian period as hereditary property, ideally to be transmitted to a single heir, although in reality it was often treated as a form of liquid cultural capital to be exchanged for tuition paid by contractual disciples. It is undoubtedly true that the system did not encourage original philological investigation. But *Genji* scholarship and commentary was not, in the long run, successfully bound by the limitations of this system. Economic constraints as well as proprietary control over the circulation of manuscripts were decisive factors in limiting access to texts, and it is disingenuous to ignore this circumstance, so much in contrast with the availability, to those who could afford them, of printed texts from the mid-seventeenth century. Norinaga is thus on weak grounds for criticizing the medieval tradition of *Genji* commentary for institutional constraints, and this seems to be a result of conflating an institution as prestigious in his time as the *Kokindenju* with the far more porous institutions of *Genji*

commentary (even allowing, as we must, that in Norinaga's time the *Kokindenju* had absorbed much of the vestigial esoterica of earlier *Genji* commentary).

The second major criticism, allegoresis, is also open to question, along similar lines. Confucian, Buddhist and Shinto varieties of allegoresis were distinctive features of medieval commentary on the *Kokinshū* and *The Tales of Ise*. But in the long run, they played a relatively marginal or perfunctory role in medieval commentary on *The Tale of Genji*, a seamlessly fictional work that in the *mise-en-abyme* of its own staging of an ironic debate—in the "Hotaru" chapter—on the limitations of willfully didactic readings of fiction effectively preempts the possibilities for a full-blown allegoretic reading of the tale. Norinaga's disdain for the *Kokindenju* may well have predisposed him to find the tradition of *Genji* commentary guilty by association, but his insistence on the damning effects of allegoresis in medieval *Genji* commentary raises questions. Why did he focus so much polemical attention on this issue? The most plausible explanation may be that he felt compelled to draw as sharp a contrast as possible between his own aestheticist (and effectively moralistic) reading of the *Genji* (the rule of "knowing *mono no aware*") and the predominantly amoral and aestheticist readings of his nearest and strongest predecessors—in particular, traditions of late-fifteenth-century commentary from Kanera through Sōgi and his disciples. In doing so, consciously or not, he was obscuring the evidence that an aesthetic (as opposed to an allegoretic, whether didactic or moralistic) interpretation of the *Genji* was already well established in Muromachi traditions of commentary, which he must have been aware of, judging from the paper trail left by his commentary on the *Kogetsushō*.

This suggests a response to Norinaga's third premise, the superficiality of previous *Genji* commentary and resultant failure to discover the true, if hidden, intention of Murasaki Shikibu: to teach the lesson of *mono no aware*. The answer to this assertion, in turn, impinges on the third question: what to make of Norinaga's claim of having superseded virtually the whole of medieval commentary on *The Tale of Genji*. While acknowledging his respect for Keichū's method of philological investigation, Norinaga differs sharply from his predecessor in presupposing the didactic purpose of the *Genji*'s author—to teach the reader to "know *mono no aware*"—and, in doing so, he crosses the line from proposing to discern the overarching theme of the tale to asserting that it was Murasaki Shikibu's explicit, if hitherto unrevealed, intention in writing the *Genji* to make that theme its "moral." He thus makes it a paradoxical requirement of his own claim to

originality, as reader and commentator, to turn the tale into an allegory, more consistently and systematically than did any of his medieval predecessors. He signals his determination to make good on his claim, ironically enough, by the regular use of the phrase *shita no kokoro* (underlying sense, hidden meaning or intent) to distinguish what the text means "literally" from what he takes its author to mean figuratively, most insistently in his meticulous reading of the debate on fiction in the "Hotaru" chapter.[21] The term *shita no kokoro* refers to the interpretive strategy of doubled (often simply inverted, but often parabolic) readings, on which much of the tradition of medieval allegoresis—of the *Kokinshū* but also *The Tales of Ise* and the *Hyakunin isshu* (*One Hundred Poets, One Hundred Poems*, thirteenth century)—was based, and designates, within the Nijō school tradition of deliberate "over-reading" of the canon, the trope of (typically allegoretic) irony in one of its more malleable and less stable forms. It is at least mildly ironic that Norinaga should have recourse to a term so closely identified (in its *technical* sense, of course, as an exegetical term) with Tsuneyori's and Sōgi's allegoretic interpretations of the *Kokinshū*,[22] in seeking to establish the originality of his take on Murasaki Shikibu's intentions in writing the *Genji*.

We can only speculate. Given the persistence with which Norinaga singles out for rebuttal comments on *The Tale of Genji* attributed to Sōgi in the *Kogetsushō*, and his unsparing attacks on Tsuneyori (and to a lesser extent Sōgi, who is pardoned on the assumption that he must have been taken in by Tsuneyori) as perpetrators of the *Kokindenju*, attacks that punctuate, no fewer than six times, the manuscript of *Ashiwake obune* (*A Small Boat Punting Through the Reeds*, ca. 1758),[23] it seems reasonable to believe that Norinaga held a certain animus against the Tsuneyori–Sōgi lineage of medieval commentary. The heirs to and adherents of this lineage still retained, as of the eighteenth century, significant authority over the interpretation of the literary canon, particularly its most crucial text: the *Kokinshū*. For Norinaga, who famously claimed to be a self-created authority, this could not have been a happy situation in any case, but the substantial antagonism, I would conjecture, was between two incompatible agendas for evaluation of the classical canon, one governed by an aesthetics of empathy, the other by an aesthetics of dispassion or, indeed, apathy.

The evidence is that Tsuneyori and Sōgi agreed that a proper reading of the classical canon—the *Kokinshū*, *The Tales of Ise*, and, by extension, *The Tale of Genji*—should be oriented by an aesthetics of *yūgen* (a term sometimes abbreviated in commentaries of this school to *yū*).[24] This is a

Sino-Japanese reading (*ondoku*) of a word ultimately derived from Taoist metaphysical and epistemological speculation—not originally an aesthetic term at all. Following an initial, isolated use in the *Mana* Preface to the *Kokinshū*, the term was transmuted for use in the lexicon Japanese aesthetics from around the late twelfth century, eventually acquiring a decisive role in medieval critical discourse in several genres. As used by Sōgi (there is less evidence for Tsuneyori), *yūgen* suggests, among much else, an aesthetic of restraint, indirection, suspension, or diffusion of sense—a form of negative sublime that would tend to subordinate motives of moral sentiment or cognitive precision to those of affect and imagination. For the purposes of explicating the *Genji*, it is invoked sparingly to note almost indiscernibly subtle inflections of diction or style.

Evidently seeking to replace this austere aesthetic with something more hospitable to his convictions about Heian court culture, Norinaga argued that it was rather an ideal of *mono no aware* (a popular and even slightly banal phrase as of the eighteenth century, Hino Tatsuo has argued) that properly reflected Murasaki Shikibu's intentions. One effect of this argument was to subordinate questions of aesthetics per se to the ideal of cultivating moral sensibility, thus (paradoxically) reinterpreting *The Tale of Genji* as a work of ultimately didactic intent.[25]

Motoori Norinaga's prestige among academic readers of the *Genji* in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries ensured that his didactic and in a sense allegorizing interpretation would prevail with the transformation of *kokugaku* into the modern scholarly discipline of *kokubungaku*. While the continued vitality of Kitamura Kigin's *Kogetsushō* (even in its modern typographic editions, which incorporate portions of *Tama no ogushi*, Norinaga's was a minority voice) among readers outside academia kept the "old" interpretations of the *Genji* in circulation on a modest scale, it was not until the pronounced complicity between the *koku(bun)gaku* establishment and the ideology of fascism, which suffused educational policies from the early 1930s until the end of World War II, was subjected to scrutiny from within the academy that the doctrine of *mono no aware* as *the* lesson of the *Genji* gradually came under critical reconsideration. This was indeed a gradual process. With one or two notable exceptions, it was not until the late 1970s that the systematic publication of critical editions of the major medieval commentaries was initiated and, only in the face of deeply entrenched skepticism, that an attentive rereading of the medieval tradition of commentary on *The Tale of Genji*, with its distinctive modes of interpretation and evaluation of the

text, became an acceptable scholarly pursuit. Some three decades later, the rereading seems only to have begun.

NOTES

1. Examples of interlinear and marginal commentary, beginning with Sesonji Koreyuki's *Genji shaku* and Fujiwara Teika's *Okuiri*, are numerous. It was conventional that working copies—as opposed to presentation or reference copies—of manuscripts of canonical texts would include the scribe/reader's comments along with emendations, notes, questions for further research, and so on. Thus if we insist on identifying commentaries narrowly as individuated books that quote a canonical text in part or in full, we exclude a large portion of exegetical writing on the Heian canon in favor of what was an exceptional form.
2. Teika was the most respected scholar of Heian literature and poet of the thirteenth century and the editor of recensions of the text still widely regarded as the most authoritative among many. Teika's notes, originally marginalia, were collected into *Okuiri*, which was transcribed in his own hand, perhaps in 1233. Almost all the notes are citations of allusions to *waka*, poems in Chinese, and other putative sources. Teika refers, sometimes critically, to Koreyuki's *Genji shaku*, to which his own comments could be regarded as a supplement. This is the beginning of what was to become a tradition of responding critically to earlier commentary while augmenting the corpus of received learning.
3. Of many such commentaries on the *Kokinshū*, perhaps the most influential was that delivered by Tō no Tsuneyori to Sōgi in 1471, popularly referred to as *Ryōdo kikigaki* (*Two Readings of Kokinwakashū*) but, like most such texts, titled generically *Kokinwakashū kikigaki*.
4. Ichijō Kanera's commentary a century later presses the argument further by suggesting that Lady Rokujō was modeled on a historical figure who accompanied her daughter to Ise in 966.
5. Yotsutsuji Yoshinari delivered the lectures (*kōshaku*) on which *Chidorishō* is based in around just thirty sessions over about forty months. See Inaga Keiji, *Genji monogatari chūshakushi to kyōjushi no sekai* (Tokyo: Shintensha, 2002), p. 75.
6. To cite just one example, readers of *The Tale of Genji* have often puzzled over the gap of four or five years in the narrative between Genji's age at the end of the "Kiritsubo" (The Paulownia Pavilion) chapter and his age at the beginning of the next chapter, "Hahakigi" (The Broom Tree). Kanera cites a statement toward the end of the first chapter, to the effect that having come of age, Genji was no longer allowed behind Fujitsubo's blinds, as sufficiently suggestive of his passage into and through adolescence to account for the gap (*Kachō yosei: Matsunagabon*, ed. Ii Haruki, *Genji monogatari* kochū shūsei 1 [Tokyo: Ōfūsha], pp. 20–21).
7. Inaga, *Genji monogatari chūshakushi to kyōjushi no sekai*, pp. 114–117.

8. An early example of this is Sojaku's reference, in the preface to *Shimeishō*, to his "Genji mania" (源癖), an allusion to a statement by Du Yu quoted in chapter 34 of the *Jin shu* (*Book of Jin*) that he was a "*Zhuan* maniac" (伝癖) who had spent much of his life writing a commentary on the *Zuo zhuan*.
9. The term "allegorical" is often used vaguely, but the prevailing definition supposes that the figurative (covert, hidden, non-literal) sense of an allegory is an essential aspect of the text and that the author expects the discerning reader to recognize the figurative sense, even if it is deeply hidden or ambiguous. I use the word "allegoresis" to refer to interpretations that do not plausibly argue or necessarily even suppose that authorial intentions are a factor in the discovery and explication of figurative or covert meanings of a text. Well-known examples include Neoplatonic interpretations of Homer as a "theologian," the varied theological readings of the Song of Solomon, and the Han Confucianist analyses of many of the love songs in the *Shijing* (*Book of Songs*) as concealing edifying messages about loyal ministers, wise or compassionate princes, and the like.
10. Sojaku and Yotsutsuji Yoshinari, *Shimeishō, Kakaishō*, ed. Tamagami Takuya, Yamamoto Ritatsu, and Ishida Jōji (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1968). Detailed bibliographical information on virtually every extant *Genji* commentary is provided in Ii Haruki, ed., *Genji monogatari chūshakusho kyōjushi jiten* (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō shuppan, 2001).
11. Ii, ed., *Genji monogatari chūshakusho kyōjushi jiten*, p. 101.
12. Imai Gen'ei, "Kaidai," in Nun Yūrin, *Hikaru Genji ichibu no uta*, ed. Imai Gen'ei (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1979), p. 329.
13. This example—which hinges in part on how the expression *mizaramashikaba* (literally, if he had not seen [her]; it is almost inescapably clear that "see" refers to having carnal knowledge of, in the context) is to be understood in the account of how Genji forces himself on (or attempts to do so) Utsusemi, in the "Hahakigi" chapter—was brought to my attention by Royall Tyler, to whom I am indebted for this and many other such acroamata. It is treated in a thoughtful article by Margaret Childs, "The Value of Vulnerability: Sexual Coercion and the Nature of Love in Japanese Court Literature," *Journal of Asian Studies* 58, no. 4 (1999): 1059–1079. I refer to the *Mingō nisso*, not at all the earliest commentary to raise the question of Utsusemi's "chastity," because it brings together several commentarial voices on the passage in question and displays clearly how questions of interpretation, grammatical and narrative, could be complicated by ideological (in this case, Confucian) values. See *Mingō nisso*, ed. Nakada Takeshi (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1980), vol. 1, pp. 202–203.
14. Aileen Gatten, "The Order of the Early Chapters in the *Genji monogatari*," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 41, no. 1 (1981): 5–46.
15. Typological and anagogic readings of certain poems in the *Kokinshū*, such as those anonymous poems attributed to native deities and supplied with syncretistic interpretations drawing on Tendai doctrine—for example, the sequence beginning with no. 981—were fundamental to the esoteric teachings of the *Kokindenju*. On allegoresis in the so-called Kamakura commentaries on *The Tales of Ise*, see the indispensable

study by Susan Blakeley Klein, *Allegories of Desire: Esoteric Literary Commentaries of Medieval Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003).

16. Tsutsumi Yasuo has argued, persuasively, that Gyokuei's commentaries on the *Genji* mark a break with medieval (or scholastic, meaning in this instance anxiously competitive and strenuously masculine) traditions of encyclopedic citation of precedents (*Genji monogatari chūshakushi no kisoteki kenkyū* [Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1994]).
17. The conviction that the *writing* of the *Genji* is inexhaustibly sublime is arguably the single most consistent—if not always explicit—motif in the tradition of premodern commentary on the text, and perhaps the single most plausible explanation for the extravagant production of commentary.
18. A revised and expanded edition of Kigin's *Kogetsushō*—incorporating commentaries by Motoori Norinaga as well as Keichū, Hagiwara Hiromichi, and other Edo-period scholars—was published in 1890, edited and revised in 1927, and reprinted most recently in 1982. Other editions appeared in the Taishō and early Shōwa eras.
19. In *Shibun yōryō*, Norinaga asserts, for example, that "the tale [*Genji*] illustrates [*kakishirushite*] *mono no aware*, and thereby causes the reader to know *mono no aware*. Thus, although it is not a didactic work [*kyōkai no tame no sho*], if one were to insist on calling this its moral [*kyōkai*], it is not the so-called morality of Confucianism or Buddhism. Instead, one should say its moral is to teach the reader to know *mono no aware* [*mono no aware wo shire to oshiyuru kyōkai to iu beshi*]" (*Motoori Norinaga zenshū*, ed. Ono Susumu and Okubo Tadashi [Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1969], vol. 4, p. 38). A more forceful and ideologically explicit argument on the moral efficacy of "knowing *mono no aware*" for the proper governance of the individual, the family, and the nation is presented in *Tama no ogushi*, in *Motoori Norinaga zenshū*, vol. 4, p. 225.
20. Norinaga, "Chūsaku," in *Tama no ogushi*, p. 181.
21. Ibid., p. 186.
22. The term *shita no kokoro* is used in this technical sense to distinguish the covert sense from the surface sense (*omote* or *omote no kokoro*) of a canonical poem regularly and consistently, in more than two hundred instances, throughout the *Kokinwakashū kikigaki*, an edition of which had been printed in 1638 and again in 1658. Norinaga could hardly have been unfamiliar with this or one of several later commentaries that derive from it. The suggestion is not that he consciously elected to use this term—for example, in his meticulous reading of the *monogatari-ron* (defense of the *monogatari*) in the "Hotaru" (The Fireflies) chapter of the *Genji*, but that that his usage in that *particular* context is ironically reminiscent of Tsuneyori and Sōgi's usage. For a striking example, see *Shibun yōryō*, in *Motoori Norinaga shū*, ed. Hino Tatsuo, Shinchō Nihon koten bungaku shūsei 60 (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1983), pp. 75–76.
23. Motoori Norinaga, *Ashiwake obune*, in *Motoori Norinaga zenshū*, ed. Ono Susumu and Okubo Tadashi (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1968), vol. 2, pp. 87–189.
24. The nuances of these terms vary in practice, according to the context. One of the most forceful statements of the way in which the aesthetic ideal of *yūgen* is expected to govern the reading of the canon appears in a comment on section 96 of *The Tales of Ise*, in *Shōmon shō* (1477 and after), a transcript of lectures delivered by Sōgi and recorded by his disciple Shōhaku. The gist of the comment is that the received text of the canon must be read "actively" (the verb is *yominasu*, implying a transformative reading or deliberate "over-reading" or overwriting of the text) when necessary to attain the effects of *yūgen*. Similar comments appear in commentaries by Tsuneyori and Sōgi on the *Kokinshū*, and the ideal in question suffuses Sōgi's commentaries on other canonical texts, including the *Genji*.
25. Hino, "Kaisetsu," in *Motoori Norinaga shū*, p. 508.

Chapter 6

Didactic Readings of *The Tale of Genji*

POLITICS AND WOMEN'S EDUCATION

Haruki Li

The Tale of Genji is now recognized as a literary masterpiece. Through most of the premodern and early modern periods, however, it was not generally regarded as a work of literature in the modern sense of an autonomous work of art, to be enjoyed primarily for its narrative and aesthetic qualities. No doubt it was appreciated, often by female readers, as an original and entertaining text, but in the late medieval and Edo periods, the *Genji* was valued mainly for its utilitarian and didactic qualities; it was used as a handbook for poetry composition, a guide to moral ideals for rulers, a book of Confucian and Buddhist teachings, and a text for women's education. The tradition of a female readership of the *Genji* began in the Heian period, with Empress Shōshi and Murasaki Shikibu's immediate audience; continued into the medieval era, especially with the wives and daughters of aristocrats and powerful samurai; and culminated in the Edo period, with the use of *The Tale of Genji* as a text for the education of girls and young women.

In the fifteenth century, when political and economic power passed from the nobility to the military, the appropriation by the new warrior leaders of a text written in the eleventh century by a middle-level aristocratic woman about court life represents a critical phase in the history of the reception of *The Tale of Genji*. As we shall see, the lectures of Ichijō Kanera, an aristocrat and a leading man of letters, to Hino Tomiko, the wife of the eighth shogun, Ashikaga Yoshimasa, played a pivotal and symbolic role in the appropriation of court culture by the shogunate in the Muromachi period, and women represented an important audience in this transition. Of particular interest are Kanera's didactic readings, which saw the *Genji* as a moral and political guide for military rulers. Instructional

readings of the *Genji* also were common among women in the Kamakura and Muromachi periods. In the Edo period, as a text for girls and women, the *Genji* was to take on a more controversial role, often being criticized as a negative moral and political example, even as it was praised as a women's handbook for learning.

THE APPROPRIATION OF HEIAN COURT CULTURE BY WARRIOR SOCIETY

According to the *Murasaki Shikibu nikki* (*Diary of Murasaki Shikibu*, 1010), Ichijō (980–1011, r. 986–1011), the reigning emperor while Murasaki Shikibu served at court, commented that the author of *The Tale of Genji* "must have read *Nihongi* [*Nihon shoki* (*Chronicles of Japan*), 720]. Indeed, she must have a sound knowledge of Chinese literature."[1] The reference to the *Nihongi*, which here represents the Rikkokushi (Six National Histories) in Chinese, did not merely praise the breadth and depth of Murasaki Shikibu's learning, but publicly acknowledged the *Genji* for its style and content. Among Murasaki Shikibu's contemporaries who read the tale were Empress Shōshi (988–1074), Regent Fujiwara Michinaga (966–1027), and Grand Counselor Fujiwara Kintō (966–1041), the leading man of letters of his time. Prior to the *Genji*, tales (*monogatari*) of this sort were targeted at female and young readers. Emperor Ichijō's comment indicates that the *Genji* was a valuable text (equal to the Rikkokushi) that could also be of benefit to learned men.

Thereafter, *The Tale of Genji* continued to be read by members of the imperial household. Within about a hundred years of its appearance, during the reign of Emperor Horikawa (1079–1107, r. 1087–1107), the text began to be disseminated and was read not only as a tale of the imperial past but as a literary source, as is evident in *Horikawa hyakushu* (*Horikawa One Hundred Poems*, 1105), a collection of poems that closely resonates with the *Genji*. In the twelfth century, the first commentary, *Genji shaku* (*Genji Explicated*, before ca. 1160), was written by Sesonji Koreyuki (d. 1175). And in his judgment in the *Roppyakuban uta awase* (*Six Hundred–Round Poetry Contest*, 1193), Fujiwara Shunzei (1114–1204) commented that "for a poet not to have read *Genji* is unforgivable."[2]

During the Kamakura period (1183–1333), two major recensions of *The Tale of Genji*—Fujiwara Teika's (1162–1241) *Aobyōshi-bon* (*Blue Cover Variant*) and Minamoto Mitsuyuki and Chikayuki's *Kawachi-bon* (*Kawachi Variant*)—became available, and various commentaries were produced to

provide easier access to the text. Among them are Fujiwara Teika's *Okuiri* (*Endnotes*, ca. 1233) and commentaries of the Kawachi family: Mitsuyuki and Chikayuki's *Suigenshō* (*Water Spring Notes*, thirteenth century), *Ihon shimeishō* (*Variant Notes on Explicating Murasaki*, 1252), Priest Sojaku's *Shimeishō* (*Notes on Explicating Murasaki*, 1267, 1294), and *Genchū saihishō* (*Secret Notes of the Suigenshō*, 1313, 1364).

Relations between the imperial court and the shogunal government became closer than ever during the Muromachi period (1392–1573), when the Ashikaga shogun intentionally embraced imperial court culture, creating what scholars have referred to as a renaissance of court culture, in which *The Tale of Genji* played a central role. Shiba Yoshimasa (1350–1410), a high-ranking general, wrote in *Chikuba-shō* (*Notes from My Youth*): "A cultivated person should carefully read and memorize such works as *The Tale of Genji* and Sei Shōnagon's *Pillow Book*. Generally speaking, these works teach proper behavior and provide models of the good and the bad. To read these texts is to learn the ways of people with refined minds."[3] The *Genji* is positioned by Yoshimasa as an important model of virtuous behavior. In the Kamakura and Muromachi periods, political power passed from the aristocracy to the military class, which began to develop its own moral system as the basis for warrior society. At the same time, the aristocracy, in political decline, looked back to the splendor of court culture—epitomized by classical literature and the *Genji*, in particular—for spiritual support.

ICHIJŌ KANERA AND HIS LECTURES ON *THE TALE OF GENJI*

Ichijō Kanera (1402–1481), an aristocrat known for his scholarship on *waka* (classical poetry), *renga* (linked verse), and classical texts, was also the foremost *Genji* scholar of his time and lectured extensively on this text throughout his life. According to the *Yasutomi-ki* (*Journal of Nakahara Yasutomi*, 1401–1455), Kanera gave a series of lectures in 1444 that were attended by some of the most prominent *waka* and *renga* poets of the day. The *Daijōin jisha zōjiki* (*Miscellaneous Records of the Daijō Temple and Shrine*, 1456–1508), the diary of Kanera's son Jinson, a monk at the Kōfuku-ji Temple, notes that on the second day of the Eleventh Month in 1461, at the request of Emperor GoHanazono (1419–1470, r. 1428–1464), Kanera lectured on *The Tale of Genji*. On this occasion, Kanera was honored by the presence of such high dignitaries as the emperor; the eighth shogun, Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1436–1490, served 1449–1473); and his son,

the regent Ichijō Norifusa (d. 1480). Among the guests were Shōtetsu (1381–1459) and Sōzei (d. 1455), prominent *waka* and *renga* poets.

During the Ōnin War (1467–1477), fire destroyed much of the city of Kyoto. Amid the chaos, Kanera fled to Nara with part of his library loaded in carriages. In 1472, while in Nara, he completed *Kachō yosei* (*Intimations of Flowers and Birds*), one of the most important medieval commentaries on *The Tale of Genji*. He returned to Kyoto in 1477, and a year later resumed his lectures on the *Genji*. His audience included Hino Tomiko (1440–1489), the wife of Yoshimasa and the mother of the ninth shogun, Ashikaga Yoshihisa (1465–1489, served 1473–1489), who sponsored a series of lectures. In the entry for the twenty-fifth day of the Fourth Month in 1478, Jinson wrote: "Kanera goes to an aristocrat's place one day and to a warrior's the next. This means that he gives lectures on the *Genji* twice in three days. Furthermore, recently he has even visited the residence of the shogun's wife. I have heard that Hatayama Masanaga also attended a lecture there. They say that is rather unusual. Indeed, it is hard to understand what my father has in mind."[4] Jinson was critical of his father not because he gave lectures to aristocrats and warriors, but because he visited Tomiko on a regular basis, as though to curry favor with a powerful political figure. This nuanced remark reflects the unstable political situation of the time. Tomiko invited Kanera to share his knowledge of classical literature with her and her guests, aware that studying the *Genji* with a prominent scholar like Kanera underscored her political and cultural status. The actual contents of Kanera's lectures are not preserved, but Tomiko showed great interest in Kanera's interpretations of the *Genji* and requested that he write a handbook for her. The result was *Sayo no nezame* (*On a Sleepless Night*), which was supposedly completed in 1478 or during the autumn of the following year.

Sayo no nezame reflects Kanera's view of *The Tale of Genji* as the finest work of Japanese literature. He had written in the preface to his commentary *Kachō yosei*: "In our country, there is no treasure as precious as *The Tale of Genji*."[5] In *Sayo no nezame*, he goes on to stress its meaning and political relevance for his own time. He claims that unlike people of his time, people in the past—as during the reigns of Emperor GoToba (1180–1239, r. 1193–1198) and Emperor GoSaga (1220–1272, r. 1242–1246)—had truly understood the significance of the *Genji*: "I wonder in our time if there is anyone who has actually read and understands a text such as *The Tale of Genji*. The Regent Fujiwara Yoshitsune (1169–1206) said that he always carried with him Murasaki Shikibu's *Genji* and Bo Juyi's *Collected Works*. Lord Fujiwara Shunzei wrote in a judgment of a poetry contest

that for a poet not to have read *Genji* was unforgivable."[6] Kanera presents his own reading of the *Genji* as follows: Genji is exiled to Suma because of the slanders of the "Bad Empress" (Kokiden Consort) and the "Bad Minister" (Minister of the Right), but due to a windstorm and other inauspicious signs, Genji eventually is forgiven and returns to the capital. In *Sayo no nezame*, Kanera touches on the issue of political responsibility, saying that lying not only is immoral but eventually will "lead the country's government astray; since it is not acceptable to the gods and buddhas, you have to guard against it."[7] Labeling certain characters in the tale as "bad" and Genji as "good," Kanera takes a moralistic stance. He suggests that Tomiko, as a person in power, must be cautious about those who are insincere and flatter her because "such lowly figures will bring harm to the country and its people sooner or later," and, therefore, she "has to judge carefully the personalities of her attendants."[8]

Kanera goes so far as to say that "in general, this country Japan should be governed by women, as its name *wakoku* [country of harmony; literally, country of pliant women] suggests."[9] He shows a high regard for female rulers, referring to such historical figures as Amaterasu Ōmikami (Great Goddess of Heavenly Light), Empress Jingū, and Hōjō Masako (1157–1235).[10] Although he was criticized by his son Jinson for paying homage to Hino Tomiko, in the political climate of his time, Kanera probably had no choice but to acknowledge her importance as the wife of the retired shogun Yoshimasa and the mother of the young shogun Yoshihisa. At the end of *Sayo no nezame*, Kanera finally expresses his ultimate objective: "Now, order is restored even in local provinces, and the time has come when you can maintain control over the distant provinces while remaining in the capital. I wish for an increasingly sagacious government in the future! This is what I, an old man, am sincerely hoping for."[11]

Kanera also turns his attention to the ways in which *The Tale of Genji* had been valued throughout history and emphasizes its usefulness as a guide to moral ideals for rulers. However, his didactic reading was not meant for everyone. For his general readers, and in keeping with the earlier reception of the work as an indispensable reference for the composition of poetry, he states in the "Hana no en" (The Festival of the Cherry Blossoms) chapter of *Kachō yosei*: "In general, the primary reason why one should consult a text such as *Genji* is for the sake of composing Japanese poems. I was concerned about those who tried to compose a poem but had no idea of how to make use of the poems and prose of the *Genji* as a source of inspiration. That is why I decided to write for the young people."[12] Kanera was probably being modest when he states that he wrote *Kachō yosei* for "young

people," or those who were new to the field. The book was the culmination of many years of study of the *Genji* and of *waka* and *renga*.

After attending Kanera's lectures on *The Tale of Genji* in 1478 and receiving *Sayo no nezame*, which was written in part to legitimize her role as de facto ruler, Hino Tomiko requested that Kanera write moral treatises for her fifteen-year-old son Yoshihisa, the ninth shogun. In response, Kanera completed *Bunmei ittōki* (*Records of All Civilization*, 1479) and *Shōdan chiyō* (*Woodcutter's Talks on Governing the Country*, 1480). In *Bunmei ittōki*, Kanera explains to the young ruler six general moral principles: pray to the Great Deity of Hachiman Bodhisattva, make filial piety the first priority, honor sincerity, act benevolently, practice the performing arts, and keep in mind the way of government.[13] In *Shōdan chiyō*, Kanera expounds on several additional points, such as respecting the gods and the teaching of Buddha, maintaining personal integrity and honesty, and being careful when selecting attendants[14]

No direct reference to *The Tale of Genji* is found in *Bunmei ittōki* and *Shōdan chiyō*, but these two texts discuss issues similar to those in *Sayo no nezame*; they are intended as direct and practical moral advice to a male political leader and are fundamentally Confucian in their trajectory. For example, in *Shōdan chiyō*, Kanera says that "rulers should be careful with those who out of insincerity do not remonstrate with their rulers" and that they "should carefully judge the personalities of their attendants."[15] These moralistic instructions clearly resonate with the following statement in *Sayo no nezame*:

> One should simply carry out principle [*dōri*] without even the smallest deviation, maintain peace in the world, and be benevolent to people. There is absolutely nothing else but this. One must respect the ruler, pay respect to one's parents, not violate the strong bonds between brothers, not betray faith in one's friends, choose good, avoid evil, reward those who are faithful, and punish those who err; in all cases, these principles must be carried out in accordance with a person's social station.[16]

The similarities of these three texts suggest that Kanera's moral teachings and writings essentially originated in his didactic reading of the *Genji*. The main difference between them is that in *Sayo no nezame*, Kanera used the *Genji* to teach a female ruler, but he did not use it in *Bunmei ittōki* and *Shōdan chiyō* to advise a male ruler. This emergence of a political and didactic reading of the *Genji* along with a gender identification marks a distinct transition in the history of *Genji* reception. Subsequently, the *Genji* began to

be read as a primer on Confucian morality and gradually became an integral part of the educational curriculum of both male leaders and female readers.

MILITARY RULERS AND *THE TALE OF GENJI*

Throughout the Sengoku (Warring States) period (1467–1573) and into the Momoyama period (1573–1598), feudal lords (*daimyō*) competed with one another to show their veneration for *The Tale of Genji*. Imagawa Yoshimoto (1519–1560), a major *daimyō* who was defeated by Oda Nobunaga (1534–1583) in the battle of Okehazama in 1560, was an ardent reader of classical Japanese literature and an owner of several manuscripts by Fujiwara Teika. Nobunaga was also an admirer of the *Genji*, and one of his female attendants wrote a *Genji* commentary: *Shibun-yoku* (*Wings of Murasaki's Brush*). In western Japan, Mōri Terumoto (1553–1625), another prominent provincial lord, was a devotee of the *Genji*, and Ōuchi Masahiro, lord of Suō Province (present-day Yamaguchi Prefecture), possessed the Ōshima recension, which is believed to be a direct copy of Teika's Aobyōshi recension and remains one of the standard texts of the *Genji*.

Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616), who unified the country and established a new government in Edo (present-day Tokyo) in 1603, collected texts and commentaries on *The Tale of Genji*. He also invited scholars to his capital and attended their lectures. For instance, during the struggle over Osaka (1614–1615), when Ieyasu attacked Toyotomi Hideyori (1593–1615) at Osaka Castle and brought destruction to the Toyotomi family, Ieyasu searched for *Genji* commentaries. On the twentieth day of the Seventh Month in 1615, about two months after the surrender of the Toyotomi and the eventual unification of the country, Ieyasu invited Nakano-in Michimura (1588–1653), a renowned teacher of *waka*, to Nijō Castle in Kyoto to deliver a lecture on the *Genji*. The lecture was originally planned to begin with "Kiritsubo" (The Paulownia Court), the first chapter, but Michimura switched it to the "Hatsune" (The First Warbler) chapter. He presumably did so because he had in mind the precedent of Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (1455–1537), a *Genji* scholar and an ancestor of the Nakanoin family, who had conducted an annual reading of "Hatsune" at the beginning of the New Year.[17] The chapter begins with a description of the Rokujō residence, which was constructed on Genji's orders, and of the beauty of spring, which starts in the First Month:

> New Year's Day was cloudless. There is joy inside the humblest of hedges as the grass begins to come green among patches of snow and there is a mist

of green on the trees while the mists in the air tell of the advent of spring. There was great joy in the jeweled precincts of Genji's Rokujō mansion, where every detail of the gardens was a pleasure and the ladies' apartments were perfection.

The garden of Murasaki's southeast quarter was now the most beautiful. The scent of plum blossoms, wafting in on the breeze and blending with the perfumes inside, made one think that the land of the living Buddha had come down to earth.[18]

In selecting the "Hatsune" chapter, with its reference to the realization of "the land of the living Buddha," Michimura no doubt sought to celebrate Ieyasu's pacification of the country and to glorify Ieyasu by associating him with Genji. The *Genji* had long been recommended for administrators as a textbook, to study the ways of governing and to actualize the ideal world of the tale in the real world. This episode affirms the ongoing acceptance of the *Genji* as a central text for the edification of rulers, a practice dating back to the time of Hino Tomiko.

In regard to "Hatsune," it should be mentioned that Princess Chiyo, the first daughter of the third Tokugawa shogun, Iemitsu, brought with her the Hatsune no chōdo (First Song of the Warbler Furnishings) as part of her wedding trousseau upon her marriage in 1639 to Tokugawa Mitsutomo, the second-generation lord of Owari Province (present-day Aichi Prefecture). The Hatsune no chōdo is a set of fifty-seven lacquer utensils, each decorated with designs inspired by a *waka* in the "Hatsune" chapter:

The old one's gaze rests a long time on the seedling pine,
Waiting to hear the song of the first warbler.[19]

It is not certain whether Iemitsu bestowed the gift on his young daughter to pray for her peace and prosperity, inspired by his grandfather Ieyasu's having heard a lecture on the "Hatsune" chapter, but clearly it was associated with auspicious events.

WOMEN AND DIDACTIC READINGS OF *THE TALE OF GENJI*

Women began to play an important role in the reception of *The Tale of Genji* long before the appearance of Hino Tomiko. The author of the *Sarashina nikki* (*Sarashina Diary*, ca. 1059), the so-called Daughter of Takasue

(b. 1008), recorded her excitement when she obtained a copy of the *Genji*, which she had long dreamed about: "Since I do nothing but read this all afternoon until sunset, and all evening as long as my eyes are open beside the burning light, I have come to memorize the passages by heart."[20] For her, the *Genji* was not a textbook, but a tale that depicted the life of her contemporaries, and Genji himself was the object of her personal admiration. Since there were no linguistic barriers between her and the *Genji*, and because the reality of her world largely coincided with the fictional world of the tale, she was able to enter into that world with relative ease.

Within a hundred years or so after the completion of *The Tale of Genji*, however, readers began to have difficulty understanding the text. In addition to the linguistic distance, various factors—such as allusions to earlier poems, mentions of obscure customs of Heian court life, and references to Chinese literature—posed challenges to later readers. The greater the distance from the original text, the greater the need for commentaries. While some commentaries provide interpretive annotations chapter by chapter, others contain alphabetical entries for the convenience of readers, as does the *Sengenshō* (*Notes of the Immortals' Origins*, 1381), written by Emperor Chōkei (1343–1394).[21] Yet others created topical entries, inserted illustrations to appeal to a more general readership, or included digests of the tale. By the end of the Edo period (1600–1867), there were more than five hundred such *Genji* commentaries.

By the twelfth century, familiarity with *The Tale of Genji* had become indispensable for both male and female *waka* poets, and its readership grew considerably, as did the demand for accessible interpretations of the text. In this way, the *Genji* became the focus of the study of classical literature, which was generally the province of male scholars and poets. Women remained important readers, however, and female scholar-poets such as the Nun Abutsu (1222?–1283) emerged. She is thought to have written *Niwa no oshie* (*Domestic Teachings*), also known as *Menoto no fumi* (*Letter from a Wet Nurse*), for her daughter Ki no Naishi, who was leaving home to serve Retired Emperor GoFukakusa (1243–1304, r. 1246–1259). It stresses the importance of the *Genji* for a woman's education:

There is nothing more unsophisticated than not knowing the *Genji* by heart. In particular, please regard it as my keepsake and carefully read it. Since it is something one should be able to discuss, including its difficult passages [*nangi*] and various catalogues [*mokuroku*], and also because one is supposed to be so familiar with and knowledgeable about it to the point that there is nothing in it that one does not understand, I will put the text of the

Genji along with these handbooks of difficult passages and catalogues in this small Chinese-style box and present it to you.[22]

The Nun Abutsu thus entrusted her daughter with not only the text of the *Genji*, but also its *nangi*, or commentary on esoteric teachings (literally, difficult meanings), and *mokuroku*, a kind of digest containing such information as genealogical charts of the characters. Abutsu emphasized to her daughter that for a female court attendant, familiarity with supplementary texts such as *nangi* and *mokuroku* was just as important as knowledge of the *Genji* itself. Ki no Naishi was in the service of GoFukakusa at about the same time that Lady Nijō (1258–1329?), the daughter of Nakano-in Minamoto Masatada, wrote her diary *Towazugatari* (*Confessions of Lady Nijō*, ca. 1306), which draws heavily from the world of the *Genji* and describes an episode in which *The Tale of Genji* was reenacted.

A text that has an objective similar to that of *Niwa no oshie* is the anonymous *Menoto no sōshi* (*The Tale of a Wet Nurse*, ca. late fourteenth century), which contains practical information about general education and such matters as the dress codes of female attendants, and discusses such topics as manners, makeup, entertainment, customs, and rituals; it also makes detailed reference to female characters in *The Tale of Genji* as a means of giving moral instruction to women. The section called "Matters of Vexation," for instance, is prefaced with this moral guideline: "This is the first point a female attendant should keep in mind. Saying harmful things and expressing one's resentment too readily will lead one's family to destruction and bring oneself to the brink of ruin."[23] This teaching is followed by the positive example of Lady Murasaki, who does not show resentment when her husband, Genji, marries the Third Princess and even assists him in arranging household supplies. The author of *Menoto no sōshi* goes on to praise Murasaki's character: "Genji's 'pity and affection for Murasaki quite surpassed bounds,' and he was attracted to her more than to anyone else. A woman should be like this."[24] The point of this example is that since Murasaki was not a resentful woman, Genji loved her above all others; Murasaki is thus regarded as a model wife. The author also describes the good and bad behavior of other female characters, including the Akashi Lady, Utsusemi, the Third Princess, and Ukifune. As for Fujitsubo, Genji's stepmother, with whom he has an illicit affair, the author's judgment is rather positive: "With regard to her affair with her stepson Genji, since it was something that happened when she was at court, it was unavoidable. Until the end, her spirit did not become depraved. For this reason, she can even be considered a model of moral uprightness."[25] Rather than criticizing Fujitsubo for her transgression, the author of *Menoto no sōshi* approves of her moral integrity and refined heart.

While those in power at the end of the medieval period regarded *The Tale of Genji* as a guidebook for governing the country and sought to achieve the tale's ideal in their own society, others looked to it for inspiration for poetry composition or extracted Confucian or Buddhist moral teachings from it. Sanjōnishi Kin'eda (1487–1563) collected these different views in *Myōjōshō* (*Notes for the Morning Star*, ca. 1539–1563), which greatly influenced the reception of the *Genji* in the Edo period. Its preface defines the tale as a work of moral teachings and admonitions: "As for the overall purpose of this tale, although its surface consists of amorous [*kōshoku*] and seductive [*yōen*] matters, the true intention of the author is to guide the readers to the Five Confucian Virtues of benevolence and righteousness."[26] Kin'eda also discusses the connection between the teachings of Buddha and those of the *Genji*, thus formulating the basis for an interpretation that became predominant in Edo Japan—the *Genji* as a guide for proper living. This view meshed with the ideology of the Tokugawa shogunate, which upheld Confucian teachings, and the *Genji* began to be rapidly disseminated as a text of high moral standards for both men and women, regardless of their social status. Other critics refuted such readings and regarded the *Genji* as an immoral book, citing the illicit affair between Genji and Fujitsubo. These various opinions merge in Kitamura Koshun's *Genji monogatari shinobugusa* (*Trailing Fern of The Tale of Genji*, early seventeenth century), which can be seen as a standard reading of the period: "The yang [brighter side] of this tale is based on the feelings of men and women, whereas in its yin [hidden, darker side], the tale upholds the Confucius way by promoting goodness and punishing evil deeds."[27]

The Tale of Genji was acknowledged as a textbook for the education of girls from the Kamakura period, as exemplified by the Nun Abutsu's *Niwa no oshie*; this use became increasingly prevalent in the Edo period, along with the publication of simplified commentaries and guidebooks. In *Genji gaiden* (*Auxiliary Chapters on the Genji*), Kumazawa Banzan (1619–1691), a widely known Confucian scholar, stresses that the *Genji* is an important book for women and goes on to say: "Amorous matters are written on the surface, but the essence of the tale is not amorous." In a similar vein, Katō Umaki writes in *Amayo monogatari dami kotoba* (*Mispronounced Words in Tales on a Rainy Night*, 1769) that "it is desirable to have *Genji* read by

all the women in this society."[28] Murata Harumi (1746–1811), a noted *waka* poet and *kokugaku* (nativist studies) scholar, also shares the view that the *Genji* would enhance women's moral awareness, writing in *Gengo teiyō* (*Grasping the Essence of The Tale of Genji*, ca. 1791) that it "truly admonished female infidelity."[29] In 1834, Sugawara Tanefumi wrote *Gengo gagen kai* (*Commentary on Refined Words in Genji*), a detailed commentary intended to teach his daughter the proper way to behave as a woman. Throughout the Edo period, the *Genji*, which had been written in *kana*, was the girls' and women's counterpart of the Confucian primers, which had been written in Chinese and studied by men.

The view of *The Tale of Genji* as a text for moral teaching underwent a major change with the publication of *Shibun yōryō* (*Essence of Murasaki Shikibu's Writings*, 1763), in which Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801) rejects the conventional Confucian and Buddhist didactic readings of the *Genji* and declares that "to discuss *Genji* as a Confucian or Buddhist text is pointless."[30] In his view, it is a mistake to read tales (*monogatari*) with the intention of expounding Confucian and Buddhist ideals, which diverge from the original purpose of the *monogatari*: "In general, tales create and describe various aspects of the good [*yoki*], bad [*ashiki*], rare [*mezurashiki*], unconventional [*okashi*], pleasant [*omoshiroki*], and moving [*awarenaru*] phenomena in this world, sometimes with the accompaniment of illustrations, to serve as entertainment during one's idle hours, or as consolation when one is depressed or lost in thought."[31] For Norinaga, the original purpose of the tale was to provide consolation. Furthermore, he goes on to argue that a tale becomes truly valuable when it makes people aware of *mono no aware*, that which moves the heart. This notion continued to be the focal point of Norinaga's study of the *Genji*, which he later developed in a more systematic fashion in *Genji monogatari tama no ogushi* (*The Tale of Genji, A Fine Jeweled Comb*, 1796). Norinaga's views, however, did not gain significant support in a society in which didactic readings of the *Genji* remained dominant. Nevertheless, his innovative stance gradually influenced the interpretation of *The Tale of Genji*, appealing to a number of intellectuals at the time. The new approach is evident, for instance, in Ise Sadatake's *Genji monogatari hitorigochi* (*Monologue on The Tale of Genji*, 1781): "What is so great about *Genji* is the consistency in its writing style, the representation of the landscape, the description of human feelings, and the masterful technique of its poems."[32] But this approach was not shared by society at large.

TRANSLATED BY SAEKO SHIBAYAMA

NOTES

1. *Makura no sōshi, Murasaki Shikibu nikki*, ed. Ikeda Kikan, Kishigami Shinji, and Akiyama Ken, Nihon koten bungaku taikei (NKBT) 19 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1958), p. 500.
2. Fujiwara Shunzei is one of the most important *waka* poets and poetry critics of the late Heian to early Kamakura periods. He compiled the imperial *waka* anthology *Senzai wakashū* (*Poetry Anthology of a Thousand Years*, 1183), wrote the noted *waka* treatise *Korai fūteishō* (*Notes on Poetic Styles Old and New*, 1197), and judged various poetry contests such as *Roppyakuban uta awase*. Many of his *waka* poems are included in the *Shinkokinshū*.
3. Shiba Yoshimasa, *Chikuba-shō*, in *Gunsho ruijū* (Tokyo: Zoku gunsho ruijū kansei kai, 1931), vol. 27, p. 166.
4. Jinson, *Zōho daijōin jisha zōjiki*, ed. Tsuji Yoshiyuki (Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 1978), vol. 6, p. 416.
5. Ichijō Kanera, *Kachō yosei: Matsunaga bon*, ed. Ii Haruki (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1978), p. 9.
6. Fujiwara Yoshitsune was both a regent and a noted poet. Ichijō Kanera, *Sayo no nezame*, in *Gunsho ruijū*, vol. 27, p. 174.
7. Ibid., p. 178.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., p. 183.
10. The legendary stories of Amaterasu Ōmikami and Empress Jingū appear in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. Hōjō Masako, the wife of the first Kamakura shōgun, Minamoto Yoritomo (1147–1199), and her Hōjō family took political control after Yoritomo's death; she was sometimes called *ama shōgun* (nun shōgun).
11. Kanera, *Sayo no nezame*, p. 184.
12. Kanera, *Kachō yosei*, p. 71.
13. Kanera, *Bunmei ittōki*, in *Gunso ruijū*, vol. 27, pp. 185–189.
14. Kanera, *Shōdan chiyō*, in ibid., pp. 190–206.
15. Ibid., pp. 199–200.
16. Kanera, *Sayo no nezame*, p. 181.
17. Sanjōnishi Sanetaka, a *waka* poet and scholar, is the author of the *Genji* commentary *Sairyūshō* (*Notes of Small Streams*, ca. 1510–1520).
18. Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, trans. Edward G. Seidensticker (New York: Knopf, 1992), p. 431.
19. Ibid., p. 432.
20. *Tosa nikki, Kagerō nikki, Izumi Shikibu nikki, Sarashina nikki*, ed. Suzuki Tomatarō, Kawaguchi Hisao, Endō Yoshimoto, and Nishishita Kyōichi, NKBT 20 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1957), p. 493.
21. *Sengenshō* was the first dictionary of the *Genji* with alphabetical entries.
22. Nun Abutsu, *Niwa no oshie*, in *Gunsho ruijū*, vol. 27, p. 215.
23. *Menoto no sōshi*, in ibid., p. 232.
24. Ibid., pp. 232–233. The language of *Menoto no sōshi* itself alludes to that of the *Genji*. For instance, the sentence "Genji's pity and affection [for Murasaki] were boundless"

resonates with "[The emperor's] pity and affection [for the Kiritsubo Consort, Genji's mother] were boundless," which appears at the beginning of "Kiritsubo" (The Paulownia Court), the first chapter of *The Tale of Genji*.

25. *Menoto no sōshi*, p. 246.
26. Sanjōnishi Kin'eda, preface to *Myōjōshō*, in Ii Haruki, ed., *Sairyūshō: Naikaku bunkobon* (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1980), p. 503.
27. Kitamura Koshun, *Genji monogatari shinobugusa* (Tokyo: Benkyōsha, 1983), p. 4.
28. Katō Maki, *Amayo monogatari dami kotoba*, in Nakano Kōichi, ed., *Genji monogatari eiin shūsei* (Tokyo: Waseda daigaku shuppanbu, 1990), vol. 12, p. 383.
29. Murata Harumi, *Genji teiyō*, in Akiyama Ken, Shimauchi Keiji, Kobayashi Masaaki, and Suzuki Ken'ichi, eds., *Hihyō shūsei Genji monogatari*, vol. 2, *Kinsei kōki hen* (Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 1999), p. 26.
30. Motoori Norinaga, *Shibun yōryō*, in *Motoori Norinaga zenshū*, ed. Ono Susumu and Okubo Tadashi (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1969), vol. 4, p. 15.
31. Ibid., p. 16.
32. Ise Sadatake, *Genji monogatari hitorigochi*, in Akiyama, Shimauchi, Kobayashi, and Suzuki, eds., *Hihyō shūsei Genji monogatari*, vol. 2, p. 9.

Chapter 7

Genji Pictures from Momoyama Painting to Edo *Ukiyo-e*

CULTURAL AUTHORITY AND NEW HORIZONS

Keiko Nakamachi

LARGE-SCALE screen paintings that depict scenes from *The Tale of Genji* served an important social function in warrior society in the late Sengoku and Momoyama periods. New, powerful military leaders, such as Oda Nobunaga, provided the main demand for the elaborate *Genji* paintings of this time, which were produced mainly by noted painters of the Kanō and Tosa schools, such as Kanō Eitoku. While not the ultimate symbol of cultural authority, these paintings were highly esteemed by military leaders who had little or no aristocratic pedigree. *Genji* paintings were also associated with the *ōoku* (harem quarters in the castles).

This chapter also explores the history and place of *Genji* pictures in *ukiyo-e*, or woodblock prints of the floating world, in the Edo period and looks at a number of key *ukiyo-e* artists, particularly Hishikawa Moronobu, Sugimura Jihei, Okumura Masanobu, Suzuki Harunobu, and Chōbunsai Eishi. *Ukiyo-e* and woodblock printing dramatically changed the nature of *Genji* pictures, which became closely associated with the pleasure quarters, transforming many *Genji* pictures into contemporary genre scenes, depicting everyday life or the floating world.

MILITARY HOUSEHOLDS AND THE IMPERIAL PALACE

Genji Paintings

In the Third Month of 1574, Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582), one of the great unifiers in the Sengoku (Warring States) period (1467–1573), sent

a messenger bearing the *Rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu* (*Screens Depicting Inner and Outer Kyoto*) and the *Genji monogatari zu byōbu* (*Tale of Genji Screen*) by the noted painter Kanō Eitoku (1543–1590) to Uesugi Kenshin (1530–1578) in Echigo Province.[1] What was the political significance of Nobunaga's presentation of screens portraying the capital and depicting scenes from *The Tale of Genji* to Kenshin, a vanquished enemy leader in faraway Echigo?

Nobunaga, who in 1573 had managed to capture Kyoto and topple the last military government of the Muromachi period (1392–1573), had envisioned taking Kyoto as the first step toward becoming the ruler of the realm, but his political power was not yet stabilized. Kenshin also harbored a special interest in Kyoto. The whereabouts of the *Genji* screen is unknown, but the *Screens Depicting Inner and Outer Kyoto* have remained in the Uesugi family ever since. The six-panel screens, with their background of gold and brilliant colors, present a delightful variety of views of the bustling capital. In viewing the *Screens Depicting Inner and Outer Kyoto*, Nobunaga no doubt enjoyed the sensation of having the city under his control.

Haruki Ii has pointed out that Nobunaga had read *The Tale of Genji* and that one of his ladies-in-waiting had even written a commentary on it, *Shibun-yoku* (*Wings of Murasaki's Brush*).[2] Behind the sense of inferiority that the new generation of warlords (*daimyō*) felt vis-à-vis courtly culture, they had an equally strong admiration for aristocratic refinement. They valued classical texts and art related to the imperial family, such as calligraphy by the emperor.[3] It even became a trend for warlords such as Ōuchi Yoshitaka (1507–1551) to have aristocrats live in their castles and impart their culture. The warlords' particular interest in *Genji* pictures, which they associated with the imperial family, was in fact the greatest impetus for the production of the ornate *Genji* paintings in this period.

Among the most representative of the *Genji* paintings as aristocratic artifacts (*kugemono*) commissioned by *daimyō* are the *Genji monogatari gajō* (*Tale of Genji Album*, 1510) executed by a member of the Tosa school[4] for Sue Saburō (d. 1539), the head of the Ōuchi clan;[5] the *Genji monogatari tekagami* (*Tale of Genji Album*, 1612)[6] by Tosa Mitsuyoshi (1539–1613), commissioned by Ishikawa Tadafusa (1582–1651), a vassal of the second shogun, Tokugawa Hidetada (1579–1632); and the *Genji monogatari emaki* (*Tale of Genji Picture Scroll*, 1612) by Tosa Shōzaemon, painted for Matsudaira Toshimitsu, governor of Chikuzen Province. Spurred on by *Genji* scholars such as Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (1455–1537) and Nakano-in Michimura

(1588–1653), calligraphers were chosen primarily from the aristocracy to copy *The Tale of Genji* for these picture scrolls and albums.

The practice of organizing skilled calligraphers to copy the text of *The Tale of Genji* under the supervision of a coordinator was basically the same as that used in the production of the twelfth-century *Tale of Genji Scrolls* (*Genji monogatari emaki*); by the seventeenth century, it had become a mechanical process. However, the existence of similar forms of artworks—the intricate *Genji* scrolls painted by members of the Tosa school and the *Genji* albums accompanied by calligraphy done by aristocrats—shows how important they were to the warlords as symbols of elite culture.[7] The calligraphy was just as important as, or perhaps more important than, the images themselves, for the high-ranking aristocratic calligraphers had more social prestige than the mere artists who painted the pictures. Court nobles presumably were qualified to be the calligraphers of the *Genji* because they could trace their families back to the Heian period (794–1185), when the tale was written. They took pride in their lineage and made it a form of cultural capital. The *Genji* paintings were seen as the pictorialization of the aristocratic scribes' ancestors and thus as very opulent "aristocratic artifacts."

The *Genji* screen that Nobunaga sent to Kenshin can also be regarded as appealing to the warriors' admiration for aristocratic culture. In the Muromachi period, folding screens not merely were an artistic format, but had specific significance related to imperial power.[8] They were used as gifts among the governments of the three major countries of East Asia (Japan, Ming China, and Korea) and, as with the *Screens Depicting Inner and Outer Kyoto*, often functioned as vehicles to convey the will of the conqueror toward the less powerful. Thus Nobunaga's gift to Kenshin not only revealed Nobunaga's appropriation of aristocratic culture, but also carried an important political message.

Although that *Genji* screen painting does not survive, it probably was similar to the *Tale of Genji Screens* attributed to Kanō Eitoku, with each screen depicting in large scale one to three scenes from the *Genji* in close up, rather than episodes from all fifty-four chapters (plate 11). Just as in the *Screens Depicting Inner and Outer Kyoto*, which portray Kyoto life in the manner of the Tosa school in the early sixteenth century, in the *Genji* screens, Eitoku incorporated the large-scale format inaugurated by the Tosa school artists in the first half of the sixteenth century and developed it in his own fashion, creating a strikingly fresh visual image.

Genji screens with large images had been produced since the end of the Muromachi period. Of the surviving large-scale *Genji* screens, the oldest

is the *Akashi/Ukifune zu byōbu* (*Tale of Genji Akashi Ukifune Screen Paintings*, 1528–1530s), attributed to Tosa Mitsumochi (before 1522–after 1569).[9] It is also assumed that his *Genji monogatari kuruma arasoi zu byōbu* (*Tale of Genji Battle of the Carriages Screens*, ca. 1560) was painted by order of Emperor Ōgimachi (1517–1593, r. 1557–1586) and was a major courtwide project.[10] According to an entry in the *Oyudono no ue nikki* (*Imperial Bathhouse Diary*, 1560), Mitsumochi was ordered to revise the work many times under the very strict supervision of Emperor Ōgimachi and nobles such as Sanjōnishi Kin'eda (1487–1563), who was a literary and cultural authority. It has been pointed out that Mitsumochi's version is truer to the original text than are later works of the same title,[11] and it is a product of aristocratic culture in its direct connection to the reading practices of the period.

The pair of screens by Mitsumochi is said to have influenced the *Tale of Genji Battle of the Carriages Painting*, a *fusuma-e* (sliding-door painting) that Kanō Sanraku (1559–1635) produced for the Kujō family's *Genji* room. Kujō Tanemichi (1507–1594) had received his classical literary education from his grandfather Sanjōnishi Sanetaka, a noted scholar and poet, and had a particular passion for *The Tale of Genji*.[12] Eitoku's *Tale of Genji Screens* are thought to have been painted for the Prince Hachijō Palace.[13] Prince Hachijō (Toshitada; 1579–1629) was the younger brother of Emperor GoYōzei (1571–1617, r. 1586–1611) and became the adopted son of Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–1598). He subsequently became the founder of the Hachijō (Katsuranomiya) house. Prince Hachijō had a deep reverence for the traditional arts and received secret instructions on the *Kokinshū* (*Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems*, ca. 905) from the scholar-poet Hosokawa Yūsai (1534–1610). It is well known that he was extremely active in cultural activities, including work on the Katsura Detached Palace. Judging from these examples, *Genji* screens and sliding doors probably were produced for members of court society well versed in *The Tale of Genji*.

In spite of such noted examples, it is generally thought that in the sixteenth century, *The Tale of Genji* was not as prevalent a theme for wall and panel paintings as famous places, which were depicted in the *Yamato-e* (traditional Japanese painting) style. *Genji* screens occasionally were produced by special command of the emperor or nobles. Given such a cultural environment, Nobunaga's use of a *Genji* screen as a gift from one military household to another in 1574 not merely was an indication of his admiration for courtly refinement, but suggests a calculating politician who is entering into aristocratic culture and placing courtly culture under his authority and control.

From 1576 to 1579, Nobunaga built, as a major memorial project, Azuchi Castle on the bank of Lake Biwa. The construction of its donjon, or tower, was particularly important as an expression of his political power. The absence of all references to *The Tale of Genji* in the Azuchi donjon sliding-door paintings suggests that, in the military realm, there was no room for *Genji* images.[14] The development of *shōin*-style architecture, as seen in Azuchi Castle, began in the Muromachi period and reached fruition in the castle architecture of the Momoyama period (1573–1598). One of the characteristics by which the *shōin*-style castle architecture of the Momoyama period was distinguished from the *shinden-zukuri* palace architecture of the Heian period was its division of the buildings into many rooms according to function. Each room had decorated sliding doors, which resulted in a growing demand for wall and panel paintings. These paintings were differentiated by technique, subject, and style in accordance with the function of the room.

The value system of the military powers of the Momoyama period is reflected in the interior structure and visual presentation of Azuchi Castle. Emperors and saints from ancient Chinese lore were depicted in the most important rooms, on the top story, suggesting that Nobunaga looked to ancient China for justification of his political rule.[15] On the level just below, in the second most important rooms, Buddhist figures were portrayed. Whereas the rooms on these two floors were reserved for symbolic and ceremonial purposes, those on the first, second, and third stories were either formal audience or informal reception and personal spaces. The wall and panel paintings in these rooms were dominated by images of birds and flowers, following Chinese painting models from the Song, Yuan, and Ming dynasties but arranged in the style of the Kanō school. Japanese subjects and, as noted earlier, *Genji* images did not appear in the sliding-door paintings of Azuchi Castle.[16]

With the exception of its Buddhist elements, the organization of wall and panel paintings in Azuchi Castle continued in castles of the later Momoyama and the Edo period (1600–1867), showing the hierarchy of values in military households. No images of scenes from *monogatari* (classical tales) appear in Hon'maru Palace in Nagoya Castle (1614) and in Ni-no-Maru Palace in Nijō Castle (1626). However, genre paintings in the *Yamato-e* style grace the reception rooms of Nagoya Castle. These paintings are limited to specific subjects, such as monthly scenes and famous places. In short, it was not possible for *monogatari-e* (classical tale paintings), which depict relationships between men and women, to appear on the sliding doors of castles.

Military households did not ignore images from *The Tale of Genji*, nor did they reject them; on the contrary, they made use of them politically. But scenes from the *Genji* could not be painted on the doors or walls of public, ceremonial, male-dominated rooms in castles. In warrior society, *Genji* pictures functioned quite differently from paintings of Chinese figures and of birds and flowers, which were considered appropriate for the political, public spaces. This view of the themes appropriate for paintings on doors or walls was, as a principle, generally maintained throughout the Edo period.

Genji Paintings as Feminine Images

Images of scenes from *The Tale of Genji* were used in the marriage rites of women from military households. The famous Hatsune no chōdo (First Song of the Warbler Furnishings, 1639) was created for the marriage of Princess Chiyo, the oldest daughter of the third Tokugawa shogun, Iemitsu, and Tokugawa Mitsutomo, the second head of the Owari–Tokugawa house. It is believed that the *Genji monogatari zu byōbu* (*Tale of Genji Screen*) by Kanō Tan'yu (1602–1674) was presented by the Tokugawa family to Princess Fū, a daughter of Maeda Toshitsune (1594–1654) and an adopted daughter of the shogun, who entered into marriage with Prince Hachijō. According to the diaries of Seisen'in Osanobu (1796–1876), of the Kobikicho Kanō family, many *Genji* screen paintings were produced by Seisen'in and others for the dowries of princesses.[17] *Genji* pictures, which were valued as marriage articles,[18] functioned as status symbols, connoting the high level of cultural refinement of the bride and the wealth of her family.[19] When one compares the placement of the *Genji* paintings in the imperial palace with the location of those in Edo Castle—the mid-Edo-period examples of imperial and military architectural styles, respectively—it is clear that the tendency to gender *Genji* images as feminine was particularly strong in military households.

The imperial palace, which was both a ceremonial space and the living quarters of the emperor, was destroyed by fire and other catastrophes and was rebuilt seven times in the Edo period. There is no evidence of pictures of scenes from *The Tale of Genji* having been painted in the ceremonial areas of the Shishinden or the Seiryōden, two central buildings in the imperial palace. In the Shishinden, there were traditional sliding-door paintings of saints and sages from ancient China; in the Seiryōden, there were paintings of Chinese figures and of birds and flowers.[20]

Almost all the sliding-door paintings in the Kogosho (Small Palace)—used for such functions as the first poetry meeting of the year (*utakai-hajime*) and receptions for *daimyō* from the provinces—were of annual observances, with the exception of those executed in the Kanbun era (1661–1673), when all the rooms were decorated with images from literary works, and the Jōō era (1652–1655), when all the rooms (except for the three most important) were decorated with pictures from *monogatari*.

The Tsune goten (Daily Pavilion) was built as an independent structure in the Tenshō era (1573–1592); as the Seiryōden, used as living quarters in the Heian period, became increasingly reserved as a ceremonial space, the Tsune goten began to be used mainly as a private area. Portrayals of Chinese figures were prevalent in the main rooms of the Tsune goten, and other areas were decorated with *Yamato-e* themes as well as paintings of birds and flowers, but in the Hōei era (1704–1711) *Genji* pictures were used in the three principal rooms. The third imperial room, adjacent to the Tsune goten, was used to hold private meetings and watch *nō* performances, and thus scenes from classical tales were depicted there in the Hōei era.

As in military households, therefore, portraits of Chinese figures, followed by images of birds and flowers, were the dominant decorative elements in the public spaces of Edo-period palaces. Scenes from literary works appeared as secondary subjects, but with increasing frequency in the Hōei era, with the number of depictions of Chinese figures generally increasing in the Kansei (1789–1801) and Ansei (1854–1860) eras, and *Yamato-e* themes becoming limited to seasonal rituals. This might suggest a connection between the rise of political tensions and the decline of images from *The Tale of Genji* and other *monogatari*.

Compared with the many records about the use of scenes from classical tales to decorate the imperial palace, the only cohesive records about the sliding-door paintings in Edo Castle date from the end of the Edo period: the Nishinomaru goten (Western Pavilion) in 1838 and the Honmaru goten (Main Pavilion) in 1844. Images pertaining to *The Tale of Genji* were only in the *ōoku* (inner quarters for the shogun and his wives).[21] One scene each from the "E-awase" (The Picture Contest), "Hatsune" (The First Warbler), "Kochō" (Butterflies), "Uma-ga-e" (A Branch of Plum), and "Wakana" (New Herbs) chapters was chosen for the sliding-door paintings of the uppermost room in the first *ōoku* building of the Honmaru goten. In the Nishinomaru goten, scenes from "Momiji no ga" (An Autumn Excursion), "E-awase," "Kochō," and "Uma-ga-e" were on the sliding doors of the *ōoku* reception building. The only other literary work represented is *Eiga monogatari* (*A Tale*

of Flowering Fortunes, ca. 1092), scenes from which appeared in two rooms of the *ōoku* reception area in the Honmaru goten.

Thus in contrast to the imperial palace complex, where episodes from several *monogatari* were depicted, in military castles, images of scenes from *The Tale of Genji* were limited to "feminine" spaces: the *ōoku*. In the imperial palace, there was no apparent distinction of areas by gender. By contrast, in Edo Castle the *Genji* paintings in the *ōoku* demarcated a clear separation between the official and the personal, between public and private spaces, especially for the shogun. Scenes from the *Genji* were deemed appropriate for the harem-like atmosphere of the *ōoku*, in which the shogun was the sole man. Yet the absence of graphically sexual scenes suggests that there was an ethical restraint in the pictoralization of the *Genji* and that the images were used simply to evoke an elegant and ideal lifestyle. Perhaps the role that *Genji* paintings played in warrior society was one factor that influenced the artists of the Kanō and Tosa schools, who catered to the military households and who meticulously painted a number of ornately beautiful scenes on both screens and album leaves. Consistent with Confucian values, these artists refrained from painting excessive displays of feeling. It seems that the intent was primarily to portray the elegance of the traditional aristocratic lifestyle by means of episodes from *The Tale of Genji*.

WOODBLOCK PRINTS OF THE FLOATING WORLD

Early *Genji Ukiyo-e*: Hishikawa Moronobu and Sugimura Jihei

The proliferation of woodblock printing in the Edo period was a decisive factor in the circulation of images of scenes from *The Tale of Genji*. The numerous publications of illustrated editions of the *Genji* provided opportunities for many people to become familiar with the pictures and, through them, the text. These illustrations played a major role in the reception of the *Genji* in the Edo period. As researchers have shown, the illustrations in the printed editions essentially follow the conventions—focusing on the representation of characters and the composition of the image—developed by the artists of the Tosa school. Despite the simplification of the pictorial field, the Edo book illustrations retain the *Yamato-e* characteristics of the Tosa school paintings.[22] From the late sixteenth to the early seventeenth century, the choice of scenes gradually became formalized and fixed, and

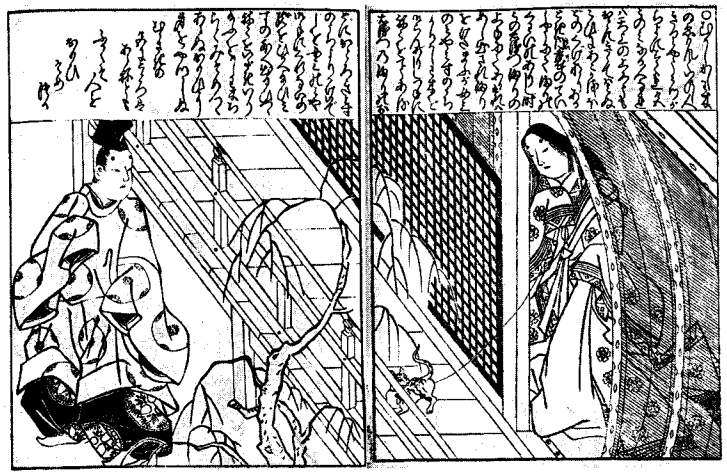


FIGURE 21 Hishikawa Moronobu, "Wakana jō" (New Herbs, Part I), in *Bijin-e tsukushi* (*Beautiful Women Picture Collection*, 1683): Kashiwagi spies the Third Princess as the shades in her room part.

Genji images became highly codified. The spread of woodblock printing in the mid-seventeenth century created a cultural sphere in which knowledge of the codified *Genji* pictures spread to the wider public. This allowed for the transition of *Genji* paintings into *Genji ukiyo-e* (woodblock prints).

Illustrated editions of *The Tale of Genji* printed in Kamigata (Kyoto–Osaka area) appeared from the 1650s to the early 1660s; in the 1670s, editions began to be published in Edo.[23] The activities of the *ukiyo-e* artist Hishikawa Moronobu (d. 1694) were intricately tied to the publishing industry in Edo.[24] Although there are no identification marks on any of the illustrated editions of the *Genji* from the Edo period, the possibility that Moronobu's works are included among them is very great.[25] These illustrations follow traditional *Genji* painting conventions.[26]

Moronobu moved to the *ukiyo-e* style in *Bijin-e tsukushi* (*Beautiful Women Picture Collection*, 1683). Figure 21 shows a scene from the "Wakana jō" (New Herbs, Part I) chapter of *The Tale of Genji*. During a game of kickball at sunset in the spring, Kashiwagi accidentally glimpses the Third Princess behind the hanging shades of her rooms when her cat runs out and momentarily lifts the bamboo blind (*misu*), stirring his feelings. Moronobu's image of this episode consists solely of a large close up of Kashiwagi and the Third Princess, a pose taken from such illustrated books as the *Osana Genji* (*Genji for the Young*), an abridged translation that was published in 1661 (Kamigata version) and 1672 (Edo version) (figure 22).



FIGURE 22 "Wakana jō," in *Osana Genji* (*Genji for the Young*, 1672).

Although the kickball (*kemari*), a major icon for this scene, is missing and the familiar cherry blossoms are replaced in Moronobu's illustration by what appears to be a leafless willow, the "Wakana jō" chapter is evoked through the combination of a man standing outdoors looking back at a woman who is indoors, a cat on a leash, and the open blind. The inscription at the top of the image does not quote from the *Genji*; instead, it describes an episode in which the "amorous" Kashiwagi accidentally glimpses the Third Princess. Moronobu borrowed the setting of the "Wakana jō" chapter to depict the first meeting of a man and a woman. Scenes of a meeting between a man and a woman or of a man seducing a woman often appear in genre paintings of the pleasure quarters from the late Momoyama through the early Edo period. In short, Moronobu took the compositional format used for genre paintings of *kabuki-mono* (young men dressed in provocative fashion) and courtesans in the mid-seventeenth century and applied them to *Genji* pictures. The episode between Kashiwagi and the Third Princess became popular in kabuki from the early Edo period, serving as an impetus for Moronobu to depict the scene in *Bijin-e tsukushi*.[27]

In contrast to the illustrations in *Osana Genji* and other printed editions of *The Tale of Genji* that tend to utilize clouds to cover the top and bottom of the pictorial field and employ broader compositions requiring depth perspective, Moronobu's images capture his subjects from a lower and close-up angle that allows a better perspective on the movements and expressions of the principal figures. The plumpness of their bodies is

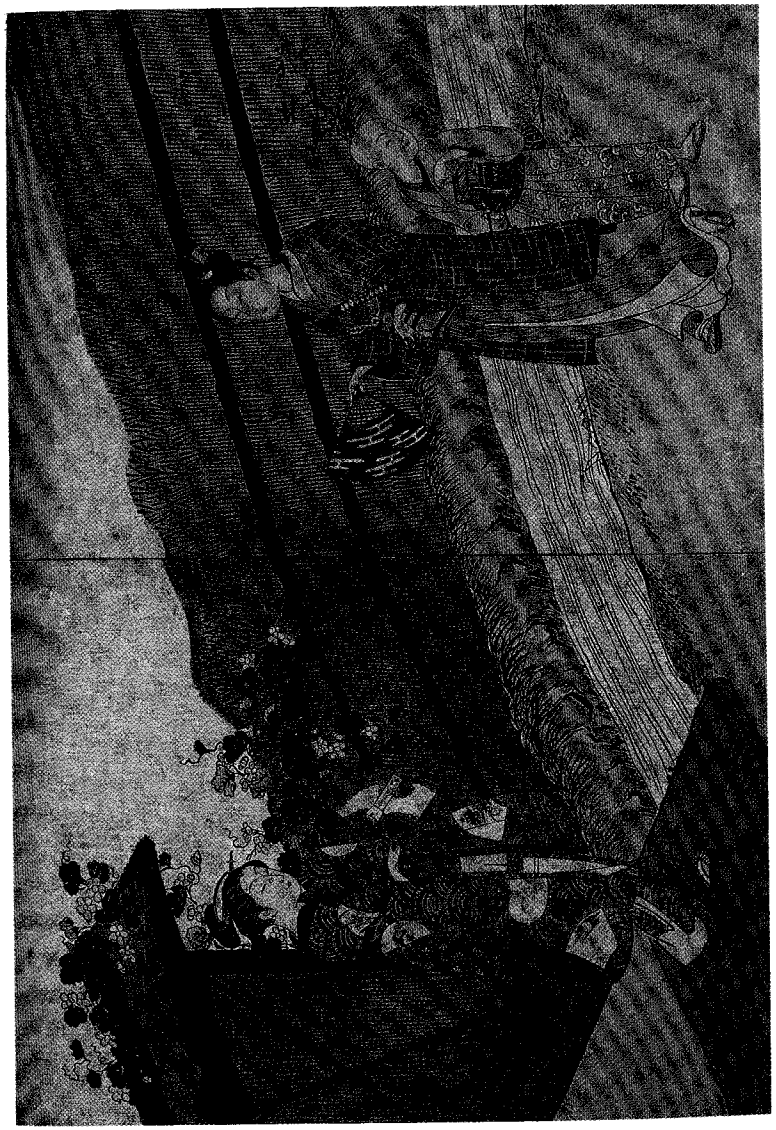


PLATE 1 Suzuki Harunobu, *Mitate Yūgao zu* (*Visual Transposition: Evening Faces*, 1766). (By permission of the Honolulu Academy of Arts)

also noticeable. In *Irozato mitokoro setai* (*Three Noteworthy Sexual Situations*, 1688), Ihara Saikaku comments on it: "In looking at the *ukiyo-e* picture books done by Moronobu's brush, there is a richness to the placement of flesh and a roundedness to the hips."[28] The works by Moronobu referred to by Saikaku are most likely erotic "pillow pictures," which convey the sexual appeal of his subjects. Kashiwagi and the Third Princess, who were firmly established in the courtly genre, were not common subjects for the graphically explicit pillow picture, but in the scene from "Wakana jō," their bodies, rendered in lively lines, are provocative.

In 1682, Moronobu referred to his works as *Yamato ukiyo-e* (Japanese floating-world pictures).[29] It was also around this time that the term *ukiyo-e*—with its sexual, entertainment, and contemporary connotations—began to be widely used.[30] For Moronobu, the shift to the *ukiyo-e* style meant that his pictures of *The Tale of Genji* could now vividly express sensual scenes between men and women, in contrast to the restricted movements of the subjects in the genteel and restrained *Yamato-e* style. Indeed, the appeal of Hishikawa Moronobu's *ukiyo-e* lies in the humor implicit in the vulgarization of the hitherto elegant and high *Genji* images.

Kashiwagi to Onna San no Miya (*Kashiwagi and the Third Princess*) (figure 23) by Sugimura Jihei (active 1680s–early eighteenth century) and *Genji makura* (*Genji Pillow*) (figure 24)[31] are roughly contemporary to

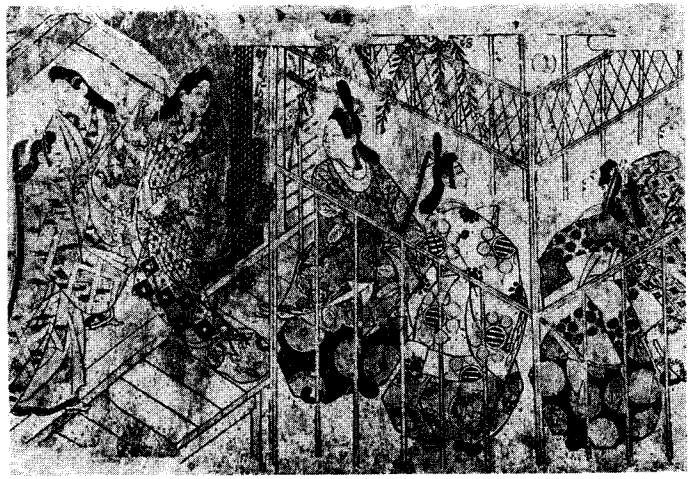


FIGURE 23 Sugimura Jihei, *Kashiwagi to Onna San no Miya* (*Kashiwagi and the Third Princess*, 1680s). (Tokyo National Museum)

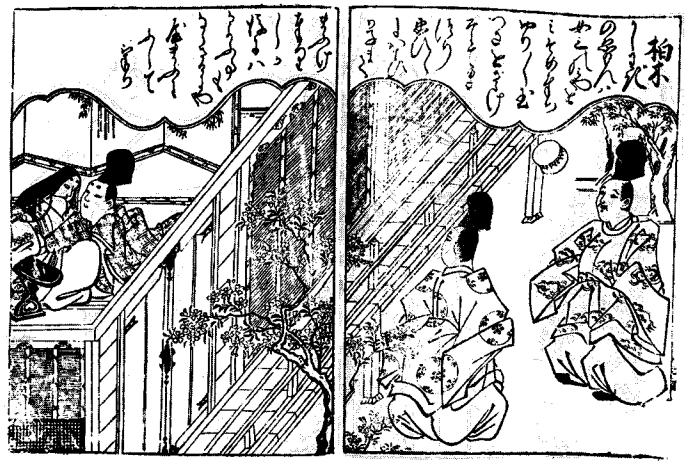


FIGURE 24 *Genji makura* (*Genji Pillow*, 1680s).

works by Moronobu, whose style is similar to that of Sugimura Jihei. In *Kashiwagi to Onna San no Miya*,[32] which is assumed to be from the 1680s, the game of kickball, the cat on a leash, and the man looking back all evoke the famous episode in the "Wakana jō" chapter of *The Tale of Genji*. The inscription in the middle of the image, "Kashiwagi no emon" (the name of a courtesan or a character in a kabuki play) also hints at the pleasure quarters or a scene from kabuki. *Genji makura*, also assumed to be from the 1680s, likewise borrows elements from "Wakana jō"—the kickball game, the blind, and the cherry blossoms—but without prior knowledge of *Genji* picture conventions, the *ukiyo-e* appears to show a nobleman who, while playing kickball in a garden, notices a man and a woman intimately together inside the blind and looks back to spy on them. The motifs evoke the "Wakana jō" chapter, but the image itself is fundamentally a pillow picture with a *Genji* backdrop.[33] These two examples could be called the "playground" and "pillow" versions of "Wakana jō," which, despite their use of traditional conventions, transform a scene from the *Genji* into a pleasure-quarter scene and a pillow picture, respectively.

Sugimura Jihei published *ukiyo-e*-style *Genji* images in the *Genji ukiyo fukusa-e* (*Tale of Genji Floating World Fukusa Pictures*, 1684).[34] In the illustration from the "Fujibakama" (Purple Trousers) chapter, Yūgiri visits Tamakazura as a messenger for his father and, under the pretext of sending her a gift of *fujibakama* (boneset) flowers, attempts to seduce her



FIGURE 25 Sugimura Jihei, "Fujibakama" (Purple Trousers), in *Genji ukiyo fukusa-e* (*Tale of Genji Floating World Fukusa Pictures*, 1684).

(figure 25). In the lower part of the rectangular picture, Yūgiri is depicted holding flowers and trying to approach Tamakazura, in the manner of the illustration found in the widely read *Eiri Genji monogatari* (*Illustrated Tale of Genji*, 1650) (figure 26). In the upper part of the image, Yūgiri and Tamakazura are transformed into a customer and a courtesan, with the young client trying to sneak into her room. Since the early *ukiyo-e* fundamentally borrowed from the compositional conventions of traditional paintings of scenes from *The Tale of Genji* and slightly altered them, any fundamental knowledge of *Genji* iconography allowed viewers to easily identify them.[35]



FIGURE 26 "Fujibakama," in *Eiri Genji monogatari* (*Illustrated Tale of Genji*, 1650).

Elegant *Genji Ukiyo-e*: Okumura Masanobu

Ukiyo-e versions of episodes from *The Tale of Genji* suddenly increased in number from the eighteenth century. Okumura Masanobu (1686–1764) is a representative *ukiyo-e* artist of the early eighteenth century who specialized in *Genji* pictures.[36] He provided the illustrations for Suigetsudō Baiō's serialized vernacular translations of assorted chapters from *The Tale of Genji*, which were published from 1707 to 1710.[37] Some of these pictures depict men and women in contemporary dress, in *ukiyo-e* style; include scenes not taken up in traditional *Genji* paintings; and were of popular interest. Masanobu followed up his vernacular *Genji* illustrations with a flood of *Genji* pictures:

1. One picture for each chapter from "Kiritsubo" (The Paulownia Court) to "Suma," plus a portrait of Murasaki Shikibu (thirteen pictures, 1711–1716).
2. One picture for each of the fifty-four chapters, of which only several sheets survive (1716–1736).
3. A series with a long square cartouche with the name of each chapter, of which only two sheets, from the "Wakana" and "Hanachirusato" (The Orange Blossoms) chapters, survive. A note on the "Wakana" sheet suggests that this series consisted of thirteen sheets.
4. The series *Ukiyo Genji* (*Floating World Genji*; twelve or thirteen pictures, 1711–1716).
5. The picture *Yūgao no yado* (*Lodging of Evening Faces*, 1716–1736).
6. One picture for each chapter from "Kiritsubo" to "Hanachirusato," plus a portrait of Murasaki Shikibu (twelve pictures, 1711–1716).
7. The picture *Onna san no ofuku* (*Third Princess as a Happy Deity*, 1711–1716).
8. One picture for each of the fifty-four chapters, accompanied by poems and explanations of them, in *Kanmuri nōshi Genji sugata hyakunin isshu* (*One Hundred Poets, One Poem Each of Genji Characters in Formal Dress*, 1716–1736).
9. A picture of Ukifune (1740).

The pictures listed in items 1 to 3 are close to traditional *Genji* compositions found in earlier woodblock-printed books. The rest are in the *ukiyo-e* style.

The composition and techniques that Masanobu used in his illustration for the "Suma" chapter (figure 27), in his first set of *Genji* pictures,

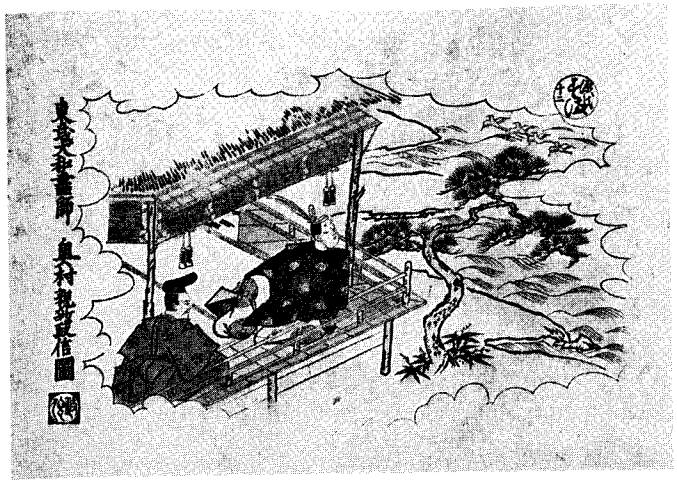


FIGURE 27 Okumura Masanobu, *Suma* (1711–1716).

closely resemble those in the corresponding chapter in the Edo version of *Osana Genji* (figure 28). In the "Suma" picture in *Ukiyo Genji*, Masanobu also used the composition found in *Osana Genji*, but he transformed Genji into a contemporary figure (figure 29). Masanobu's depiction of an elegant country mansion along the seashore does not look like the run-down dwelling of an exile. Indeed, a relaxed man is leading an elegant and aesthetic life, with a boy (to the left) to take care of his everyday needs. The pose of a recumbent man, with a tobacco tray in front of him and a

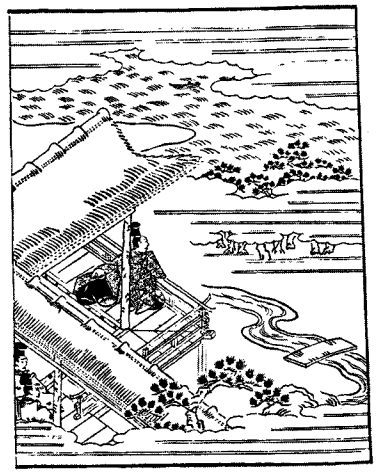


FIGURE 28 "Suma," in *Osana Genji* (1672).

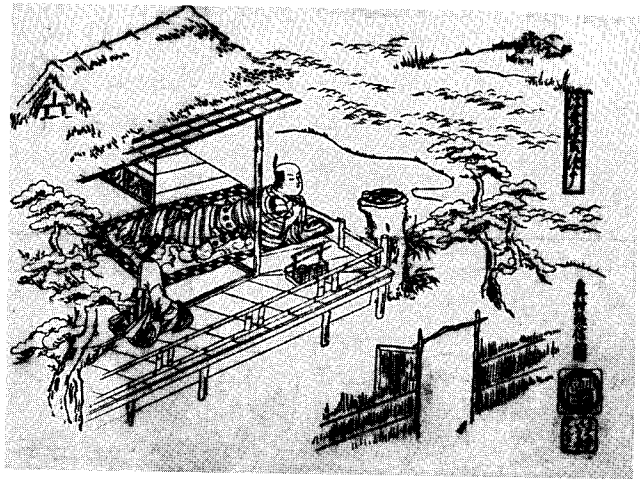


FIGURE 29 Okumura Masanobu, "Suma," in *Ukiyo Genji* (*Floating World Genji*, 1711–1716). (Chiba City Museum of Art)

cigarette holder in one hand, appears in Hishikawa Moronobu's genre paintings of the pleasure quarters,[38] the ambience of which is evoked in Masanobu's picture.

Masanobu's illustrations for *Kanmuri nōshi Genji sugata hyakunin isshu* show Genji in the dress of court women, women from samurai families, and urban commoner women. This is what could be called a female-lifestyle picture book that combines an illustration and a poem. The traditional *Genji* motifs are evident in the composition of the pictures. For example, the image for "Suma" combines the "Suma" chapter from *The Tale of Genji* with the bottom half of a poem from Fujiwara Teika's (1162–1241) *Hyakunin isshu* (*One Hundred Poets, One Hundred Poems*, thirteenth century): "The young cherry trees at the bay of Suma. If only the wind would not blow so strong" (figure 30). A young woman is gazing at the branches of a cherry tree with a look of consternation. This image is similar to those in earlier woodblock-printed books, such as *Osana Genji*, in depicting a country retreat, a seaside setting, and the main character sunk in thought. Furthermore, the dwelling is similar to the country villa depicted in the "Suma" picture in *Ukiyo Genji*, which suggests that the woman is not worried about the cherry blossoms being scattered by a strong wind, but about whether the man will visit her without incident.

Illustrations in books printed in the Edo period that depict the "Yūgao" (Evening Faces) chapter of *The Tale of Genji*, such as that in *Osana Genji*, often feature the scene in which Genji orders his steward to pick a moon-



FIGURE 30 Okumura Masanobu, "Suma," in *Kanmuri nōshi Genji sugata hyakunin isshu* (*One Hundred Poets, One Poem Each of Genji Characters in Formal Dress*, 1716–1736).

flower (*yūgao*) blossoming on a hedge, when a young girl comes from the house next door to offer him a fan on which to put the flower (figure 31). Ox-drawn carriages are often added in order to include the episode in which the ladies admire Genji's ox carriage. In *Yūgao no yado*, Masanobu took the young girl offering a fan to the male attendant, but depicted them in contemporary fashion, adding a young man and a woman (perhaps a courtesan) peering out from behind the door (figure 32). In Masanobu's *Genji Yūgao* (*Tale of Genji Evening Faces*, 1711–1716), the young girl has been replaced by a high-ranking courtesan's attendant (*kaburo*), the steward



FIGURE 31 "Yūgao" (Evening Faces), in *Osana Genji* (1672).

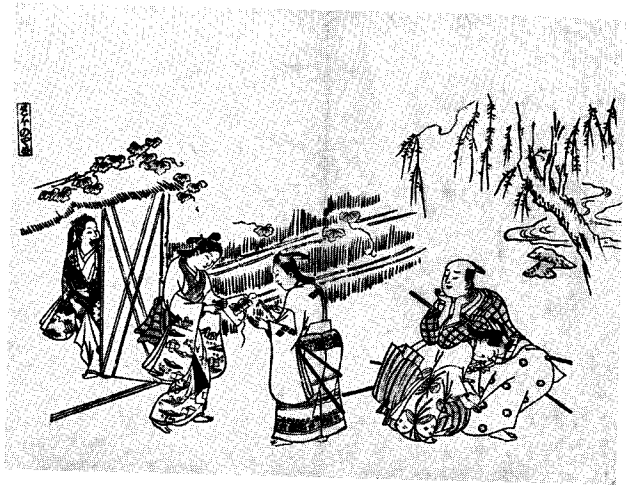


FIGURE 32 Okumura Masanobu, *Yūgao no yado* (*Lodging of Evening Faces*, 1716–1736). (MOA Museum of Art, Atami)

has become an assistant store manager (*tedai*), and the courtesan is meeting a customer (figure 33).[39] Instead of the moonflowers being placed on the fan, they already are on the fan. The scene of a fan exchange bringing together a man and a woman closely resembles or is a variation on the letter-messenger scene (in which the *kaburo* carries a letter between the courtesan and the customer), which was a popular pleasure-quarter im-



FIGURE 33 Okumura Masanobu, *Genji Yūgao* (*Tale of Genji Evening Faces*, 1711–1716).

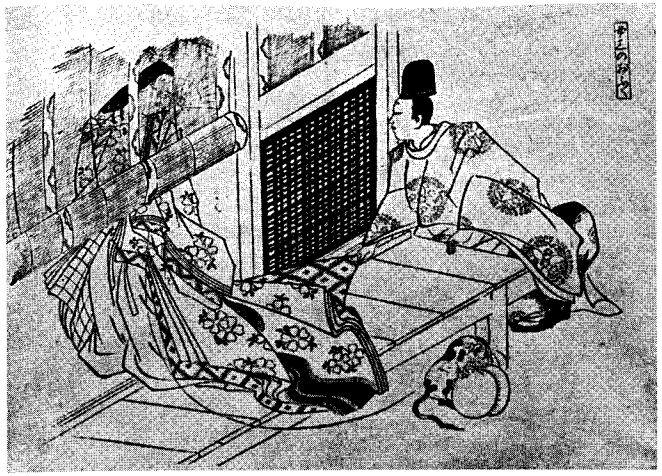


FIGURE 34 Okumura Masanobu, *Onna san no ofuku* (*Third Princess as a Happy Deity*, 1711–1716).

age in the latter half of the seventeenth century. This fusion of *Tale of Genji* pictorial composition and pleasure-quarter pictorial composition reveals the Edo sense of play.

Masanobu's *Onna san no ofuku* borrows the components of the "Wakana jō" chapter, while depicting the Third Princess as an *otafuku*, an ugly woman with a swollen face (figure 34). The portrayal of the Third Princess, who was traditionally shown as a beauty, as an *otafuku* invites humor, but this was probably done in order to inject an auspicious figure (*otafuku* literally means "much fortune") into the work.

Among Masanobu's *Genji*-related works, the picture of Ukifune stands out for its excellence (figure 35). It depicts a boat on a moonlit night, with a man playing a hand drum and a woman reclining and listening. The crest on his garments suggests that the man is the actor Sanokawa Ichimatsu, and the woman is most likely a courtesan. The witty short poem inscribed at the top—"Like snow piling up on a floating boat, I am afloat in love"—probably was composed by Masanobu himself. The title, the poem, and the couple in a boat (also seen in Moronobu's *Genji Yamato-e kagami* [*Genji Yamato Picture Mirror*, 1685] and other woodblock-printed books) evoke the romance between Prince Niou and Ukifune, which, in turn, enriches the image of a popular actor and a beautiful courtesan on an idyllic evening. The poetic mood is further heightened by the music that Ichimatsu is playing, the moonlight, and the amorous gestures of the courtesan.

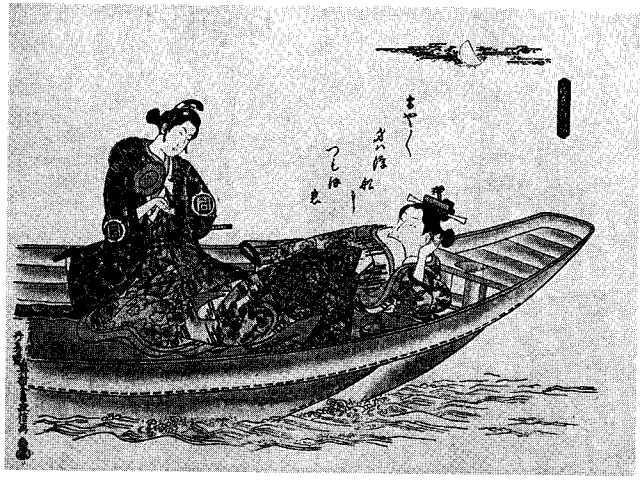


FIGURE 35 Okumura Masanobu, *Ukifune* (1740).

Masanobu also created a series that may have consisted of fifty-four pictures, one for each chapter of *The Tale of Genji*. Only several images survive. The series is similar to the set of *Genji* pictures by Nishimura Shigenaga and Torii Kiyomasu that is believed to have been done in the Kyōho period (1716–1736). On one sheet, a scene from the "Fujibakama" chapter appears in a circle (figure 36). To the right are an inscription of a poem from the chapter and a *Genji* incense sign. In the background, a monochromatic pattern depicts *kai-oke* (illustrated shell halves used in the game of picture matching), the graph for *kotobuki* (blessings), and the actor Danjurō's crest *mimasu* (three measures) as well as grass and flowers. The overarching effect is that of a fan-painting screen. A note that reads "Paste onto boxes, screens, and sliding doors," found on the sheet for the "Kagaribi" (Flares) chapter, indicates that these pictures served a practical function as paper to cover objects. The illustrated paper was no doubt an affordable alternative to a full set of *Genji* images for people who could not afford to buy original works.

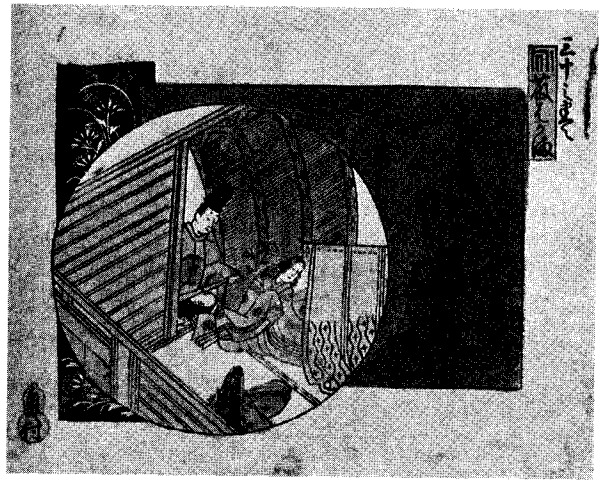


FIGURE 36 Okumura Masanobu, *Fujibakama* (1716–1736).

Masanobu incorporated lyrical *waka* expressions or witty *haikai*-esque expressions into his images of scenes from *The Tale of Genji*, while maintaining a basic erotic flavor. Just as he was familiar with the *haikai* (popular linked verse) of the Danrin school, his Edo-based audience pursued *haikai* and acquired the education and humorous sensibility necessary to appreciate his *ukiyo-e*, which differs considerably from that of Hishikawa Moronobu, in the mid-seventeenth century. This new imagination and humor of Edo inspired Okumura Masanobu to create contemporary-style *Genji* pictures.

Allusive *Genji Ukiyo-e*: Suzuki Harunobu and Isoda Koryūsai

The *Genji* pictures of Suzuki Harunobu (d. 1770), another prominent artist of the mid-Edo period,[40] in the *ukiyo-e* style fall into roughly four types. The first type, in which traditional *Genji* iconography and pictorial composition are transformed into a contemporary setting with multiple clues about the connection between the two, is best represented by the *Mitate Yūgao zu* (*Visual Transposition: Evening Faces*, 1766) (figure 37; plate 1). A few years earlier, Harunobu had created a *mizu-e* (water picture)[41] called *Genji monogatari Yūgao* (*Tale of Genji Evening Faces*), whose composition resembles that of the illustration for the "Yūgao" chapter in *Osana Genji* (see figure 31). For *Mitate Yūgao zu*, which is a *nishiki-e* (multicolored print), Harunobu borrowed from traditional *Genji* pictures such elements as a man visiting a woman, moonflowers entwined in vines, a fan, and an insect cage shaped like an ox carriage; enlarged the two central figures; and depicted the motifs more elaborately, giving them a more realistic appearance. Furthermore, on the man's sleeve is the *Genji* incense sign representing the "Yūgao" chapter. In *The Tale of Genji*, a young girl comes out of a house with a fan on which to place a *yūgao* flower; but in Harunobu's picture, the fan holds a love letter with the greeting *kata-sama mairu* (my dear one arrives), commonly used by courtesans in their correspondence



FIGURE 37 Suzuki Harunobu, *Mitate Yūgao zu* (*Visual Transposition: Evening Faces*, 1766). (By permission of the Honolulu Academy of Arts)

with lovers. It is not clear whether a young girl or a female patron of the house is giving the letter to the man on the right, but the encounter between a naïve young woman and a man evokes memories of "Yūgao" and the start of romantic young love.

Harunobu's *Mitate Yūgao zu* is believed to have been produced in 1766 for an illustrated compact calendar (*egoyomi*), ordered by Abe Masahiro.[42] In 1765 and 1766, *hatamoto* (shogunal retainers) and elite merchants in Edo became the leaders of a gathering at which *egoyomi* were exchanged. Among the most opulent of the works created for this event were the multicolored prints inaugurated by Harunobu. They eventually caught the attention of publishers and began to be sold as *nishiki-e*. The illustrated calendars not only used the techniques of woodblock printers, but also had literary qualities and displayed educated wit, with classical tales being presented, in almost all cases, in contemporary style without being vulgarized. Curiously, no subsequent examples can be found that, like Harunobu's, converted traditional *Genji* iconography and pictorial composition into contemporary genre images. This stands in contrast to the pictorialization of *The Tales of Ise* by Harunobu and others, whose illustrations feature an imaginative range of styles and content, often original and humorous.[43] The difference in the pictorial representation of *The Tale of Genji* and *The Tales of Ise* may be the result of the images for the *Genji* being more closely tied to the narrative than those for the *Ise*, whose text was freely interpreted.



FIGURE 38 Suzuki Harunobu, *Mari ni kyōjiru otoko* (*Young Man Playing with a Kickball*, 1768 or 1769). (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

The second type of Harunobu's *Genji* pictures is represented by *Mari ni kyōjiru otoko* (*Young Man Playing with a Kickball*, 1768 or 1769) (figure 38). This type contains fewer direct references to *The Tale of Genji* than does the first. A young man about to kick a ball stands at the center. In the upper part of the image is the poem "Darkness at dusk obscures the path. There is moonlight though; come home my dear, I can almost see you,"[44] preceded by the *Genji* incense sign for the "Wakana ge" (New Herbs, Part II) chapter. Although the episode of Kashiwagi playing kickball is from the preceding chapter, "Wakana jō," the iconography is enough to evoke a connection to the *Genji*.

The third type of Harunobu's *Genji* pictures, of which only two (probably dating to 1768 or 1769) are extant, does not depict scenes from the tale per se, but contains motifs from poems in *The Tale of Genji*. These motifs are then reworked into a contemporary genre picture. At the top of one of the pictures is a poem, a New Year prayer for longevity, from "Wakana jō": "Drawn by the future of the young pines, who have many years to live, the young herbs in the wild field will also grow in years" (*komatsubara sue no yowai ni hikarete ya nobe no wakana mo toshi o tsumubeki*), followed by the Genji incense sign for the chapter (figure 39). The image comes from the verb "to pull" (*hiku*) and the phrase "young herbs in the wild field" in the poem and shows two young women in a field pulling up herbs. The picture for "Suetsumuhana" (The Safflower), which is not preserved in perfect condition, bears the title *Yatsushi Genji Suetsumuhana* (*Dressed-Down Genji, Safflower*), has a Genji incense sign, and is inscribed with the poem "Without the



FIGURE 39 Suzuki Harunobu, *Wakana jō* (1768 or 1769). (Tokyo National Museum)

color of nostalgic attraction, why did I touch this rouge safflower blossom with my sleeve?" (*Natsukashiki iro tomonashi ni nani ni kono suetsumuhana o sode ni fureken*). Playing on this verse, the image shows a woman picking flowers in the rain with her sleeve on her head to protect herself.

The fourth type of Harunobu's *Genji* pictures is erotic, represented by *Genji kagetsushō* (*Flowering Moon Genji Gathering*, ca. 1769), the title of which plays on *Genji monogatari kogetsushō* (*The Tale of Genji Moon on the Lake Commentary*, 1763), better known as *Kogetsushō*, the noted annotated text and commentary by the poet-scholar Kitamura Kigin (1624–1705). According to Hayashi Yoshikazu, there are two types of pictorializations in *Genji kagetsushō*: one iconic and one poetic.[45] The iconic type presents an erotic topic such as *kiritsubo* (opening the vagina), adds a pillow picture, and depicts the paulownia (*kiri*) flower, which suggests "Kiritsubo," the first chapter of *The Tale of Genji*. The poetic type presents a topic such as *yadoriki* (wanting to stay over; homophonous with *yadorigi* [mistletoe]), gives the corresponding *Genji* incense sign, and adds a poem related to the topic. The *yadoriki* picture offers a poem by Kaoru from the "Yadorigi" (The Ivy) chapter: "If I did not recall that I had once stayed over, how lonely it would be to sleep here beneath a mistletoe on a journey!" (*Yadoriki to omoiidezuba ko no moto no tabine mo ika ni sabishikaramashi*).[46] Playing on this poem, the erotic picture depicts the main character, Ashikari Genjirō, fornicating with a woman as consolation for a lonely night on the road.[47]

In several of the *Genji ukiyo-e* by Harunobu, a *Genji* incense sign—for the "Sawarabi" (Early Ferns) and "Kōbai" (The Rose Plum) chapters—appears on the half-length coat of a young man like a family crest.[48] The Genji incense sign serves to draw a parallel between the handsome youth and a young nobleman at court. Although not all of Suzuki Harunobu's audience could have known *The Tale of Genji* so thoroughly as to catch these signs, the tale was widely accepted as the embodiment of elegance, which could be evoked by such iconic signs.

The *ukiyo-e* artist Isoda Koryūsai (active late eighteenth century) continued to execute *Genji* pictures in the vein of Harunobu in his series *Yatsushi Genji* (*Dressed-Down Genji*) and *Fūryū yatsushi Genji* (*Elegantly Dressed-Down Genji*).[49] The date of their composition is assumed to be roughly the same as that of Harunobu's works, from the late 1760s through the early 1770s. Both series, which correspond to the third type of Harunobu's *Genji* pictures, present images that take their cues from a poem in *The Tale of Genji* whose motifs they transform into a bucolic genre painting.[50] For example, the illustration for "Kashiwagi" (The Oak Tree) in *Fūryū yatsushi Genji* draws on one of Kashiwagi's deathbed poems: "Now that my life is at an end, when I go up in flames, the smoke will remain entangled, and my undying attachment to you will no doubt remain" (*Ima wa tote moemu kemuri mo musubohore taenu omoi no nao ya nokoramu*).[51] In the picture, a flame from an insect-repellent burner unexpectedly illuminates a hesitating woman (figure 40). The image is



FIGURE 40 Isoda Koryūsai, "Kashiwagi" (The Oak Tree), in *Fūryū yatsushi Genji* (*Elegantly Dressed-Down Genji*, 1768–1769).

linked to the *Genji* through words from the poem about "flames" and "entangled" smoke.

As did Harunobu, Koryūsai depicted *Genji* incense signs in his illustrations. Developed in the early seventeenth century in the playful spirit of Edo culture, the *Genji* incense game was related to *The Tale of Genji* only in the use of its chapter titles. Much as the incense game appropriated the brand name of the *Genji*, Harunobu and Koryūsai sought to link their genre pictures to this literary classic through visual signs. Their interest in the original *Genji* was minimal, but its elegance is echoed in their works. The intent of Harunobu and others was to show that the bucolic lifestyle of contemporary society was a *yatsushi* (transformed, fallen, dressed-down, disguised) version of elegant court culture. No doubt the search for and discovery of even the slightest links to the *Genji* and its poems was one of the attractions of these *ukiyo-e*.

Koryūsai also produced the series *Fūryū Genji hakkei* (*Eight Views of Elegant Genji*, 1770s), one illustration of which is *Matsukaze kihan* (*Wind in the Pines, Homeward Sailboat*).[52] Through the motif of the boat, *Matsukaze kihan* connects the famous Chinese painting *Enpo kihan* (*Homeward Sailboat in Distant Views of the Bay*), one of the *Shōshō hakkei* (*Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang*), with the episode from the "Matsukaze" (The Wind in the Pines) chapter of *The Tale of Genji* in which the Akashi Lady, accompanied by Genji's servants, travels toward the capital in a boat. The poem recited by the Akashi Nun in "Matsukaze"—"The fishing boat that set its heart on that distant shore will row back to the world it turned its back on" (*Kano kishi ni kokoro yori nishi amabune no somukishi kata ni kogikaeru kana*)[53]—appears in the upper part of the picture, which depicts a small boat containing a woman who appears to be a courtesan. Various adaptations of the *Shōshō hakkei*, which originated in Song China, had been made in Japan from the sixteenth century. There is nothing inherent in the *Genji* images that connects them to the *Shōshō hakkei*, but the unexpected linking is the basis of their ingenuity.

Harunobu and Koryūsai stood at a major turning point in the history of *Genji* pictures in the *ukiyo-e* style. Returning to the four types of *Genji ukiyo-e* created by Harunobu, the first type directly uses the composition of traditional *Genji* paintings and, in this sense, is very close in method to that of Moronobu and Masanobu. The second type represents a gradual shift from traditional *Genji* paintings, and the third (along with Koryūsai's work) creates a genre picture that is fundamentally different in both composition and content from traditional *Genji* paintings. It is at this point

that the word *yatsushi* appears in the titles of *Genji ukiyo-e*. In modern *ukiyo-e* research, a print that depicts the subject of a traditional painting in a contemporary form is called a *mitate*. But scholars of Japanese literature have argued that a picture that portrays the topic of a classical painting in a contemporary manner is a *yatsushi*, and an image that is compared with another (or is viewed as another) that is different is a *mitate*—which would make almost all *ukiyo-e* a type of *yatsushi*.[54] The contemporary titles given to *ukiyo-e* interchange the terms *mitate* and *yatsushi*, showing that there is no iron-clad rule.[55]

A salient characteristic of *Genji ukiyo-e* that use the word *yatsushi* is that they do not simply depict the subjects of classical paintings in contemporary fashion, but diverge from established formats to create completely new works. If Hishikawa Moronobu and Okumura Masanobu produced *Genji ukiyo-e* with a visual memory of traditional *Genji* paintings, Suzuki Harunobu and Isoda Koryūsai created *yatsushi* prints that represent a break from that memory, in which the viewer is required to make a mental leap or solve a puzzle. In this regard, the *haikai*-esque and witty objective of *yatsushi* is surprisingly close to the function of the *mitate*. So while scholars have made a distinction between *yatsushi* and *mitate*, it is not accidental that the two terms often become indistinguishable in the titles of *ukiyo-e*. The notion of *yatsushi* and *mitate*, which appeared in the mid-eighteenth century,[56] reflected the tastes and sensibility of contemporary Edo culture and was widely shared.

DISTANT LINKS TO THE *GENJI*: KITAO SHIGEMASA, TORII KIYONAGA, AND CHŌBUNSAI EISHI

The *Genji* pictures that emerged in the 1780s and 1790s center on the works of Kitao Shigemasa (1739–1820), Torii Kiyonaga (1752–1815), and Chōbunsai Eishi (1756–1829), among others. The pictures by Shigemasa and Kiyonaga are not single-sheet *nishiki-e*, but illustrations in bound books, while those by Eishi are large three-panel works. These pictures were textually identified with *The Tale of Genji*, but their relationship to the *Genji* or to *Genji* paintings remains unclear or difficult to interpret.

The preface to *Ehon Biwa no umi* (*Picture Book Lake Biwa*), by Setchūan Kanrai (Setchūan IV, Ōshima Kanrai) and dated to 1788, notes that in this book, Kitao Kōsuisai (Shigemasa) mixed the elegant (*ga*) and the popular

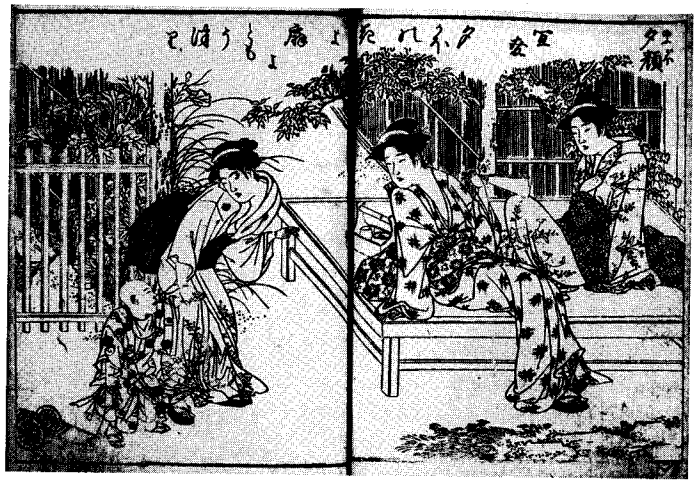


FIGURE 41 Kitao Shigemasa, "Yūgao," in *Ehon Biwa no umi* (*Picture Book Lake Biwa*, 1788). (National Diet Library)

(*zoku*) to create a "dressed-down/transformed spirit of a classical tale." The scene from "Yūgao" is on facing pages, with the right page depicting two women cooling off in the evening on a deck and the left page showing a young boy pulling a toy cart, with a woman pulling him by the hand (figure 41). One of the women on the cooling deck holds a fan, and a *yūgao* flower blooms on the fence behind her to the left. At the top of the picture, the title "Yūgao" and the verse "Moonflowers and a fan, matching each other" announce that the scene of a family cooling off in the summer heat has subtly incorporated two motifs (moonflower and fan) from the "Yūgao" chapter of *The Tale of Genji* (see figures 31–33 and 37). One could even say that the toy cart evokes the ox carriage found in traditional "Yūgao" paintings. In short, an elegant element drawn from an association with the *Genji* is added to a popular view of contemporary society.

The date of the publication of Torii Kiyonaga's *Ehon Goyō no matsu* (*Picture Book of Five-Leaves Pine Tree*, Ōta Memorial Museum of Art, Tokyo) is uncertain, but the style belongs to the Tenmei era (1781–1789).[57] The volume opens with a portrait of Murasaki Shikibu, followed by contemporary illustrations of five seasonal festivals. Each picture has an inscription with a chapter title from *The Tale of Genji*. In the two-page illustration of a kitchen in which people are busily preparing for the Fifth Month (Boy's Day) observance, three women on the left are cooking cakes



FIGURE 42 Torii Kiyonaga, "Tokonatsu" (Wild Carnations), in *Ehon Goyō no matsu* (*Picture Book of Five-Leaves Pine Tree*, 1781–1789), a later black-and-white print. (National Diet Library)

wrapped in oak leaves (*kashiwa*), a woman at the upper right is attempting to dress the boy who is the center of attention, and two women at the lower right are preparing the decorative sword (figure 42). The inscription at the top describes the concerns of the parents for their child during the Boy's Day preparations and includes the verse "Wild carnations are *nadeshiko* [cherished child], and here are *kashiwamochi* [oak-leaf rice cakes] [for Boy's Day]," which includes the title of the "Tokonatsu" (Wild Carnations) chapter of *The Tale of Genji*. The word *tokonatsu* is both a chapter title and the classical name for the plant *nadeshiko* (pink), whose components *naderu* (to stroke) and *ko* (child) suggest an adored child. The special twist of this illustration lies in the manner in which the chapter title from the *Genji* is cleverly woven into the description of a contemporary scene.

In the 1790s, Chōbunsai Eishi, another noted *ukiyo-e* artist, produced the series *Fūryū yatsushi Genji* (*Elegantly Disguised Genji*). These images appear at first glance to be in the traditional *Genji* painting style, but actually are very different in their structure. Furthermore, the word *yatsushi* has been added to the series title, but the pictures do not display the puzzle-solving quality found in Harunobu's and Koryūsai's *Genji ukiyo-e*. For example, the three-panel *Fūryū yatsushi Genji:*

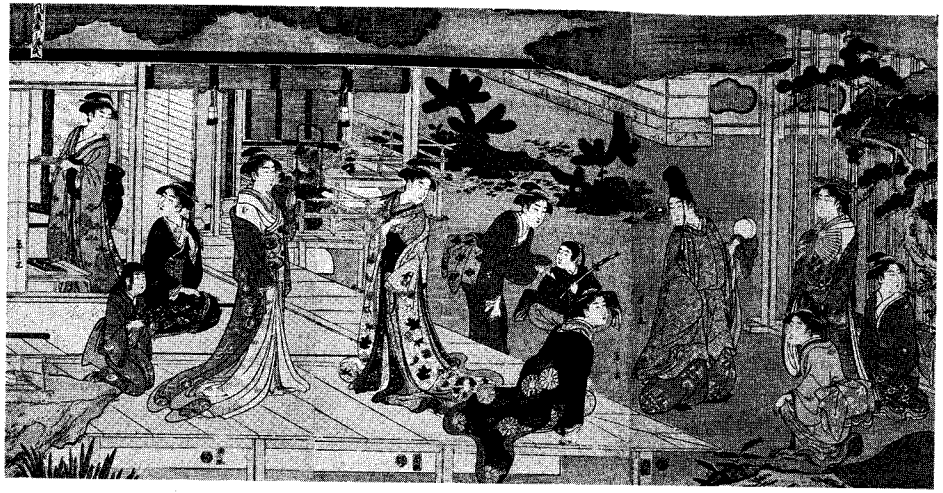


FIGURE 43 Chōbunsai Eishi, *Fūryū yatsushi Genji: Wakana jō* (*Elegantly Disguised Genji: New Herbs I*, 1790s).

Wakana jō depicts a young man in court dress holding a kickball; nine women, including five servants, from a samurai house; and two children (figure 43). The women are watching the man as he approaches the fenced-in *kemari* area to the right. The bamboo blind, a key motif in the "Wakana jō" chapter of *The Tale of Genji*, appears to the left, but it is raised completely (in contrast to traditional *Genji* iconography, in which it partially hides the Third Princess); furthermore, the scene in which the man (Kashiwagi) glimpses the woman (Third Princess) and the cat (the key icon) are missing. A common feature of this series is the single young man surrounded by a number of women, a setting that directly evokes the *ōoku* or the pleasure quarters. This view of an ideal man raised by a multitude of women may have been intended to visually recall Genji.

Eishi also produced *Ukiyo Genji hakkei* (*Floating World Eight Views of The Tale of Genji*, 1790s), which follows the design of Koryūsai's *Fūryū Genji hakkei*, but combines scenes from chapters of *The Tale of Genji* with those from the *Shōshō hakkei* in different ways. The result is four sets, including the two-page *Hashihime sekishō* (*Lady of the Bridge and Evening Sunlight*) and *Ukifune bosetsu* (*Ukifune and Evening Snow*). This set depicts a group of courtesans poring over a picture scroll, but it has no elements other than the two cartouches to suggest a scene from the *Genji*



FIGURE 44 Chōbunsai Eishi, *Hashihime sekishō* (*Lady of the Bridge and Evening Sunlight*) and *Ukifune bosetsu* (*Ukifune and Evening Snow*, 1790s).

(figure 44). In this picture, *The Tale of Genji* and the "appreciation of painting" are used as signs to show the educational sophistication of high-ranking courtesans.[58]

The popularization of pictures of episodes from *The Tale of Genji* or their recasting in contemporary form was a virtual monopoly and forte of *ukiyo-e* prints. But the method and objectives were not uniform. If in traditional *Genji* paintings, it was important to transmit established compositions, in *ukiyo-e* it was equally important to introduce new designs. Until now, there had been a tendency to regard that kind of continual change as a reflection of the individual characters of the artists, but it can be attributed to differences in the culture and values of those who bought and viewed *ukiyo-e*. The *ukiyo-e* functioned like vessels directly filled by the ever-changing interests and tastes of their Edo-period audiences, and the *Genji ukiyo-e* were no exception.

There is a tendency to label *ukiyo-e* as a product of popular culture, consumed by urban commoners,[59] but this view appeared only at the end of the nineteenth century and does not accurately define the genre. In the *ukiyo-e*'s freedom from ethical restrictions, a sense of the commoner can be detected, but whether those who actually appreciated or bought these works were commoners is a separate issue. Although Edo Japan was a strictly hierarchical society, commoners, samurai, and nobles all had access to *ukiyo-e*. Among the samurai, there were those, such as Chōbunsai Eishi, who became *ukiyo-e* artists and those, such as the patrons of Suzuki Harunobu, who became *ukiyo-e* consumers. These samurai probably also enjoyed, in addition to *ukiyo-e*, paintings of Chinese landscapes, Buddhist patriarchs, birds and flowers, and scenes from Japanese literary classics in the *Yamato-e* style. Among these various genres, the *ukiyo-e* was marked by a freedom of expression unrestrained by social mores and Confucian ethics.

Yanagisawa Kien (1704–1758), who wrote favorably about *ukiyo-e* from the point of view of a high-ranking samurai, defines *hon-e* (original painting) and *ukiyo-e* as two fundamental types of pictures.[60] *Hon-e* referred to formal paintings appropriate for display in the reception room (*zashiki*)—that is, paintings that could be appreciated in public spaces—while *ukiyo-e* were viewed in informal or private settings. One characteristic of urban culture in the early modern period was the production of both *hon-e*, the type of *Genji* paintings found mostly on screens and in albums executed by members of the Kanō and Tosa schools, and *ukiyo-e*, the new and innovative mode born in the Edo period. *Hon'e* and *ukiyo-e* represented the two poles of *Genji* pictures, with *hon'e* establishing the iconic foundation—passed on through such early Edo illustrated printed editions as *Osana Genji* and *Eiri Genji monogatari*—and *ukiyo-e* growing out of and gradually moving away from this traditional *Genji* iconography. The connection between *The Tale of Genji* and *ukiyo-e* differed greatly, depending on the period, the artist, and the consumers. The relationship ranged from transformations of episodes from the *Genji* into scenes from the pleasure quarters or everyday commoner life (often based on traditional *Genji* iconography, rather than on the original text) to pictures based on poems from the *Genji* (often different compositions from those of *Genji* paintings) to erotic vulgarizations using chapter titles from the *Genji* to, finally, remote references to the *Genji* as an iconic sign for elegance. This surprising assortment of (text–image) links between the *Genji* and *ukiyo-e* or (image–image) links between earlier *Genji* iconography and *ukiyo-e* is a testament both to the wide circulation of pictures from *The Tale of Genji* in Edo Japan and to the ever-evolving diversity of *ukiyo-e* artists, techniques, and compositional formats.

TRANSLATED BY ANRI YASUDA

NOTES

1. The *Screens Depicting Inner and Outer Kyoto* is in the Yonezawa City archive; the *Tale of Genji Screen* is now lost. The following argument is based on records found in "Uesugi nenpu" (Uesugi Chronology), "Hokuetsu gunki" (War Records of the Northern Echigo), and "Hokuetsu kasho" (Northern Echigo House Records), all of which are compiled in *Essa shiryō* (*Echigo Region Documents*). For possible questions about these documents, see Imatani Akira, *Kyoto: 1547—kakareta chūsei toshi* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1988). Kuroda Hideo argues that the "Uesugi nenpu" was compiled as a public record by the officials of Yonezawa Prefecture, in *Nazotoki rakuchū rakugai zu* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1996).
2. Haruki Ii, "Didactic Readings of *The Tale of Genji*" (chapter 6, this volume).
3. Imatani Akira, *Sengoku daimyō to tennō: Muromachi bakufu no kaitai to ōken no gyakushū* (Tokyo: Fukutake shoten, 1992; repr., Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2001).
4. The Tosa school was a school of *Yamato-e* (Japanese-style court) painting that began in the latter half of the fourteenth century, in the Muromachi period.
5. The *Tale of Genji Album* (1510) is in the Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts. See Melissa McCormick, "*Genji* Goes West: The 1510 *Genji Album* and the Visualization of Court and Capital," *Art Bulletin* 85, no. 1 (2003): 54–85, and "Kenkyū hoi: Hābādo daigaku bijutsukan zō *Genji monogatari gajō* to *Sanetaka kōki* shosai no *Genji monogatari*-e shikishi," *Kokka*, no. 1241 (1999): 27–28. See also Chino Kaori, Ikeda Shinobu, and Kamei Wakana, "Hābādo daigaku bijutsukan zō *Genji monogatari gajō* o meguru shomondai," *Kokka*, no. 1222 (1997): 39–51.
6. Tosa Mitsuyoshi's *Tale of Genji Album* is in the Kubosō Memorial Museum of Arts, Izumi. The *Tokio kyōki* (*Diary of Yamashina Tokio*, 1612) indicates that Nakano-in Michimura (1588–1653) instigated the production of the *Genji* painting and that it was commissioned by Ishikawa Tadafusa, later the lord of a castle in Ōmi Prefecture. Asukai Masayasu, Nakano-in Michimura, and Yamashina Tokio are listed as the calligraphers. See Yamane Yūzō, "Tosa Mitsuyoshi to sono Sekiya, Miyuki, Ukifune-zu byōbu," *Kokka*, nos. 749–750 (1954): 241–250, 259–261, and Kawada Masayuki, "*Genji monogatari tekagami* kō," in Izumi-shi Kubosō Kinen Bijutsukan, ed., *Genji monogatari tekagami kenkyū* (Izumi: Izumi-shi Kubosō Kinen Bijutsukan, 1992), pp. 84–115, which has a description of the *Genji* picture album.
7. The following is a list of fifteen such Tosa and Sumiyoshi school *Genji* works and the relevant scholarship on them: (1) a fifty-four-image collection attributed to Tosa Mitsumoto (Shirahata Yoshi, "Den Tosa Mitsumoto hitsu *Genji monogatari gajō*," *Kokka*, no. 965 [1974]: 15–25); (2) Tosa Mitsuyoshi's fifty-four-image painting album (Kyoto

National Museum) (Kano Hiroyuki, Shimosaka Mamoru, and Imanishi Yūichirō, eds., *Genji monogatari gajō: Kyoto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan shozō* [Tokyo: Benseisha, 1997]); (3) Tosa Mitsuyoshi's *Tekagami*, an eighty-image painting album (Izumi City Kubosō Memorial Museum, Kawade) (Hiroyuki et al., *Tosa Mitsuyoshi ga*); (4) Tosa Mitsuyoshi's painting album (Kyoto National Museum); (5) Tosa Mitsunori's sixty-image painting album (Tokugawa Art Museum, Nagoya) (Kobayashi Tadashi and Kōno Motoaki, eds., *Edo meisaku gajō zenshū*, vol. 5, *Tosa-Sumiyoshi ha* [Tokyo: Shinshindō, 1993]); (6) a fifty-four-image painting album attributed to Tosa Mitsunori (Tokugawa Art Museum); (7) Tosa Mitsunori's *hakubyō* (monochrome) painting album (Burke Collection, New York) (Akiyama Ken and Taguchi Ei'ichi, *Gōka Genji-e no sekai Genji monogatari* [Tokyo: Gakken, 1988]); (8) Tosa Mitsuyoshi's thirty-image *hakubyō* painting album (Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.); (9) painting album attributed to Tosa Mitsuyoshi (Sakai County Museum); (10) Tosa Mitsuoki's twenty-eight-image painting album (Nezu Institute of Fine Arts, Tokyo); (11) Tosa Mitsuoki's fifty-four-image painting album, from approximately 1658 (private collection) (Akiyama and Taguchi, *Gōka Genji-e no sekai Genji monogatari*, pp. 263–274); (12) Tosa Mitsuoki's painting album (private collection); (13) Sumiyoshi Jokei's fifty-four-image painting album (British Library, London); (14) Sumiyoshi Jokei's fifty-four-image painting album (Suntory Museum, Tokyo) (Sakakibara Satoru, "Sumiyoshi-ha *Genji monogatari*-e kaidai: Tsuki shobon kotobagaki," *Suntory bijutsu-kan ronshū* 3 [1989]: 5–181); and (15) Sumiyoshi Jokei's twenty-eight-image painting album (Nezu Institute of Fine Arts) (Sakakibara, "Sumiyoshi-ha *Genji monogatari*-e kaidai").

8. Suzuki Hiroyuki, "Kaiga no archaeology: Muromachi jidai ni okeru byōbu no igi," *Kokka*, no. 1200 (1995): 32–45.
9. The *Tale of Genji Akashi Ukifune Screen Paintings* are in the Kōno Art Museum, Imabari. See Miyajima Shin'ichi, "*Akashi/Ukifune zu byōbu* kaisetsu," *Kokka*, no. 1200 (1995): 46–48.
10. The *Tale of Genji Battle of the Carriages Screens* are in Ninnaji Temple. See Miyajima Shin'ichi, *Tosa Mitsunobu to Tosa-ha no kaiga*, Nihon no bijutsu 247 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1986); Kawamoto Keiko, "Kujō-ke denrai no kuruma arasoi-zu wo megutte: Sono seisaku jijō to kaishaku wo chūshin ni," in Memorial Group Celebrating Yamane Yūzō's Seventieth Year, ed., *Nihon kaigashi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1989), pp. 283–336; and Aizawa Masahiko, "Den Tosa Mitsumochi hitsu Kuruma-arasoi zu byōbu no hissha mondai ni tsuite," *Kokka*, no. 1198 (1995): 9–21.
11. Kawamoto, "Kujō-ke denrai no kuruma arasoi-zu wo megutte," p. 305.
12. Ibid., pp. 307–308.
13. The sliding-door images from this period could very well have been made by Kanō Eitoku. Based on stylistic factors, however, they are believed to have been done some years later, between 1590 and 1609, by his brother or sons. See Oota Aya and Hirabayashi Seitoku, "Kyū Katsuranomiya-ke denrai no bijutsu," in *Kyū Katsuranomiya-ke denrai no bijutsu* [exhibition catalog 13] (Tokyo: San no maru shōzōkan, 1996), pp. 64–81.

14. Unfortunately, the castle was lost in a fire during the Honnō-ji Disturbance (1582), but it has been restored according to specifications from the *Azuchi nikki* (*Azuchi Diary*, 1598) and other records. See Naitō Akira, "Azuchi jō no kenkyū," *Kokka*, nos. 987–988 (1976): 7–117, and Miyagami Shigetaka, "Azuchi jō tenshu no fukugen to sono shiryō ni tsuite," *Kokka*, nos. 998–999 (1976): 7–26.
15. Ōnishi Hiroshi and Ōta Shōko, *Asahi hyakka nihon no rekishi bessatsu: Rekishi wo yominaosu 16: Azuchi jō no naka no "tenka": Fusuma-e wo yomu* (Tokyo: Asahi shinbunsha, 1995).
16. In other structures of the Azuchi Castle complex, such as the Kōun-ji goten (Kōun-ji Pavilion), we find the depiction of such topics as the "Sangoku no meisho" (Famous Scenes from the Three Asian Kingdoms) and "Yama-umi den'en kyōri nado no shihō no keiki" (Four Directional Sceneries, such as of the Country of the Mountain and Ocean Areas). Judging from this, it seems certain that some rooms were decorated with traditional Japanese landscape painting. But even then, no *monogatari* paintings or genre paintings were depicted there.
17. Katagiri Yayoi, "Kanō Seisen'in no *Genji*-e byōbu: Hōnen-ji-bon wo chūshin ni," in Takeda Tsuneo sensei koki kinenkai, ed., *Bijutsushi no danmen* (Tokyo: Seibundō shuppan, 1995), pp. 267–290. See also Katagiri, "Bijutsushi ni okeru *Genji monogatari*: *Genji*-e no bamen sentaku to zuyō no mondai wo chūshin ni," in Masuda Shigeo, Suzuki Hideo, and Ii Haruki, eds., *Genji monogatari kenkyū shūsei*, vol. 14, *Genji monogatari kyōju* (Tokyo: Kazama shobō, 2000), pp. 301–346.
18. According to Matsubara Shigeru, the *Tsurezuregusa gajō* (*Essays in Idleness Painting Album*, seventeenth century) (Tokyo National Museum) was ordered on the occasion of the marriage of Princess Kiyo, granddaughter of Asukai Masaaki and Matsudaira Tsunamasa, governor of Echizen Prefecture ("Sumiyoshi Gukei hitsu *Tsurezuregusa gajō*: Seisaku ki to sono haikei," *Museum* 387 [1983]: 19–29).
19. Laura Allen, "Japanese Exemplars for a New Age: *Genji* Paintings from the Seventeenth-century Tosa School," in Elizabeth Lillehoj, ed., *Critical Perspectives on Classicism in Japanese Paintings, 1600–1700* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), pp. 99–132.
20. According to Fujioka Michio, extant records on construction projects from the Eiroku (construction from 1570), Tenshō (construction from 1589), and Keichō (construction from 1611) eras make no references to *Genji* pictures (*Kyoto gosho*, rev. ed. [Tokyo: Chūōkōron bijutsu shuppan, 1987]). The following examples are the only *Genji* paintings and *monogatari-e* (classical tale paintings) depicted in the imperial palace: (1) in the Kan'ei era (1641), a painting from *The Tale of Genji* in the On-kirokusho (Imperial Document Hall) and images from *The Tales of Ise*, *Yamato monogatari* (*The Tales of Yamato*), and *Utsubo monogatari* (*The Tale of the Hollow Tree*) in the Third Room of the Tsune goten (Daily Pavilion); (2) in the Jōō era (1654), a painting from *The Tales of Ise* in the Western Room in the First Room of the Kogosho (Small Palace) and from *The Tales of Yamato* in the Northwestern Room; (3) in the Kanbun era (1662), a painting from *Taketori monogatari* (*The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter*) in the First Room of the Small Palace and images from *The Tale of the Hollow Tree*, *Sagoromo monogatari* (*The Tale of*

Sagoromo), *Ochikubo monogatari* (*The Tale of Ochikubo*), *The Tales of Ise*, *The Tales of Yamato*, and *The Tale of Genji* in the Second Room; (4) in the Enpō era (1674), paintings from *The Tale of the Hollow Tree*, *The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter*, and *The Tale of Genji* in the Daily Pavilion, and an image from *The Tales of Ise* in the women's annex; and (5) in the Hōei era (1708), a gold-leaf painting from *The Tale of Genji* in the First, Second, and Third Rooms of the Daily Pavilion's southern wing; an image from *Eiga monogatari* (*A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*) and, on Japanese cedar doors, from *The Tales of Ise* in the On-Mima (Three Rooms); and paintings from *The Tales of Ise* in the eastern and western annexes.

21. Records exist of the following sliding-door paintings (*fusuma-e*) with *Genji* themes: (1) paintings from the chapters "Eawase" (The Picture Contest), "Kochō" (Butterflies), and "Uma ga e" (A Branch of Plum) in the First Room of the Nishinomaru Palace *ōoku* reception area, and an image from "Momiji no ga" (An Autumn Excursion) in the Gedan-no-ma (lower-level room) of the same place, and (2) paintings from the chapters "Eawase," "Hatsune" (The First Warbler), and "Wakana jō" (New Herbs, Part I) in the First Room of the Honmaru Palace *ōoku* Ichi-no-goten (First Pavilion). See Tokyo Kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Edo jō shōhekiga no shita-e* (Tokyo: Daiichi hōki, 1989).
22. For a discussion of *Genji* images in printed books, see Tanabe Masako, "Edo no *Genji*-e: Shoki e-iribon kara ukiyo-e," in Yoshii Miyako, ed., *Miyabi isetsu: Genji monogatari to iu bunka* (Tokyo: Shinwasha, 1997), pp. 117–160; Nakano Kōichi, "Kinsei shuppan no *Genji monogatari* no kyōju shiryō," in *Genji monogatari no kyōju shiryō: Chōsa to hakkutsu* (Tokyo: Musashino shoin, 1997); Shimizu Fukuko, "Kinsei *Genji monogatari*-e hanpon no sashi-e," in Heian Bungaku Ronkyūkai, ed., *Kōza Heian bungaku ronkyū* (Tokyo: Kazama shobō, 1992), vol. 8, pp. 103–132; Ii Haruki, "*Genji kōmoku* no sashi-e," in Heian Bungaku Ronkyūkai, ed., *Kōza Heian bungaku ronkyū*, vol. 8, pp. 133–160, and *Genji kōmoku tsuki Genji e-kotoba* (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1984); and Yoshida Kōichi, *E-iribon Genji monogatari kō jō chū ge*, Nihon shoshigaku taikei 53 (Tokyo: Seishōdō shoten, 1987).
23. Tanabe, "Edo no *Genji*-e."
24. Hishikawa Moronobu, considered the first *ukiyo-e* artist, was especially prolific in the 1670s and 1680s, when he produced picture books, illustrated books, and pillow (erotic) books.
25. In comparing the Kamigata and Edo versions of the *Osana Genji* (*Genji for the Young*, 1661 and 1672), for example, the Edo version is much closer to Moronobu's style.
26. In the *Genji Yamato-e kagami* (*Tale of Genji Japanese-Style Picture Mirror*, 1685), Moronobu depicted traditional images of *The Tale of Genji* based on compositions found in the *Genji kokagami* (*A Small Mirror of Genji*, ca. fourteenth century) and the *Genji binkagami* (*A Hairlock Mirror Genji*, 1660), two popular digests of *The Tale of Genji*. Moronobu was well acquainted with the *Genji* paintings in such printed books. See Tanabe, "Edo no *Genji*-e."
27. Masakazu Gunji gives the example of Kichiya Uemura's *Onna san no miya mairi* (*The Third Princess Visiting a Shrine*, 1667), in "Mukashi kara atta *Genji* no shibai," *Taiyō* 49 (1967): 169.

28. Ihara Saikaku, *Irozato mitokoro setai*, in *Shinpen Saikaku zenshū* (Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, 2000), vol. 3, pp. 233–300.
29. In the introduction to the picture book *Ukiyo tsuzuki* (*The Floating World Continued*, 1682), Moronobu writes, "Yamato-style *ukiyo-e* take as their subjects the random events of the world and let the brush run" (*Yamato ukiyo-e tote, yo no yoshinashi goto wo sono shina ni makasete fude wo hashirasemu*).
30. The earliest confirmed example is an entry for *ukiyo-e* in *Sorezoregusa* (*Various Grasses*, 1681), a *haisho* (*haikai* publication) that reads, "the grass of melancholy [*omoigusa*] that grows under *ukiyo-e*" (*ukiyo-e no shita ni oitaru omoigusa*).
31. *Genji makura* is a title given provisionally by Richard Lane, who first attributed it to Moronobu ("Nazono hihon *Genji makura*," *Kikan Ukiyo-e*, no. 57 [1974]: 69–126). There are no signatures or other marks to verify the work of Moronobu, but the style clearly indicates the work of a contemporary of Moronobu. Lane dates it to around 1671, but I would place it in the 1680s. See also Ōwa Kazuo, "Moronobu ehon shisho kaisetsu *Genji makura*," *Kikan Ukiyo-e*, no. 58 (1974): 82–84. Ryūtei Tanehiko notes: "*Genji Delicate Pillow*, one 'Young Lavender,' . . . erotic *Genji* pictures, no doubt by Hishikawa" (*Genji kyasha makura ichimei wakamurasaki . . . Genji-e no shunga nari, Hishikawa narubeshi*) (*Kōshokuhon mokuroku*, in *Shin gunsho ruijū* [Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1907], vol. 7, pp. 145–171).
32. Tanabe, "Edo no *Genji*-e." I have no idea when its title was given.
33. Other scenes show more graphic scenes of sex.
34. *Fukusa-e* are cloth design pictures. See "*Genji* ukiyo fukusa-e," with commentary by Matsudaira Susumu, in Narasaki Muneshige, ed., *Hizō ukiyo-e taikan: Berez Collection* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1991), entry 213. Matsudaira touches on *Tales of Ise* and *Shuten dōji* (*Drunken Child*) images as well.
35. Two other images from Moronobu's *Bijin-e tsukushi* also depict encounters between male–female couples and male voyeurs. His *Yamato-e zukushi* also has a man about to mount a horse to visit his lover.
36. The earliest confirmed work of Okumura Masanobu's is a picture book, from 1701, featuring courtesans, that is a copy of the work by Torii Kiyonobu. He was a manager of the Okumura printer's studio and experimented actively with such *ukiyo-e* woodblock-printing techniques as *urushi-e* (lacquer printing), *benizuri-e* (red printing), and *uki-e* (rising printing) during the first half of the eighteenth century, just before the development of *nishiki-e* (multicolored prints).
37. There were a number of vernacular translations of *The Tale of Genji* at this time, represented by *Fūryū Genji monogatari* (*Elegant Tale of Genji*, 1700) by Miyako no Nishiki, and the vernacular translations of the *Genji* by Suigetsudō Baiō, with illustrations by Okumura Masanobu. Baiō's vernacular translations include *Wakakusa Genji monogatari* (*Young Grass Tale of Genji*, 1707), a translation of the second half of "Hahakigi" (The Broom Tree) through "Yūgao" (Evening Faces); *Hinazuru Genji monogatari* (*Young Crane Tale of Genji*, 1708), a translation of "Wakamurasaki" (Lavender) and "Suetsumuhana" (The Safflower); *Kōhaku Genji monogatari* (*Crimson and White Tale of Genji*, 1709), a translation of "Momoji no ga" and "Hana no en" (The Festival of the Cherry

Blossoms); and *Zokuge Genji monogatari* (*Vernacular Tale of Genji*, 1710), a translation of "Kiritsubo" (The Paulownia Court) and the first half of "Hahakigi."

38. For example, *Edo Genre Scroll* (Idemitsu Museum of Arts, Tokyo).
39. "Ukiyo-e geijutsu" (1929), no. 23.
40. Suzuki Harunobu was acclaimed for his lyrical *bijinga* (portraits of beautiful women) that reveal his interest in literature as well as his standing as a leader in the development of *nishiki-e*.
41. *Mizu-e* was a type of woodblock technique that used only indigo and other light colors instead of black ink to create pictures without hard lines or outlining. Their subjects were often taken from stories from Japan and China. *Mizu-e* is believed to have developed from the early 1760s. Currently, thirty-six *mizu-e* are attributed to Harunobu.
42. For *egoyomi*, see *Seishun no ukiyo-e shi Suzuki Harunobu: Edo no kararisuto* [exhibition catalog] (Chiba: Chiba Art Museum, 2002). One of the original "Yūgao" pictures by Harunobu in the Museum of Asian Art, Berlin, includes the signature "Sari," the pseudonym of the patron Abe Masahiro. See *Berlin higashi ajia bijutsukan*, Hizō ukiyo-e taikan 12 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1988), fig. 39.
43. Nakamachi Keiko, *"Ukiyo-e* Memories of the *Tales of Ise*," trans. Miriam Wattles and Henry Smith, *Impressions*, no. 22 (2000): 54–85. For example, various scenes—such as a woman carrying a man on her back in the Akutagawa scene in section 6, a man and a woman hiding in the grass at Musashino in section 12, and travelers traversing the Mount Fuji and Yatsuhashi region in the trip to the east in section 9—were used to explore the *ukiyo-e* genre's favorite themes of eloping, clandestine male–female meetings, first love, and travel (especially along the Tōkaidō road). They featured an imaginative range of pictorial styles and content, often original and humorous.
44. The poem is from chapter 14 of Fujiwara no Teika's compilation *Shin chokusen wakashū* (*New Imperial Anthology of Japanese Poetry*, 1234) and appears in the "Yūyami" (Twilight) section of book 1 of the *Kokinwaka rokujō* (*Japanese Poetry of the Past and Present in Six Books*, 976). Harunobu adopted the same poem with the *Genji* incense sign for the "Wakana ge" (New Herbs, Part II) chapter, on the Third Princess (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).
45. Hayashi Yoshikazu, *Enpon kenkyū Harunobu* (Tokyo: Yūkō shobō, 1964), pp. 162–165. See also Hayashi, *Hiban Genji-e* (Tokyo: Ryokuen shobō, 1965), p. 163.
46. Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji monogatari*, ed. Yamagishi Tokuhei, Nihon koten bungaku taikei (NKBT) 18 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1963), p. 101.
47. A related erotic book is the *Onna adesugata ōkagami* (*Large Mirror of Seductive Females*, ca. 1777), probably published in Osaka, which has a two-page spread of erotic images with *Genji* chapter titles and the *Genji* incense sign in the upper-right-hand corner. The picture for the "Kiritsubo" chapter has a paulownia pattern on the lacquer mirror stand, and that for the "Wakamurasaki" chapter contains a lavender (*murasaki*) wisteria flower. There are other *Genji* pornographic books, such as the *Kai awase hamaguri Genji kasenkai* (*Pairing of Shells, Genji Clam Poetry Meeting*), but most of them are only in private collections and have not yet been introduced to the public. See Hayashi, *Hiban Genji-e*, pp. 163–164, figs. 57–60.

48. *Seishun no ukiyo-e-shi Suzuki Harunobu*, figs. 123, 149, 176, 198, 210, 229, 230. The relation of the image shown in figure 229 to the "Sawarabi" (Early Ferns) chapter is pointed out in Tanabe Masako, in *Seishun no ukiyo-e-shi Suzuki Harunobu*, p. 229, and Tashiro Kazuha, "Ukiyoe," in Suzuki Ken'ichi, ed., *Genji monogatari no hensōkyoku: Edo no shirabe* (Tokyo: Miyai shoten, 2003), pp. 191–198.
49. Isoda Koryūsai began producing *bijinga* in the style of Suzuki Harunobu in the second half of the 1760s, and by the 1770s he had developed his own style of *bijinga*. After being appointed a Hokkyō (originally a priest's title), a title given by the court, in 1782, he produced mainly drawn or painted works rather than prints.
50. The following works by Koryūsai have been confirmed: (1) *Fūryū yatsushi Genji* series, featuring "Utsusemi" (The Shell of the Locust), "Wakamurasaki," "Suetsumuhana," "Momiji no ga," "Sakaki" (The Sacred Tree), and "Hanachirusato" (The Orange Blossoms), and (2) *Yatsushi Genji* series, featuring "Miyuki" (The Royal Outing). For a more extensive list of his works, see Allen Hockley, *The Prints of Isoda Koryūsai: Floating World Culture and Its Consumers in Eighteenth-Century Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003).
51. Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji monogatari*, ed. Yamagishi Tokuhei, NKBT 17 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1962), p. 13.
52. The *Wind in the Pines, Homeward Sailboat* is in the New York Public Library. According to Hockley, two other pieces also survive: *Otome rakugan* (*Girl, Descending Geese*) and *Yūgao sekishō* (*Evening Faces, Evening Sunlight*).
53. Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji monogatari*, ed. Yamagishi Tokuhei, NKBT 15 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1959), p. 199. The fishing boat represents the nun, who has turned her back on the capital but is now returning to it.
54. See the symposium "*Yatsushi* and *Mitate* as Expression" (National Institute of Japanese Literature, Tokyo, May 2006) and accompanying special exhibition "Mitate and Yatsushi," an ongoing research project by Yamashita Noriko of the National Institute of Japanese Literature.
55. Asano Shūgō, *"Mitate* and *Yatsushi*: Travel of Images," in Asano Shūgō and Yoshida Nobuyuki, eds., *Reading Ukiyo-e*, vol. 1, *Harunobu* (Tokyo: Asahi shinbunsha, 1998), pp. 33–50, and "Fūryū no zōkei, nazoraeru sōsa: Mitate to yatsushi to sono shūhen," in Satō Yasuhiro ed., *Kōza Nihon bijutsushi* (Tokyo: Daigaku shuppankai, 2005), vol. 3, pp. 205–236.
56. The first example of *yatsushi* has been traced to the middle of the 1740s, and that of *mitate* to the second half of the 1760s. See Asano, "Fūryū no zōkei, nazoraeru sōsa."
57. One copy of Torii Kiyonaga's *Ehon Genji monogatari* is in the Ōta Memorial Museum of Art, Tokyo, and the other, in the Tokyo Metropolitan Library, has the sign "Kiyonaga ga" (painting by Kiyonaga).

58. Later, Utagawa Toyokuni (1769–1825) was also to produce *ukiyo-e* that linked *Genji* chapter titles with the *Shōshō hakkei*.
59. Regarding the treatment of *ukiyo-e* as "vulgar," see Nakamachi Keiko, "Ukiyo-e o kataru genzai," in *Kōsasuru shisen* (Tokyo: Brücke, 2005), pp. 81–107.
60. Yanagisawa Kien, *Hitorine*, in *Kinsei zuisō shū*, NKBT 96 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1965), p. 87.

Chapter 8

The Splendor of Hybridity

IMAGE AND TEXT IN RYŪTEI TANEHIKO'S *INAKA GENJI*

Michael Emmerich

CANONICAL WORKS of literature do not remain canonical because they are continually being reproduced—although, no doubt, most of them are—but because they are continually being replaced. In *Chōhen shōsetsu no kenkyū* (*Studies of the Novel*, 1925), Tayama Katai laments that people no longer read the actual text of *The Tale of Genji*, contenting themselves instead with adaptations; he cites Ryūtei Tanehiko's *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (*A Fraudulent Murasaki's Bumpkin Genji*, 1829–1842) as an example. But, of course, Katai could admonish deluded readers to read the original *Genji* only because the adaptations had both certified and advertised their source's status as a classic—because the *Genji* had been canonized *in the form of* a series of adaptations broadly defined: the *Genji*'s value was a halo of reflected glory that derived to a large extent from the value that people put on *images* of the *Genji*. In this case, the word "images" should be interpreted expansively to include all manner of replacements—from pictures to rewritings, from commentaries to poetic allusions, from *Genji* names to the fifty-two *Genji* incense signs.

This chapter looks closely at Tanehiko's *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* to convey some sense of its richness as a work in the *gōkan* genre, a form of popular fiction characterized by its intermeshing of pictures and text that appeared in the first years of the nineteenth century and survived into the Meiji period. At the same time, I hope this will serve as a case study of a particular image of *The Tale of Genji*—an example of an adaptation that both takes value from and gives value to the work it replaces. *Inaka Genji* was a particularly important milestone in the history of the canonization of the *Genji* precisely because it was the first mass-market fictional publication to exploit this cyclical relationship. I suggest that *Inaka Genji* actually *created*

the idea of the popular replacement of the *Genji*—as opposed to, for instance, the digest or guide—and that in this sense it may be regarded as a sort of precursor to the modern Japanese translations (by Yosano Akiko, Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, and more recent writers) that have been so central to the *Genji*'s contemporary canonization. In the early years of the Tenpō era, *Inaka Genji* probably was not read as a replacement of the *Genji*; over time, Tanehiko taught his readers to regard the work in this way; and once established, the power of this equation made it exceedingly difficult to consider *Inaka Genji* as anything but a replacement, obscuring much of its value as a *gōkan*.

INAKA GENJI AND THE *GENJI*

Nise Murasaki inaka Genji, published between 1829 and 1842 by Senkakudō, Tsuruya Kiemon's publishing house, is known as the quintessential best seller of the Edo period (1600–1867), the most popular work ever to appear in the *gōkan* form. This fact alone would seem to justify a fair amount of scholarly attention, and yet relatively little has been written about it. It is telling, moreover, that so far the only book-length monograph to look very closely at *Inaka Genji* considers the plot, characters, and text of Ryūtei Tanehiko's (1783–1842) story solely in relation to those of *The Tale of Genji*.[1] To the extent that *Inaka Genji* has been assigned a position in Japanese literary history at all—as opposed to the history of *kusa-zōshi* (grass books), *gōkan*, or late Edo-period fiction—it has been remembered precisely as an "adaptation" (*hon'an*) of the Heian-period classic. This places the work in a double bind: the richness and eclecticism of *Inaka Genji*'s pictures and text and even, paradoxically, the extent to which Tanehiko incorporated elements of the *Genji* into his work are overshadowed by the irreplaceable psychological profundities of the *Genji* itself, whose canonical weight is nevertheless responsible for much of the little attention Tanehiko's *gōkan* receives. *Inaka Genji* can never escape being talked about in connection with that classic and thus, by virtue of its own lesser canonical status, being perceived as secondary, derivative, or even lacking. This tendency may have grown less pronounced now that *Inaka Genji* is no longer as widely read as it was in the Meiji (1868–1912), Taishō (1912–1926), and early Shōwa (1926–1989) periods—now that it has been replaced, in its turn, by newer versions of the *Genji* that take the form of kabuki, modern Japanese translations, film, *manga*, and CD-ROMs—but it has not completely vanished.

For the majority of *Inaka Genji*'s readers in the early years of the Tenpō era (1830–1844), *The Tale of Genji* probably existed, insofar as it existed at all, as a reflection of *Inaka Genji*. *Inaka Genji* is not a derivative adaptation of the *Genji*. It is an extraordinarily rich, playful, and erudite reworking of a dazzling variety of earlier texts, pictures, and plots; it was written in a particular pseudo-dramatic style created and popularized many years earlier by Tanehiko himself; and, most important, each of its chapters was lavishly produced and packaged. The visual form of *Inaka Genji* was so elegant, in fact, that readers unfamiliar with the text of the *Genji* might well have sensed in it, more than in the verbal content, the sort of high-class refinement they associated, however vaguely, with the *Genji*.

BEST-SELLER MATERIAL

It seems likely that, early on at least, the pictures that the *ukiyo-e* (pictures of the floating world) artist Utagawa Kunisada (Utagawa Toyokuni III, 1786–1864) created for *Inaka Genji*—based on sketches and verbal instructions provided by Tanehiko himself—as well as the brilliant design and packaging and the unusual time and care that was devoted to the printing, may have been chiefly responsible for making the book the huge success it was.[2] The scholar Eiko Kondo is undoubtedly correct when she suggests that readers would have looked at *Inaka Genji* "in much the same way as one nowadays admires photos of interior design and fashion magazines."[3] A fictional depiction in Tōri Sanjin's *Tamagiku zenden sato kagami* (*The Legend of Tamagiku, Unexpurgated: A Mirror of the Pleasure Quarters*, 1822), a *sharebon* (book of wit and fashion), of the reaction of the famous courtesan Otama on being given a newly published *gōkan* supports this claim and indicates that it may be applied to readers of *gōkan* in general: "'Oh, thank you so much!' she said, taking the booklet from him; then, looking delighted, she flipped rapidly through to the end, taking in nothing but the pictures."[4] The general importance of clothing and hairstyles to *gōkan* is also playfully suggested by the covers of the first chapters of Tanehiko's *Kantan shokoku monogatari* (*Kantan Travels the Provinces: A Tale*, 1834–1856), which feature paper dolls with full wardrobes of paper clothing, complete with tabs on some fascicles, just waiting to be cut out (figure 45).[5] But *Inaka Genji* was so extravagant a publication that it stood alone among contemporary works. In a nutshell, before it was an adaptation of *The Tale of Genji*, *Inaka Genji* was a magnificent piece of visual art.



FIGURE 45 Ryūtei Tanehiko (text) and Utagawa Kunisada (pictures), "Ōmi no maki," in *Kantan shokoku monogatari* (*Kantan Travels the Provinces: A Tale*, 1834–1856): a paper doll with her wardrobe. (Courtesy of Ritsumeikan University, Art Research Center, Kyoto)

The first three chapters of *Inaka Genji*, which appeared in 1829 and 1830, were issued in the format common to *gōkan* of the Bunsei era (1818–1830). Beginning with the publication of chapter 4 in 1831, however, Tanehiko and his collaborators started to introduce some innovations. One eye-catching experiment introduced in chapter 4 and retained in subsequent chapters involved the use in the *kuchi-e*—full-page portraits of attractively posed prominent characters that occupy the first pages of each chapter—of both ordinary black ink (*sumi*) and "thin ink" (*usuzumi*), which appears gray on the page, printed from a separate block. The use of *usuzumi*, which was common in the Bunsei era in illustrations for reading books (*yomihon*) and other types of publications but was all but unheard of in the even less prestigious *gōkan*, took so much effort that it was often eliminated in later printings of *Inaka Genji*. The commercial benefits of retaining this radical innovation, at least in earlier printings of each chapter, would seem to have been well worth the extra effort: the *kuchi-e* for subsequent chapters sometimes include not one but two shades of *usuzumi*, and even layers of light blue, although these also were eliminated from later printings.

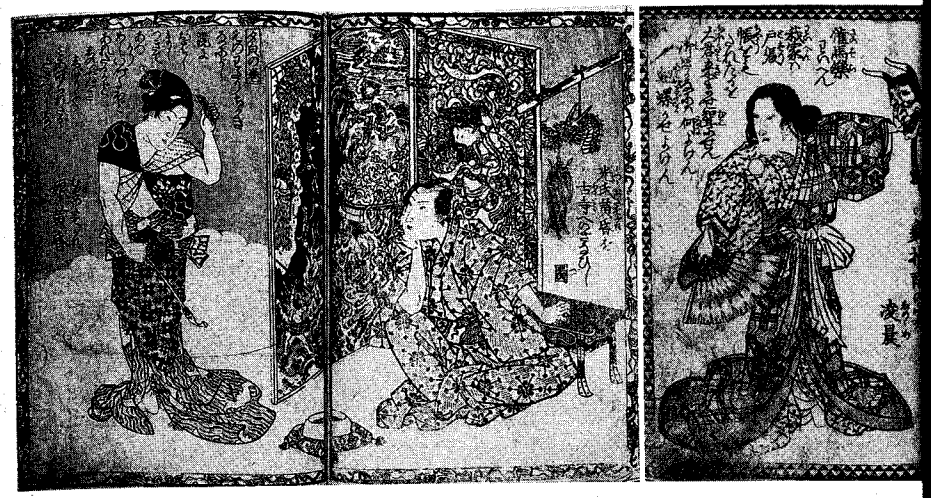


FIGURE 46 Early printing of Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (*A Fraudulent Murasaki's Bumpkin Genji*, 1831), chap. 4, fasc. 1, pp. 1 *ura* to 2 *ura*: Shinonome (*right*), the mother of Tasogare (*left*), stands and looks down at Mitsuuji (*center*). (Courtesy of National Diet Library)

A comparison of earlier (figure 46) and later (figure 47) printings of the *kuchi-e* for chapter 4 of *Inaka Genji* makes it clear how much the use of

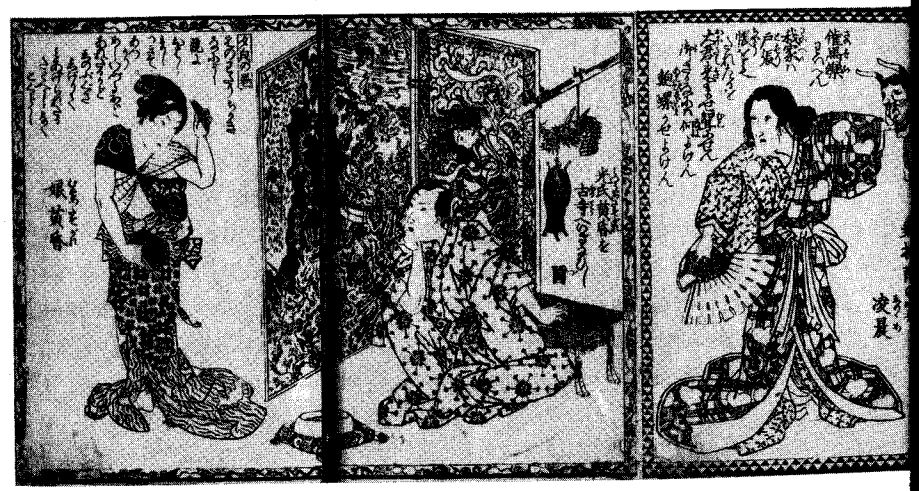


FIGURE 47 Later printing of Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (1831), chap. 4, fasc. 1, pp. 1 *ura* to 2 *ura*: the same pictures as in figure 46, but without the *usuzumi*. (Courtesy of Michael Emmerich)

usuzumi adds to the compositions. It makes the characters' clothing appear more solid, adds complexity to the textile patterns (notice the richly detailed handling of the heartvine [*aoi*] leaves on the kimono in the earlier printing [figure 46, *right*] and the absence of this detail in the later printing [figure 47, *right*]), and imbues props like the fan and mask (figure 46, *right*) and the screen showing heaven and hell (figure 46, *left*) with an almost palpable depth and weight. In the latter picture, which depicts Mitsuuji and Tasogare—the counterparts of Genji and Yūgao in *The Tale of Genji*—*usuzumi* was used to turn the white of the lower half of the page into a billowing fog that encloses the two characters, separating them from the nebulous gray area behind them and the screen. The overall effect of the use of *usuzumi* is to lend the picture an eerie, otherworldly atmosphere that works with the images of heaven and hell on the screen's two panels to subtly anticipate the supernatural and faux-supernatural events that will unfold in this chapter. The two panels of the screen resonate, moreover, with a passage near the end of chapter 5, in which Tasogare—having slit her own throat with a razor in an effort to protect Mitsuuji from her mother, Shinonome, who has tried to kill him—sobs, "My mother's demonic appearance reveals, in this world, the form she will take in hell, and makes me see how terrible her suffering will be in the world to come—how sad I am, how sad!" A moment later, after Mitsuuji forgives Shinonome and assures Tasogare that she and he will be reborn on a single lotus blossom in the next world, Tasogare replies that, guided by his words, she will gladly die and become a buddha.[6]

Shades of gray played a role in another pathbreaking innovation introduced in chapter 4 of *Inaka Genji*: the back covers of the two fascicles of the chapter are not solid black, as are those of earlier *gōkan*, including the first three chapters of *Inaka Genji*; instead, they feature an elegant, complex pattern including *Genji* incense signs, evidently randomly chosen, that was printed with a mild blue-gray ink (figure 48).[7] The pattern was changed at least six times during the publication history of *Inaka Genji* in the Edo period, and a number of colors were used. This contributes greatly to the impression of lavishness that the work conveys, particularly since the patterns used are always tastefully, subtly sophisticated. One of the designs that appears most frequently is a uniform field of gray or light brown that sets off a pattern of white spaces in the shape of clamshells (figure 49); the shells, clearly meant to evoke those used in the game *kai-ōi* (shell matching), are marked with *Genji* incense signs and the corresponding chapter titles. The extreme care with which this design was realized, particularly given that it was for use in a place as seemingly unimportant



FIGURE 48 Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (1829–1842): the first of a number of patterns used to decorate the back covers of the fascicles of *Inaka Genji*. (Courtesy of Michael Emmerich)

as the back cover and in a period when the overwhelming majority of such covers were plain black, indicates just how much importance Ryūtei Tanehiko, Utagawa Kunisada, and Tsuruya Kiemon placed on the physical form of *Inaka Genji*.

Another example, taken from the same plotline to which the *kuchi-e* shown in figures 46 and 47 are related, illustrates further the importance and sophistication of the role that the pictures themselves play in the reading and viewing experience, highlighting the dynamic that makes *Inaka Genji* such a successful example of a hybrid image–text. The illustrations appear on opposite sides of the last page of chapter 3

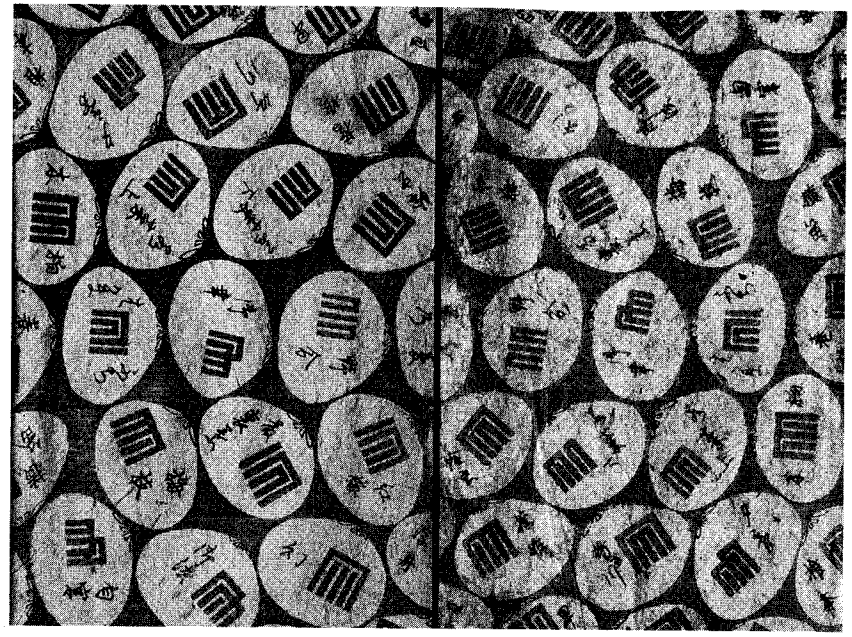


FIGURE 49 Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*: the pattern most frequently used on the back covers of *Inaka Genji*. Each shell contains a *Genji* incense sign and the title of the chapter from *The Tale of Genji* that it represents. (Courtesy of Michael Emmerich)

(figure 50). Mitsuuji is shown heading home after having had a bit of an adventure, as an unintended consequence of avoiding a directional taboo, with someone else's wife; this section is based, roughly at first but later very closely, on the "Utsusemi" (The Cicada Shell) chapter of *The Tale of Genji*. What is of interest here, though, is the trio of crows dipping into view from outside the frame. Although Mitsuuji's amorous escapades in the second half of chapter 3 ultimately bear fruit in a series of thrilling events and stunning, violent pictures in chapters 15 and 17, for the time being they seem little more than a distraction from the current main thread of the plot, which revolves around the search for a missing sword called Kogarasumaru. This digression goes on for quite some time; the first half of chapter 4 continues to relate the details of Mitsuuji's dalliance at the estate to which he has been led by the directional taboo, and it is only in the second half of the chapter that his hunt for the sword is renewed.



FIGURE 50 Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, chap. 3, fasc. 2, p. 20 *omote* and *ura*: Mitsuuji (*right*) looks down as Tasogare (*left*) looks up at the crows, which are flying toward her from the preceding page. (Courtesy of Ritsumeikan University, Art Research Center, Kyoto)

The name of the sword, Kogarasumaru—which we later learn was stolen by Shinonome (see figures 46 and 47)—means "Little Crow." The crows skimming along the upper edge of the picture (figure 50, *right*), which comes, as mentioned, in the middle of a lengthy and rather uneventful digression, thus serve as a subtle but tantalizing reminder of what has been left hanging, calling to mind the name of the stolen sword. Furthermore, the leftward flight of the crows is echoed by the gaze of the boy standing to Mitsuuji's left, which directs the reader to turn the page and see the mystery woman standing there (figure 50, *left*). She is identified by both a written note and the presence on her kimono of the *Genji* incense sign for the "Yūgao" (The Twilight Beauty) chapter as Tasogare, the counterpart of Yūgao in *The Tale of Genji*, who appears here for the first time. Her gaze is turned upward in the direction of the crows on the previous page, suggesting that she, too, is interested or involved in the issue of the disappearance of Little Crow. Opening the cover of the next chapter,

chapter 4, the reader encounters Tasogare again in the *kuchi-e*, along with her mother, Shinonome, who wears a kimono checkered with flying crows, which further heightens the suspense that surrounds these two characters (see figures 46 [*right*] and 47 [*right*]). And the importance of the crow motif to this plotline only grows as the story progresses: Mitsuuji first becomes acquainted with Tasogare and Shinonome when his attention is attracted by a "crow gourd" growing on the fence of their house (this gourd appears on Tasogare's clothing in figures 46 [*left*] and 47 [*left*]); Shinonome appears on the first page of the main body of chapter 5 wearing a kimono with a pattern of very large crows almost identical to the three in figure 50 (*right*) and continues to be shown wearing this kimono until her suicide; and later in chapter 5, Mitsuuji subtly confronts Shinonome with an ambiguous *hokku* playing on a *tanka* (short poem) in "Yūgao" that might be translated as "Let me then draw near and see whether you are she: Crow Gourd" (or, since *uri* can mean "seller" as well as "gourd": "Let me then draw near and see whether you are she: the one who sold Little Crow").

PLOT AND TEXT

Tanehiko's close collaboration with Kunisada enabled the creation of a publication that stimulated the eye and the mind through both the extravagance of its printed form and the brilliance of its use of pictures to build atmosphere and keep the story moving. But, of course, *Inaka Genji* is also wildly exciting to read, because of both its action-packed plot and its creative synthesis of a set of highly diverse textual and pictorial elements, including those from *The Tale of Genji*. Indeed, it is precisely Tanehiko's ability to create an atmosphere of high-class elegance without sacrificing any of the interest of the dynamic plot that makes *Inaka Genji* such a complexly thrilling reading and viewing experience.

Briefly, the plot of *Inaka Genji* centers around Ashikaga Mitsuuji, the second son, by a comparatively low-ranking wife, of Ashikaga Yoshimasa, the eighth of the historical shoguns of the Muromachi period (1392–1573). Mitsuuji's mother dies after being abused by other members of the shogunal household, leaving Mitsuuji behind; Yoshimasa, distraught, considers making Mitsuuji his successor. In order to prevent this and to recover a stolen sword, mirror, and poem slip—three objects that symbolize the authority of Ashikaga rule and must therefore be retrieved in order to preserve the stability of the realm—Mitsuuji begins traveling, acting the

part of a playboy, and gathering information about the stolen treasures from women he meets. Yoshimasa, disappointed with his son's profligacy, finally names his first son, Yoshihisa, as his successor. Mitsuuji goes on to engineer the defeat of Yamana Sōzen, the evil figure behind most of the mishaps that occur in the work, including the theft of the treasures. And along the way, there are any number of murders, faked murders, secrets, intrigues, attempted kidnappings, sword fights, gruesome suicides, supernatural incidents, attempted poisonings, pretended amours, foiled attacks by masked intruders, spirit possessions, instructive instances of karmic retribution, intercepted letters, and cases of identity swapping.

Inaka Genji is invariably described as an "adaptation" of *The Tale of Genji*, but even this all-too-brief recounting of its plot should suggest that in some sense the center of its interest lies elsewhere. In fact, the frame of the work—what in kabuki terminology would be called the *sekai* (world)—is Higashiyama, a cultural and historical moment named after the district in eastern Kyoto in which Yoshimasa constructed the temple commonly known as Ginkaku-ji (Silver Pavilion), to which he retired in 1473. Many of the characters in *Inaka Genji* are loosely based on historical figures already familiar from kabuki and earlier works in the *gōkan* and *yomihon* genres, including Yoshimasa and his son Yoshihisa; the evil Yamana Sōzen (Mochitoyo); and Yoshimasa's cunning wife, Toyoshi no Mae, whose historically inaccurate name is written with two characters (富徹), one taken from the historical name of Yoshimasa's wife, Hino Tomiko (日野富子), and the other from the *Genji*'s Kokiden Consort (弘徽殿女御). Ryūtei Senka (1806–1868), who published a sequel to Tanehiko's work in the 1850s under the pen name Ryūtei Tanehiko II, explained that *Inaka Genji* used the late Muromachi military chronicle *Ōninki* (*Chronicle of the Ōnin War*, 1488) as its *sekai*, implying that the *Genji* was incorporated as a *shukō*—another kabuki term denoting an innovative twist on a familiar plot or setting.[8] In his preface to chapter 15 of *Inaka Genji*, Tanehiko describes "this *Genji*" in similar terms, although he seems to reverse the *sekai* and *shukō*, which were perhaps not always entirely distinct: "Seven years have passed since I first pieced this garment together, patching in *Ōninki* where it wouldn't show since it doesn't match the soft, fake purple [*nise murasaki*] exterior."[9] Either way, however the relationship between these two source texts is conceptualized, the view of *Inaka Genji* as a hybrid concoction, half *Ōninki* and half *Genji*, offers a useful corrective to the standard, overly simple conception of the work as an adaptation of the *Genji*.[10]

At the same time, it is worth emphasizing how many other times in addition to the Higashiyama period and how many other sources in addition

to the *Ōninki* and the *Genji* Tanehiko incorporated into his work. Allusions to the Heian period (794–1185) are scarce but not entirely absent—the first *kuchi-e* in chapter 1 shows Murasaki Shikibu holed up in Ishiyama Temple preparing to write *The Tale of Genji*; she is dressed in the Heian aristocratic style and sits on a Heian-style wooden floor, not covered with tatami—and references to the late Muromachi and early Edo periods abound. Among them are quotations from, allusions to, or pictorial reproductions of *otogi-zōshi* (Muromachi tales), early *kusa-zōshi*, pictures by Hishikawa Moronobu and Nonoguchi Ryūhō, pictures in the style of Torii Kiyonobu, screens by Ogata Kōrin, *jōruri* (puppet plays) by Chikamatsu Monzaemon, *renga* (classical linked verse), dancing in the Shigayama style, proverbs, poetic texts, popular songs, *kōwakamai* (*kōwaka* dancing), and *haikai* (popular linked verse). There are also, of course, an abundance of contemporary, late Edo elements—including such sophisticatedly stylish items as a large aquarium, a mechanical fountain, well-known cosmetic products, and furnishings imported from the Netherlands—as well as various made-up props, including one that Tanehiko describes in a note to Utagawa Kunisada as "another of the usual bogus carriages that don't exist today."[11] And, as if all this were not enough, certain episodes in the work were recycled from Tanehiko's earlier fiction.

There can be no doubt that Tanehiko, and presumably his readers as well, reveled in this profusion of references, in the dissonance created by the interplay of so many different historical moments, in the incomparably sophisticated admixture of the elegant and educational with the vulgar, and in the conspicuously fictional texture of the narrative space thus called into being. Indeed, he occasionally makes explicit reference to the conflicted, fictional character of this mishmash world. His preface to chapter 16 is so playfully provocative that it is worth quoting in full:

> There are no plum trees in *Chuci* [*Songs of the South*], there are no chrysanthemums in *Man'yōshū* [*Collection of Myriad Leaves*], and there were no prefaces in old *kusa-zōshi*. There aren't any mosquito nets in *Genji*; neither is there male–male love. Unless hot water counts, there was nothing back then but prayers to do what we do by taking medicine. And even more not there than any of these things are the plot twists of a picture book. As I noted in the preface to chapter 2, I first sketched out a story that would take me as far as "Momiji no ga" [Beneath the Autumn Leaves]; now, contrary to all expectations, I find I've paddled my boat all the way to the shores of "Suma" and "Akashi," and since it never occurred to me to prepare for this eventuality, I find myself at a loss, with no wind in my sails, the towrope gone slack. The same thing has happened with the pictures I draw. I totally exhausted my ingenuity just trying to settle on shapes for lamps and screens and armrests; now I've even drawn in "fulling block pillows" and "shared-wing mats," both undreamed of in the Higashiyama period. And since a sleeping chamber in summer would look rather bleak without a mosquito net, everything in plain view, for the first time I've drawn in a net of hanging curtains in place of the sets of standing curtains found in *Genji*. Best, I thought, to jot out a note explaining myself in this preface-like thing that wouldn't have existed in *kusa-zōshi* of old.[12]

Behind the standard modest pose, one senses an intellect that delights in complicating its own awareness of its own fictional inclinations, highlighting even the historicity of the form and presence of the preface itself, which might otherwise seem self-evident. Tanehiko does not feel compelled to "explain himself" in this way only in the prefaces, either; early in chapter 1, for instance, he writes a note under the feet of a character named Hirugao that reads, "No name is provided in *Genji* for the Kōryōden Intimate. For the time being, then, I will call her Hirugao. I chose this name because it doesn't appear in *Genji*."[13] Later in the same chapter we find "A note from the author: while I wrote Hirugao into the story as a counterpart of the Kōryōden Intimate, her murder by an unknown intruder is a fabrication all my own."[14] Again and again, Tanehiko calls attention to the mixed-up, technically incorrect, not quite possible, anachronistic fictionality of his writing. Indeed, he does the same thing even with his writing style, which he describes in the preface to chapter 2—by means of an erudite reworking of a passage in the "Aoi" (Heart-to-Heart) chapter of *The Tale of Genji* whose interpretation was considered one of the "three secrets" of the work—as "kabuki, puppet play, and tale, all three rolled into one."[15]

In the process of marking the points where his fiction departs from the facts, however, Tanehiko also educates his readers, offering tidbits of information that few could be expected to know, often about prestigious topics and texts in which they probably ought to be interested. The first sentence of the preface to chapter 16, which begins with *Chuci* and *Man'yōshū* and ends with old *kusa-zōshi*, may not provide particularly valuable information, but its witty dovetailing of facts from the linked universes of *ga* (elegant) and *zoku* (vulgar) literature is at least nominally instructive. And I would suggest that this technique reproduces in miniature the whole of *Inaka Genji*: the triumvirate of *Chuci*,

Man'yōshū, and old *kusa-zōshi* parallels, albeit in reverse proportion, that of kabuki, puppet play, and tale. The dramatic prose style of *Inaka Genji*, modeled on kabuki and *jōruri*, offers a painless introduction to *The Tale of Genji*.

This is where *Inaka Genji* derives its force as a pedagogical tool, a vehicle of classic cultivation. Its thoroughly hybrid texture—the skillful interweaving of pictures and prose; the carefully calibrated, multiply dramatic rhythms of the writing; the unlikely mixture of the *Ōninki* and the *Genji*—masks startlingly frequent, startlingly lengthy passages of almost word-for-word translation or even, on occasion, direct quotation from *The Tale of Genji*, in the form of Kitamura Kigin's (1624–1705) annotated edition, *Genji monogatari kogetsushō* (*Kogetsushō*; *The Tale of Genji Moon on the Lake Commentary*, 1673), that appear even in the earliest chapters. Very little of the actual text of the *Genji* is incorporated into the first fascicle of chapter 1, but a certain amount of translation begins to trickle in from the second, particularly in the sections that deal with the continuing ill health and ultimate death of Hanagiri, the abused mother of Mitsuuji; the reaction of Hanagiri's mother to her daughter's death; and, above all, the visit that Sugibae, a former maidservant of Hanagiri's, makes to the bereaved mother. Chapter 4 incorporates a truly extensive amount of material from the *Genji*, including a stretch of text that blends verbatim quotation, close translation, not-so-close translation, and completely new invention and that runs on for the equivalent of approximately eight double-sided pages in the original *Inaka Genji*, or about twelve pages in Suzuki Jūzō's contemporary edition.[16] Tanehiko sometimes changes the order of clauses or otherwise rearranges sentences from the *Genji* in a fashion somewhat reminiscent of Nonoguchi Ryūhō's *Jūjō Genji* (*Genji in Ten Volumes*, 1661), but for a reader closely acquainted with the Heian text, certain passages are likely to produce a strikingly eerie sense of linguistic déjà vu. Here, for instance, is a passage from the "Utsusemi" chapter of the *Genji*, followed by one from *Inaka Genji*:

> They had the lamp beside them. His first thought was that the one by the central pillar of the chamber, facing away from him, must be she. She seemed to have on two layered, silk twill shifts of a deep red-violet, with some sort of garment over them. Her slender head and slight build left no marked impression, and she was keeping her partner from getting any view of her face. She was also doing her best to conceal her strikingly slim hands.[17]

> They had the lamp beside them. His first thought was that the one leaning against the pillar must be she. She seemed to have on a light-blue, single-layered kimono with a red and white lining, the front of which she had pulled tightly together so that she was well covered. Her restrained hairdo and strikingly slim hands struck him as being perfectly ordinary, and she was keeping her partner from getting a look at her face, bending her head down and tucking her chin into the top of her kimono.[18]

Any number of similar passages can be found in chapters 5 through 8 of *Inaka Genji*. And yet ever since Yamaguchi Takeshi proposed in 1928 that *Inaka Genji* can be divided into three sections by looking at the individual chapters in terms of "their relationship to the original text of *The Tale of Genji*," it has generally been accepted that the work starts in a place quite distant from the *Genji* and gradually inches toward it; Yamaguchi suggests that at first Tanehiko actually "wanted to keep his distance from the original text," but then, somewhere around chapter 10, changed his mind.[19] No doubt there is a good deal of truth in this, particularly if *Inaka Genji* is considered from a relatively abstract perspective, limiting the view to the level of plot. On the more basic level of the writing itself, however, the *Genji* was there from the beginning.

Although he rarely advertises the pedagogical function of his work—indeed, most of the time he keeps it carefully hidden behind a screen of thrilling action and scintillating wit—Tanehiko does interrupt his story fairly frequently to assure his readers that he has remained faithful to *The Tale of Genji*. His notes about Hirugao's name and bloody death are perfect examples of this: not only does Tanehiko state in both notes that Hirugao is a counterpart of the Kōryōden Intimate, but he even takes the trouble to explain that he selected the name Hirugao "because it doesn't appear in *Genji*." The question arises, then, why more has not been made of the extent to which the actual text of the *Genji* was incorporated into *Inaka Genji*. To a somewhat surprising degree, this borrowing has been either overlooked or passed over by those who have written about the work. Suzuki Jūzō, whose writings on Tanehiko and *Inaka Genji* come close to making everything else seem superfluous, casually remarks in one of his less readily available essays that "looking into the manner in which the original has been adapted within this first half of *Inaka Genji*, concealed within its standard *kusa-zōshi* twists and turns, one discovers that to a startling degree various engaging scenes from the original have been woven in, and that Tanehiko even endeavors to work in the language of *Genji* itself."[20] Uchimura Katsushi points out that "it is unexpectedly easy to lose sight of the fact that, in his

own way, Tanehiko had thoroughly digested *Genji* when he wrote his own work,"[21] and then goes on to address this problem by offering a rigorous analysis of Tanehiko's use of Kigin's *Kogetsushō*. The question remains, however: What is it that makes it "startling" to discover so much *Genji* in *Inaka Genji*, and what accounts for the "unexpected ease" with which its presence is overlooked?

Part of the reason lies in the continued influence of Kyokutei Bakin's writings, particularly *Kinsei mono no hon Edo sakusha burui* (*Modern Fiction: A Classification of Edo Authors*, preface 1834), on our understanding of the history of Edo literature. Scholars who have dealt with *Inaka Genji* tend to stress the role that Bakin's successful *gōkan* versions of vernacular Chinese tales, including *Konpirabune rishō no tomozuna* (*A Mooring-Rope of Salvation from Kumbhira's Boat*, 1824–1831) and *Keisei Suikoden* (*A Courtesan's Water Margin*, 1825–1835)—both begun in the late Bunsei era, just a few years before *Inaka Genji*—may have played in spurring Tanehiko to attempt a rewriting of his own, but of a Japanese rather than a Chinese story. This argument, which seems plausible enough given the rivalry that appears to have existed between the writers, particularly on Bakin's side, tends to emphasize Bakin's scholarly attainments while devaluing Tanehiko's—which is, in fact, precisely the approach that Bakin adopts in *Kinsei mono no hon Edo sakusha burui*. The subtle bias implicit in this argument is apparent, for instance, even in Andrew Markus's recapitulation of it:

> Unaccustomed to the scale of the new serial *gōkan*, Tanehiko equally lacked the compendious knowledge of Chinese literature, ancient and modern, that Bakin lorded as his unassailable domain. Not to be bested, Tanehiko probably conceived the idea of a long serial *gōkan* based instead on a Japanese classic—a classic, moreover, already partially assimilated and modernized in a series of Genroku period works with which he was familiar.[22]

Markus does go on to suggest that Tanehiko "commanded at least a good layman's knowledge of select passages" of *The Tale of Genji* and points out that he cites the tale in some of his antiquarian miscellanies,[23] but even so, one comes away with the impression that ultimately Tanehiko's interest in the Heian classic was more a matter of convenience and accessibility than anything else. And it is but a short step from here to the harsh evaluation of *Inaka Genji* that another pathbreaking scholar of Edo literature, Nakamura Yukihiko, makes in an essay about the influence of

the *Genji* on the literature of the early modern period: "Ultimately, all *The Tale of Genji* offered Tanehiko was a means of spicing up his work, holding his readers' interest; the tale did not exert any sort of serious influence on the work's literary character. It must be counted a great pity, both for the original text and for the reader, if anyone at the time believed that by reading *Nise Murasaki* they were able even to imagine what the original was like."[24]

If negative comparisons with Bakin are one reason that Tanehiko's abilities as a serious reader of *The Tale of Genji* have been questioned, Tanehiko's own fictional approach to the classic is another. His tendency, particularly in earlier chapters of the work, to cloak lengthy passages of more or less verbatim translation behind a smoke screen of sensational action has been mentioned, and perhaps the best place to turn in continuing this discussion is the "Complete List of Works Cited," which appears in lieu of a preface at the head of chapter 3 of *Inaka Genji*:

NISE MURASAKI INAKA GENJI, CHAPTER 3

Complete List of Works Cited

Genji teiyō	*Genji kokagami*	*Jūjō Genji*
Osana Genji	*Genji binkagami*	*Kōhaku Genji*
Hinazuru Genji	*Wakakusa Genji*	*Genji wakatake*
Fūryū Genji monogatari	*Shin Hashihime monogatari* (also known as *Miyako no tatsumi*)	

The following *jōruri*:

Genji Rokujō gayoi	*Kokiden uwanari uchi*	*Aoi-no-ue*
Kōkiden unoha no ubuya	A few *nō* plays	

Haikai Genji—I read this casually when I was young, and though lately I have been trying to find a copy I haven't yet succeeded

Markus notes that only two of the identifiable texts, *Genji monogatari teiyō* (*An Outline of The Tale of Genji*, 1432) and *Genji kokagami* (*A Small Mirror of Genji*, ca. fourteenth century), date from earlier than the Edo period and that all the remaining works "reflect the important contributions by Matsunaga Teitoku (1571–1654) and his disciples to the popularization of the Heian classic."[25] Yamaguchi Takeshi speculates that a phrase in the preface to Miyako no Nishiki's (b. 1675) *ukiyo-zōshi* (book of the

floating world) *Fūryū Genji monogatari* (*A Tasteful Tale of Genji*, 1703)—a peculiar six-fascicle patchwork of the "Kiritsubo" (The Paulownia Pavilion) and "Hahakigi" (The Broom Tree) chapters of the *Genji*, not to mention all sorts of other texts, that the scholar and critic Noguchi Takehiko has described as "unabashedly pornographic"—may have provided the inspiration for the title *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* and suggests that "in various ways, there works determined the attitude Tanehiko took in his adaptation."[27] Suzuki Jūzō concurs that Tanehiko's "attitude" toward the *Genji* was heavily influenced by the works on the list, points out that an obtrusively antiquated picture in chapter 5 alludes to an illustration by Okumura Masanobu (1686–1764) in his *Wakakusa Genji* (*A Genji for Little Sprouts*, 1707), and suggests that Tanehiko's expansion of a subtle allusion by Genji to a popular *saibara* lyric in the "Hahakigi" chapter was based on a similar expansion in *Zokuge Genji monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji: A Vulgar Interpretation*, 1721), which does not appear in Tanehiko's list but was reissued in 1738 under the title *Wakakusa Genji*, which does.[28] In a similar vein, Markus's suggestion that Tanehiko chose to rewrite the *Genji* because the Heian tale was "already partially assimilated and modernized in a series of Genroku period works with which he was familiar" is presumably based on the appearance in Tanehiko's list of *Fūryū Genji monogatari*, *Wakakusa Genji*, *Hinazuru Genji* (*A Genji for Little Cranes*, 1708), *Kōhaku Genji monogatari* (*A Red and White Genji*, preface 1709), and *Shin Hashihime monogatari* (*A New Tale of Hashihime*, preface 1714).[29]

Despite the insight these observations give into the generation of *Inaka Genji*, the list itself has been taken somewhat too seriously. Just two chapters later, as part of the preface to chapter 5, Tanehiko provides "A Chart of the Characters in *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*," which is formally identical to the one in the *Kogetsushō*, for example, except that pictures of lumpy clay dolls have been inserted to represent each of the characters (figure 51).[30] In his explanation of this figure, Tanehiko remarks that "it would be a hassle to make a new chart, and even if I did no one would look at it," and then goes on to say that "in copying this thing I'm not playing at scholarship, I'm learning from a play, miming what goes on backstage."[31] A similarly "playful" attitude can be ascribed, I believe, to Tanehiko's "Complete List of Works Cited." The final book on the list, Takebe Ayatari's *Haikai Genji* (*A Haikai Genji*, preface 1749), is one that Tanehiko read "casually" (*nanigokoronaku*) as a boy, with no intention of doing anything with it, and had not seen since. In no sense at all, in other words, can it be described as a "work cited." Indeed, Fujita



FIGURE 51 Early printing of Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (1831), chap. 5, fasc. 1, pp. 1 *ura* to 2 *omote*: Tanehiko's playful genealogy, complete with clay dolls, of the characters in *Inaka Genji*. (Courtesy of Ritsumeikan University, Art Research Center, Kyoto)

Tokutarō, who tracked down a handwritten copy of *Haikai Genji* and transcribed long excerpts from it in an essay published in 1930, ultimately concluded that "it is quite clear the *haikai* poems in *Inaka Genji* were not directly influenced by *Haikai Genji*."[32] In short, the inclusion of Ayatari's long-lost *Genji* at the end of the list serves much the same purpose as the in-your-face reference at the end of the preface to chapter 16 to "this preface-like thing that wouldn't have existed in *kusa-zōshi* of old": it unsettles readers, calling for a sudden reevaluation of the information just provided. Here, too, Tanehiko is playing with generic conventions.

The content of Tanehiko's "Complete List of Works Cited" is worth considering, however, in part because of one telling omission. If it really were a serious list, one might expect to see Kigin's *Kogetsushō* included; it was, after all, one of the most widely circulated and influential texts of *The Tale of Genji*—Nakamura Yukihiko speculates that *Fūryū Genji monogatari*, *Wakakusa Genji*, *Hinazuru Genji*, and *Kōhaku Genji monogatari*

were based on it[33]—and Kigin was himself a disciple of Teitoku. Satō Satoru has shown that Tanehiko's citations of the *Genji* in his antiquarian miscellanies were based on Kigin's book and that he actually read it very closely, rather than just skimming the headnotes.[34] The text of *Inaka Genji* is filled with translations and even startlingly lengthy quotations from the *Genji* whose source is, internal evidence suggests, the *Kogetsushō*, and Uchimura Katsushi has demonstrated that Tanehiko makes good use of the chronology and other elements of Kigin's work of interest only to fairly committed readers.[35] In fact, Tanehiko's disciple Ryūtei Senka states explicitly in the preface to chapter 14 of *Ashikagaginu tezome no murasaki* (*Ashikaga Silk: Hand-Dyed Purple*, 1853), one of numerous sequels to *Inaka Genji*, that the *Kogetsushō* was Tanehiko's source for knowledge of the *Genji*. Why, then, doesn't Tanehiko mention the *Kogetsushō* in his "Complete List of Works Cited"?

The answer to this question is at least hinted at in the preface to chapter 1 of *Inaka Genji*, which introduces Ofuji, an attractive young woman whose nickname is Murasaki Shikibu, the "fake Murasaki [Shikibu]" of the title and the ostensible author of the work:

> A certain person told this young woman that even if her critical gaze couldn't quite penetrate the depths of the *Rivers and Seas* or take in the vast expanse of the *Moon on the Lake*, there was always the *Young Sprouts*, which conveniently gathered up the main points. Comparing the *Red and White, Little Cranes, Hairlock Mirror, Small Mirror*, and so on would also contribute slightly to her understanding. She should start off, he advised, with *Genji in Ten Volumes*.[36]

But when Ofuji tries to purchase these works, the clerk has no idea what any of them are and instead presses on her a number of entirely different titles.

This preface does seem to imply that the *Kogetsushō* was reasonably well known in the closing years of the Bunsei era, but at the same time it clearly assumes that its sixty volumes would have been beyond Ofuji. In fact, a *kibyōshi* (yellow cover) by Nansenshō Somahito and Utagawa Toyohiro, *Katakiuchi shigure no tomo* (*Vengence: A Friend in the Autumn Rain*, 1802), already presumes both a similar degree of familiarity with and a comparable sense of alienation from the *Kogetsushō* on the part of its readers. The story opens with a widower, Tōsaku, making rope as his daughter, Orui, plucks the strings of a koto. "Despite his poverty," the text reads, "Tōsaku instructed his daughter in all sorts of arts, raising her so that she wouldn't



FIGURE 52 Nansenshō Somahito and Utagawa Toyohiro, *Katakiuchi shigure no tomo* (*Vengence: A Friend in the Autumn Rain*, 1802), fasc. 1, p. 1 *omote*: in the alcove behind the widower Tōsaku and his cultivated daughter, Orui, is a copy of Kitamura Kigin's *Kogetsushō*. (Courtesy of National Institute of Japanese Literature, Tokyo)

grow up to be coarse."[37] As an unmistakable second symbol of the "arts," along with the koto, a copy of the *Kogetsushō* in a lacquer box appears in the back of the room in the picture that shows this scene (figure 52).[38] It is there precisely because it is a special book, not the sort of work one would expect to find in such a place. Tanehiko leaves the *Kogetsushō* out of his "Complete List of Works Cited," then, because—despite the stiff academic format of the list—he considered it too pedantic, too scholarly, too special. The latter half of the passage from the preface to chapter 1, though, depends for its humorous effect on a fair degree of familiarity, even intimacy,

on the part of its readers with the translations and digests mentioned. The clerk's mistakes are funny only because he ought at least to recognize the titles, but does not; in other words, the readers must know more about them than the clerk for the joke to succeed. It seems likely that this is the reason that Tanehiko included them in his "Complete List of Works Cited." These accessible rewritings put readers' minds at ease, whereas Kigin's *Kogetsushō*, the main source of Tanehiko's knowledge of *The Tale of Genji*, would have intimidated them.

In what may well be the most frequently quoted passage in *Inaka Genji*, part of the preface to chapter 10, Tanehiko compares his narrative project to a bathhouse where some like it hot and some like it not so hot:

> When I first set about writing this *Inaka Genji* of mine, an old friend said to me: You mustn't mess with the story of *Genji* at all, and whenever possible write using the actual words, too, keeping them just as they are. That way you'll give a bit of a helping hand to youngsters who don't read *Genji*. A young friend said to me: Turn the plot of *Genji* on its head, rewrite it all in a kabuki or *jōruri* sort of style. You think there's anyone who isn't reading *Genji*? As I see it, the old man who counseled me to write like *Genji* prefers his bath hot; the one who urged me to write in the kabuki style likes his lukewarm.

Yamaguchi Takeshi, as mentioned earlier, proposed the division of *Inaka Genji* into three sections based on the relationship of its text to that of *The Tale of Genji*, each section more "faithful" than the last. Generally speaking, there is no question that this division can be made. But, of course, the reason that Tanehiko introduced his bathhouse metaphor—in, it should be noted, the preface to chapter 10, which sits squarely within the block of chapters that Yamaguchi identifies as least closely related to the *Genji*—is that he believed he had been changing his stance all along, pouring more or less of the Heian classic into the mix. On the level of the text—"the actual words," as the presumably fictional old friend put it—the bath has its hot currents right from the beginning.

Tanehiko's bathhouse metaphor resonates beautifully with the notion of *Inaka Genji* as a pedagogical tool. The old friend's suggestion that Tanehiko "give a bit of a helping hand to youngsters who don't read *Genji*" is as unambiguous an expression as one could hope for of the role that the incorporation of "the actual words" might be expected to perform. Tanehiko himself not only was a very careful reader of the *Kogetsushō* and viewer of images of *The Tale of Genji*, but also attended at

least one lecture on the tale by Ishikawa Masamochi, the author of *Genchūyoteki* (*Notes on Genji: A Few Last Drops*, before 1830), at the house of Obayashi Utaki.[39] Suzuki Jūzō points out that Sei Shōnagon's *Makura no sōshi* (*The Pillow Book*, ca. 1017) is quoted and *Yoshino shūi* (*Gleanings from Yoshino*, colophon 1358) is alluded to in a preface to *Yakko no Koman* (1807), an early *yomihon* by Tanehiko that was also sold under the title *Shin torikaebaya monogatari* (*A New If Only I Could Switch Them, a Tale*), which is obviously an allusion to *Torikaebaya monogatari* (*Oh If Only I Could Switch Them! A Tale*, 1186); that a record of books in Tanehiko's collection lists copies of Ki no Tsurayuki's *Tosa nikki* (*Tosa Diary*, ca. 935) and Nun Abutsu's *Izayoi nikki* (*Diary of the Sixteenth Night*, 1282), the former of which is mentioned in one of Tanehiko's diary entries and alluded to in *Awa no Naruto* (*The Straits of Awa*, 1807); that Tanehiko states in a diary entry that he has been looking over the first book of the *Man'yōshū* and quotes a poem from it in *Ōshū shūjaku monogatari* (*Ōshū's Obsession: A Tale*, 1812); and that *Mojitezuri mukashi ningyō* (*Hand-Dyed Gauze Puppets of Times Long Past*, 1813) already contains a reference to the "Momiji no ga" chapter that seems to be based on a reading of the *Genji* itself, presumably the *Kogetsushō*, rather than of a digest.[40] Tanehiko also issued a *gōkan* with the title *Shin utsubo monogatari* (*A New Tale of the Hollow Tree*, 1823), an obvious allusion to *Utsubo monogatari* (*The Tale of the Hollow Tree*, 984), and opened his *gōkan Ukiyogata rokumai byōbu* (*A Six-Panel Screen of the Floating World*, 1821) in a very un-*gōkan*-like way, with a scene that centers around one character's explication of what he argues is a generally misunderstood poem by Saigyō included in the *Shinkokinshū* (*New Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems*, ca. 1205).[41] All of which is to say that like his old friend, Tanehiko liked his baths hot. He belonged in the same tub with those who wanted to help the uncultivated youngsters.

In his preface to chapter 38, the last chapter published before the Tempō Reform (1841–1843) put an end to Mitsuuji's peregrinations, Tanehiko wrote that "the criticisms once heard to the effect that this flimsy work of mine had no right to the name *Genji* have, of their own accord, abated somewhat."[42] Tsuda Mayumi points out that during the years when *Inaka Genji* was being published, works dealing with *The Tale of Genji* began to appear with increasing frequency, and touches on a series of essays on *Inaka Genji* by Naitō Meisetsu that appeared in *Hototogisu* (*The Warbler*) beginning in January 1905, in which the great *haikai* poet confessed that knowledge about the *Genji* gleaned from Tanehiko's book had served him well over the course of his career.[43] Perhaps this should

come as no surprise, considering that the most famous guide to the *Genji* written specifically for *haikai* poets, *Genji binkagami* (*A Hairlock Mirror Genji*, 1660), does not even mention Fujitsubo in the section corresponding to the "Kiritsubo" chapter.[44] At any rate, Tanehiko's statement about the silence of his critics, the late Tenpō boom in books related to the *Genji*, and Meisetsu's unsurprising admission point to the fact that during the fourteen years of its initial publication history, *Inaka Genji* succeeded so brilliantly in educating its readers, in heating up the bath without their even noticing, that it managed to make the *Genji* seem more palatable to a larger public than had probably ever been the case before.

In the early years of the Tenpō period, *The Tale of Genji* was undoubtedly little more to most readers of *Inaka Genji* than a hazily reflected image of this latter work; by the late Tenpō period, the tables were beginning to turn. As Tanehiko himself noted, *Inaka Genji* now had "the right to the name *Genji*," and the ironic result was that the visual splendor and radical hybridity that, more than anything, had distinguished the work, particularly in its early chapters, were gradually starting to fade from view, to seem inessential. Beginning in the late 1880s, the publication of new editions of *Inaka Genji* in the less flexible, less sturdy, increasingly less expensive form of the "Western book" reconfigured the characteristic relation between image and text of the original woodblock-printed work, reducing the importance of its pictures and other bibliographic elements and profoundly transforming the way it works as a narrative. This later publication history completed the process begun in the Tenpō period, changing *Inaka Genji* from the most visually exciting *gōkan* available, a thrilling mishmash that gave its readers access to the well-known elegance of the *Genji* without making it daunting or difficult, into the *Fraudulent Murasaki's Bumpkin Genji* that it was for Tayama Katai in 1925 and Nakamura Yukihiko in 1953 and that, to a certain extent, it remains: a secondary, derivative, necessarily inadequate representation of a classic—a reflected image, not the real thing. Ryūtei Tanehiko and his collaborators succeeded too well in combining extravagant printing, sophisticatedly meaningful pictures, and dizzying combinations of various symbols of elegance and erudition with the plot-driven excitement that characterized the *gōkan* as a genre, establishing an equation between *The Tale of Genji* and *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* that ultimately made it difficult to see how much more there is in the work than just another telling of the same old tale.

NOTES

1. Satō Kaneharu, *Genji monogatari, Nise Murasaki inaka Genji hikaku ronkō* (Tokyo: Yūbun shoin, 1976).
2. The following discussion draws on Ōtake Yasuko, "Besuto seraa no sugata: *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*," in Takizawa Bakin, *Bakin kusa-zōshishū*, ed. Itasaka Norito, Sōsho Edo bunko 33 (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1994), pp. 5–8, and Suzuki Jūzō, "Kaisetsu" and notes to the illustrations, in Ryūtei Tanehiko, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei (SNKBT) 88–89 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1995). Because *gōkan* and other early modern Japanese books were printed entirely by hand, copies of the same work published at different times are never exactly the same. Ōtake's essay offers some eye-opening statistics comparing the bibliographical characteristics of *Inaka Genji* with those of other *gōkan* of the Bunsei and Tenpō periods; she makes it abundantly clear just how exceptional Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada's collaborative production was.
3. Eiko Kondo, "*Inaka Genji* Series," in Matthi Forrer, ed., *Essays on Japanese Art Presented to Jack Hiller* (London: Sawers, 1982), p. 79.
4. Quoted in Satō Yukiko, *Edo no eiri shōsetsu: Gōkan no sekai* (Tokyo: Perikansha, 2001), p. 65.
5. The text of the first eight chapters of *Kantan shokoku monogatari* was by Ryūtei Tanehiko; the pictures were by Utagawa Kunisada. The text of the last twelve chapters was by Ryūtei Senka (Ryūtei Tanehiko II).
6. Ryūtei Tanehiko, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (woodblock ed., 1829–1842), chap. 5, p. 17 *omote* and *ura* (henceforth cited as *NMIG*), and *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, SNKBT 88, p. 170. For a translation of the episode in which this scene appears, see Ryūtei Tanehiko, *A Country Genji by a Commoner Murasaki*, trans. Chris Drake, in Haruo Shirane, ed., *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology, 1600–1900* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), pp. 801–842.
7. Ōtake says that she has seen only one book printed in the Bunsei era and six printed in the Tenpō era that had patterned rather than plain black covers; the Bunsei-era book was privately printed, not a commercial product, and all the Tempō-era books were published later than chapter 4 of *Inaka Genji* ("Besuto seraa no sugata," p. 7).
8. Ryūtei Senka, *Sono yukari hina no omokage* (Tokyo: Ebisya shōshichi / Kinshōdō, 1855), chap. 13, p. 1 *omote*.
9. Tanehiko, *NMIG*, chap. 15, p. 1 *omote*, and *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, SNKBT 88, p. 502.
10. It is tempting to bring in another term from kabuki: *naimaze*, which denotes the blending in a single script of two separate *sekai*. Sakurada Jisuke I (1734–1806) was

already making use of *naimaze* in the early 1770s, but the technique was brought to a new level of complexity by Tsuruya Nanboku IV (1755–1829) in the Bunka and Bunsei eras (1804–1818 and 1818–1830, respectively), around the time that Tanehiko was starting out as an author, first of *yomihon* and then of *gōkan*.

11. Suzuki transcribes this note from Tanehiko to Kunisada in "Kaisetsu," in Tanehiko, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, SNKBT 89, p. 776. He discovered it in an excerpt of Tanehiko's second, revised and illustrated manuscript for chapter 29 that had been inserted into the first, purely textual draft.
12. Tanehiko, *NMIG*, chap. 16, p. 1 *omote*, and *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, SNKBT 88, p. 538. The "towrope" (*tsunade no nawa*) is incorporated, presumably, because it appears in Genji's exchange of poems with the Gosechi Dancer in the "Suma" chapter of *The Tale of Genji*; in Tanehiko's preface, the towrope is literally "very long" (*ito nagakute*), but as far as I can tell, the idea is that he is stuck, at a loss, just like the Gosechi Dancer—thus my translation. See "Suma," in Kitamura Kigin, *Kogetsushō* (Kyoto: Murakami Monzaemon, colophon 1673), p. 38 *ura*, and *Genji monogatari Kogetsushō*, ed. Arikawa Takehiko, Kōdansha gakujutsu bunko 314–316 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1982), vol. 1, pp. 615–616; Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji monogatari*, ed. Abe Akio, Akiyama Ken, Imai Gen'e, and Suzuki Hideo, Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū (SNKBZ) 21 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1994), p. 205; *Genji monogatari*, ed. Fujii Sadakazu, Imanishi Yūichirō, Murofushi Shinsuke, Ōasa Yūji, Suzuki Hideo, and Yanai Shigeshi, SNKBT 20 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1994), pp. 35–36; and *The Tale of Genji*, trans. Royall Tyler (New York: Viking, 2001), p. 247. The reference to hot water is, I would guess, alluding to the scene in which Aoi dies in the "Aoi" (Heart-to-Heart) chapter, during which Genji encourages her to "Drink your hot water" and the onlookers wonder where he has learned such kindness. See "Aoi," in Kigin, *Kogetsushō*, p. 24 *omote* and *ura*, and *Genji monogatari Kogetsushō*, vol.1, p. 457; Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji monogatari*, SNKBZ 21, p. 44; *Genji monogatari*, ed. Fujii Sadakazu, Imanishi Yūichirō, Murofushi Shinsuke, Ōasa Yūji, Suzuki Hideo, and Yanai Shigeshi, SNKBT 19 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1993), p. 310; and *Tale of Genji*, p. 176.
13. Tanehiko, *NMIG*, chap. 1, p. 5 *ura*, and *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, SNKBT 88, p. 12. The preface to chapter 29 contains another example of this: "Since Denkan's suicide by harakiri does not appear in Murasaki Shikibu's script, I've taken my usual liberties" (*NMIG*, chap. 29, p. 1 *ura*; *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, SNKBT 89, p. 299). Tanehiko's use of the word *shōhon* (a printed copy of the script of a *jōruri* or kabuki play) is intriguing.
14. Tanehiko, *NMIG*, chap. 1, p. 10 *ura*, and *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, SNKBT 88, p. 20.
15. Tanehiko, *NMIG*, chap. 2, p. 1 *omote*, and *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, SNKBT 88, p. 42. The passage in "Aoi" follows the consummation of Genji's marriage to Murasaki. Genji replies to Koremitsu's knowing question, itself a play on words, about how many "baby rat cakes to provide" by asking for "about a third as many" (*mitsu ga hitotsu*) as the "baby boar cakes" they had just been served. See "Aoi," in Kigin, *Kogetsushō*, p. 47 *ura*, and *Genji monogatari Kogetsushō*, vol. 1, p. 486; Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji monogatari*, SNKBZ 21, pp. 72–73, and *Tale of Genji*, p. 187; and Tanehiko, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, SNKBT 88, p. 331.
16. Tanehiko, *NMIG*, chap. 4, pp. 6 *ura* to 14 *omote*, and *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, SNKBT 88, pp. 120–132.
17. Murasaki Shikibu, *Tale of Genji*, p. 48. For the Japanese, see "Utsusemi," in Kigin, *Kogetsushō*, pp. 3 *ura* to 4 *omote*, and *Genji monogatari kogetsushō*, vol. 1, p. 148; and Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji monogatari*, ed. Abe Akio, Akiyama Ken, Imai Gen'e, and Suzuki Hideo, SNKBZ 20 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1994), pp. 119–120, and *Genji monogatari*, SNKBT 19, pp. 85–86.
18. Tanehiko, *NMIG*, chap. 4, pp. 8 *omote* to 7 *ura* (the text moves across the top of the two-page spread from right to left, and then jumps back to the right, to p. 7 *ura*), and *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, SNKBT 88, pp. 121–122.
19. Yamaguchi Takeshi, "*Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* ni tsuite," in *Yamaguchi Takeshi chosakushū* (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1972), vol. 4, pp. 370–371.
20. Suzuki Jūzō, "*Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*: Daiyonpen kaidai," in *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji: Daiyonpen* (Tokyo: Harupu shuppan, 1978), p. 10.
21. Uchimura Katsushi, "*Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* ron: Sono hōhō o megutte," *Meiji Daigaku Daigakuin kiyō bungaku hen* 21, no. 4 (1983): 16.
22. Andrew Markus, *The Willow in Autumn: Ryūtei Tanehiko, 1783–1842* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1992), p. 120. It should be noted that in 1829, when the first chapters of *Inaka Genji* appeared, Tanehiko had no idea that he would be able to continue the work as long as he ultimately did, and certainly did not intend to rewrite the whole of *The Tale of Genji*. Indeed, the very concept of the long serial *gōkan* still was not very well established: only five chapters of Bakin's *Keisei suikoden* had appeared at that point, and only four of *Konpira bune rishō no tomozuna* (chapters 6, 7, and 8 of the former work and chapters 5 and 6 of the latter appeared in 1829). To my knowledge, the only *gōkan* that had continued longer than these two works were Jippensha Ikku's *Kane no waraji* (*Straw Sandals of Gold*) (chapter 18 was published in 1828) and Tanehiko's *Shōhonjitate* (*Taking the Script as My Model*) (chapter 10 was published in 1828).
23. Markus, *Willow in Autumn*, p. 122.
24. Nakamura Yukihiko, "*Genji monogatari* no kinsei bungaku e no eikyō," in *Nakamura Yukihiko chojutsushū* (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1983), vol. 3, p. 442.
25. Markus, *Willow in Autumn*, pp. 131–132.
26. Noguchi Takehito, *Genji monogatari o Edo kara yomu* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1995), p. 92.
27. Yamaguchi, "*Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* ni tsuite," pp. 362–363; Suzuki, "Kaisetsu" to Tanehiko, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, SNKBT 89, p. 770.
28. Suzuki, "*Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*," pp. 8–9. For another wonderful allusion by Tanehiko and Kunisada to a picture attributed, within the picture, to Nonoguchi Ryūhō, see Tanehiko, *NMIG*, chap. 2, pp. 1 *ura* to 2 *omote*, and Tanehiko, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, SNKBT 88, pp. 41, 43.

29. *Wakakusa Genji*, *Hinazuru Genji*, and *Kōhaku Genji* were written and illustrated by Okumura Masanobu as continuations of Miyako no Nishiki's *Fūryū Genji monogatari*; together with *Zokuge Genji monogatari* (preface 1710, printed 1716), which Okumura wrote as a replacement of *Fūryū Genji monogatari*, they cover the chapters from "Kiritsubo" (The Paulownia Pavilion) to "Hana no en" (Under the Cherry Blossoms). *Shin Hashihime monogatari* is a rewriting of the last ten chapters of *Genji*, the so-called *Uji jūjō* (Ten Uji chapters).
30. Tanehiko, *NMIG*, chap. 5, pp. 2 *ura* to 3 *omote*, and *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, SNKBT 88, p. 148. According to Suzuki, these are *Imado ningyō*, the earthenware dolls known by the name of the place where they were produced. Needless to say, the chart in *Kogetsushō* takes the form common to genealogies of the characters in *Genji* who existed before its publication, the so-called *kokeizu* (old genealogies).
31. See Tanehiko, *NMIG*, chap. 5, p. 2 *ura*, and *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, SNKBT 88, p. 148.
32. Fujita Tokutarō, "*Haikai Genji* to *Inaka Genji*," *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 7, no. 3 (1930): 55. Fujita points out in a note at the end of his essay that Hasegawa Kinjirō's *Kaku ya ika ni no ki* (*What's Going On Here?* 1876) also questions the relationship between the two works.
33. Nakamura, "*Genji monogatari* no kinsei bungaku e no eikyō," p. 434.
34. Satō Satoru, "*Genji monogatari* to kinsei bungaku," in Imai Takuji, ed., *Genji monogatari no honbun to juyō*, Genji monogatari kōza 8 (Tokyo: Benseisha, 1992), pp. 389–390.
35. Uchimura, "*Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* ron," pp. 21–24.
36. Tanehiko, *NMIG*, chap. 1, p. 1 *omote*, and *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, SNKBT 88, p. 6.
37. Nansenshō Somahito, *Katakiuchi shigure no tomo*, p. 1 *omote*.
38. For another, similar *kibyōshi* depiction of a boxed copy of *Kogetsushō*, also paired with a koto, see Hōseidō Kisanji, *Kisanjin ie no bakemono* (*Kisanjin: The Monster of the House*, 1787), p. 11 *omote*, in Tōyō bunko and Nihon koten bungaku-kai, eds., *Iwasaki Bunko kichōhon sōkan (kinseihen) dairokkan: Kusazōshi* (Tokyo: Kichōhon kankō-kai, 1974), p. 265.
39. Satō Satoru, "Kōshō zuihitsu no imi suru mono: Ryūtei Tanehiko to Kyokutei Bakin," *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 70, no. 11 (1993): 119. Satō cites Mori Senzō, who cites Sakata Morotō's *Yobe no yūtsuyu* (*Last Night's Dew*), in "Santō Kyōden itsuji," in *Mori Senzō chosakushū, Zokuhen* (Tokyo: Chūō koronsha, 1992), vol. 1, pp. 482–487.
40. Suzuki Jūzō, "Gōkanmono no daizai tenki to Tanehiko," *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 38, no. 4 (1961): 68. Uchimura points out that Tanehiko refers to the "vertical and horizontal" structure of *Genji monogatari* in *Ōshū shūjaku monogatari*, suggesting that his own storytelling technique is based on this ("*Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* ron," p. 20).
41. The character, Aboshi Tamontarō, discourses on the word *tatsu* in Saigyō's famous *shigi tatsu* poem, insisting that it should be interpreted as meaning "to stand," rather than "to take flight," as is usual. See Ryūtei Tanehiko, *Ukiyogata rokumai byōbu* (Tokyo: Nishimuraya yohachi / Eijudō, 1821), p. 5 *ura*.

42. Tanehiko, *NMIG*, chap. 38, p. 1 *omote*, and *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, SNKBT 89, p. 638.
43. Tsuda Mayumi, "*Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*," in Suzuki Ken'ichi, ed., *Genji monogatari no hensōkyoku: Edo no shirabe* (Tokyo: Miyai shoten, 2003), p. 64.
44. Kojima Munakata and Suzumura Nobufusa, *Genji binkagami*, in Akiyama Ken, Shimauchi Keiji, Kobayashi Masaaki, and Suzuki Ken'ichi, eds., *Hihyō shūsei Genji monogatari*, vol. 1, *Kinsei zenki hen* (Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 1999), pp. 37–39.

Chapter 9

The Tale of Genji, National Literature, Language, and Modernism

Tomi Suzuki

AS JAPAN emerged as a modern nation-state in the larger global geopolitical world at the end of the nineteenth century, the notions of national literature and national language—which assumed a shared awareness of a tradition based on a common language, culture, and history—were thought by Japan's new nation builders to be indispensable to the construction of a unified nation-state. In this discursive formation, *The Tale of Genji* became a crucial component, particularly in the establishment of the field of literature, considered to be a modern field of knowledge, along with science, political science, history, philosophy, religion, and art.

National literature was defined in the context of two emergent notions of literature (*bungaku*): first, a broad one that, from the 1870s, meant a convergence of Confucian ideas of learning and Western conceptions of the humanities, and, second, a specialized one that was defined primarily in terms of aesthetics (beauty, imagination, and moral elevation). After the end of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), the field of literature rapidly assumed an independent cultural status, in which the notion of aesthetic literature—now exemplified in the literary tradition by *The Tale of Genji*—prevailed.

The Tale of Genji was first designated, in Tsubouchi Shōyō's *Shōsetsu shinzui* (*Essence of the Novel*, 1885–1886), as a forerunner of the "artistic, realistic novel," considered to be the most advanced literary form and an index of the level of a nation's civilization. It was then praised in the first history of Japanese national literature—Mikami Sanji and Takatsu Kuwasaburō's two-volume *Nihon bungakushi* (*History of Japanese Literature*, 1890)—in relation to the notion of national language, which was now defined as phonetic and *kana*-based. But while the *Genji* was celebrated as

a predecessor of the advanced realistic novel and as the earliest achievement of national literature, it was also viewed with much ambivalence. After the Russo-Japanese War, however, with the recognition of aesthetic literature and the elevation of the novel as the central literary genre, the *Genji* unquestionably became Japan's "greatest past literary achievement."

From the 1890s, the concept of national literature, as in other modern nation-states, surfaced in Japan in relation to that of "world literature." The view that Japanese literature was ready to participate actively in world literature, with *The Tale of Genji* as Japan's foremost representative (as the "world's earliest sophisticated, realistic novel"), steadily grew from the 1910s through the 1920s. But while Japanese scholars of classical literature stressed the value of the *Genji* as "a required book for all people of the nation," it was not until the mid-1920s, under the impact of post–World War I European avant-garde modernism and triggered by the publication of Arthur Waley's translation of *The Tale of Genji* (1925–1933), that the *Genji* suddenly became a fresh object of literary attention, with modernist possibilities. From the early 1930s, a fixed selection from the *Genji* was adopted in all secondary-school textbooks (and in the state-compiled primary-school textbooks from 1938), and the tale became popularized through several translations into modern Japanese.

This chapter examines the critical discourse that emerged around *The Tale of Genji* from the 1880s to the 1930s in relation to the emerging field of modern Japanese literature and the construction of national literature. *The Tale of Genji* played a significant role not only in the construction of national literature and national language but in the formation of modernist literary discourse in Japan. In Japan, the discourse of modernism—which emerged in Europe as a counter-discourse to bourgeois industrial modernity—actively contributed to the articulation of national cultural identity.

THE NOVEL AS THE REFLECTION OF THE LEVEL OF CIVILIZATION

The Tale of Genji was first translated into English in an abridged version (seventeen early chapters) by Suematsu Kenchō (1855–1920), who lived in England from 1878 to 1886, initially as a secretary to the Japanese legation in London and then as a student of law and literature at Cambridge University. In translating the *Genji* into English, Suematsu apparently

attempted to demonstrate that Japan had a sophisticated masterpiece of "native literature" that could provide the European audience with "information on the history of the social and political condition of [his] native country nearly a thousand years ago"—an ancient civilization that, he proudly suggested, could be compared favorably with the culture of medieval and modern Europe.[1] Suematsu's underlying concern was political, attempting to impress the advanced European nations with Japan's social and cultural achievements, including the high position of women.

Suematsu's evaluation of *The Tale of Genji*, as stated in the introduction to his translation, no doubt reflected his awareness of the increased cultural position of the novel in contemporary Europe as well as the interest of progressive Japanese intellectuals in the translated fiction of the late 1870s, as exemplified by the popularity of *Karyū shunwa* (*The Spring Tale of Flowers and Willows*, 1878), Oda Jun'ichirō's adaptation of Edward Bulwer Lytton's *Ernest Multravers* (1837) and its sequel, *Alice; or, The Mysteries* (1838). While revealing an ambivalence toward the social and moral manners of the Heian period (794–1185)—"Society lost sight, to a great extent, of true morality, and the effeminacy of the people constituted the chief feature of the age"—and pointing to some compositional problems of the *Genji*, Suematsu praised Murasaki Shikibu for having fully understood the "true vocation of a romance writer" and having vividly illustrated "human nature" and the "social and political condition" of her time.[2] Suematsu also pointed to "another merit" of this work: "its having been written in pure classical Japanese"—a precursor of the national language. He stressed that "we [Japanese] had once made a remarkable progress in our own language quite independently of any foreign influence, and that when the native literature was at first founded, its language was identical with that [of the] spoken [language]," thereby prefiguring the notion of *genbun-itchi* (unification of spoken and written languages).[3] As we will see, Suematsu's evaluation of the *Genji* in many ways anticipated subsequent views of the tale in the Meiji period (1868–1912), but his English translation of the *Genji*, which would be republished several times and even translated into German,[4] did not seem to have much impact in Japan at the time.

In the domestic sphere, Tsubouchi Shōyō's (1859–1935) *Shōsetsu shinzui* (*Essence of the Novel*, 1885–1886), which advocates a new notion of the novel and had a long-lasting impact on the formation of critical discourse on literature in Japan, argues that the achievement of fiction (*shōsetsu*) is an important indicator of a nation's level of civilization and proposes the "reform of fiction" as part of an urgent national agenda to make Japan into

an "advanced," "civilized" nation. Based on Herbert Spencer's social Darwinism, Shōyō traces the "development of fiction" from mythology through romance, fable, and allegory to the novel and proclaims that the most advanced, "true novel" is the "realistic novel" (*mosha shōsetsu*), which depicts all aspects of "human feelings and social manners" (*ninjō setai*) as they are, unconstrained by didactic perspectives.

While the reform of fiction had been proposed in the early 1880s in the political context of the Freedom and People's Rights movement (in an attempt to disseminate new political ideals widely), Shōyō's *Shōsetsu shinzui* emphasizes the autonomous cultural value of the novel, severing its significance from direct political or moral implications. Shōyō explains the value of the novel in terms of the value of art (*bijutsu*), a recently imported Western notion. Following Ernest Fenollosa's argument in "The Truth of Fine Arts" (Bijutsu shinsetsu, 1882), Shōyō defines "art" as elevating the mind and spirit through aesthetic and emotional pleasure. Indeed, Shōyō's central view of the "most advanced" form of the novel is embodied in his key term, the "artistic novel," which is defined as the "realistic novel" and is contrasted with the "less advanced" kind of "didactic novel," to which, Shōyō claims, most of the best Japanese fiction since that of Takizawa (Kyokutei) Bakin (1767–1848) belongs.

Although Shōyō bases his critical position on Spencer's social Darwinism and, for the most part, takes his literary references from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British novels (by Walter Scott, Bulwer Lytton, Charles Dickens, and William Thackeray) and late Edo popular fiction (by Bakin, Ryūtei Tanehiko, Tamenaga Shunsui, and others), *The Tale of Genji* figures several times in *Shōsetsu shinzui* as an important reference. Shōyō considers the *Genji* to be not only a representative romance of Japan (in the evolutionary lineage from mythology to romance to the novel), but also a "contemporary, social" novel (directly depicting upper-class court society) and an early Japanese predecessor of the modern realistic novel.

Indeed, *The Tale of Genji* appears prominently in the central section of *Shōsetsu shinzui*, "Shōsetsu no shugan" (The Main Concerns of the Novel), where Shōyō argues that the "true novel" depicts all aspects of life in contemporary society, particularly the innermost feelings of all sorts of people. With this new emphasis on the private, affective world of modern everyday life, on the conflicting "dark sides of human nature," particularly those of male–female relationships, Shōyō's notion of the most advanced "realistic and artistic novel" encounters an aporia. The true novel is a form of art that elevates the mind and spirit and "detests obscenity," but, in

representing contemporary life, an advanced realistic novel must depict the dark side of emotional life without being moralistic. Shōyō attempts to explain these conflicting imperatives by citing the British critic John Morley's praise of George Eliot's novels—emphasizing the idea that the realistic novel naturally leads the reader to reflect on the true mechanism of human life—and by appending a long quotation from volume 1 of Motoori Norinaga's *Genji monogatari tama no ogushi* (*The Tale of Genji, A Fine Jeweled Comb*, 1796), thus suggesting a critical connection between Norinaga's affective reading of the *Genji* and the Victorian (Matthew Arnoldian) aesthetic notion of literature as a "criticism of life" (*jinsei no hihyō*).[5]

The potential aporia of Shōyō's conception of the "artistic novel" (realistic novel) revolves around the question of the social efficacy of nonutilitarian art. In the section "Shōsetsu no hieki" (Supplementary Efficacy of the Novel), Shōyō reiterates the nonfunctional value of the novel as art, but he cannot help reinforcing the "value" of the novel by enumerating its "indirect efficacy" and its "merits" (*rieki*), which include elevating the minds of people, providing moral influence, supplementing official history, and presenting models for writings. *The Tale of Genji* appears in his discussion of the second, third, and fourth "merits." Shōyō stresses that the "true novel" elevates the mind through aesthetic pleasure, but that such artistic novels have yet to be developed in Japan. Most current fiction simply appeals to people's base desires or passions. On the second merit of the novel, he writes:

> There are people who slander fiction [*shōsetsu*] for inducing licentious desire [*kaiin dōyoku*]. . . . Chinese people criticized *Chin p'ing mei* [*The Plum Blossom in the Golden Vase*], *Roupu tuan* [*The Carnal Prayer Mat*], and the like as licentious books, and our people have blamed tales [*monogatari*] for corrupting morals, no doubt referring to erotic fiction [*jōshi*] that depicts base passions of men and women in a vulgar and obscene fashion. Such blame is indeed understandable, but these books are NOT *true* novels, because they contain obscene elements that are most detested in Art. . . . It is really the readers' fault, not the authors' responsibility, that this pseudo-fiction frequently appears in the world. Generally, authors write in accordance with the taste of the time. If people are refined and do not indulge in lewd manners, why should authors attempt to write obscene and vulgar fiction? Some parts of *The Tale of Genji* are obscene because of the spineless spirit of the time of the Fujiwara autocracy. Why should we put the blame on the author?

> . . . The love stories of men and women are the most fundamental subject matter, since the affection called love [*airen to iu jōai*] is the most central human emotion. The true novel therefore deals with love between a man and a woman as its primary subject, but it never tries to depict unspeakably obscene manners like the epigones of Tamenaga Shunsui. The true novel simply exposes the hidden secrets of human feelings and reveals human psychology, as explained by psychologists.[6]

Shōyō draws a fine line between "obscene and vulgar fiction," which induces base and licentious desire, and the realistic "artistic novel," which deals with "love" (*airen* [a neologism and translation of the English word "love"]) and encourages reflection on the meaning of life. While rephrasing Norinaga's affective appreciation of the *Genji*, Shōyō criticizes some parts of the tale for being "obscene," as though echoing some of Norinaga's Confucian opponents. Shōyō mixes the Confucian condemnation of licentiousness, the Victorian view of sexuality (with its division between "base, carnal desire" and "pure, spiritual love"), and modern psychology (with its emphasis on the significance of conflicting desires and passions)—a mixture that was shared by many of his Western-educated contemporaries, including Suematsu, who omitted or changed phrases and episodes in the *Genji* that he was afraid would be considered immoral by readers in Victorian England.[7] At the same time, Shōyō attributes the "obscenity" in "some parts of the *Genji*" to the "spineless spirit of the time" and reinforces the notion of the *Genji* as a realistic novel that accurately depicts Heian society.[8]

Shōyō also mentions *The Tale of Genji* (together with the Chinese vernacular fiction *Shuihu Zhuan* [*Water Margin/Outlaws of the Marsh*]) as a prominent example of the fourth merit of the novel: as a model for writing, particularly novels. Following Bakin's discussion of literary language—which was formulated in the late Edo period under the discursive influence of Ming and Qing Chinese vernacular fiction—Shōyō classifies literary language into three styles: (1) *gabun-tai*, a "gentle and elegant classical style"; (2) *zokubun-tai*, a "lively colloquial style transcribing the common, contemporary spoken language"; and (3) *gazoku-setchū-tai*, an amalgamation of the "elegant" and "colloquial" styles.

Equating *gabun* with *wabun* (classical prose), Shōyō says that its "soft, gentle, graceful, and elegant" quality is well suited to describing elegant and refined manners, but that the use of this style is limited, since it cannot depict "fervent feelings, heroic actions, or grand and sublime states."[9] In contradistinction to elegant *gabun*, Shōyō values the "clarity" and "vigor" of *zokubun* for its potential to portray vividly contemporary manners, but he emphasizes that, due to the great distance between spoken Japanese and written Japanese, the *actual* spoken language, which tends to be "vulgar and unrefined," cannot be used in an artistic novel except in dialogue. Although the colloquial style should be used for the realistic representation of speech, particularly that of lower-class characters (Shōyō gives the novels of Dickens and Henry Fielding as examples), the prose description (*ji no bun*) of the novel must be written in *gazoku-setchū* style, in an appropriate blend of the elegant and colloquial styles.[10]

Shōyō clearly regards *The Tale of Genji* as a classic masterpiece for its emotive content, realistic depiction, and elegant *wabun* style. Following Bakin's view, Shōyō, as well as Suematsu, also considers the refined literary language of the *Genji* to be based on the actual colloquial speech (*zokugo*) of the Heian court aristocracy. The *Genji* is thus regarded as an early predecessor of the realistic and artistic novel that depicts contemporary society in vernacular, everyday language.[11] Shōyō emphasizes, however, that even the great writer Murasaki Shikibu could not have portrayed the more advanced and complex condition of contemporary civilization with her pure *wabun*, since both social manners and human feelings have evolved and the language of the novel, which should articulate the feelings and social manners of the contemporary period, is in need of reform.

While Shōyō argues for the cultural significance of the novel as art, emphasizing its nonutilitarian aesthetic value, he promotes the novel as an important index of a "nation's level of civilization." Indeed, Shōyō's advocacy of the reform of fiction was part of the radical Westernization of Japan in the mid- to late 1880s, which attempted to redress the unequal terms of the treaties with Western industrial countries. If the novel reflects a "nation's level of civilization," the presence of an advanced novel is indispensable to proving that a nation is the equal of Western countries. This logic of cultural reflection no doubt was why Suematsu Kenchō had translated *The Tale of Genji*, in an attempt to elevate the image of Japan as a civilized nation in the eyes of Westerners.[12] The mid- to late 1880s was also the time when political energy was redirected from the widespread Freedom and People's Rights movement to a new stage of national consolidation, particularly through the cultural sphere. Tsubouchi Shōyō's promotion of the novel as art took place in this context, and the question of the novel's aesthetic value was, in fact, deeply implicated in the question of its social, moral, and political efficacy.

LITERARY HISTORY AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL LITERATURE: COMPETING NOTIONS OF LITERATURE AND LITERARY LANGUAGE

From the late 1880s, the notion of the term *bungaku* as a translation of the word "literature" rapidly acquired currency in relation to the institutional establishment of modern academic fields that had become part of the project of nation building.[13] In 1890, the first modern literary histories as well as the earliest modern anthologies of classical Japanese literature were published by the first university graduates in *kokubungaku* (studies of national literature): Ueda Kazutoshi's (1867–1937) *Kokubungaku* (*National Literature*, 1890), an anthology of late Edo and early Meiji works with a short preface; Haga Yaichi (1867–1927) and Tachibana Senzaburō's (1867–1901) *Kokubungaku tokuhon* (*Japanese Literature Reader*, 1890), a short anthology of Japanese literature from Kakinomoto no Hitomaro to Takizawa Bakin, with a concise literary history from ancient times through the Meiji period; *Nihon bungaku zensho* (*Complete Works of Japanese Literature*, 1890–1892), a twenty-four-volume collection of classical and medieval literature compiled by Ochiai Naobumi (1861–1903), Hagino Yoshiyuki (1860–1924), and Konakamura (Ikebe) Yoshikata (1864–1923); and Mikami Sanji (1865–1939) and Takatsu Kuwasaburō's (1864–1921) two-volume *Nihon bungakushi* (*History of Japanese Literature*, 1890), the first full-length literary history of Japan, with abundant excerpts from ancient to late Edo texts. All of them consider literature to be a "reflection of human mind/heart" and a "reflection of national life" and try to present, through concrete literary examples, the "development of the mentality of the nation" in order that the "nation's people deepen their love for the nation," that the "national spirit" (*kokumin no seishin*) be elevated, and that the "social progress and development of the nation be furthered."[14]

In emphasizing the "national life" and "national spirit," these Meiji scholars of national literature criticize earlier *kokugaku* (nativist studies) definitions of Japanese literature (*wabungaku*) for being narrow in their rejection of "foreign" elements of Chinese or Buddhist origin and for valuing only ancient texts and thus misrepresenting the "fullness of Japanese national literature." They aim instead for a comprehensive representation of the historical development of national literature, stressing the continuity and progress of the "national spirit." Furthermore, Mikami and Takatsu emphasize that *bungaku* embraces a large body of writings that include

not only *bibungaku* (elegant writing, or belles lettres) or *junbungaku* (pure literature) but also *ribungaku* (rational or intellectual writing), which spans such disciplines as history, philosophy, and political science.[15]

While these literary historians underscore the comprehensiveness of *bungaku*, encompassing the humanities, they also deal with the narrower definition of literature as *bibungaku* or *junbungaku*. Mikami and Takatsu argue that while practical efficacy (*jitsuyō*) is the common attribute of all *bungaku* in a broad sense, pure literature is characterized by *both* its practical function and its spiritual pleasure (*seishinteki kairaku*). This emphasis on spiritual pleasure strongly echoes Tsubouchi Shōyō's advocacy of literary art in *Shōsetsu shinzui* and the influence of Victorian literary discourse (as represented by Matthew Arnold), but Mikami and Takatsu stress the moral and social efficacy of pure literature much more clearly: "True *bungaku* can make the spirit of the nation's people graceful, elevated, and pure [*yūbi, kōshō, junketsu*]; and while it enables the reader to experience the spiritual pleasure of grace, elegance, and purity, it can transmit ethical, religious, and artistic ideas and truths and teach important moral lessons and essential facts in a natural manner."[16]

Following Hippolyte Taine's (1828–1893) *History of English Literature* (1864; English translation, 1872), Mikami and Takatsu, along with Haga and Tachibana, also attempt to describe Japanese national literature and national character:[17]

> Each of the nations in the world has its unique and distinct character and mentality. What is recently mentioned as the national spirit [*kokusui*] clearly manifests itself in each country's national literature. Japanese people are full of reverence for gods and full of loyalty to their lords [*keishin chūkun*]; the Chinese value proper decorum and order; and since both peoples (Japanese and Chinese) respect righteousness and loyalty, their literature, including their fiction, tends to focus on moral justice [*kanzen chōaku*]. The Westerners espouse the ideals of freedom and rights, and they have high respect for women. Even among the Western nations, the English are calm and practical, whereas the French are gallant and tend to be emotional. Thus the literatures of the English and the French respectively manifest the distinct traces of their national characters. Generally speaking, Japanese literature can be characterized as elegant and graceful, Chinese literature as grand and heroic, and Western literature as precise, detailed, and exhaustive [*seichi*].[18]

It is noteworthy that "Japanese literature" (and mentality) are joined with "Chinese literature" (against "Western literature" in general), but the two are differentiated as "national literatures." While this is symptomatic of the precarious notion of *kokubungaku* and *kokugo* (national language), the characterization of Japanese literature as "elegant and graceful" would persist in subsequent literary historiography and have a lasting impact on the general view of Japanese literature and national character.[19]

This characterization is no doubt related to the designation of elegance and grace as essential attributes and effects of *bungaku* as "pure literature." Japanese literature thus embodies the quintessence of "literature." This view was also related to the new notion of national language. Under the impact of phonetic Western letters, such modern scholars of Japanese national literature as Mikami, Takatsu, Haga, and Ueda designated *wabun* as the basis of Japanese "national language," in contradistinction to *kanbun* (texts in the classical Chinese style), which was now regarded as "foreign" and of "Chinese language." Indeed, Mikami and Takatsu "excluded all *kanbun* texts from the body of the nation's writings."[20] The elimination of works in *kanbun* also reinforced the new idea of literature as belles lettres, or pure literature, since the majority of historical, philosophical, religious, and political writings in Japan had been written in *kanbun*. Despite the subsequent representation (during the Sino-Japanese [1894–1895] and Russo-Japanese Wars) of national character as marked by "military spirit" (*shōbu ninkyō*) and "loyalty and brave courage" (*chūkō giyū*), the characterization of Japanese literature as "elegant and graceful" would continue into the post–World War II period, primarily because of a need to identify the uniqueness and continuity of the national language and as a result of the shift in the notion of *bungaku* from (Confucian) learning to humanities to aesthetic literature.

In the newly constructed body of national literature, from which all the texts written in *kanbun* were excised, Heian works written in *kana* were highly valued for having developed both writing suited to the national language and literary genres such as the *monogatari* (tale), *sōshi* (book), *nikki* (diary), and *kikō* (travel diary), which the literary historians of the Meiji period saw as reflecting the "internal life" (*rimen*) of the Heian period, as opposed to the "external state," which had been recorded in *kanbun* texts. In accordance with Shōyō's evolutionary view of genre, they considered prose in general to be a more advanced literary form than verse and gave new attention to Heian vernacular prose texts, particularly *monogatari*.

Valued most was *The Tale of Genji*, which was recanonized as the great predecessor to the refined novel. Next in value, even over *waka* (particularly that of the *Kokinshū* [*Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems*, ca. 905]), were *nikki* (such as *Kagerō nikki* [974], *Izumi Shikibu nikki* [1004, 1027], *Murasaki Shikibu nikki* [1010], and *Sanuki no Suke nikki* [1108]) and *kikō* (which included *Tosa nikki* [ca. 935] and *Sarashina nikki* [ca. 1059]), both of which were reappraised for their "literary value," as being similar to *monogatari*, "as entertaining rather than practical," and as opposed to the "simple practicality of the *kanbun nikki*."[21] While the *kokubungaku* scholars of the Meiji period valued the Heian period for its significant contribution to the development of Japanese literature, they also expressed apparent dissatisfaction with the "elegant and gentle, yet effeminate and spiritless" literature and mentality of the Heian.[22] This is most clearly epitomized in their evaluation of the *Genji*, considered to be the "finest representative of *monogatari*, the quintessence of the Heian literature, and the highest accomplishment of elegant literature."[23]

Mikami and Takatsu's discussion of *The Tale of Genji* introduces the author, Murasaki Shikibu, as a virtuous woman and talented writer (apparently following the Edo-period Confucian scholar Andō Tameakira); outlines the basic plot, with Genji and Lady Murasaki as the hero and the heroine; and lists the earlier major commentaries and critical treatises. Kitamura Kigin's *Genji monogatari kogetsushō* (*Kogetsushō*; *The Tale of Genji Moon on the Lake Commentary*, 1673), Andō Tameakira's *Shika shichiron* (*Seven Essays on Murasaki Shikibu*, 1703), Norinaga's *Tama no ogushi*, and Hagiwara Hiromichi's *Genji monogatari hyōshaku* (*Appraisal of The Tale of Genji*, 1854) are recommended as four indispensable works for reading the *Genji*. Criticizing some of the Buddhist and Confucian allegorical moral readings for reducing the rich intertextuality of the *Genji*, Mikami and Takatsu praise the tale for its "exquisite," "subtle," and "precise" language as well as for its "fertile imagination," "careful design and compositional structure," "characters, scenery, situation," "disposition, balance, correspondence, and coherence of the events and plot," and effective rhetorical command. Echoing Hagiwara Hiromichi's *Genji* commentary as well as Shōyō's *Shōsetsu shinzui* and its references to Bakin and Western rhetoric, Mikami and Takatsu reposition the *Genji* and its earlier commentaries in the ongoing discourse on the novel and literature.[24]

Mikami and Takatsu then articulate the gist of their view of *The Tale of Genji*: "This book is the oldest and the most refined of the fully developed realistic novels [*shajitsuryū shōsetsu*] in Japan. However, we also have to know that Murasaki Shikibu proceeded from a realistic description to

reach the realm of the ideal [*risō no kyō*]."[25] Behind the notion of entering the "realm of the ideal" is the long-debated issue called *mono no magire*: Genji's illicit relationships with women, particularly with his stepmother, Fujitsubo. Mikami and Takatsu criticize those who condemned the *Genji* for its portrayal of these affairs as well as those who read the book as an allegorical warning against licentiousness (*kōshoku*). They also severely fault those past readings that considered the tale to be a continuation of the Rikkokushi (Six National Histories) of the Nara (710–784) and Heian periods (no doubt because this would imply a critical flaw in the supposedly unbroken line of emperors). Mikami and Takatsu claim that although Murasaki Shikibu used actual manners of the upper-class society of her time as material for her fiction, the characters and events are ideal in the sense that they represent typified (and, in a sense, exaggerated) cases, including "idealized lust" (*risōteki no inpū*). While Mikami and Takatsu show respect for Norinaga's anti-didactic theory of *mono no aware* and affective sensibility regarding the illicit relationship, they also criticize Norinaga for having condoned such behavior for the sake of eulogizing human sensibility.

Clearly, Mikami and Takatsu's central concern was how to evaluate this representative "masterpiece of national literature" (with problematic sexual and political content) within the evolving discourse of national literature and the emerging discourse of aesthetics. The moral and social efficacy of literary art was a crucial concern of the first *kokubungaku* scholars in their attempt to promote cultural nationalism through national literature. The notions of realism and idealism would be further debated in subsequent years in relation to the question of aesthetic beauty and moral and social value, and the views of *The Tale of Genji* as a "realistic novel" or an "idealistic novel" would constitute the keynote in the subsequent Meiji evaluations of the tale, as is clearly seen in W. G. Aston's *A History of Japanese Literature* (1899), Umezawa Waken's *Sei Shōnagon to Murasaki Shikibu* (*Sei Shōnagon and Murasaki Shikibu*, 1902), Iwaki Juntarō's "*Genji monogatari* no dōgikan" (Moral Views of *The Tale of Genji*, 1902), and Fujioka Sakutarō's influential *Kokubungaku zenshi: Heian-chō hen* (*Complete History of Japanese Literature: The Heian Court*, 1905).

While Mikami and Takatsu highly praise the refined style and well-constructed fictional composition of *The Tale of Genji* as the highest achievement of Heian literature, they cannot hide their dissatisfaction with the "tendency of its style to be monotonous and spiritless," which, they note, is a "weakness of *wabun* style" and is "inevitable because it was

written by a woman." Their dissatisfaction was connected to their strong ambivalence about the "narrow subject matter" of Heian (*wabun*) literature and the "elegant and gentle, yet effeminate and spiritless" literature and mentality of the Heian period. Haga and Tachibana attribute these characteristics to the nature of the Japanese national language (*kokugo no seishitsu*); the fact that the works were written mostly by women and that the content was little more than love romances (*enwa*); and, most of all, the fact that the literature of the time centered solely on the upper class (*jōryū shakai*).[26] Mikami and Takatsu, echoing Edo-period *kokugaku* sentiment (particularly that espoused by Kamo no Mabuchi [1697–1769]), state that the laudable "simplicity" and "brave, gallant spirit of Japanese men" in the ancient period became "effeminate and spiritless under the influence of Buddhism" and turned "pompous and gaudy as they imitated Chinese manners."[27] Haga and Tachibana, however, highly value Chinese and Buddhist influence, which "imbued literature with lofty ideas," and praise the "more vigorous and manly" (*gōken*) Japanese–Chinese mixed style (*wakan konkōbun*), which developed in the medieval and Edo periods. Mikami and Takatsu likewise extol the *wakan konkō* style, which fused *yamato kotoba* (Japanese words) and *kango* (Chinese words) into a higher style and was the product of a masculinized, "brave and gallant" period since the Kamakura period (1183–1333).[28] In line with an evolutionist historical narrative, all the *kokubungaku* scholars glorify the "remarkable progress of national literature" in the Edo period, particularly the "vast expansion of literary genres" that "embraced both upper and lower classes."[29] The central concern of their literary histories was to emphasize the continual "development and progress" of Japanese national literature, implicitly calling for the further advance of national literature, whose fate was linked to that of Japan as a modern nation-state among advanced Western countries.

The ambivalent mixture of praise and dissatisfaction that these national literary historians showed toward *The Tale of Genji* and the newly delineated Heian literature was part of the larger sentiment about the competing notions of literature and literary language in the late 1880s to the first decade of the twentieth century, when various debates occurred with regard to the moral, social, aesthetic, and political values of literature. These debates generated a widespread consensus about the importance of "literature," in which the *Genji* occupied an ambivalent position. The notorious condemnation of the tale by Uchimura Kanzō (1861–1930) (in a lecture delivered in 1894) is a revealing example:

> *The Tale of Genji* might have left beautiful language in Japan, but what has the *Genji* ever done to raise the moral spirit of Japan? Far from doing nothing, the *Genji* has made us effeminate cowards. I would like to exterminate such *bungaku* [literature] from our ranks! (applause). . . . Literature is not such an idle, trifling business. Literature is a weapon with which we must fight in the world, against devilish enemies, in our attempt to improve our society and our country . . . not just for today but for years to come.[30]

With the spread of education during the 1880s, *kanbun* and *kangaku* (study of Chinese writings) had become important parts of the primary- and secondary-school curriculum, and *kanbun* constituted the basis of literacy and the central part of language education (for both reading and writing) until 1894, when the revised curriculum for secondary school eliminated mandatory composition in *kanbun* for the first time and emphasized the "harmony" of *kokugo* (defined in the 1886 curriculum as "writings mixed with Chinese characters," or Sino-Japanese mixed style) and *kanbun*, with *kokugo* as primary and *kanbun* as subsidiary.[31]

From the late 1880s, however, there was also renewed interest in *wabun* in an effort to create updated mixed written styles, particularly for new poetry and prose. As we have seen, Shōyō promoted a modernized, more colloquial mixed style for the realistic and artistic novel, and the first modern historians of Japanese national literature, in designating phonetic *wabun* as the basis of the national language, also emphasized the development of the national language, which they saw as incorporating both *kanbun* and newly encountered Western-derived linguistic elements. This position was shared by the influential *shinkokubun* (new national writing style) movement to promote the creation of an updated *wabun*-based mixed style as the national written language, a movement initiated by Ochiai Naobumi in 1890 and soon supported by Mori Ōgai and others.

Ōgai's experimental "Japanese-Chinese-Western" mixed style (*wa-kan-yō konkōbun*), which he developed (after his return from a five-year stay in Germany) in his translation of European poetry in the anthology *Omokage* (*Vestiges*, 1889) as well as in the novellas in his "German trilogy"—"Maihime" (Dancing Girl, 1890), "Utakata no ki" (Foam on the Waves, 1890), and "Fumi-zukai" (The Courier, 1891)—is a good example. Ōgai apparently read *The Tale of Genji* for the first time in the late 1880s.[32] The publication of Masuda Yukinobu's vernacular translation of the *Genji*, the *Shinpen shishi* (*New Edition of Murasaki's Narrative*, 1888–1904), no doubt was related to this renewed attention to the *Genji*.[33] Significantly, a revised and enlarged edition of Kigin's *Kogetsushō* was edited and published by Inokuma

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while the other had women whose literary talent even surpassed that of men. . . . The former was masculine, whereas the latter was feminine; the first prized obligations and principles [*giri*], the second valued feelings and sentiment [*jōshu*]."[37] In articulating a bipolar, gendered contrast, which was latent in the earlier Meiji *kokubungaku* ambivalence about a national literature derived from a *kana*-based "feminine" language, Fujioka skillfully reverses the implicit hierarchical polarity between a "masculine, strong" Edo literature and a "feminine, weak" Heian literature by characterizing Edo literature as the "slave of ethical constraints" and Heian literature as the product of the "age of passion and natural human feelings"—that is, as the precursor of advanced, "pure literature." According to Fujioka, "[T]he everyday life of Heian aristocrats, who valued love without regard to obligations and who esteemed beauty without preaching the good," exemplified what Takayama Chogyū (1871–1902) had recently called the "aesthetic life" (*biteki seikatsu*).[38] Fujioka's endorsement of Heian literature was underpinned by his belief in the value of "passion and taste" (*jōshu*), "love" (*ai*), "nature" (*shizen*), and "beauty" (*bi*)—key terms both in Fujioka's book and in the Romantic literary discourse developed since the early 1890s by Kitamura Tōkoku (1868–1894) and the Bungaku-kai group; by Takayama Chogyū, who introduced Nietzsche to Japan; and by various aesthetic currents in the early twentieth century, most notably the Myōjō literary group, which introduced Romantic as well as fin-de-siècle European early modernist poetry and art (Pre-Raphaelite, art nouveau, and French symbolism). Fujioka's view of literary value also embodied the larger discursive shift from the broader notion of literature to the more specialized concept of aesthetic literature, which stresses human emotion and its unaffected expression.

In discussing the literary values of Heian texts, Fujioka emphasizes the creation and development of *kana*, the "versatile new national letters" (*jizai-naru shinkokuji*), which resulted in the composition of "remarkable masterpieces of pure literature."[39] Reflecting the evolutionist chart presented in Tsubouchi Shōyō's *Shōsetsu shinzui*, Fujioka traces the development of Heian prose narratives from the *Taketori monogatari* (*The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter*, ca. 909), "the first *shōsetsu*, which was actually still at the stage of fantastic romance"; through the "fact-based" *Yamato monogatari* (*The Tales of Yamato*, ca. 950) and Mother of Michitsuma's *Kagerō nikki*, "an autobiography close to a realistic novel"; to the *Utsubo monogatari* (*The Tale of the Hollow Tree*, 984), which "attempted to depict court life concretely through fictional characters"; to, finally, *The Tale of Genji*, which Fujioka

regards as the best novel ever written in Japan. Fujioka valued fictionality over factuality ("literature" over "history"), but this fictionality contributed to the realistic depiction of innermost human feelings and contemporary social manners, a quality that Shōyō had advocated earlier and that Fujioka found in abundance in the *Genji*. Echoing the literary debates that had followed the publication of Shōyō's *Shōsetsu shinzui*, Fujioka considers the *Genji*, which "vividly depicted the contemporary society as if recording it on a phonograph and presenting it panoramically," to be more than a "realistic novel" (*shajitsu shōsetsu*). He regards it as an "idealistic novel" (*risō shōsetsu*), in which the author amply presented her views of women not from a prescribed moralistic point of view but with sympathetic and astute insights into human emotions and human nature.[40] Indeed, while privileging the realistic novel as an advanced literary form, Fujioka also focuses on the mode of expression, giving particular value, regardless of genre, to the "unaffected and straightforward expression of innermost feelings," which he found in *monogatari* (such as *The Tales of Ise*) and in the poetry of Ariwara no Narihira, Izumi Shikibu, and Saigyō.[41] By contrast, Heian *waka*, represented by the rhetoric of the *Kokinshū*, is given the lowest position, lacking both realism and direct emotive expression.

Fujioka's study of Heian literature, which was grounded in the new literary discourse of the early twentieth century, profoundly shaped later views of Heian literature and national literature. It was also around this time, after the end of the Russo-Japanese War, that the so-called Japanese Naturalist writers and critics rapidly constructed a hegemonic literary position through their new literary journals.[42] Following the death of Ozaki Kōyō (1868–1903), the leader of the Kenyūsha (Society of Friends of the Inkstone) and the most popular and influential fiction writer in the last decade of the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth century, Tayama Katai (1871–1930) published "Rokotsunaru byōsha" (Unadorned Description, 1904) in the influential general-interest magazine *Taiyō*, in which he named Kōyō, Rohan, Tsubouchi Shōyō, and Mori Ōgai as "*past* great giants" and attacked the "contemporary advocates of literary technique" (*ima no gikōronsha*) as "slaves of literary style." Katai criticized earlier Meiji literature as "powdered, ornate writings" or "gild-plated literature" (*mekki bungaku*) and proudly placed the inclination toward "unadorned, bold description" in contemporary Japanese writing alongside the trend in Western literature that came with the advent of such "fin-de-siècle revolutionaries" as Henrik Ibsen, Leo Tolstoy, Emile Zola, Fyodor Dostoevsky, Gabriele D'Annunzio, Gerhart Hauptmann, and Hermann

Sudermann. Presenting "blood and sweat" in their works, these Western writers "destroyed the gilded literature" of not only classicism but also Romanticism by being "outspoken," "truthful," and "natural."[43]

In 1906 and 1907, critics and novelists such as Shimamura Hōgetsu (1871–1918), Tayama Katai, Shimazaki Tōson (1872–1943), Iwano Hōmei (1873–1920), Hasegawa Tenkei (1876–1940), Masamune Hakuchō (1879–1962), Sōma Gyofū (1883–1950), and Katagami Tengen (1884–1928) emphasized their "sincerity" as well as their "subjective and emotional involvement" in their relentless exploration of "(hidden, internal) truth," which dealt with ordinary, everyday life, often focusing on the "dark side" of private experiences and sexual encounters.

In his influential article "Bungeijō no shizenshugi" (Naturalism in Literary Arts, 1908), Hōgetsu, a leading critic, presents a literary history of Japanese Naturalism in which he makes a clear distinction between the "Early Naturalism" (*zenki shizenshugi*) of such writers as Kosugi Tengai (1865–1952), who "sought objective description under the influence of Zola," and the recently emerged "Late Naturalism" (*kōki shizenshugi*) of such works as Kunikida Doppo's (1871–1908) *Dopposhū* (*Doppo Collection*, 1905), Shimazaki Tōson's *Hakai* (*The Broken Commandment*, 1906), Futabatei Shimei's (1864–1909) *Sono omokage* (*In His Image*, 1906), Tayama Katai's *Futon* (*Quilt*, 1907), and Masamune Hakuchō's *Kōjin* (*Vermilion Dust*, 1907). Pointing out that Late Naturalism was a special current in Japan that appeared after Japanese intellectuals experienced "Sturm und Drang or Romanticism from around 1901–2 (when enthusiastic zeal for Niëtzsche and Aesthetic Life emerged) until 1904–5," Hōgetsu aligned recent Japanese Naturalism with European impressionism, symbolism, and fin-de-siècle decadence. All these movements were understood as a further development of European naturalism, which attempted to destroy traditional social norms and literary forms.[44]

In establishing a new literary position, the Japanese Naturalist writers and critics aggressively promoted the recently institutionalized *genbun-itchi* colloquial written language as the normative literary style for the novel of a new age. They emphasized the "clarity, directness, and immediacy" of *genbun-itchi* as being suited for unaffected and sincere expression, and forcibly classified the various mixed styles into the "neo-classical" *gabun* style, the classical Chinese–based *kanbun* style, and the modern colloquial *genbun-itchi* style.[45] Until the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, there were no binary contrasts between the "modern" *genbun-itchi* style and the "traditional" style. Instead, there were multiple styles: *kanbun*, *wabun*, Sino-Japanese mixed-styles (*hentai-kanbun* or *wakan konkōbun*), new translation styles—which incorporated idioms and syntactical features of Western languages into Sino-Japanese styles (*ōbun-chokuyakutai*)—and various experimental colloquial styles. The dominant conception of the written style was best represented by such notions as *gazoku setchūtai* (high–low fused style) and *wa-kan-yō konkōbun* (Sino-Japanese-Western mixed style), which actually allowed for various mixtures. Although the need to create a standard modern national spoken language (*hyōjungo*) was proclaimed after the Sino-Japanese War by Ueda Kazutoshi[46] and the government began systematically promoting the standardization of a plain colloquial style (*kōgobun*) in the state-compiled primary-school textbooks (first published in 1903/1904), the mixed styles of *gazoku setchūtai* and *wa-kan-yō konkōbun* continued to dominate writing. What was called *futsūbun* (standard written style), an updated *wa-kan-yō* (Sino-Japanese-Western) mixed style that had come into general use in newspapers, magazines, textbooks, and government business from the late 1890s, continued to constitute the standard expository style until the early 1920s.

In designating themselves as the standard-bearers of the "advanced," colloquial *genbun-itchi* literary style, the Naturalist writers and critics aggressively linked many of the earlier literary writers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—such as Ozaki Kōyō, Izumi Kyōka (1873–1939), and Higuchi Ichiyō (1872–1896)—with what they called the "elegant and outdated" *gabun* or "pseudo-classical" *gikobun* style, emphasizing its "traditional," "ornamental," and "feminine" character. A clear line had been established between "classical language," which had been feminized, and "modern language," dominated by the Naturalist writers. *The Tale of Genji*, while now regarded as a national masterpiece, became representative of "classical literature," written in a language that modern writers could no longer employ. It was Yosano Akiko, as a "female writer with roots in the women's literary tradition," who bridged this gap, making the *Genji* a modern novel in the modern language.

THE TALE OF GENJI IN THE TAISHŌ PERIOD: YOSANO AKIKO AND THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM

In the field of literature following the Russo-Japanese War, the aggressive separation of the new colloquial literary language from the various mixed styles that represented the earlier notion and practice of literary language

led to the differentiation of "modern literature" and "classical literature." At the same time, the "national classics" were elevated as part of Japan's new identity as an "advanced," "cultured," imperial nation within the international power structure. In *Kokubungakushi kōwa* (*Lectures on the History of National Literature*, 1908), Fujioka Sakutarō traced the "evolution and progress" of the literary history of the nation from ancient times to Japanese Naturalism and proclaimed that with Japan's victory over Russia, the people of Japan, "the oldest and the newest civilized country of the world," had now an "important mission to unite and further develop the essence of the old and the new, of Eastern and Western cultures."[47]

In 1911, the year after Japan annexed Korea, a group of four national literature scholars published *Shinshaku Genji monogatari* (*Newly Annotated Tale of Genji*), the first modern colloquial translation (with annotation and commentary) of *The Tale of Genji*.[48] In its preface, Sassa Seisetsu (1872–1917) stressed the value of the *Genji* as "a required book for all people of the nation." While echoing phrases from Haga Yaichi's *Kokubungakushi jikkō* (*Ten Lectures on National Literature*, 1899) and Fujioka's *Kokubungaku zenshi: Heian-chō hen*, Sassa promoted the *Genji* as the world's first novel of feelings (*ninjō shōsetsu*) and realistic novel and as a means "for the people of the nation to reflect on their national character [*kokuminsei*]": "If the *Genji* thus represents our national character and if it is the greatest treasure not only of national literature but of world literature, how can the people of Japan neglect it?"[49]

It was in such a literary and cultural context that Yosano Akiko's (1878–1941) *Shin'yaku Genji monogatari* (*New Translation of The Tale of Genji*, 1912–1913), the first complete modern colloquial translation of *The Tale of Genji*, appeared.[50] Akiko had established herself as a celebrated *tanka* poet and the queen of the Myōjō group, and her *tanka* collection *Midaregami* (*Entangled Hair*, 1901) had had a decisive impact on the aesthetic direction and popularity of the literary magazine *Myōjō* (1900–1908). But at the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, both the *tanka* genre and the *gabun*-based mixed style were placed in a secondary position by the rise of the colloquial-style novel, which had become the central literary genre of the new age.

Beginning in 1906, Akiko started to write a number of essays and short stories in the new colloquial style, but it was her modern translation of *The Tale of Genji* that allowed her to fully explore the new fictional form and language with confidence and authority.[51] In the postface to her translation, she notes that she attempted to "best transpose the spirit of the original into the contemporary language through a free translation."

Drawing on her familiarity with the *Genji* from her young years, Akiko started to give lectures on the *Genji* and other Heian classics. Following her translation of the *Genji*, she was asked by the publisher to translate more Heian classics into the modern colloquial language.[52] With the newly constructed division between the "modern" and "classical" languages, Akiko took on a privileged literary position in the recently established field of literature as a "bilingual" translator and born mediator between the feminized classical language and the new modern colloquial language, paradoxically naturalizing and reinforcing the newly gendered linguistic divide.

Akiko's modern translation of *The Tale of Genji*, prefaced by spirited encomia by Mori Ōgai and Ueda Bin, was received enthusiastically by certain parts of the reading public. The notion of the *Genji* as the foremost classic of national literature and world literature took root during the 1910s and 1920s, but it was not until the mid-1920s to 1930s that the *Genji* became a fresh object of serious literary attention among writers and readers and was widely popularized. This situation is reflected in the curriculum of Japanese-language education and in school textbooks from the end of the Meiji through the Taishō (1912–1926) period. The government established the system of state-compiled textbooks (*kokutei kyōkasho*) for primary schools in 1903, and it continued until 1948.

During the forty-five years from 1903 to 1948, six editions of primary-school textbooks were published: the first edition of *Jinjō shōgaku tokuhon* (*Normal Elementary School Reader*) was published in 1903/1904 and the second edition, in 1909/1910; in 1918, both the revised second edition (*Jinjō shōgaku tokuhon*, called the *Black Reader*) and the third edition (*Jinjō shōgaku kokugo tokuhon* [Normal *Elementary School Japanese Reader*], called the *White Reader*, compiled 1918–1923) were published simultaneously; the fourth edition (*Shōgaku kokugo tokuhon* [*Elementary School Japanese Reader*]) was compiled in 1933 to 1938; the fifth edition (*Kokuminka kokugo kyōkasho* [*The Nation: Japanese Textbook*]), in 1941 to 1943; and the sixth edition (*Kokugo*) was published in 1947.[53] The state-approved system (*kentei seido*), in which textbooks were produced privately but received the approval of the government, was announced in 1947, and various state-approved textbooks started to be used from 1949.

Short passages on Murasaki Shikibu and *The Tale of Genji* appear in all the state-compiled elementary-school textbooks for sixth graders, *except* the third edition, used for sixth graders from 1923 to 1938, and the sixth edition. Both the first and second editions present in plain *futsūbun* style a brief biography of Murasaki Shikibu (in the manner of Andō Tameakira's

Shika shichiron), praising her talent from childhood; mentioning her unlucky short marriage, her subsequent court service, and her writing of the *Genji*; and commenting on her being a good wife and wise mother and a humble, chaste, and thoughtful woman.[54] The *Genji* is praised as follows: "*The Tale of Genji* written by Murasaki Shikibu is a monumental work consisting of 54 chapters with such an interesting plot and written so masterfully that the emperor praised it greatly, saying that 'it is a work by a learned person.' Up until the present, this book has been admired by many scholars as a model for writing." The fourth and fifth editions present a similar biography of Murasaki Shikibu, this time in a *genbun-itchi* style, and colloquial adaptations of two short episodes from the "Wakamurasaki" (Lavender) and "Suetsumuhana" (The Safflower) chapters of *The Tale of Genji*: those in which the young Murasaki loses a pet sparrow at her grandmother's house and in which Genji plays with and takes care of the young Murasaki at his residence.[55]

In the secondary-school curriculum, *kanbun*-centered language education (reading and writing) continued into the 1890s, but as the class time for language education increased in the curriculum, beginning in 1894—when the complementarity of *kokugo* (defined as the Sino-Japanese mixed style) and *kanbun* was emphasized, with *kokugo* as primary—*The Tale of Genji* was adopted in the secondary-school (*chūgakkō*) textbooks, but this lasted only until 1902. (Even during this period, only seven of forty-eight textbooks for secondary school for men and only two of thirty-five textbooks for women's higher school [*kōtōjogakkō*]—the secondary school for women equivalent to *chūgakkō* for men—adopted the *Genji*.)[56]

The basic curriculum for secondary-school *kokugo* and *kanbun* was established in 1901 (and continued through 1931), and a detailed syllabus for the secondary-school curriculum (*chūgakkō kyōju yōmoku*) was adopted in 1902: "*kokugo* and *kanbun*" consisted of reading (*kōdoku*), grammar and composition (*bunpō oyobi sakubun*), the history of national literature (*kokubungakushi*), and calligraphy (*shūji*). The syllabus for the *kokugo* reading included Meiji-period writing (*kinbun*), Edo-period writing (*kinseibun*), medieval writing (*kinkobun*), and verse (*inbun*). As a result of this syllabus, the presentation of *The Tale of Genji* as well as all premedieval texts (with the exception of *waka* poetry) in textbooks became difficult after 1902. In the revised syllabus for the secondary-school curriculum, adopted in 1911, "*kokugo* and *kanbun*" consisted of five sub-subjects: *kokugo* reading, *kanbun* reading, composition, grammar,

and calligraphy. It is noteworthy that instruction in *kokubungakushi* was eliminated in this syllabus; it was not until 1924 that it was reinstated in the school curriculum. According to the syllabus of 1911:

> The material for the "*kokugo* reading" centers on the *futsūbun* [standard expository style] and mixes the colloquial style [*kōgobun*] and the epistolary style [*shotokubun*] as well as verse. The standard style centers on Meiji writings [*gendaibun*] and includes Edo-period writings and medieval writings. All these writings should be of plain style that can become a model for composition. The colloquial-style writings should be in a clear style without mixing in any dialects; it should be the style that can present a standard for the spoken language, that can become a model for speech and composition.[57]

Although scholars of *genbun-itchi*, such as Yamamoto Masahide, stress that the *genbun-itchi* colloquial style was firmly established by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, the *genbun-itchi* style in fact became the dominant style in secondary-school textbooks only toward the end of the Taishō period, from the mid-1920s.[58] The syllabus of 1911 continued to define secondary-school language education until its revision in 1931, when it extended the coverage of pre-Meiji writings to texts of the Heian and Nara periods. According to a survey by Isshiki Eri, during the Taishō period, only twenty-three of ninety-four secondary-school *kokugo* textbooks, and only six of seventy-seven women's higher-school *kokugo* textbooks, covered *The Tale of Genji*.[59] Whereas various chapters of the *Genji* had appeared in Meiji-period textbooks,[60] most of the *Genji* passages in Taishō-period textbooks tended to focus on landscapes, the most frequently presented being the autumn scenery in the "Suma" chapter.

THE TALE OF GENJI, NATIONAL LITERATURE, AND WORLD LITERATURE

During the Taishō period, the notion that the history of national literature embodied the history and national character (*kokuminsei*) of Japan took firm root. In his monumental literary and intellectual history, *Bungaku ni arawaretaru waga kokumin shisō no kenkyū* (*A Study of the Thought of Our Nation's People as Reflected in Literature*, 1916–1921),[61] Tsuda Sōkichi (1873–1961) attempted to examine the relationship between class-based

society and literary history, starting with *Kizoku bungaku no jidai* (*The Age of Aristocratic Literature*, 1916), which deals with the Nara and Heian periods. Tsuda amplified Fujioka Sakutarō's literary perspectives, particularly his emphasis on love (*koi*), nature, and emotive expression in the national tradition. Like many Meiji-period *kokubungaku* scholars, Tsuda praised the works of "female literati" (*joryū bunjin*) around the reign of Emperor Ichijō (980–1011, r. 986–1011) for "directly depicting particular scenes or feelings, whether as a sincere confession of their own emotional lives or as a product of a fictional imagination,"[62] but remained quite uneasy about the prominent position of women's writing in national literature. He argued that the refined *kana* writing by Heian women should be understood as a characteristic of *kokubun*, the national language, as opposed to *kanbun*, a rough language not suited to the mimetic depiction of reality, particularly of the human heart: "Reality, thoughts, and feelings of the people of the nation cannot be represented by foreign written languages."[63] Here Tsuda confidently projected into the historical past a belief in the immediacy of the national language. At the same time, he was also ambivalent about what he called "feminized national literature" (*joseika sareta kokubungaku*). A noted populist, he ultimately criticized the "spiritless," "self-centered," "materialistic," "degenerate," "urbanized and feminized aristocrats" of the Heian period.[64]

In 1922, Doi Kōchi (1886–1979), a scholar of English literature and a Taishō liberal, published *Bungaku josetsu* (*Introduction to Literature*), which had a profound impact on the younger generation of literary students, including such future leading *kokubungaku* scholars as Hisamatsu Sen'ichi (1894–1976) and Ikeda Kikan (1896–1956). In a long essay in the book, "Nihon bungaku no tenkai" (The Evolution of Japanese Literature, 1920), which approaches Japanese literature from a comparative perspective,[65] Doi emphasized the "internal continuity of the spiritual life of the Japanese people" and described the "special characteristic of Japanese literature and the Japanese people" as being "particularly lyrical" (*toku ni jojōteki*).[66] In another essay, "Kokuminteki bungaku to sekaiteki bungaku" (National Literature and World Literature, 1921), Doi introduced Goethe's notion of transnational world literature. In contrast to national literature, which was considered "an expression of the humanity conditioned by a particular cultural environment, history, and language," world literature was conceived, according to Doi, as "an expression of humanity freed from the restrictions of a particular time or place"; world literature was "an expression of humanity in its purest and most profound essence."[67] Doi emphasized the importance of the growth of not only the individual

self but the collective self of the nation into a greater, more universal humanity, a national self that could develop further through interactions with other national literatures. In this context, Doi picked from Japanese literature the *Man'yōshū* (*Collection of Myriad Leaves*, ca. 785); *The Tale of Genji* and, more important, Heian women's diaries and essays (*zuihitsu*), such as Sei Shōnagon's *Makura no sōshi* (*The Pillow Book*, ca. 1017); and Kenkō's *Tsurezuregusa* (*Essays in Idleness*, ca. 1330) as texts that he believed had universal interest and "would win people's respect and affection when translated into foreign languages," urging contemporary Japanese readers to realize the "hitherto unrecognized high value" of these works, which are "direct expressions of individual personalities." Criticizing the narrow canon created by *kokubungaku* scholars, Doi also proposed to value the philosophical and spiritual works of such medieval religious figures as Hōnen (1133–1212) and Shinran (1173–1262) as an important part of Japanese literature.[68]

In 1922, the intellectual historian Watsuji Tetsurō (1889–1960) published three articles about Heian literature—"*Makura no sōshi* ni tsuite" (On *The Pillow Book*), "Mono no aware ni tsuite" (On *mono no aware*), and "*Genji monogatari* ni tsuite" (On *The Tale of Genji*)—in the journal *Shisō* (*Thought*). These reflections, developed in response to Tsuda's *Bungaku ni arawaretaru waga kokumin shisō no kenkyū* and Fujioka's *Kokubungaku zenshi: Heian-chō hen*, were later included in his book *Nihon seishinshi kenkyū* (*Study of Intellectual History of Japan*, 1926).[69] Watsuji noted that Sei Shōnagon's "depiction of the sensuous aspects of nature and life was backed up by the ethos of *mono no aware*." "Her perspective was extremely narrow, as in the case of all aristocracy of the time . . . but what she saw in this narrow horizon was not simple objects of sensual pleasure, but Beauty itself."[70] Watsuji admired what he saw as Motoori Norinaga's claim that "*mono no aware* was the essence of literature" and what he regarded as Norinaga's stress on the autonomous value of literature (separate from ethical and philosophical values) during the heyday of Confucianism.[71] Watsuji attempted to examine the "basis" (*konkyo*) of this *mono no aware*, the "reason why it could claim independence from philosophical or moral values," the reason why the *mono no aware* that Norinaga found in *The Tale of Genji* "had the power to soften, elevate, and purify the reader's mind/heart."[72] Based on his analysis of Norinaga's *Tama no ogushi*, Watsuji interpreted Norinaga's notion of *mono no aware* as "secular human emotions" (*sekenteki ninjō*) as well as "broad, humane feelings [*hiroi, Humane-na kanjō*] and pure and deep feelings that transcend exaggerated sentiments." He universalized Norinaga's "aesthetic notion of *mono no*

aware" as a "yearning for eternal origin" (*eien no kongen e no shibo*), an "action of Eternity itself in our selves that has us return to Eternity."[73]

In this platonic and Romantic universalism, Watsuji proposed to regard Norinaga's particular notion of *mono no aware* (which he formulated based on *The Tale of Genji*) as having been "conditioned by the spiritual life of a particular time," the "particular form of longing for Eternity manifested in Heian literature." By limiting Norinaga's concept of *mono no aware* to the specific mentality of the Heian period, Watsuji emphasized that the longing for eternity itself cannot or should not always be characterized as "feminine" or "transient" (*memeshiku hakanaki*), as Norinaga had argued. Watsuji claimed that the "*mono no aware* [that Norinaga found in the *Genji*] was a flower that bloomed in the heart of Heian women." "It was only natural that all feminine sensibility and feminine faintheartedness manifested themselves there." In the end, Watsuji expressed his strong ambivalence toward the "*mono no aware* of the Heian period": "Thus we can understand our dissatisfaction with the *mono no aware* of the Heian period as well as with the Heian literature that is based on this ethos. As many others have noted, it derived from a lack of the masculine."[74]

Watsuji's interest was then directed toward the textual characteristics of *The Tale of Genji*. In "*Genji monogatari* ni tsuite," which is considered by *Genji* scholars to be a pioneering work in textual studies, Watsuji suspects that the tale was not written in the present order of the chapters and assumes a preexisting body of legends and stories from which Murasaki Shikibu developed her *monogatari*. In fact, Watsuji surmises that she may have been only one of many authors of the *Genji*.[75] In the latter part of his essay, Watsuji expresses his "long-held uncertainty with regard to the artistic value of *The Tale of Genji*." He complains: "I hesitate to call it a masterpiece: it's monotonous, repetitive, and even partially beautiful scenes are clouded by the dull monotony of the whole." Referring to Mori Ōgai's remark in his preface to Yosano Akiko's *Shin'yaku Genji monogatari*, in which he jokingly mentioned someone who had criticized the *Genji* for its bad writing style (*akubun*), Watsuji faults the "obscurity of *Genji*'s writing style" (*bunshō no kaijū*):

> This obscurity is not due to the lack of our linguistic competence; the fault lies with the author. I see one of the major causes for its obscurity in the confusion of perspectives in her descriptions. For example, due to this confusion, I cannot read the "Hashihime" [The Lady at the Bridge] chapter without feeling an unpleasant resistance. In writing that does not demark the subjects, the author presents side by side the author's reflections, scenes viewed by Captain Kaoru, and those viewed by princesses. . . . We cannot envision a unified world without taking one consistent position. In this regard, the descriptive sketches in the *Pillow Book* make us grasp their beauty immediately because they are described clearly from a certain point of view. . . . Similarly the hero Genji in the present form of the *Genji* is not represented as a unified human being: his psychological working is totally absurd without any coherent internal connections. . . . If we have to regard the present form of the *Genji* as a work of art, it is not a masterpiece. The author is not someone who has sufficient ability to deal with its many major topics. I can declare this for sure.[76]

A very similar complaint and provocative remark about *The Tale of Genji* were made by Masamune Hakuchō in "Koten o yonde" (On Reading Classics, 1926). Hakuchō expressed his disappointing experience in attempting to read the recent Japanese translation of Cao Xueqin's *Hong lou meng* (*The Dream of the Red Chamber*), a Chinese vernacular novel written in the eighteenth century, and *The Tale of Genji*.[77] He was interested in the tones, rhythm, and elaborate diction of *Dream of the Red Chamber*, but found the modern Japanese translation to be difficult to read and tasteless. He also found the writing style (*bunshō*) of the original *Genji* to be "sluggish and loose" and "hard to read": "Setting aside the content, the writing is incomparably bad. It should not be used for today's school textbooks. It must be more interesting to read the *Genji* in English translation. . . . [T]he style, which continues like a stream of jellyfish, prevents us from being impressed by the truth of life." In a manner similar to that of Watsuji's in "Mono no aware ni tsuite," Hakuchō expresses his dissatisfaction with "what has been praised from the distant past as the depiction of various aspects of the nature of women based on the ethos of *mono no aware*." "No matter how talented a woman Murasaki Shikibu is, a woman is a woman. Her observation of human beings is shallow."[78]

From the mid-1920s, however, particularly after the publication of the first volume of Arthur Waley's translation of *The Tale of Genji* in 1925, the *Genji* as "world literature" would acquire new significance, becoming a fresh object of literary and cultural interest.[79] The very stylistic characteristics that Watsuji Tetsurō and Masamune Hakuchō criticized in the *Genji* would be highlighted positively and praised by Tanizaki Jun'ichirō in the late 1920s. From the 1930s, the *Genji* would also be introduced in school textbooks and start to be popularized through textbooks and modern colloquial translations.

THE TALE OF GENJI IN THE PREWAR SHŌWA PERIOD: TANIZAKI JUN'ICHIRŌ, MODERNISM, AND THE POPULARIZATION OF THE CLASSICS

By the mid-1920s, the *genbun-itchi* written style had been widely institutionalized in the literary world and in society at large. In 1922, the editorial columns of the major newspapers, which had preserved the *futsūbun* style, shifted to the *genbun-itchi* colloquial style (although legal documents and government papers continued to be written in the *futsūbun* style until after World War II).[80] The use of the colloquial style (*kōgobun*) in secondary-school textbooks surpassed that of the *futsūbun* for the first time in the mid-1920s. In the meantime, in the aftermath of the Great Kantō Earthquake (1923), which severely devastated downtown Tokyo, including major libraries, a serious drive to recover and compile old documents emerged and a wide-scale retrospection and reevaluation of the modernization process took place, including that of language and literary education.[81] The instruction of the history of national literature, which had been eliminated from the secondary-school curriculum in 1911, was reinstated in 1924. In the same year, the Japanese literature department of Tokyo Imperial University founded *Kokugo to kokubungaku* (*National Language and National Literature*), which became a leading scholarly journal. The special issue of October 1925 was devoted to the study of *The Tale of Genji*; it included twenty-one articles and a *Genji* bibliography. In an enthusiastic review article on the publication of Arthur Waley's translation of the *Genji*, the *kokubungaku* scholar Takagi Ichinosuke (1888–1974), who was staying at Oxford at the time, pointed to the artistic quality of Waley's translations (*The Nō Plays of Japan* and *Japanese Poetry: The Uta*) as literary works in English, as well as to Waley's genuine interest in the literary quality of the original texts (unlike the exotic curiosity that characterized most earlier Western translations of Japanese texts), and said foretellingly: "At this epochal moment in history when our national literature is about to spread crossing the national border, we look forward to the completion of Mr. Waley's magnum opus with much respect and great expectations."[82]

Several translations of *The Tale of Genji* into colloquial modern Japanese appeared in the prewar Shōwa period (1926–1989), before and after Waley's translation of the *Genji* into English: Miyata Waichirō, *Tōchū taiyaku Genji monogatari* (*Annotated Genji with Translation*, 1923–1928); Yoshizawa Yoshinori and others, *Genji monogatari* (1924–1927); Shimazu Hisamoto, *Taiyaku Genji monogatari kōwa* (*Genji Lectures with Translation*, 1930–1950); Kubota Utsubo and Yosano Akiko, *Genji monogatari* (1936–1938); Yosano Akiko's revised translation, *Shin shin'yaku Genji monogatari* (*New New Translation of The Tale of Genji*, 1938–1939); Kubota Utsubo, *Gendaigoyaku Genji monogatari* (*The Modern Translation of the Genji*, 1939–1943); and Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, *Jun'ichirō-yaku Genji monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji: The Jun'ichirō Translation*, 1939–1941).[83] The mid-1920s witnessed a vast expansion of journalism, of the publishing industry, and of the reading public—marked by the publication of the popular "one-yen" (*enpon*) series of literature, such as Gendai Nihon bungaku zenshū (The Complete Works of Modern Japanese Literature, 1926–), Meiji–Taishō bungaku zenshū (The Complete Works of Meiji and Taishō Literature, 1927–), Sekai bungaku zenshū (The Complete Works of World Literature, 1926–), and Gendai taishū bungaku zenshū (The Complete Works of Modern Popular Literature, 1926–).

From the early 1930s, *The Tale of Genji* started to be popularized through the appearance of scenes from it in secondary- and primary-school textbooks. In 1931, the secondary-school *kokugo* curriculum was revised, and the coverage of pre-Meiji writings was extended to works from the Heian (*chūko*) and Nara (*jōko*) periods: *Tosa nikki*, *Makura no sōshi*, the *Genji*, and *Konjaku monogatari shū* (*Collection of Tales of Times Now Past*, 1120) as well as the *Man'yōshū* and *Kojiki* (*Record of Ancient Matters*, 712). In the prewar Shōwa period, according to Isshiki Eri, fifty of sixty secondary-school *kokugo* textbooks included the *Genji*, as did *all* textbooks published after 1934. Almost all of them presented a passage from the "Suma" chapter. A teaching guide (*jugyō sankōsho*) published in 1934 states:

> *The Tale of Genji* is a national treasure among Japanese literature and it is necessary for fifth-grade secondary-school students to be acquainted at least with an outline of this world-famous masterpiece. . . . The passage from "Suma" that begins "at Suma melancholy winds were blowing" [*Suma ni wa itodo kokorozukushi no akikaze ni*] is well suited for teaching material. . . . Even when the entire passage cannot be comprehended fully, artistic sensibility [*jōshu*] of the *Genji* can naturally be understood if this masterful passage is read aloud. . . . This excerpt has been selected as a literary teaching material to enable students to have a glimpse of the greatest prose fiction masterpiece in Japanese literature as well as the oldest novel in the world, and to have them grasp a part of its great value.[84]

Beginning in the mid-1920s, under the impact of post–World War I European avant-garde modernism—Dadaism, futurism, surrealism, expressionism—a number of young literary writers started to question and problematize the modern colloquial literary style, which had become an established, unitary norm. In "Koten o yonde," Masamune Hakuchō not only criticized the style of *The Tale of Genji* as being "sluggish and loose," but also emphasized the importance of "formalistic and stylistic beauty" (*keishiki no bi*)—including auditory and visual beauty—and "artistic technique" (*gikō*) for literature and expressed his desire for new literary styles, different from the "simple and straightforward style of Kunikida Doppo and Mushanokōji Saneatsu, both of whom created a new literary style for a new age by breaking from the earlier Meiji literary writings that had been inspired by Japanese classics such as the *Genji* or the works of Saikaku."[85]

In his essay "Gendai kōgobun no ketten ni tsuite" (On the Defects of the Modern Colloquial Written Style, 1929), Tanizaki Jun'ichirō (1886–1965) argued that the so-called *genbun-itchi* style, which had been developed since the middle of the Meiji period, was an artificial written language based on a "translation style" (*hon'yakutai*), a "half-breed" (*konketsuji*) of Japanese and Western languages, mixing Western syntax and Chinese loanwords for Western words, and that this normative language strangled the beauty and uniqueness of the Japanese language. This Westernized language, Tanizaki said, might be better suited for the clear, precise, and rational writings of science or philosophy, but not necessarily for literature, for which the original Japanese language had unique advantages.[86]

Tanizaki emphasized the contrast between the modern *genbun-itchi* style and the "original Japanese language" in terms of the difference between a mixture of Western and *kanbun* writing *and* Japanese writing (*wabun*). This argument was most fully developed in *Bunshō dokuhon* (*Manual of Style*, 1934), in which Tanizaki classified Japanese literature, both classical and modern, into two opposing types: the *wabun*-based versus the *kanbun*-based style; the misty versus the lucid type; the sluggish versus the brisk type; the flowing and elegant versus the solid type; the feminine versus the masculine type; and the emotional versus the rational type. Tanizaki claimed that "they could be summed up most simply as *The Tale of Genji* type versus the non-*Genji* type" and noted that while he had been interested in the *kanbun*-based style in his younger years, he had become increasingly drawn to the *wabun*-based style.[87]

Why did Tanizaki attempt to promote the "feminine" *wabun*-based style at this particular time? Reflecting the discourse of the period, which rapidly became nationalistic after the Manchurian Incident of 1931 and

the collapse of the Marxist movement in 1933, and prefiguring in tone the 1942 symposium "Kindai no chōkoku" (Overcoming the Modern), Tanizaki wrote in *Bunshō dokuhon* (with a touch of irony) that "we, the Japanese, have thus far absorbed and digested all the central ideas, technologies, and scholarships of the West, and today, when we have surpassed advanced Western countries and are about to take the lead in certain fields, we should start creating our own cultural forms, those that best suit our national character and history."[88] Tanizaki's initial interest in and motivation for exploring the possibilities of *wabun*, however, were expressed clearly in "Gendai kōgobun no ketten ni tsuite." In this essay, he discussed his stylistic interest in the recent writings of George Moore, observing that the fusion of dialogue and descriptive prose (without quotation marks or indentations) and the continuous dialogue without intrusions (such as "he said") created a fresh narrative style reminiscent of that of traditional Japanese prose fiction. He added: "Recently, unconventional writers such as James Joyce have appeared in the West. Perhaps Western writers might start writing subject-less sentences before we do!"[89]

Apparently having been inspired by the stylistic, syntactic, and narrative features of recent Western modernist fiction, which radically challenged the nineteenth-century realist paradigm, Tanizaki embarked on a series of stylistic and narratological experiments, starting with *Manji* (*Quicksand*, 1928–1930), *Yoshino kuzu* (*Arrowroot of Yoshino*, 1931), *Mōmoku monogatari* (*A Blind Man's Tale*, 1931), *Ashikari* (*The Reed Cutter*, 1932), and *Shunkinshō* (*A Portrait of Shunkin*, 1933). All of them feature the ambiguity of the speaking subject (by manipulating subjectless sentences) through layers of voices, subtle interweaving of citations and literary allusions, evocation of multiple historical pasts (by manipulating tense indications), and various visual and auditory effects of writing (by manipulating the use of characters, *kana*, punctuation, and sentence divisions or lack thereof). Tanizaki, in short, found in older Japanese written styles fresh possibilities for exploring modernist fiction.

In *Bunshō dokuhon*, Tanizaki compared a short passage from the "Suma" chapter of *The Tale of Genji* in the original Japanese with Waley's translation of the passage (rendered by Tanizaki from English back to Japanese, in the *genbun-itchi* "direct-translation" style) in an attempt to highlight the difference between a Western language and the Japanese language, particularly with regard to the indications or absence of grammatical subject and tense as well as the sentence flows and endings. He then added his own modern translation, which "tried to maintain the elegant tone of the original." In 1935, he undertook a modern Japanese translation of the entire

Genji, which was published four years later, in January 1939. Tanizaki no doubt was well aware of not only Waley's translation, but Yosano Akiko's concise *genbun-itchi*–style translation in the form of a modern novel, characterized by short sentences, a past-tense *ta* sentence ending, the elimination of honorifics, and Meiji neologisms—the very features that Tanizaki criticized with regard to the *genbun-itchi* style.[90] He believed that his translation, rather than Akiko's, would be the one to resurrect "graceful and feminine" classical Japanese in a fresh literary language.

From the mid-1920s to the 1930s, a shift in gender roles became widely discernible as more women joined the urban workforce. The number of women readers and writers vastly expanded, and the notion of women's literature (*joryū bungaku*) emerged as a distinct journalistic category.[91] A number of progressive women writers became associated with socialist, anarchist, or feminist social and literary movements. This gender shift also triggered a conservative call for a return to the "natural" distinction between men and women. The term "women's literature" was in fact generally used disparagingly, connoting "popular (second-rate) literature" written by women for a mass audience of women readers. Significantly, however, Tanizaki did not refer to any contemporary women writers in his reflections on Japanese language. The only woman writer whom he mentioned was Murasaki Shikibu. As is well known, Tanizaki started his literary career under the influence of such fin-de-siècle, early modernist writers as Charles Baudelaire and Oscar Wilde. For many of these male artists and intellectuals of the avant-garde, an imaginary identification with the feminine emerged as a key stratagem in their subversion of sexual and textual norms. As Rita Felski observes, "This resistance to bourgeois models of masculinity took the form of a self-conscious textualism which defined itself in opposition to the prevailing conventions of realist representation, turning toward a decadent aesthetic of surface, style, and parody that was explicitly coded as both 'feminine' and 'modern.'"[92]

As we have seen, in his reflections on the Japanese language, Tanizaki envisioned two types of writing: (1) the hegemonic, standardized *genbun-itchi* writing, whose clear, precise, and rational style was suited to science and philosophy, and (2) the disappearing original Japanese language, whose overtone and evocative quality were appropriate for literature and whose main concern was emotion and beauty. Defining hegemonic writing as masculine and the "original Japanese language" as feminine, Tanizaki appointed himself the leader of "feminine writing." His self-conscious stylistic gender identification was similar to that of the fin-de-siècle European

modernists of the decadent and aesthetic movements, who appropriated textual femininity in order to create an identity opposed to the dominant bourgeois cultural norms, represented by rationalism, positivism, and the ideology of progress. It has also been observed that these male writers regarded their artificial femininity as a sophisticated, self-conscious, and ironic performance, as opposed to the behavior of "raw" and "natural" women, thus reinscribing the hierarchical gender and social distinctions they ostensibly contested. Through their free-floating gender mobility and aesthetic sophistication, these modernists attempted to differentiate themselves from mainstream bourgeois masculinity as well as from women and the growing masses, the "twin symbols of the democratizing mediocrity of modern life, embodying a murky threat to the precarious status and identity of the artist."[93] The distinction that Tanizaki made between standardized *genbun-itchi* and the so-called original Japanese language, and his association of this "original language" with the feminine *wabun* style and the past, was the symbolic means by which he placed himself in a unique modernist position vis-à-vis the standardized language, the state-oriented bourgeois industrial society, and male and female writers of modern Japanese literature. By criticizing the *genbun-itchi* language as the epitome of the hegemonic ideology of a centralized modern nation-state *and* as the foundation of mainstream modern Japanese literature—with its emphasis on mimesis and private interiority—Tanizaki, in effect, suggested the complicity of the two.[94]

Quite ironically and paradoxically, however, Tanizaki's oppositional discourse on Japanese language and cultural tradition echoes the orthodox discourse on Japanese national literature from the late 1880s. As we have seen, the first modern histories of Japanese literature published in 1890 described Japanese literature and mentality as "elegant and graceful" (*yūbi*), in contrast to the "heroic and grand" (*yūsō · gōitsu*) character of Chinese literature and the "precise, detailed, and exhaustive" (*seichi*) nature of Western literature. Indeed, discourse on Japanese literature from the late 1880s on, including Tsubouchi Shōyō's *Shōsetsu shinzui* and the first national literary histories as well as the critical discourse developed by many literary writers active in the years following the Russo-Japanese War, assimilated the discourse of literary modernism—with its emphasis on anti-utilitarian aestheticism and its ambivalent literary gender association. In Japan, as in many other non-Western countries, the discourse of modernism in fact actively contributed to the articulation of national cultural identity vis-à-vis Western modernity. As we have seen, *The Tale of Genji* played a key role in this process.

In 1937, the secondary-school syllabus was revised and the close connection of *kokugo* and *kanbun* was emphasized. (In 1937, *kanbun* was also added to girls' secondary-school textbooks.) Education in the classics (*kokugo* and *kanbun*) became the centerpiece of *kokugo* education as a means for "nurturing national spirit" (*kokumin seishin no kanyō*) and "understanding the true figure of the imperial nation through an emotional, direct appreciation of the language and writings of its ancestors."[95] After the prosecution in 1935 of Minobe Tatsukichi's theoretical view of the "emperor as an institutional function" (*tennō kikan setsu*), which had become an established theory during the Taishō period, the government enforced its control of speech. In 1937, the Ministry of Education published and widely circulated a demagogic book called *Kokutai no hongi* (*The True Essence of National Character*), which depicts Japan as a great family state under the unbroken line of emperors, to whom absolute filial obedience and loyalty are due. In 1938, when the fourth edition of the state-compiled primary-school textbook first included modern colloquial adaptations of passages from *The Tale of Genji*,[96] the *kokubungaku* scholar Tachibana Jun'ichi (1884–1954) demanded the deletion of the excerpts from the textbook, claiming that the *Genji* is a blasphemous book that implies a disruption in the unbroken line of emperors because Reizei, the son of Genji and Fujitsubo born as a result of their illicit love affair, succeeds to the throne. As Kobayashi Masaaki has noted, due to a similar insistence by Yamada Yoshio (1873–1958), a noted *kokubungaku* scholar and the adviser to Tanizaki for his translation of the *Genji*, Tanizaki eliminated all the passages related to Genji and Fujitsubo's relationship from *Jun'ichirō-yaku Genji monogatari*.[97] Several references to the Genji–Fujitsubo *mono no magire* episodes were also deleted in the 1940 edition of Fujioka Sakutarō's *Kokubungaku zenshi: Heian-chō hen*.

After World War II, Tanizaki Jun'ichirō revised *Jun'ichirō-yaku Genji monogatari*, reinstating the excised episodes of Genji's relationships with Fujitsubo and Oborozukiyo, and published it as *Jun'ichirō shin'yaku Genji monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji: The New Jun'ichirō Translation*, 1951–1954) and, revised again ten years later, as *Jun'ichirō shin-shin'yaku Genji monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji: The New New Jun'ichirō Translation*, 1964–1965). Yosano Akiko's *Shin shin'yaku Genji monogatari* was published several times from the late 1940s to the mid-1970s.[98] At a time when military narratives associated with wartime Japan were jettisoned from the school curriculum, *The Tale of Genji* was recanonized as a cultural treasure of a peaceful nation.

In the early 1950s, as Japan rejoined the international community, the *Genji* was extolled, as Tateishi Kazuhiro shows, as a cultural symbol for overseas consumption.[99] In a secondary-school textbook published in 1951, the leading *Genji* and Heian literature scholar Ikeda Kikan (1896–1956) wrote a brief biography of Murasaki Shikibu in which he remarked: "This novel is said to be the oldest, the grandest, and the greatest novel in our country. It has been admired by many people in all times, and recently it has been translated into several foreign languages and has been praised by people of all over the world as one of the world classics."[100] The 1950s witnessed a *Genji* "boom," which has continued into the twenty-first century, with *The Tale of Genji* being popularized through new adaptations, free translations, and nontraditional media (film, *manga*, and anime) and supported by extensive and substantial scholarship and annotated editions, making it the most studied text in all of Japanese literature.

NOTES

1. Suyematz Kenchio [Suematsu Kenchō], *Genji monogatari: The Most Celebrated of the Classical Japanese Romances* (London: Trubner, 1882), pp. xiv, xvi. Suematsu, whose intellectual training in Japan was primarily in *kanbun* and English, translated Western poetry (by Thomas Gray, Lord Byron, and Shelley) into classical Chinese and published the translation of Shelley's "To a Skylark" in the Japanese newspaper *Yūbin hōchi shinbun* in 1882. Suematsu's first published book in English was *The Identity of the Great Conqueror Genghis Khan with the Japanese Hero Yoshitsune* (London: Collingridge, 1879).
2. Suyematz, *Genji monogatari*, pp. xiii, xv–xvi. The phrases "human nature" and "social condition" echo the term *ninjō setai* (human feelings, nature and social condition, manners), the key notion for Chinese vernacular fiction of the Ming–Qing dynasties as well as Japanese fiction of the Edo period. Oda Jun'ichirō's preface to *Karyū shunwa* emphasizes the importance of the depiction of *ninjō* in the novel.
3. Suyematz, *Genji monogatari*, p. xiv.
4. Suyematz Kenchio [Suematsu Kenchō], *Genji monogatari: The Most Celebrated of the Classical Japanese Romances* (Yokohama: Maruya, 1894); *The Literature of Japan*, ed. Epiphanius Wilson, The World's Great Classics: Oriental Literature 2 (New York: Colonial Press, 1900); *Japanese Literature*, ed. Epiphanius Wilson, rev. ed. (New York: Colonial Press, 1902, 1920); and *Die Abenteuer des Prinzen Genji: Ein Alt-Japanischer Roman* (Munich: Langen, 1912).
5. Tsubouchi Shōyō, *Shōsetsu shinzui*, in *Tsubouchi Shōyō shū*, Nihon koten bungaku taikei (NKBT) 3 (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1974), pp. 74–78.
6. Ibid., pp. 86–88. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

7. In 1884, Tsuda Umeko, who had returned from her studies in the United States and was invited by a councilor of state to read Suematsu's translation, remarked: "This book is uncommonly full of obscene things only, and to read it brings no merit and much harm; it is not desirable to have it in one's bookcase" (*Konnichi shinbun*, October 20, 1884, quoted in Margaret Mehl, "Suematsu Kenchō in Britain, 1878–1886," *Japan Forum* 5, no. 2 [1993]: 187). In an essay written in 1885, the progressive Christian educator Iwamoto Yoshiharu pointed to three stages of civilization: the first stage was the barbarous time of lust, the second stage was the half-civilized time of foolish passion, and the third stage was the civilized time of love, of spiritual companionship between man and woman ("Fujin no chii," *Jogaku zasshi* [1885]).
8. Shōyō further reinforces this view of the *Genji* in talking about the "third merit" of the novel: "supplementing official history with detailed descriptions of manners and customs of the time" (*Shōsetsu shinzui*, pp. 91–92).
9. Based on the notion of belles-lettres in *Shūji oyobi kabun* (1879), Kikuchi Dairoku's translation of "Rhetoric and Belles-Letters," in William Chambers and Robert Chambers, eds., *Information for the People* (Edinburgh: Chambers, 1848, 1849), Shōyō explains that "sublimity, beauty, pathos, and ludicrousness—these are essential elements of belles-letters (*kabun*), particularly indispensable for the language of the novel" (*Shōsetsu shinzui*, p. 102).
10. Shōyō perceives the colloquial language of Japan to be an amalgamation of *yamato-kotoba* (words of Japanese origin), *kango* (Chinese diction), and local dialects. While he clearly associates *yamato-kotoba* with elegant beauty and *kango* with majestic grandeur, Shōyō does not classify them by national or gender categories but regards them stylistically, as different styles and rhetorical elements to be used for describing different states and modes of human affairs and characters. Indeed, he promotes an updated combination of the elegant and colloquial styles (*gazoku setchūtai*) for the narrative and descriptive parts of the novel because of its versatility and ability to depict all aspects of life—from the noble to the low, from the refined to the vulgar, from elegant beauty to grand magnificence—the kind of comprehensive coverage that Shōyō considers essential for an artistic and realistic modern novel. Shōyō's prescription for an updated combination style is to use more of the colloquial style than that found in Takizawa Bakin's high-toned *yomihon*-style, which was commonly used in Meiji political fiction and translated fiction, and more *kango* than that found in the colloquial *kusazōshi*-style of late Edo low-brow vernacular *ninjōbon* and *kokkeibon*, which, Shōyō explains, did not use much *kango* because it was meant for "women and children." It is noteworthy, however, that Shōyō equates *gabun* with *wabun* when his notion of *gazoku-setchū* style in fact is continuous with Bakin's notion of *gazoku-setchū* (high–low mixed style)—which derived from the discourse of Ming- and Qing-period vernacular fiction—in which *gabun* included both *wabun*-based and *kanbun*-based high styles.
11. In the introduction to his translation of the *Genji*, Suematsu states: "[A] merit of the work consists in its having been written in pure classical Japanese; and here it may be mentioned that we had once made remarkable progress in our own language quite independently of any foreign influence, and that when native literature was first established, its language was identical with that spoken" (*Genji monogatari*, p. xiv). In his *kanbun* preface to the vernacular translation of the *Genji* (in a *gazoku-setchū* style) by Masuda Yukinobu, Suematsu describes the language of the *Genji* as "genbun-itchi" (style in which spoken and written languages were united) ("Shinpen shishi jo," in Masuda Yukinobu, trans., *Shinpen shishi* [Tokyo: Seishidō, 1888], p. 5).
12. For Suematsu's activities in England, see Mehl, "Suematsu Kenchō in Britain," 173–193.
13. Tomi Suzuki, "Gender and Genre: Modern Literary Histories and Women's Diary Literature," in Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki, eds., *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2000), pp. 71–95. On the institutional establishment of *kokubungaku*, see also Michael Brownstein, "From *Kokugaku* to *Kokubungaku*: Canon-Formation in the Meiji Period," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 47 (1987): 435–460.
14. Mikami Sanji and Takatsu Kuwasaburō, *Nihon bungakushi*, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Kinkōdō, 1890), vol. 1, pp. 5–6, 23, 29; Haga Yaichi and Tachibana Senzaburō, "Kokubungaku tokuhon shoron," in Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, ed., *Ochiai Naobumi, Ueda Kazutoshi, Haga Yaichi, Fujioka Sakutarō shū*, Meiji bungaku zenshū 44 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1968), pp. 198–199; Ueda Kazutoshi, "Kokubungaku shogen," in Hisamatsu, ed., *Ochiai Naobumi, Ueda Kazutoshi, Haga Yaichi, Fujioka Sakutarō shū*, p. 107.
15. Mikami and Takatsu, *Nihon bungakushi*, vol. 1, pp. 7–15.
16. Ibid., pp. 23–24.
17. Hippolyte A. Taine had focused on what he called the "three primordial forces"—"race, milieu, and moment"—but he was primarily concerned with the persistence of certain habits of mind of a particular "race," by which he meant the respective national characteristics of the English, the French, and the Germans. The English "race," for example, was characterized by its "stoic energy and basic honesty, heroic severity . . . exact knowledge of precise detail, and a great practical sense," whereas the French "race" was portrayed as "light and sociable," with a "facile, abundant, curious mind" ("Introduction," in *History of English Literature*, trans. H. Van Laun [1883; repr., New York: Ungar, 1965], vol. 1, pp. 1–36).
18. Mikami and Takatsu, *Nihon bungakushi*, vol. 1, pp. 26–27.
19. On the gender implications in the construction of Japanese national literature, see Suzuki, "Gender and Genre."
20. Mikami and Takatsu, "Shogen," in *Nihon bungakushi*, vol. 1, p. 11. This is significantly different from Taguchi Ukichi's (1855–1905) *Nihon kaika shōshi* (*Brief History of Civilization in Japan*, 1877–1882), which deals with *kanbun* texts as part of *bungaku* (literary writings in a broad sense) in Japan.
21. Mikami and Takatsu, *Nihon bungakushi*, vol. 1, pp. 298–299.
22. Ibid., pp. 200, 210–211, 221. See also Haga and Tachibana, "Kokubungaku tokuhon shoron," p. 200.
23. Mikami and Takatsu, *Nihon bungakushi*, vol. 1, p. 221.

24. No doubt referring to Suematsu's *kanbun* preface to the *Shinpen shishi*, as well as to the translations of several English-language reviews of his translation of the *Genji* (appended to Masuda's vernacular version of the *Genji*), Mikami and Takatsu claim with pride that the exquisite beauty of the *Genji* is "shining even more radiantly today, when the *Genji* is being compared with the literatures of Western countries and is winning honor for Japanese literature" (*Nihon bungakushi*, vol. 1, p. 261).
25. Mikami and Takatsu, *Nihon bungakushi*, vol. 1, pp. 265–266. There is a clear echo of the debate that occurred in 1889 between Iwamoto Yoshiharu and Mori Ōgai (indirectly involving Shōyō) concerning such newly emergent notions as artistic beauty, the representation of reality and nature, aesthetic ideas and ideals, and the question of art and morality—a debate that would soon develop into the "Botsu-risō ronsō" (Debate on Submerged-Ideals) between Mori Ōgai and Tsubouchi Shōyō from 1891 to 1893.
26. Mikami and Takatsu, *Nihon bungakushi*, vol. 1, pp. 262, 265–266; Haga and Tachibana, "Kokubungaku tokuhon shoron," p. 201.
27. Mikami and Takatsu, *Nihon bungakushi*, vol. 1, pp. 201–202.
28. Haga and Tachibana, "Kokubungaku tokuhon shoron," p. 200; Mikami and Takatsu, *Nihon bungakushi*, vol. 2, pp. 7–11, 27.
29. Even though they had to exclude a vast body of *kanbun* writing, Mikami and Takatsu cited *wakan konkō*–style essays by Confucian scholars such as Arai Hakuseki (1657–1725) as exemplary Japanese prose. They apparently favored these historical essays and treatises over Tokugawa drama and fiction, especially late Tokugawa-period *gesaku* fiction, which—with the important exception of Bakin's work—they disparaged for its "obscenity." Mikami subsequently became a leading scholar of Japanese history, compiling and publishing historical documents such as the *Dai Nihon shiryō* and *Dai Nihon komonjo*.
30. Uchimura Kanzō, "Kōsei e no saidai ibutsu," in *Kōsei e no saidai ibutsu: Denmaruku-koku no hanashi* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1976), p. 41. This echoes the contemporary debate between Kitamura Tōkoku (1868–1894) and Yamaji Aizan (1864–1917) regarding the social efficacy of literature.
31. Tasaka Fumio, *Meiji jidai no kokugoka kyōiku* (Tokyo: Tōyōkan shuppansha, 1969); Inoue Toshio, ed., *Kokugo kyōikushi shiryō*, vol. 2, *Kyōkasho-shi* (Tokyo: Tōkyō hōrei shuppan, 1981).
32. Shimauchi Keiji, *Bungō no kotenryoku* (Tokyo: Bunshun shinsho, 2002), pp. 94–95.
33. Another vernacular translation of *The Tale of Genji*, entitled *Ese Genji* (*Sham Genji*, 1892), was by Shimono Onkō. The way in which Shōyō quoted from the *Genji* in *Shōsetsu shinzui* suggests that he probably had read only the early chapters of the tale (perhaps excerpts) as part of the *wabun* curriculum during his university years (1878–1883) and that the *Genji* was not widely read by the educated public whom Shōyō was addressing in the mid-1880s. Shōyō, though, was familiar with Ryūtei Tanehiko's late Edo-period adaptation, *Nise murasaki inaka Genji* (*A Fraudulent Murasaki's Bumpkin Genji*, 1829–1842). As for the *Genji* readership (or lack thereof) in the late 1880s, see "Shomoku jusshu," *Kokumin no tomo*, supp., April 1889, a survey on "ten favorite books," and "Keishū shōsetsuka no tō," *Jogaku zasshi*, March–April 1890, the responses to a questionnaire addressed to "women writers of the day," as well as G. G. Rowley, *Yosano Akiko and The Tale of Genji* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2000), pp. 34, 42–46.
34. Kitamura Kigin, *Kogetsushō*, ed., with enlarged annotation, Inokuma Natsuki (Osaka: Tosho shuppan, 1890–1891). This Meiji edition added commentary, such as Motoori Norinaga's *Genji monogatari tama no ogushi*, that was published after Kigin's death. The edition was further revised and enlarged by Arikawa Takehiko and published in 1927 as *Zōchū Genji monogatari kogetsushō*, which was reprinted in 1982 and is available in the Kōdansha gakujutsu bunko series.
35. For the influence of the *Genji* in the 1890s on Higuchi Ichiyō, Ozaki Kōyō, Masaoka Shiki, and Natsume Sōseki, see Seki Reiko, *Ichiyō igo no josei hyōgen* (Tokyo: Kanrin shobō, 2003), and Shimauchi Keiji, *Bungō no koten-ryoku* (Tokyo: Bunshun bunko, 2002).
36. Fujioka Sakotarō, *Kokubungaku zenshi: Heian-chō hen*, vol. 1, ed. Akiyama Ken et al., Tōyō bunko 198 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971), p. 4.
37. Ibid., pp. 8–9.
38. Ibid., pp. 46–48.
39. Ibid., pp. 137–138.
40. Fujioka Sakutarō, *Kokubungaku zenshi: Heian-chō hen*, vol. 2, ed. Akiyama Ken et al., Tōyō bunko 247 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1974), pp. 153–161.
41. Ibid., pp. 53, 365.
42. Such journals included *Shinchō* (established in 1904), *Waseda bungaku* (the first *Waseda bungaku*, established by Tsubouchi Shōyō in 1891, ended in 1898; the second began in 1906, with Shimamura Hōgetsu as its central figure), and *Bunshō sekai* (established in 1906, with Tayama Katai as its chief editor). The influential general-interest magazine *Taiyō* (established in 1895), with the Naturalist critic Hasegawa Tenkei as its literary editor, also became a major medium for promoting the post–Russo-Japanese War Naturalism.
43. Tayama Katai, "Rokotsunaru byōsha," in *Kindai hyōron shū*, NKBT 57 (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1972), vol. 1, pp. 198–203.
44. Shimamura Hōgetsu, "Bungeijō no shizenshugi," in *Kindai bungaku hyōron taikei* (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1972), vol. 3, pp. 101–102, 111–117. The literary historical narrative outlined by Naturalist critics such as Shimamura is clearly incorporated into Iwaki Juntarō, *Meiji bungakushi*, rev. ed. (Tokyo: Ikueisha, 1909). Iwaki—who had studied under Fujioka Sakutarō at Tokyo Imperial University—extensively changed his literary historical narrative from the first edition, published in 1906, and *Meiji bungakushi* was a long-lasting seller (reprinted in 1927 and again in 1948).
45. See Tayama Katai's series of questionnaires and reports regarding the written styles in "Shōrai no joshi no bunshō ni tsukite," *Bunshō sekai* 1, no. 2 (1906); "Genbun-itchi ni tsukite," *Bunshō sekai* 1, no. 3 (1906); and "Genbun-itchi igai no bunshō o manabu yō ari ya," *Bunshō sekai* 3, no. 15 (1908).

46. The linguist Ueda Kazutoshi, chief architect of the national language policy, returned from a four-year research stay (1890–1894) in Germany (where he had witnessed the promotion of a standardized national language by the Deutscher Sprachverein) and gave a lecture, "Kokugo to kokka to" (National Language and Our Nation, 1894), in which he referred to the "national language" (*kokugo*) as the "spiritual blood binding the nation's people." In "Hyōjungo ni tsukite" (On a Standard Language, 1895), Ueda argued that the establishment of a "standard spoken language" (*hyōjungo*)—in contradistinction to regional dialects—was the foremost priority for Japan's development as a modern nation-state, stressing the interdependence of colloquialization and standardization. Ueda persuaded the government to set up the National Language Research Council (established in 1902) to begin a serious, coordinated examination of language policy at the national level, which resulted in the publication of state-compiled school textbooks (announced in 1903 and put into operation from 1904 and continued until 1948). See Yamamoto Masahide, *Genbun-itchi no rekishi ronkō: Zoku-hen* (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1981), chaps. 10–14; Nanette Twine, *Language and the Modern State: The Reform of Written Japanese* (London: Routledge, 1991), chap. 6; and Lee Yeounsuk, *"Kokugo" to iu shisō* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1996).
47. Fujioka Sakutarō, *Kokubungakushi kōwa* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1922), p. 441.
48. The chapters from "Kiritsubo" (The Paulownia Court) to "Miotsukushi" (Channel Buoys), based on Kitamura's *Kogetsushō*, were published in Murasaki Shikibu, *Shinshaku Genji monogatari*, ed. and trans. Fujii Shiei, Sassa Seisetsu, Sasagawa Rinpū, and Nunami Keion, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1911, 1914). In 1911, Onoe Torako published a digest edition called *Genji monogatari taii* (*Outline of The Tale of Genji*), part of which was adopted in some Taishō-period women's higher-school textbooks.
49. Sassa Seisetsu, "Preface," in Murasaki Shikibu, *Shinshaku Genji monogatari*, vol. 1, p. 7.
50. Murasaki Shikibu, *Shin'yaku Genji monogatari*, trans. Yosano Akiko (Tokyo: Kanao Bun'endō, 1912–1913). Akiko owned *Eiri Genji monogatari* (*Illustrated Tale of Genji*), a seventeenth-century woodblock-print edition, according to a pioneering essay by Shinma Shin'ichi, "Yosano Akiko to *Genji monogatari*," in *Kodai bungaku ronsō*, vol. 6, *Genji monogatari to sono eikyō* (Tokyo: Musashino shoin, 1978), p. 272. For Akiko and the *Genji* in the larger Meiji literary context, see Rowley, *Yosano Akiko and The Tale of Genji*, and Seki, *Ichiyō igo no josei hyōgen*. For the modern translations of the *Genji* by Akiko and Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, see Kitamura Yuika, "*Genji monogatari* no saisei," *Kikan bungaku* 3, no.1 (1992): 41–53.
51. As Seki has pointed out, Akiko's last published prose writing in the *gabun* style was her review of Fujioka Sakutarō's *Kokubungaku zenshi: Heian-chō hen*, in *Myōjō* (November 1905), in which she expressed her appreciation of Fujioka's profound knowledge and understanding of the past "thoughts, feelings, and tastes of the homeland" (*Ichiyō igo no josei hyōgen*, pp. 40–41). After completing the colloquial translation and rewriting of the *Genji*, Akiko serialized her only long, autobiographical novel, *Akarumie* (*To Light*), in the newspaper *Tokyo Asahi* from June to September 1913.

52. Following her translation of the *Genji*, Akiko published translations of four Japanese literary classics: *Shin'yaku Eiga monogatari* (*New Translation of A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, 1914–1915), *Shin'yaku Murasaki Shikibu nikki Shin'yaku Izumi Shikibu nikki* (*New Translations of the Diaries of Murasaki Shikibu and Izumi Shikibu*, 1916), and *Shin'yaku Tsurezuregusa* (*New Translation of Essays in Idleness*, 1916).
53. Inoue, ed., *Kokugo kyōikushi shiryō*, vol. 2.
54. "Murasaki Shikibu," in *Kōtō shōgaku tokuhon 2* (1904), in *Nihon kyōkasho taikei kindai-hen*, vol. 6, *Kokugo 3* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1964), p. 553; "Murasaki Shikibu to Sei Shōnagon," in *Jinjō shōgaku tokuhon*, vol. 10 (1910), in *Nihon kyōkasho taikei kindai-hen*, vol. 7, *Kokugo 4* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1963), p. 173. Similar passages also appear in pre-1903 elementary-school textbooks.
55. *"Genji monogatari,"* in *Shōgaku kokugo tokuhon*, vol. 11 (1938), in *Nihon kyōkasho taikei kindai-hen*, vol. 7, pp. 158–161; *"Genji monogatari,"* in *Shotōka kokugo 7* (1942), in *Nihon kyōkasho taikei kindai-hen*, vol. 8, *Kokugo 5* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1964), pp. 639–640.
56. Isshiki Eri, *Genji monogatari kyōzaika no chōsa kenkyū* (Tokyo: Tansuisha, 2001), pp. 335–357.
57. Tasaka, *Meiji jidai no kokugoka kyōiku*, pp. 323–324.
58. Fujiwara Mariko compared the three editions of one of the most widely used secondary-school textbooks—Yoshida Yahei, ed., *Chūgaku kokubun kyōkasho* (Tokyo: Kōfūkan shoten, 1906, 1918, 1925)—and reports the percentage of the writings in the three styles—*futsūbun* (Meiji-period writings in the standard Sino-Japanese mixed style), *kobun* (pre-Meiji writings), and *kōgobun* (*genbun-itchi* colloquial style)—in the three editions as follows (*Oku no hosomichi no honmon kenkyū: Koten kyōiku no shiza kara* [Tokyo: Shintensha, 2001], pp. 215–218):

	FUTSŪBUN	*KOBUN*	*KŌGOBUN*
1906	44.7 %	25.3 %	11.8 %
1918	43.4 %	19.2 %	17.4 %
1925	18.8 %	16.9 %	49.0 %

59. Isshiki, *Genji monogatari kyōzaika no chōsa kenkyū*, chap. 6. In chapter 2, Isshiki notes that four out of twenty secondary-school textbooks adopted the *Genji* and that none of the twenty-seven women's higher-school textbooks adopted the *Genji*.
60. According to Isshiki, "Kiritsubo" (2), "Hahakigi" (The Broom Tree, 2), "Wakamurasaki" (Lavender, 3), "Suma" (4), "Akashi" (3), "Otome" (The Maiden, 3), and "Momiji no ga" (An Autumn Excursion), "Hana no en" (The Festival of the Cherry Blossoms), "Miotsukushi," "Eawase" (The Picture Contest), "Tamakazura" (The Jeweled Chaplet), "Kochō" (Butterflies), and "Hashihime" (The Lady at the Bridge) (1 each) (*Genji monogatari kyōzaika no chōsa kenkyū*, chaps. 5, 6).
61. Tsuda Sōkichi, *Bungaku ni arawaretaru waga kokumin shisō no kenkyū*, vol. 1, *Kizoku bungaku no jidai* (*The Age of Aristocratic Literature*) (Tokyo: Rakuyōdō, 1916); vol. 2, *Bushi bungaku no jidai* (*The Age of Warrior Literature*) (Tokyo: Rakuyōdō, 1917); vol. 3, *Heimin bungaku no jidai* (*The Age of Commoner Literature*) (Tokyo:

Rakuyōdō, 1919); vol. 4, *Heimin bungaku no jidai* (Tokyo: Rakuyōdō, 1921). Due to various reasons, volume 5, the last part of *Heimin bungaku no jidai*, was not completed.

62. Tsuda, *Bungaku ni arawaretaru waga kokumin shisō no kenkyū*, vol. 1, p. 257. Tsuda inherited Fujioka's respect for the fictional, realistic novel (*shajitsu shōsetsu*) as the most advanced literary form as well as Fujioka's emphasis on direct expression, but Tsuda placed more importance on the "direct depiction of internal emotional life." Like Fujioka, he severely attacked Ki no Tsurayuki for lacking passion and being a "man of intellect" both in his poetry and in *Tosa nikki* (p. 252).
63. Ibid., p. 286.
64. Ibid., pp. 317–318, 322, 336. Firmly grounded in the humanistic populism of the Taishō period, Tsuda attempted to show the historical progress of the life of the nation from the "age of aristocratic literature" to the "age of warrior literature" to the "age of commoner literature," implicitly believing in the ultimate achievement of the "age of the nation's people" (*kokumin no jidai*).
65. In *Bungaku josetsu*, which includes essays on Thomas Carlyle, Matthew Arnold, and Walter Pater, Doi acknowledged Tsuda's *Bungaku ni arawaretaru waga kokumin shisō no kenkyū* and the instruction of Kaito Matsuzō, who introduced Richard Green Moulton's genre evolution theory into the study of Japanese literature.
66. Doi Kōchi, *Bungaku josetsu*, in *Doi Kōchi chosakushū* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1977), vol. 5, p. 123. Doi predicted that the "social consciousness of the new period would seek a fairer society that would save the freedom of individual personality [*jinkaku no jiyū*] from the oppressive power of the machine and of capital" and that "their individual consciousness would again long for lyrical poetry" (pp. 122–123). Doi's optimistic social outlook reflected the liberal humanistic individualism and idealistic universalism that lay beneath Taishō democracy.
67. Ibid., p. 258. This essay was published in the first and second issues of the academic journal *Shisō* in October and November 1921. The original title of the essay, "Kokuminteki bungaku to sekaiteki bungaku," was changed to "Kokumin bungaku to sekai bungaku" in the postwar revised edition of *Bungaku josetsu*.
68. Ibid., p. 277. Doi saw this international mission as so important that in 1920 he translated into English *Sarashina nikki* (*Sarashina Diary*), *Murasaki Shikibu nikki*, and *Izumi Shikibu nikki* (*Diaries of Court Ladies of Old Japan*, trans. Annie Shepley Omori and Kochi Doi [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1920]). For the canonization and popularization of Heian women's literature from the 1920s, see Suzuki, "Gender and Genre."
69. Watsuji Tetsurō, "*Makura no sōshi* ni tsuite," *Shisō*, no. 12 (1922); "Mono no aware ni tsuite," *Shisō*, no. 13 (1922); "*Genji monogatari* ni tsuite," *Shisō*, no. 15 (1922); *Nihon seishinshi kenkyū*, rev ed. (1926; Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1940).
70. Watsuji, "*Makura no sōshi* ni tsuite," p. 74. While admiring Sei Shōnagon's spirited and precise observations and descriptions of scenery and people, Watsuji points out that "she did not weave these impressive individual sketches into a unified mental history, . . . which requires an extremely strong will power—that which was most difficult to aspire to in this period, particularly by women" (p. 77).

71. Watsuji, "Mono no aware ni tsuite," p. 129. In the revised edition of *Nihon seishinshi kenkyū* as well as the version in *Watsuji Tetsurō zenshū*, vol. 4 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1989), on which the current Iwanami bunko edition is based, the word *bungaku* (literature) is changed to *bungei* (literary art) throughout.
72. Watsuji, "Mono no aware ni tsuite," pp. 130–131.
73. Ibid., pp. 136–137.
74. Ibid., pp. 137–141.
75. Watsuji, "*Genji monogatari* ni tsuite," pp. 61–72.
76. Ibid., pp. 72–76. It is noteworthy that Watsuji, who contributed to the literary journal *Shinshichō* with Tanizaki Jun'ichirō and Osanai Kaoru in his university days, was writing narrative fiction between 1918 and 1921, wavering between fiction writing and scholarship. He started following the latter path from around 1920, when he accepted a teaching position at Tōyō University and published *Nihon kodai bunka* (*Culture of Ancient Japan*, 1920). See Sakabe Megumi, *Watsuji Tetsurō* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1986), pp. 209–212.
77. Hakuchō remembered that the scholar of Chinese studies and erudite literati Yoda Gakkai (1833–1909) had praised these two works as great masterpieces with similar motifs and styles.
78. Masamune Hakuchō, "Koten o yonde," *Chūō kōron* (August 1926), in Akiyama Ken, Shimauchi Keiji, Kobayashi Masaaki, and Suzuki Ken'ichi, eds., *Hihyō shūsei Genji monogatari* (Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 1999), vol. 3, pp. 104–109. Like Watsuji, Hakuchō preferred "the description in the *Pillow Book* of Sei Shōnagon," which he says is "concise, impressive, and has far superior power."
79. Tayama Katai, for example, urged contemporary young writers to read the *Genji* in his book *Chōhen shōsetsu no kenkyū* (*Study of Long Novels* [*of the World*], 1925): "*The Tale of Genji*—there is not much point reading such a work! . . . Young people might ask: is *the Genji* that interesting? Is it interesting in the same way as writing by today's French writers? Is it interesting in the same way as works by Flaubert, Dostoevsky, Zola, Hugo, and the like? Does it have the kind of novelty found in [Maurice] Barres, [Romain] Rolland, [Paul] Bourget? . . . I will answer that the *Genji*, of course, has both such value and novelty. . . . *The Tale of Genji* is NOT the kind of work for which it would suffice to read just the outline. It is all about descriptions, which need to be appreciated one by one. . . . This can never be appreciated through adaptations" (Akiyama, Shimauchi, Kobayashi, and Suzuki, eds., *Hihyō shūsei Genji monogatari*, vol. 3, pp. 98–100).
80. Yamamoto, *Genbun-itchi no rekishi ronkō*, chaps. 1, 2.
81. This was epitomized by the publication of the *Meiji bunka zenshū*, 24 vols. (Tokyo: Nihon hyōronsha, 1928–1930). See also the *Waseda bungaku* retrospective on Meiji literature, *Meiji bungakugō*, 7 vols. (1925–1927; repr., Tokyo: Shun'yōdō, 1977).
82. Takagi Ichinosuke, "*Genji monogatari* no eiyaku," *Kokugo to kokubungaku*, October 1925, pp. 183–193.

83. Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, trans. Arthur Waley (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1925–1933); Miyata Waichirō, trans., *Tōchū taiyaku Genji monogatari*, 6 vols. (Tokyo: Bunken shoin, 1923–1928); Yoshizawa Yoshinori et al., trans., *Genji monogatari*, Zen'yaku ōchō bungaku sōsho 4–9 (Kyoto: Ōchō bungaku sōsho kankōkai, 1924–1927); Shimazu Hisamoto, trans., *Taiyaku Genji monogatari kōwa*, 6 vols. (Tokyo: Chūkōkan, 1930–1950); Kubota Utsubo, trans., *Genji monogatari*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Hibonkaku, 1936); Yosano Akiko, trans., *Genji monogatari*, vols. 2–3 (Tokyo: Hibonkaku, 1937, 1938), and *Shin shin'yaku Genji monogatari*, 6 vols. (Tokyo: Kanao Bun'endō, 1938–1939); Kubota Utsubo, trans., *Gendaigoyaku Genji monogatari*, 8 vols. (Tokyo: Kaizōsha, 1939–1943), up to "Wakana ge" (New Herbs, Part II); Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, trans., *Jun'ichirō-yaku Genji monogatari*, 6 vols. (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1939–1943).
84. Isshiki, *Genji monogatari kyōzaika no chōsa kenkyū*, p. 396.
85. Hakuchō, "Koten o yonde," p. 111.
86. Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, "Gendai kōgobun no ketten ni tsuite," in *Tanizaki Jun'ichirō zenshū* (Tokyo: Chuō kōronsha, 1982), vol. 20, p. 183.
87. Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, *Bunshō dokuhon*, in *Tanizaki Jun'ichirō zenshū* (Tokyo: Chuō kōronsha, 1983), vol. 21, pp. 148–149.
88. Ibid., pp. 129–130.
89. Tanizaki, "Gendai kōgobun no ketten ni tsuite," p. 209.
90. In the fall of 1933, Hakuchō claimed that he discovered the *Genji* as interesting for the first time in reading it in Waley's translation. Hakuchō developed critical reflections on the experience of reading foreign literature in translation—that is, on the mediation of translation/adaptation and the centrality of language in literature ("Futatabi eiyaku *Genji monogatari* ni tsukite," *Yomiuri shinbun*, November 15–17, 1933, in *Masamune Hakuchō zenshū* [Tokyo: Fukutake shoten, 1985], vol. 22, pp. 185–190). For the comparison between Akiko's and Tanizaki's translations, see Kitamura Yuika, "*Genji monogatari* no saisei."
91. For the emergence of the concept of "women's literature" in the 1920s, see Joan Ericson, "The Origins of the Concept of 'Women's Literature,'" in Paul Gordon Schalow and Janet A. Walker, eds., *The Woman's Hand: Gender and Theory in Japanese Women's Writing* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 74–115.
92. Rita Felski, *The Gender of Modernity* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995), p. 91.
93. Ibid., p. 106. See also Andreas Huyssen, "Mass Culture as Woman: Modernism's Other," in *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 45–62.
94. For related issues on Tanizaki and modernism, see Tomi Suzuki, *Narrating the Self: Fictions of Japanese Modernity* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1996), chap. 7 and "Epilogue," and "Modernism and Gender: Tanizaki's Theories of Japanese Language," *Asiatica Venetiana* 5 (2000): 157–175.
95. "Chūgakkō kyōju yōmoku kaisei" (1937), in Inoue, ed., *Kokugo kyōikushi shiryō*, vol. 2, p. 421; Fujiwara, *Oku no hosomichi no honmon kenkyū*, pp. 222–223.
96. "*Genji monogatari*," in *Nihon kyōkasho taikei kindaihen*, vol. 7, p. 159.

97. Masaaki Kobayashi, "Wartime Japan, the Imperial Line, and *The Tale of Genji*" (chapter 10, this volume), and "Ushinawareta monogatari o motomete," in Akiyama Ken, Shimauchi Keiji, Kobayashi Masaaki, and Suzuki Ken'ichi, eds., *Hihyō shūsei Genji monogatari*, vol. 5, *Senjika hen* (Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 1999).
98. Shinma, "Yosano Akiko to *Genji monogatari*," pp. 266–277. Akiko's *Shin shin'yaku Genji monogatari* was widely circulated in various series: Nihon bunko (Tokyo: Nihonsha, 1948–1949), Sekai bungaku sensho (Tokyo: Mikasa shobō, 1949), in pocketbook editions (Mikasa bunko, 1951–1952; Kadokawa bunko), Nihon kokumin bungaku zenshū (Tokyo: Kawade shobō, 1955), Nihon bungaku zenshū (Tokyo: Kawade shobō, 1960), Kokumin no bungaku (Tokyo: Kawade shobō, 1963), and Nihon koten bunko (Tokyo: Kawade shobō, 1976).
99. Kazuhiro Tateishi, "*The Tale of Genji* in Postwar Film: Emperor, Aestheticism, and the Erotic" (chapter 11, this volume).
100. Ikeda Kikan, "Murasaki Shikibu," in *Chūgaku kokugo* (Tokyo: Gakkō tosho, 1951), quoted in Tsushima Tomoaki, "Kyōkasho no naka no *Genji monogatari*," *Genji kenkyū*, no. 8 (2003): 149–150.

Chapter 10

Wartime Japan, the Imperial Line, and *The Tale of Genji*

Masaaki Kobayashi

BY THE end of the medieval period, *The Tale of Genji* had become the chief symbol of the court culture of Heian Japan. But its female authorship and depiction of amorous relationships—particularly Genji's illicit affair with Fujitsubo, the chief consort of Emperor Kiritsubo—also made the *Genji* a repeated target of criticism, first by Buddhist priests and writers in the medieval period, then by Confucian scholars in the Edo period (1600–1867), and finally by scholars and critics in the modern period. The *Genji* spans four generations of emperors—Kiritsubo, Suzaku, Reizei, and the "current emperor"—over seventy-five years. Reizei, the third emperor, is the illegitimate son of Genji and Fujitsubo, causing a secret break in the imperial line. This imperial transgression—traditionally referred to as *mono no magire* (literally, confusion of things)—did not surface as a serious problem until the Edo period, when Andō Tameakira, a Kyoto-based Confucian and *kokugaku* (nativist studies) scholar working for Tokugawa Mitsukuni, the *daimyō* (warlord) of the Mito domain, took up the issue. However, it was only in the 1930s that the government ideology of an unbroken imperial line, embodied in the slogan "a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal," came to the fore. It was then, for the first time, that *The Tale of Genji* was not just criticized by scholars, but actively suppressed by the Japanese government.

THE GOVERNMENT BAN ON A *TALE OF GENJI* PLAY

During much of the first two decades of the Shōwa period (1926–1989), Japan was in a state of war. As the war expanded in scope, the government authorities devoted more and more attention to thought control, which extended to the Japanese classics, including *The Tale of Genji*, as exemplified by the banning of Banshōya Eiichi's theatrical adaptation of the *Genji* in 1933.[1]

On November 22, 1933, the Office of Security of the Tokyo Police Department ordered that the curtain could not go up on a dramatic version of *The Tale of Genji*. The play—which was being performed by the troupe Shingekijō (New Theater) under the direction of Bandō Minosuke, with a script by Banshōya Eiichi—had been scheduled for a four-day run at Shin-kabukiza (New Kabuki Theater) starting on November 26; ten thousand tickets had been bought, leaving all the performances sold out. The project had benefited from the unstinting support of the Murasaki Shikibu Gakkai (Murasaki Shikibu Society), which was headed by Fujimura Tsukuru, a professor at the University of Tokyo. Negotiations were carried out over the next three weeks, as futile attempts were made to revise the script. The play was never staged.

Newspapers gave prominent coverage to the chain of events that followed the banning of the play. The day after the prohibition was issued, statements released by the Shingekijō troupe and the Murasaki Shikibu Gakkai to protest the decision, as well as a statement by the chief of the Security Division of the Office of Security, were published along with coverage of the event itself.[2] Shingekijō and the Murasaki Shikibu Gakkai expressed regret that the play of *The Tale of Genji*, a work they believed could have contributed to "a new recognition of Japanese culture" and "enhanced our nation's culture," had been suppressed. The chief of the Security Division explained that although no one denied that "*The Tale of Genji* itself is a great work of classical literature," the script in question would be "injurious to public morals" because it included, among other things, depictions of adultery. It was the same, the chief of the Security Division went on to say, with Auguste Rodin's statue *The Kiss*, whose exhibition had been prohibited by the Police Department, even though its artistic value was recognized, because it was feared that it might have a pernicious influence on the public.

THE GOVERNMENT TEXTBOOK DEBATE

The publication of *The Tale of Genji* was never completely prohibited in wartime Japan. Indeed, in 1938, volume 11 of the government-compiled sixth-grade textbook *Shōgaku kokugo tokuhon* (*A Japanese-Language Reader for Primary School*), more commonly known as the *Sakura tokuhon* (*Cherry Blossom Reader*), which includes sections of the *Genji*, first came into use. Part 4 of the textbook, devoted to the *Genji*, is composed of three sections: the first offers an account of Murasaki Shikibu's life and introduces *The Tale of Genji* as a whole; the second tells the story of Genji's discovery of the young Murasaki in Kitayama, which takes place in the "Wakamurasaki" (Young Murasaki) chapter; the third depicts the scene in the "Suetsumuhana" (The Safflower) chapter in which Genji paints a picture of a woman, dabs a spot of rouge on her nose, and then puts some on his own nose and pretends that it will not come off. The text of this part of the reader, which is in modern Japanese, is about 2,800 characters long. After its publication, rumbles of protest were heard both in the media and in education circles. Following the banning of the *Genji* play in 1933, the textbook controversy of 1938 is the second major intersection of *The Tale of Genji* with wartime Japan.

The history of the publication of Japanese primary-school textbooks before World War II can be divided into three periods: in the first, from 1872 to 1886, the compilation of textbooks was left entirely to the discretion of the editors; in the second, from 1886 to 1903, textbooks required government approval; in the third, which began in 1903, the government itself assumed responsibility for textbook production. Until 1938, there was no precedent for including selections from *The Tale of Genji* in a government-compiled primary-school textbook. Indeed, it was only owing to the efforts of Inoue Takeshi, chief of the First Editorial Division of the Ministry of Education, that the tale appeared in the *Sakura tokuhon*. Inoue also took the lead in what became a desperate struggle to defend the inclusion of the *Genji* in the reader against a barrage of criticism, and he actually managed to have excerpts from the tale included in a second textbook: *Shotōka kokugo* (*A Beginner's Class in the Japanese Language*, 1942). Leading those who were against using the *Genji* in the classroom was Tachibana Jun'ichi, the editor in chief of the magazine *Kokugo kaishaku* (*Japanese Interpretation*). In his book *Genji monogatari to sensō* (*The Tale of Genji and the War*), Udō Yutaka takes the position that the pedagogical use of the *Genji* in the *Sakura tokuhon* transformed the tale into little more than a vehicle for the values that the government textbooks sought

to convey: emphasis on national spirit, national culture, and the infallibility of the state.[3] He suggests that the officials at the Ministry of Education cited Motoori Norinaga in their public clarification of their motives for including selections from the *Genji* in the reader because Norinaga's prestige as a nativist scholar offered a solution to the vexing problem of how to make the study of classical literature seem relevant to the idea of the national polity (*kokutai*). It is Udō's view that those who praise, sometimes extravagantly, the *Sakura tokuhon* for having included the *Genji* base their positive evaluations of the textbook on postwar standards of democracy and freedom and, in so doing, fail to take a sufficiently critical stance toward the use of the classics in wartime Japan. In his essay "*Genji* teikoku shugi no kōzai" (The Merits and Demerits of *Genji* Imperialism), which touches on some of the issues discussed by Udō, Andō Tōru argues that ultimately the *Sakura tokuhon* did little more than lend greater dignity to the idea of "Japan."[4]

From the standpoint of the wartime authorities, the value of *The Tale of Genji* was a double-edged sword. On the one hand, the "immorality of the imperial lineage" as it is represented in the tale was dangerous because it contradicted the ideology of the emperor system. On the other hand, the tale could be used as a vehicle for political propaganda, contributing to a new recognition of Japanese culture. Inoue, in supporting the *Sakura tokuhon*, stood on the side of those who hoped to bring about "a new recognition of Japanese culture," while Tachibana seemed most aware of the "poison" implicit in the *Genji* and demanded its removal from the reader. In "*Genji monogatari* wa daifukei no sho de aru" (*The Tale of Genji* Is Guilty of the Worst Sort of *Lèse-Majesté*), Tachibana gives three reasons for his criticism:[5]

1. Genji, a prince who has been given the Genji name, but has descended to the rank of commoner, has a secret affair with Fujitsubo, the empress, the wife of his father.
2. The child born of Fujitsubo's affair with Genji becomes the emperor (and is known as Reizei-in, Cloistered Emperor Reizei).
3. When Emperor Reizei learns the secret of his birth, he treats his true father, Genji, as an honorary retired emperor.

Assuming that during World War II ordinary Japanese citizens did in fact accept officially endorsed values, Tachibana's three points would have struck them as genuine and indisputable.

TANIZAKI JUN'ICHIRŌ'S *GENJI*: HOW DID IT SUCCEED IN GETTING PUBLISHED?

The publication of Tanizaki Jun'ichirō's first translation of *The Tale of Genji, Jun'ichirō-yaku Genji monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji: The Jun'ichirō Translation*), usually called the "old translation," began in January 1939; the last of its twenty-six volumes was distributed to subscribers in July 1941. The first twenty-three and a half volumes consist of a translation into modern Japanese of all fifty-four chapters of the *Genji*; the second half of volume 24 and all of volume 25 contain "*Genji monogatari* kōgi" (A Lecture on *The Tale of Genji*); and volume 26 includes genealogical charts, a timetable, a colophon, and so on. This modern Japanese translation of the *Genji* was to be the first of three that Tanizaki undertook. The distribution of the second translation, the *Jun'ichirō-shin'yaku Genji monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji: The New Jun'ichirō Translation*), began in May 1951; that of the third, the *Jun'ichirō-shinshin'yaku Genji monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji: The New New Jun'ichirō Translation*), began in November 1964.

Certain sections were deleted from the earliest of the three translations. Tanizaki himself provides an explanation in his preface, noting that it would be inappropriate to transplant certain elements in the conception of the original text of *The Tale of Genji* exactly as they are into a modern context and that those parts of the narrative, and only those parts, were carefully expunged. He goes on to say that Yamada Yoshio, who was responsible for checking the translation, had himself pointed out that none of the deleted sections of the work were "at all crucial to the development of the story" and that they took up fewer than five manuscript pages out of a total of more than three thousand. The main points to note about the "old translation," at least with respect to the issue of the reception of *The Tale of Genji* in wartime Japan, can be summarized as follows.

First, there is the question of what precisely was considered taboo about the parts of the text that were expunged. An inspection of the translation reveals that every section that has anything to do with either the secret meetings between Fujitsubo and Genji or the resulting "immorality of the imperial lineage" was removed.[6] The deletions are thorough enough that they include even a sentence at the start of what is often regarded as the beginning of the third part of *The Tale of Genji*—the chapter "Niou miya" (The Perfumed Prince)—in which the narrator notes that "to cite His Eminence Reizei [as one of Genji's many descendants] would be impertinent."[7] Some might argue that in expunging and modifying certain sections of the text, Tanizaki was simply *evading* the taboo, and that this hardly counts as a "strategy" for dealing with it. Yet by adopting this evasive measure, Tanizaki did manage to complete his translation of the *Genji*, seeing it through, as best he could, to the last line of "Yume no ukihashi" (The Floating Bridge of Dreams).

Second, since the secret relationship between Fujitsubo and Genji and the "immorality of the imperial lineage" to which it leads are actually central to the tale, Tanizaki's repeated assertion in both his preface and his colophon that the sections that were deleted are "not at all crucial to the development of the story" might be read as an ironic parroting of an opinion that he himself did not hold, a statement meant to convey precisely the opposite message. By carrying out the deletions and rewritings and, at the same time, by repeating his claim of their irrelevance to the work in both the preface and the colophon, Tanizaki sketches a sort of negative view of the taboo that was placed on the *Genji* by the wartime government.

The third important question that arises in considering the "old translation" is just who Tanizaki is referring to when he writes in the colophon that he was warned to "take care" by people in "various quarters." "Various quarters" (*kakuhōmen*) was a phrase commonly used to allude in a general sense to the censors and others who pressured people to conform, and the specifics of the situation in regard to the translation are unclear. The role played by Yamada, who was identified as a proofreader (*kōetsusha*) but in practice also acted as a censor (*ken'etsusha*), cannot be ignored. Along with the philosopher Kihira Masayoshi, Yamada was one of the two figures responsible for advancing the doctrine of the "Japanese spirit" (*Nihon seishin*), and he worked at the front lines of the wartime propaganda machine.[8]

In his essay "Ano koro no koto: Yamada Yoshio tsuitō" (About Those Days: In Memory of Yamada Yoshio, 1954), Tanizaki tells of a visit he made in the spring of 1935 to Yamada's house in Sendai to ask him to proofread the translation he was about to begin working on. Tanizaki explains that Yamada agreed to participate, but only on the condition that three troubling aspects of *The Tale of Genji* be removed: "The first is the fact that a commoner has a secret affair with an empress. The second is that a child born of the empress's affair with a commoner becomes emperor. And the third is that a commoner climbs to the rank of an honorary retired emperor." Tanizaki adds that when Yamada presented these demands, "he had the air of a great patriot of old, like Hirata Atsutane."[9]

The three aspects of *The Tale of Genji* that Yamada Yoshio wanted expunged overlap with the three complaints leveled against the tale by Tachibana Jun'ichi in his criticism of the *Genji* as "the worst sort of

lèse-majesté." Both Yamada and Tachibana were keenly aware of the negative value, from their perspective, of the tale. And both men extracted from the work what was in fact utterly "crucial to the development of the story"—the narrative concerning the "immorality of the imperial lineage."

THE DEBATE OVER THE LEGITIMACY OF THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN COURTS

The family tree of the Japanese emperors is set out in what is called the "Tennō rekidai hyō" (Chronology of the Emperors). In the Meiji period (1868–1912), the chronology was formalized according to the idea of "a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal," which was given a prominent place at the beginning of the Constitution of the Empire of Japan (Dai nihonkoku kenpō), promulgated on February 11, 1889. Chapter 1 of the constitution, "The Emperor," opens with the following three articles:

> Article 1. The Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal.
>
> Article 2. The Imperial Throne shall be succeeded to by Imperial male descendants, according to the provisions of the Imperial House Law.
>
> Article 3. The Emperor is sacred and inviolable.[10]

While the process of reforming Japan to turn it into a modern state had been a crucial endeavor ever since the opening of the country at the start of the Meiji period, the idea of "a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal," as set out in Article 1, was even more important. The problem of how to transform this idea into reality vexed members of the central government during the Meiji and, later, Taishō (1912–1926) periods. The difficulty of their struggle is reflected in the lengthy debate over the legitimacy of the Northern and Southern Courts (Nanboku-chō seijun ron).[11]

The years between the collapse of the military government (*bakufu*) of the Kamakura period (1183–1333) and the gradual achievement of stability at the beginning of the Muromachi period (1392–1573) is now referred to as the period of the Northern and Southern Courts (Nanboku-chō, 1336–1392). During these fifty-six years, there were two imperial courts: the Northern Court in Kyoto and the Southern Court in Yoshino. Thus there were two emperors, two era names, and two palaces. This situation finally was resolved in 1392, when Emperor GoKameyama (r. 1383–1392) of the

Southern Court gave Emperor GoKomatsu (r. 1392–1412) of the Northern Court the imperial regalia (the "three sacred objects" [*sanshu no jinki*]), thus ending their rivalry. One of the conditions of the reconciliation was that members of each line, Northern and Southern, would alternate as emperor; this agreement was ultimately breached, however, with the result that all emperors thereafter came from the Northern lineage. The problem of how to deal with the two lines of emperors who had ruled during the Northern and Southern Courts period remained until the modern era.

One result was that when the Meiji constitution was promulgated in 1889, no definite agreement had been reached regarding the number to assign to Emperor Meiji's reign in the "Tennō rekidai hyō." According to the scholarly tradition established by Hanawa Hokiichi (1746–1821), supervising editor of the monumental *Gunsho ruijū* (*A Classified Collection of the Japanese Classics*, 1779–1819), Emperor Meiji—Mutsuhito (1852–1912, r. 1867–1912), a descendent of the Northern line—was the 121st emperor. But according to the intellectual tradition of the Mito school, which was responsible for the compilation of the *Dai Nihonshi* (*A History of Great Japan*, 1657–1906), he was the 122nd emperor. Unless the discrepancy between the *Gunsho ruijū* and the *Dai Nihonshi*, the two authoritative nativist national histories, could be resolved, the "line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal" would appear to be a fabrication, and the idea that the emperor was divine, which was set out in chapter 1 of the constitution, would inevitably lose much of its force.

The problem came to the fore in June 1910, when the Ministry of Education published *Jinjō shōgaku Nihon rekishi, maki ichi: Kyōshiyō ge* (*Japanese History for Normal Elementary Schools*, part 1: *Teacher's Edition*, vol. 2). This textbook took the position that both the Northern and Southern Courts were legitimate.

In the ensuing years, the Sūmitsuin (Privy Council) and other groups were called on to try to settle the difference of opinion. On November 20, 1926, the debate finally came to an end when the Privy Council decided to officially recognize Emperor Chōkei (1343–1394, r. 1368–1383), who had belonged to the Southern line, as the ninety-eighth emperor, giving him a place in the "Tennō rekidai hyō" after Emperor GoMurakami (r. 1339–1368). This course of action was adopted just one month before the death of Emperor Taishō (Yoshihito, 1879–1926, r. 1912–1926), on December 25.[12] Emperor Meiji had died in 1912, before the decision was reached as to whether he was the 121st or 122nd emperor; when Emperor Taishō died, he ended his reign as the 123rd emperor.

THE TALE OF GENJI CROSSES THE LINE

The fiction of "a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal" was clearly one of the fundamental principles of governmental control in Japan during World War II. The addition of Emperor Chōkei to the officially recognized "Tennō rekidai hyō" expanded the formerly accepted lineage, changing the relevant section of the imperial line from "GoMurakami, GoKameyama" to "GoMurakami, Chōkei, GoKameyama." Emperor Chōkei was the son of Emperor GoMurakami and the brother of Emperor GoKameyama. All that was needed to complete the fiction of "a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal" was to add another name to the genealogy of emperors and to make that addition "sacred and inviolable." This was an absolutely crucial step if the governing principle and the raison d'être of the "Great Empire of Japan" were not to be compromised.

The vision of the world in *The Tale of Genji* stands in direct opposition to this emphasis on the single line, the unbroken lineage. The chronology of the tale covers seventy-five years and four reigns. The four emperors are referred to as Emperor Kiritsubo, Emperor Suzaku, Emperor Reizei, and the "current emperor" (*kinjō tennō, ima no ue*). According to the official patrilineal line, Suzaku and Reizei are Kiritsubo's sons, and the "current emperor" is Suzaku's son. Genji, who never becomes emperor, is the son of Kiritsubo, the younger brother of Suzaku, and the older brother of Reizei. Thus three lines can be traced from Kiritsubo: the first to Suzaku, the second to Genji, and the third to Reizei. The Suzaku line can be extended to run through the "current emperor." The problem is that Reizei, the third emperor, is actually the son of Kiritsubo's wife Fujitsubo and Genji, Kiritsubo's son by a previous wife. If we take this into consideration, a secret lineage can be drawn—using a dotted line, perhaps, to differentiate it from the solid line of the official lineage—that runs from Kiritsubo through Genji to Reizei. Thus the imperial genealogy represented in the *Genji* is not unbroken, its accurate mapping requiring the use of multiple lines, both solid and dotted. The tale meticulously traces the second line of relationships on top of the accepted lineage, a bloodline that has its origin in the secret affair between Genji and Fujitsubo.

Of all the sections interspersed throughout *The Tale of Genji* that can be linked to the liaison between Genji and Fujitsubo, the most important is the passage in the "Usugumo" (Wisps of Cloud) chapter that describes Emperor Reizei's studies, a passage that Andō Tameakira describes as "the crux of the whole work" (*ichibu daiji*).[13] There is a scene in "Usugumo" in which, following Fujitsubo's death, the prelate who remains in attendance

on Emperor Reizei during the night reveals to him the truth about his birth. In his distress, which is deepened by his having to keep the secret to himself, the fourteen-year-old emperor "plunged into his studies more ardently than ever in order to peruse all sorts of works."[14] It is reasonable to suppose that they consisted, for the most part, of historical accounts. At the very least, it is certain that historical works would not have been excluded from the emperor's readings. The particular nature of what Emperor Reizei learns from the texts, according to the *Genji*, may be divided as follows:

1. "These taught him that while in Cathay [China] there had been many such irregularities, some open and some concealed,
2. no example of the kind was to be found in Japan.
3. And even if something like that happened, how, if it was kept that well hidden, could knowledge of it have been passed on?"[15]

Viewed from the perspective of someone concerned to protect the legitimacy of Japan's imperial line, these are dangerous words. Three things contribute to this danger.

First, they are skeptical of the notion of legitimacy. The text begins by creating a binary opposition between China and Japan, stating that whereas in China there had been many secret circumstances surrounding the births of emperors, no such irregularities could be found in Japan. If one were to stop reading at this point, it would seem as though *The Tale of Genji* were attempting to consecrate the Japanese imperial line, stressing that it had never been influenced by "immorality" by linking the first opposition, between China and Japan, to a second: the presence versus the absence of secrets related to the imperial succession. As soon as one reaches the second sentence, however, everything changes. In Japanese, this sentence combines the hypothetical *mu* with the contrastive *mo*, thus producing the concessive structure "even if . . . how . . ." While the main clause, *ikade tsutae-shiru yō no ara-mu to suru* ("how . . . could knowledge of it have been passed on?"), seems to suggest that it is ultimately impossible to know whether "it" ever happened, the sentence as a whole appears to imply that the history of the Japanese imperial line really is not without its own secrets. This is skillfully conveyed by the structure of the translation, which combines the speculative "if" with the subtly more definite tone of "it was kept that well hidden." Once the second sentence is introduced, the binary opposition between China and Japan deconstructs, and Japan is stripped of its privileged position. Ultimately, the passage from (1)

to (2) to (3) leads one to the conclusion that it is indeed possible that there are secrets in the Japanese imperial line.

Second, by taking the bold step of having Emperor Reizei read historical works of Japan along with those of China and by invoking the possibility implied by the phrase "even if something like that happened," *The Tale of Genji* powerfully questions the reliability of the Japanese histories. Genji's famous assertion, during the course of the *monogatari-ron* (debate over tales) section in the "Hotaru" (The Fireflies) chapter, that "*The Chronicles of Japan* and so on give only a part of the story"[16] takes on new meaning when it is read in conjunction with the passage about Emperor Reizei's studies: Genji, we see, is saying much more than is apparent at first.

Third, the passage undermines the legitimacy of the idea of "a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal." The progression of the passage—from the fact that "irregularities" are mentioned in China, to the fact that none are mentioned in Japan, and finally to the fact that in Japan there is no mention of even the possibility of there being "irregularities"—far from comforting Emperor Reizei, plunges him into even deeper despair. At the age of fourteen, he is forced to stare into a gap in a lineage that was supposed to be unbroken and eternal. If Japan's historical texts can be determined to be "false," the lineage that those texts are supposed to back up—the very concept of "a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal"—is left with no claim to legitimacy.

In short, the passage in "Usugumo" that deals with Emperor Reizei's reading of histories has an iconoclastic effect that extends beyond the pages of *The Tale of Genji* itself, even into the realm of historical fact. The tale is, indeed, guilty of "the worst sort of *lèse-majesté*." No doubt it is true that the *Genji* is simply fiction, or "wild words and fancy phrases" (*kyōgen kigo*). But in the particular context of wartime Japan, when propaganda was transforming the idea of the emperor system into reality, pushing it to ever greater extremes, the line that separated "tales" from "history," fiction from fact, was gradually whittled away until finally it became so thin as to be nonexistent. This brought the fiction of the "tale" of the "Great Empire of Japan" into direct conflict with the fiction of the *Genji*. When the fiction of "a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal" was pushed to its farthest limits, the negative image of the imperial line represented in *The Tale of Genji* appeared, demanding that the modern emperor system as a whole be confronted with its own extreme distortions.

TRANSLATED BY MICHAEL EMMERICH

NOTES

1. The banning of this play is discussed in Kobayashi Masaaki, "Wadatsumi no *Genji monogatari*: Senjika no junan," in Yoshii Miyako, ed., *"Miyabi" isetsu: Genji monogatari to iu bunka* (Tokyo: Shinwasha, 1997), pp. 183–228; "Ushinawareta monogatari o motomete," in Akiyama Ken, Shimauchi Keiji, Kobayashi Masaaki, and Suzuki Ken'ichi, eds., *Hihyō shūsei Genji monogatari*, vol. 5, *Senjika hen* (Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 1999), pp. 511–569; and "Zōhan-yūri no *Genji monogatari*," *Yuriika* 34, no. 2 (2002): 170–181.
2. For reproductions of some of the relevant newspaper articles, see "Shinbun hōdō," in Akiyama, Shimauchi, Kobayashi, and Suzuki, eds., *Hihyō shūsei Genji monogatari*, vol. 5, pp. 4–35.
3. Udō Yutaka, *Genji monogatari to sensō: Senjika no kyōiku to kotenbungaku* (Tokyo: Inpakuto shuppankai, 2002).
4. Andō Tōru, "*Genji* teikoku shugi no kōzai," in Kanda Tatsumi and Fukazawa Tetsuya, eds., *"Heian bungaku" to iu ideorogi*, Sōsho sōzōsuru Heian bungaku 1 (Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, 1999), pp. 110–133.
5. Tachibana Jun'ichi, "*Genji monogatari* wa dàifukei no bungaku de aru," *Kokugo kaishaku* 4, no. 7 (1936).
6. For a discussion of the sections deleted from Tanizaki Jun'ichirō's first translation of *Genji*, see Kobayashi, "Wadatsumi no *Genji monogatari*."
7. Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, trans. Royall Tyler (New York: Viking, 2001), p. 785.
8. It was for this reason that Yamada Yoshio became one of the targets of the purge carried out after World War II by the General Headquarters for the Allied Forces.
9. Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, "Ano koro no koto (Yamada Yoshio tsuitō)," in *Tanizaki Jun'ichirō zenshū* (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1983), vol. 23, in Akiyama, Shimauchi, Kobayashi, and Suzuki, eds., *Hihyō shūsei Genji monogatari*, vol. 5, pp. 315–317.
10. Quoted in Hirobumi Ito, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the Empire of Japan*, trans. Miyoji Ito (Tokyo: Igirisu-Hōritsu gakko, 1889).
11. "Nanbokuchō seijunron mondai," in Satō Hideo, ed., *Kyōiku*, vol. 1, *Goshin'ei to kyōiku chokugo*, Zoku gendaishi shiryō 8 (Tokyo: Misuzu shobō, 1994), pp. 249–319.
12. "Chōkei tennō kōdai ni resseraruru no kudan," in *Sūmitsuin kaigi gijiroku: Kokuritsu kōbunshokan shozo* (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1988), vol. 42.
13. Andō Tameakira, *Shikashichiron* (1703), in Akiyama Ken, Shimauchi Keiji, Kobayashi Masaaki, and Suzuki Ken'ichi, eds., *Hihyō shūsei Genji monogatari*, vol. 1, *Kinsei zenki hen* (Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 1999), pp. 203–230.
14. Murasaki Shikibu, *Tale of Genji*, p. 357.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid., p. 461.

Chapter 11

The Tale of Genji in Postwar Film

EMPEROR, AESTHETICISM, AND THE EROTIC

Kazuhiro Tateishi

A Tale of Genji boom began in the 1950s, following the end of World War II, as various media—books, music, theater, radio, television, film, anime—repeatedly took up the *Genji*.[1] The adaptations often were digests of the original text or works with iconic images that conveyed a sense of "*Genji*-ness." I refer to such versions, which were both mass-produced and mass-consumed, as "mass-processed culture" (*kakō bunka*). Such forms of the *Genji* have been relegated to an inferior status by an academic world that has exalted the original text. But the scholarly community, which has traditionally viewed its work as distinct from popular culture, has in actuality been dependent on that very culture for its own survival.

This chapter focuses on *The Tale of Genji* as re-created by the postwar film industry. The films have contributed to an evolving *Genji* mass culture that has attracted the interest of the general public. Using six representative *Genji* films, I analyze the political and social implications of the production, distribution, and consumption of the *Genji* in popular and mass culture.[2] The fear of being charged with irreverence toward the imperial household resulted in differing degrees of self-censorship among the films, in several of which nationalistic ideology has a latent yet pervasive presence. While these films are consistently advertised as "love stories" that emphasize idealized Heian court aesthetics, their actual content may be quite lascivious. Furthermore, the producers of the films often catered to the expectations of Orientalist attitudes of the West, appropriating *The Tale of Genji* to represent the "essence of Japanese culture."

THE EMPEROR SYSTEM AND *THE TALE OF GENJI* (1951)

The first film adaptation of *The Tale of Genji* was released in 1951, early in the postwar *Genji* boom (figure 53). The film *Genji monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji*) begins with the social persecution and death of the Kiritsubo Consort, who had monopolized the affection of the emperor. After Genji (portrayed by Hasegawa Kazuo) comes of age, his illicit affair with Fujitsubo and the birth of their illegitimate son becomes the central story. Woven around this main plot are various episodes involving Genji, such as the disharmonious relationship with and death of his principal wife, Lady Aoi; his chance meeting with the young Murasaki; and the revelation of his clandestine meetings with Oborozukiyo. While exiled to Suma, Genji has relations with Lady Awaji (a character who does not exist in the original), the daughter of the priest of Harima. After the death of Lady Kokiden, Genji returns to the capital for the enthronement of the new emperor, Suzaku. But here, Genji is bereaved by another death, that of his most beloved Fujitsubo. Lady Awaji, who had moved to the capital with Genji, has an affair with Yoshinari (her lover from Akashi) and becomes pregnant. Upon discovering this relationship, Genji becomes enraged. But following the advice of Murasaki and reflecting on his own affair with Fujitsubo, he pardons the lovers and sends them back to Akashi. The film



FIGURE 53 Yoshimura Kōsaburō, *Genji monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji*, 1951), featuring "Seven Major Stars": advertisement in *Kinema junpō*, October 1951.

ends with Genji contemplating his renewed adoration for Murasaki, who alone has steadfastly remained by his side.

Produced for the tenth anniversary of the establishment of the Daiei Motion Picture Company, *The Tale of Genji* had production costs that were roughly four times what was then standard. The sets of the imperial palace, the boat scenes in Akashi, and the dazzling costumes are all visually striking. The film attempts to reproduce the elegance of Heian court culture while suggesting a connection between alluring beauty and the hopeless frailty of things. The first scene opens with a violent tempest of gray clouds over the Heian capital; in the last and corresponding scene, autumn leaves dance in the breeze. Thus the film begins with an ominous air and ends in resigned tranquility. After Genji makes advances on Fujitsubo, the subsequent scene reveals several women illuminated by flames that redden the sky over the city. The women whisper about various happenings in the capital: the outbreak of arsonous fires, the infestation of thieves, and the discovery of a discarded corpse at the Rashōmon Gate. Their anxiety of things to come portends the decline of the beautiful aristocratic society and customs of the Heian period (794–1185). This reflects the prevalent understanding of *The Tale of Genji* as a depiction of the pathos of things (*mono no aware*).

The Tale of Genji was epoch making in being the first publicly released film that deals with an imperial scandal and in which the emperor is portrayed by an actor,[3] although he is visible only through bamboo blinds or from the back (figure 54). The screenwriters altered the original text in order to eliminate any hint of irreverence toward the imperial court. First, the film casts the relationship between Genji and Fujitsubo as an "open secret," thus avoiding the taboo of a clandestine affair with an empress. Their story is simplified to one of tragic love. Moreover, by moving the occasion of Emperor Suzaku's enthronement to coincide with Genji's return from Akashi, the film circumvents Reizei's accession to the throne. Since Reizei is in fact not the son of Emperor Kiritsubo, but the illegitimate child of Fujitsubo and Genji, by eliminating this character the film evades showing disruption of the imperial line. Finally, the film makes sure to avoid portraying adultery committed by an imperial princess: Fujitsubo is consistently addressed as Madame Fujitsubo (Fujitsubo *sama*) without the attribute "imperial princess" (*miya*), and the character of the Third Princess is combined with that of the Akashi Lady in the newly created "Lady Awaji."

During World War II, *The Tale of Genji* was thought to display irreverence toward the emperor and was censored, as Kobayashi Masaaki has

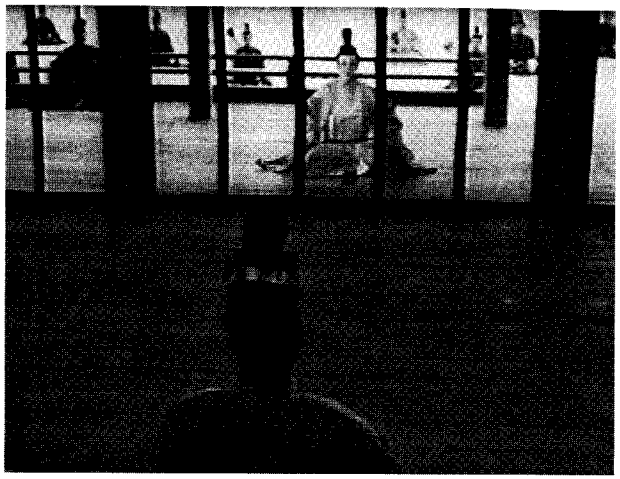


FIGURE 54 Yoshimura Kōsaburō, *The Tale of Genji*: Emperor Kiritsubo (Souma Chieko), with his back to the camera, faces Genji (Hasegawa Kazuo).

shown.[4] Any adaptation of the tale for popular consumption—especially if it included the story of Fujitsubo—was to be avoided. In 1933, for example, government authorities ordered the last-minute cancellation of the performance of a *Genji* play. The modern translation of the *Genji* by Tanizaki Jun'ichirō was accepted for publication only after Genji and Fujitsubo's affair and similar episodes were deleted. Thus in 1951, the film version was welcomed as a representation of newly acquired freedom in a postwar society liberated from the strict regulation of ideas and speech. But, as noted, the fear of expressing disrespect for the imperial court continued even after the war and resulted in media self-censorship.

Any possible contradiction of imperial ideology is avoided in *The Tale of Genji*, while the "tragic love" between Fujitsubo and Genji is emphasized. According to the press release, the film is a "tragic love story of the beautiful prince extolled as the Shining One in the luxurious and brilliant Heian age." It presents "classical literature worthy of boasting to the world" and the "zenith of Japanese culture." Advertisements for the film, which were targeted at women and students, emphasized its nostalgic and aesthetic representation of the Heian period, playing down any notion of its being "just a salacious story" or "a story about adultery." Ultimately, the studio marketed the film as "a grand love story splendidly woven together by seven bright movie stars! An epic proudly presented to the world by Daiei!"[5] A camouflage technique habitually employed by the media overtly displays

one thing in order to conceal another—a mechanism evident in the advertisements for the *Genji* film. By claiming that the story is of "tragic love"—a theme easily accepted by the viewing public—more sensitive issues, such as the violation of the imperial system and scandals in the imperial court, were hidden. The mass popularization of *The Tale of Genji* was achieved precisely because of this kind of self-censorship and camouflage.

The *Tale of Genji* film of 1951 became a record-breaking sensation, claiming top fiscal-year earnings at the box office, with a distribution income exceeding ¥100 million. It was also screened overseas, where it won the award for best cinematography at the Cannes Film Festival, becoming the first Japanese film to do so. The 1950s are now considered the golden age of Japanese cinema, when one Japanese film after another garnered international awards. In 1951, Kurosawa Akira's *Rashōmon* won the Golden Lion, the grand prize of the Venice Film Festival; Mizoguchi Kenji's *Saikaku Ichidai onna* (*The Life of Oharu*) and *Ugetsu monogatari* (*Ugetsu* [*Tales of Moonlight and Rain*]) won the Silver Lion at the Venice Film Festival in 1952 and 1953, respectively; and in 1954, Mizoguchi's *Sanshō daiyū* (*Sanshō the Bailiff*) was also awarded the Silver Lion at the Venice Film Festival and Kinugasa Teinosuke's *Jigokumon* (*The Gate of Hell*) won the Grand Prize at the Cannes Film Festival. What all these films have in common was their use of the Japanese classics for their subject matter.

This phenomenon, which began with the *Genji* film of 1951, was criticized in a newspaper article that quotes one of the Cannes judges, Charles Vildrac: "The [*Genji*] film did not adequately express human emotions, but aesthetically, it was certainly moving." The article notes that *The Tale of Genji* "succeeded not as a film but rather as a type of a documentary or tourist film." If Japanese "films aim strictly in this direction, they will only bore audiences." The critic called for films that "can genuinely convey to the larger audience that the Japanese people are agonizing over the same sort of concerns as other citizens around the world."[6] Japanese filmmakers should aim their lens at contemporary Japan, rather than create films about an imaginary, exotic Japan.

The social critic Ōya Sōichi, writing in *Asahi shinbun*, stated that the *Tale of Genji* film "is absurd in its portrayal of 'life' and 'love,'" and if it appeals to a modern audience, it does so only as "a form of escapism." The film's positive reception among the Japanese is "a reaction against the America-centrism that has hitherto dominated the film industry" and

reflects "a nostalgia for something 'Japanese' or, rather, for the exotic."[7] While the *Genji* boom reflected a shift in Japan's perception of cultural authority away from the United States, it was not grounded in a proper understanding or assessment of either Western or Japanese culture. The Japanese mentality of "reckless adherence to authority" had not changed.

In 1951, the San Francisco Treaty was signed, symbolizing Japan's reentry onto the international scene and raising the nation's awareness of its place in the global sphere. It was in this context that Japanese films—beginning with *The Tale of Genji*, which places heavy emphasis on a highly aesthetic world—were exported, won high praise among Western audiences, and reinforced an Orientalist, exotic view of Japan. This gaze of the West and its image of "Japan" were imported back to Japan, where they were gradually internalized and contributed to the construction of a national identity—a sense of "Japanese-ness"—in the early postwar years. The domestic debate caused by the foreign response to *The Tale of Genji* marked the beginning of an awareness of this phenomenon.

THE AESTHETICS OF THE HEIAN COURT: *THE TALE OF GENJI: UKIFUNE* (1957)

In the years after *Rashōmon* was awarded the top prize at the Venice Film Festival in 1951, the studio that produced it, Daiei, made and exported numerous historical dramas (*jidaigeki*). Among them was *Genji monogatari Ukifune* (*The Tale of Genji: Ukifune*), released in 1957. Although based on the original *Genji*, it made bold modifications to the narrative; and throughout the film, we readily sense the presence of the scriptwriter Hōjō Hideji, one of the playwrights who perpetuated the *Genji* boom. Originally written for the stage, the drama had been performed at the Meiji-za Theater and then adapted for a radio and television series. The film is framed by two episodes that appear at the end of the tale in the ten Uji chapters: Ōigimi's death and Ukifune's attempt to drown herself.

In the film, Ukifune is caught between two men: Kaoru, who seeks "a communication of the heart," and Prince Niou, who pressures her for a physical relationship. Having succumbed to Niou's advances, Ukifune is reproached by Kaoru and attempts suicide by throwing herself into the Uji River. Even to the audience in 1957, this climactic moment seemed outdated.[8] Also, Kaoru lacks any self-reflection in chastising Ukifune, and the patriarchal assumptions are conspicuous to viewers today: it is Ukifune's behavior, not Niou's, that is condemned. However, some of the film's

interpretations resonate with modern readings of the original text. For example, Kaoru restrains his physical desires because he is bound by the phantom of Ōigimi—a woman with whom he never consummated a physical relationship. Ukifune awakens to her own sexuality in her relationship with Prince Niou.

Tokae Hajime wrote in a review of the film that "*The Tale of Genji* has essentially become so commonplace for us that it is no longer stimulating. I think that the *Genji* boom will not return again. . . . As material for film, the text has lost its appeal."[9] The review suggests that the dazzling costumes and elegant customs of the Heian period, which had so fascinated moviegoers in 1951, had become overworn and the exoticism of the media-fed *Genji* boom had begun to fade.

With this film, the portrayal of the emperor also began to change. In 1951, there had been a tendency to associate the emperor portrayed in *The Tale of Genji* with the reigning emperor, Hirohito. With the initial postwar popularization of the *Genji*, neither the producers nor the audience could initially avoid the issue of potential irreverence toward the emperor. Over the following six years, the film-viewing public gradually ceased to identify the emperor of the *Genji* with the current emperor of Japan. Thus, compared with *The Tale of Genji* film of 1951, *The Tale of Genji: Ukifune* is less hesitant in its depiction of the emperor. Moreover, a film that was released the same year and became an unprecedented hit, *Meiji tennō to Nichiro daisensō* (*The Meiji Emperor and the Russo-Japanese War*),[10] symbolized the change in attitude toward the emperor, who previously could not be depicted in film. The public was now ready to be entertained by stories of the emperors. Simultaneously, societal interest in the real emperor was changing. The televised parade for Prince Akihito's marriage in 1959 accelerated the popularization of television, and the imperial family appeared frequently on television and in tabloid magazines as a symbol of the ideal family. In this context, the tendency to associate *The Tale of Genji* with disrespect for the emperor diminished.

A visually striking aspect of *The Tale of Genji: Ukifune* is its unique aesthetic position, exemplified by the blackened teeth and painted eyebrows of both men and women (figure 55). Although the film was criticized by some as lacking a proper aesthetic sensibility, it is likely that its aim was to resist the modern misperception of Heian aesthetics and create this very feeling of alienation in an audience that expected a particular modern aesthetic. An advertisement for the film describes the choice faced by Ukifune: "Her heart yearns for traces of Prince Kaoru—yet in her desire to experience the pleasure of being a woman, her wild flesh writhes



FIGURE 55 Kinugasa Teinosuke, *Genji monogatari Ukifune* (*The Tale of Genji: Ukifune*, 1957): a laughing Kaoru (Hasegawa Kazuo) shows his blackened teeth.

for Prince Niou."[11] Paired with an image that suggests a lascivious *Genji*, this advertisement was in fact consistent with the actual contents of the film. One week after *Ukifune* opened, though, an alternative advertisement appeared, describing the film as "a poignant and magnificent tale of tragic love! A feminine artistic film of the grandest scale in the history of Japanese cinema."[12] The photographs, too, were altered to obscure suggestions of the film's erotic content. It is clear that the emphasis had shifted from the "sensual" to the "aesthetic," and that the producers focused on women as the target audience, as they had in 1951 for their previous film of *The Tale of Genji*.

As *The Tale of Genji* penetrated popular culture in the postwar years, there emerged two opposing modes of *Genji* representation: the tale as the epitome of Heian aesthetics and as erotica. Each re-creation of the *Genji* tended toward one of these two poles. Students of premodern literature and female audiences had a strong affinity for the Heian court aesthetic, which was emphasized in many advertisements for *Genji* films. This mode is consistent with the standard view of the *Genji* as "classical literature worthy of boasting to the world." Thus, in championing *The Tale of Genji* as "national literature" worthy of critics and scholars, the portrayal of its sexual elements was suppressed. But those who appreciated the *Genji* as an erotic tale also perpetuated its popularity, and film producers vigorously pursued this market as well.

REPETITION AND STEREOTYPES: *THE NEW TALE OF GENJI* (1961)

After peaking in 1958, film attendance experienced a significant decline due to the advent of television in the 1960s. This called for a reassessment of film production. Daiei, ahead of other motion picture studios on this point, switched its concentration to the production of grand-scale "spectacular" films, such as *Shaka* (1961), the first 70-mm film made in Japan. *Shin Genji monogatari* (*The New Tale of Genji*), released in 1961, was another such project, with the role of Genji played by Daiei's top actor, Ichikawa Raizō, and Fujitsubo by the Takarazuka actress Sumi Hanayo.

The New Tale of Genji begins with the story of the Kiritsubo Consort, reaches its climax with Fujitsubo's entrance into a nunnery (figure 56), and ends with Genji's exile to Suma. Some of the episodes are similar to those in *The Tale of Genji* of 1951, such as Genji and Lady Aoi's difficult marriage and the proud Aoi's death, Genji's relationship with the uninhibited and "modern" Oborozukiyo, and young Murasaki's abduction. In a departure from the earlier film, however, everything following Genji's exile to Suma is cut, while episodes involving Lady Rokujō and Suetsumuhana are added. The film focuses on the oppressive nature of Genji's thoughts for Fujitsubo. His love for his biological mother is transferred to Fujitsubo, and all his subsequent relationships with women originate from this "love for mother=love for Fujitsubo" equation. Unlike in the 1951 film, Fujitsubo's love for Genji is also portrayed, underscoring the tragedy of a *mutual* love



FIGURE 56 Mori Issei, *Shin Genji monogatari* (*The New Tale of Genji*, 1961): Genji (Ichikawa Raizō) and Fujitsubo (Sumi Hanayo), who has decided to take holy vows, in their last embrace.

that cannot be consummated. One innovation is the characterization of the daughter of Lady Rokujō as Lady Rokujō's alter ego, a woman who expresses her mother's deep and suppressed emotions. Although Suetsumuhana lacks physical allure, she satisfies Genji as an unrefined woman who provides comfort for just one night.

Despite these new elements, *The New Tale of Genji* mimics much of *The Tale of Genji* of 1951;[13] the young Murasaki's abduction is almost a complete imitation. The preoccupation of the producers with creating an epic film became more important than presenting innovative interpretations of the original text. That both the Minister of the Left and Lady Kokiden know about the "secret" affair between Genji and Fujitsubo echoes the 1951 version. But in *The New Tale of Genji*, even Koremitsu knows of Genji's relationship with Fujitsubo and discusses it with another character. This creates a situation where essentially no one does *not* know; it seems almost absurd that the two lovers agonize over their "secret" affair.

The somewhat haphazard manner in which *The New Tale of Genji* was made, which evokes a strong sense of déjà vu in the audience, is symptomatic of an age of mass-marketed products (*kakō sakuhin*), including a proliferation of re-creations of the tale. Fresh interpretations of *The Tale of Genji* were no longer attempted, and the same modes of depiction were recycled. With this film, *Genji* popular culture had entered a new stage.

NATIONALISM AND PORNOGRAPHY: *THE TALE OF GENJI* (1966)

For *Genji monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji*), a film released in 1966, Takechi Tetsuji, who had long worked to preserve and sustain premodern performance art, took on the roles of writer, producer, and director. He had performed in experimental theater, creating what came to be known as "Takechi Kabuki," and was also involved in *nō*, *kyōgen* (comic theater), and opera. In the 1960s, he entered the world of film. In 1964, he made screen adaptations of Tanizaki Jun'ichiro's "Hakujitsumu" (Day Dream, 1926) and Cao Xuequin's *Hong lou meng* (*Kōrōmu* [*The Dream of the Red Chamber*, mid-eighteenth century]). The erotic content of both films generated great controversy. In 1965, the film *Kuroi yuki* (*Black Snow*), which he wrote and directed, was cited for violating Criminal Law 175 (Exhibition

of Obscene Images) by the Tokyo Metropolitan Police Department. It was the first film to be prosecuted, although unsuccessfully, by the Commission for the Administration of the Motion Picture Code of Ethics.[14] In 1966, while the prosecution was under way, Takechi's version of the *Genji* was released. With *Kuroi yuki*, Takechi had clearly declared his nationalistic, anti-American sentiments; a similar nationalistic stance is evident in his screen adaptation of *The Tale of Genji*.

The film opens with Genji holding, as though his own, the child born of the clandestine affair between the Third Princess and Kashiwagi. He has successfully secured the accession of Reizei to the throne and thus has become the father of the emperor. Using the occasion to reflect, he reminisces about his past affairs with various women. Those who appear are Fujitsubo, Lady Aoi, Utsusemi, Nokiba no ogi, Yūgao (portrayed as a woman of the pleasure quarters), Lady Rokujō, Murasaki, Oborozukiyo, and the Akashi Lady. Returning to the capital following his exile in Suma, Genji attains the position of "father of the emperor," and yet he is deep in melancholy. The film closes with Genji deeply grieving the death of Murasaki.

The Tale of Genji was advertised as "a grand work directed by the famed Takechi Tetsuji! A brilliant and gorgeous love story portrayed with immense sensitivity!"[15] Because it was associated with such a controversial director, it attracted viewers who hoped for pornographic content, and it enjoyed an extended run. Takechi's film is the only screen adaptation of the *Genji* to be classified as an "adult film," not open to minors under eighteen years of age (figure 57). At a time of financial stagnation in the motion picture industry, only "pink" (pornographic) films were profitable, accounting for roughly half the films produced each year.[16] Independent production companies backed the majority of "pink films," which were also called "*ero*-ductions" as opposed to "artistic" productions. *The Tale of Genji*, too, was made by an independent production company, Genji eiga sha.

Despite being advertised as "an artistic work on a grand scale," the critical reception of *The Tale of Genji* was not very favorable compared with that of many of Takechi's other films. One review was especially negative:

> Written, produced, and directed by Takechi Tetsuji, the man who caused the *Black Snow* commotion. About the only erotic scene is the one with Utsusemi (played by Matsui Yasuko), so in that regard this time the film



FIGURE 57 Takechi Tetsuji, *Genji monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji*, 1966): an advertisement touts "Person in the News: Takechi Tetsuji's Artistic Masterpiece," "Adult Film."

> shouldn't cause a problem. But whatever the case, it is a flat *Genji*. . . . Various chance meetings with various types of women appear in dizzying succession. Ultimately, it becomes a simple and monotonous sequence of women, and there is absolutely no dramatic climax. This makes for an unsatisfying film.[17]

According to the critic Satō Shigeomi, "It is rare that a film could be so dull and dry so as to fail to arouse any sense of beauty. It seems Takechi will forever be an amateur artist who does not attempt to revise his juvenile techniques."[18]

ANIME AND *MANGA* CULTURE: *MURASAKI SHIKIBU: THE TALE OF GENJI* (1987)

In the latter half the 1980s, at the height of the "bubble economy," a succession of films were produced as joint ventures by various media companies. The animated film *Murasaki Shikibu Genji monogatari* (*Murasaki Shikibu: The Tale of Genji*), released in 1987, was produced by the Asahi newspaper company in cooperation with Group Television's TV Asahi and Japan Herald Films. In 1985, Asahi and TV Asahi had garnered success with the animated adaptation of Miyazawa Kenji's *Ginga tetsudō no yoru* (*Night on the Galactic Railroad*). *Murasaki Shikibu: The Tale of Genji* was their second film project.

The Tale of Genji is unsurpassed as a vehicle for commemorative projects, as it can attract consumers from outside the established audience base.[19] This use of the *Genji* and such works as the *Taketori monogatari* (*The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter*, ca. 909) for special projects was common, leading to a classical literature boom in the 1980s.[20] *Murasaki Shikibu: The Tale of Genji* was a three-company anniversary project, and, as part of its seventy-fifth anniversary ceremonies in 1989, Takarazuka, the noted musical troupe, staged *Shin Genji monogatari* (*The New Tale of Genji*).

The animated film *Murasaki Shikibu: The Tale of Genji* begins with Genji's clandestine meeting with Yūgao; proceeds to other amorous episodes with Lady Aoi, Lady Rokujō, Murasaki, and Oborozukiyo; and ends on the night before Genji is to leave for Suma. Having just had a strange dream, Genji dances in front of a large cherry tree (*sakura*), an underlying motif of the film. Near the beginning of the story, for example, Genji proclaims his elation with Yūgao: "Perhaps I have finally met the person with whom I can share one heart." The instant he utters these words, a *sakura*-patterned kimono appears in the air above him, and Yūgao simultaneously passes away. Genji is thus cruelly deprived of a potentially genuine relationship. At the root of his turmoil is the death of his mother; his memories of her are inseparable from images of cherry blossoms. In the film, Genji has hallucinations about these flowers, which externalize his fear of death and loss. Genji attempts to control his emotions by bringing some sort of order to his visions. The film beautifully portrays this psychological struggle, boldly re-creating *The Tale of Genji* as the story of Genji's growth to independence.

Sakai Tomomi's screenplay under Sugii Gizaburō's direction aggressively eliminates explanatory speech and appeals to the audience by direct visual and aural representation. The closing dream sequence has no spoken lines. The film creatively reconstructs a Heian world infused with symbolism. Genji's rebellious attitude is highlighted by his pierced ears (figure 58), and he is seen running—an act conspicuous in a society in which people were expected to amble. The film also employs creative spatial designs, such as an imperial palace that seems to hover in the air, illustrating the extraordinary lifestyle of the Heian elite. As an animation, *Murasaki Shikibu: The Tale of Genji* could not rely on popular actors, elaborate sets, and luxurious costumes. To compensate, its producers emphasized the film's content. The quality of the writing coincides with the intimate screen structure particular to animation, creating a work worthy of viewing.



FIGURE 58 Sugi'i Gizaburō, *Murasaki Shikibu Genji monogatari* (*Murasaki Shikibu: The Tale of Genji*, 1987): this anime version portrays a rebellious Genji with long hair and pierced ears.

RECYCLED *GENJI* CULTURE: *LOVE OF A THOUSAND YEARS: THE TALE OF THE SHINING GENJI* (2001)

As evidenced by the financial success of the many projects based loosely on *The Tale of Genji*, the *Genji* boom at the turn of the millennium was the most extensive thus far. In 2000, the Japanese government issued a ¥2000 bill featuring the twelfth-century *Tale of Genji Scrolls*, and the city of Tokyo produced the play *Genji* for the closing of the Tokyo 2000 Festival. Thus in 2001, the film *Sen'nen no koi: Hikaru Genji monogatari* (*Love of a Thousand Years: The Tale of the Shining Genji*) was released to a public already flooded with images of the tale. Eleven corporations and media agencies participated in the production, which commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of Tōei Animation, and a large-scale advertisement campaign was launched.

Although marketed as an orthodox *Genji* film, *Love of a Thousand Years* is innovative in being a story within a story, in which Murasaki Shikibu narrates her newly written tale to the young Empress Shōshi. Showing little concern for following the original text of *The Tale of Genji* or for re-creating the Heian lifestyle, the film instead displays preposterous "creativity." For

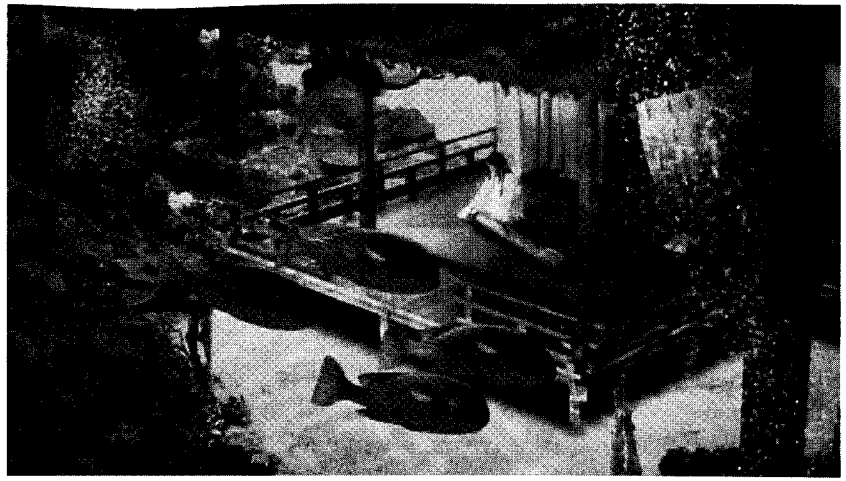


FIGURE 59 Horikawa Tonkō, *Sennen no koi: Hikaru Genji monogatari* (*Love of a Thousand Years: The Tale of the Shining Genji*, 2001): the Akashi Lady (Hosokawa Fumie) plays a koto beneath the sea.

instance, Murasaki Shikibu's husband, Nobutaka, is killed by foreign pirates, and the inner imperial courts are depicted as virtual pleasure quarters. Lady Aoi insists that she has become pregnant with Lady Rokujō's child, and Genji hallucinates that Rokujō's ox carriage loses control and crashes into him. The Akashi quarters, depicted as a palace on the sea, seem to float above the water. There is also an aquatic love scene between Genji and the Akashi Lady—not only is it reminiscent of a water show, but it is obvious that aquarium tanks were used for the shoot—and she delivers her baby in the sea (figure 59). A bird's-eye view shows Lady Rokujō's palace, in which all four seasons are simultaneously depicted. Perhaps most shocking for the audience, however, is the appearance of Lady Ageha—a "living spirit of a pitiful woman"—who sings as she wanders around the Heian capital. *Love of a Thousand Years* neither is faithful to Heian literature nor resembles other *Genji* films; instead, it is reminiscent of *Genji* comic books (*manga*) and light novels. Once aimed at young readers, *manga* and light novels have become, as Yuika Kitamura has shown, highly influential in constructing the image of Heian Japan and of *The Tale of Genji*.[21]

Love of a Thousand Years is made up of the most typical components of postwar *Genji* culture. This motley patchwork accounts in part for the film's failure, although it also makes it an important artifact of contemporary *Genji* culture. In popular culture, mass-produced and mass-marketed

re-creations of *The Tale of Genji* have come to replace the original as the base text. In this film, for example, several lines—including those exchanged by Fujitsubo and Genji during their clandestine affair—are taken from Tanabe Seiko's novel *Shin Genji monogatari* (*The New Tale of Genji*, 1978–1979).[22] Tanabe is not credited, and the passages most likely were used without permission. Tanabe's *Shin Genji monogatari* is alluded to not only in *Love of a Thousand Years*, but also in Yamato Waki's comic *Asaki yume mishi* (*Fleeting Dreams*, 1979–1993). In turn, scenes and idiomatic expressions from *Asaki yume mishi* are also used in other *manga*. In the 1980s, Takarazuka twice staged performances based on *Shin Genji monogatari*, and the troupe gave clear credit to Tanabe's novel. This is not the norm, however, and numerous works based on the *Genji* incorporate expressions from previous re-creations without citation or permission, as well as use careless diction inconsistent with the language in the original text. *Love of a Thousand Years* repeats passages from other mass-marketed *Genji* products, thus continuing the cycle.

As a seemingly timeless classic, *The Tale of Genji* is often cited as evidence of an essentialized view of the sexes, defining "what a man is" and "what a woman is." In a similar fashion, in *Love of a Thousand Years*, the character Murasaki Shikibu, in discussing the *Genji*, explains that "for a man, his mother is his home," "a man wants everything that is beautiful," and "the type of woman a man wants, if one is to say it, is a woman that is convenient for him." The young Murasaki, as a character in the tale, delivers such lines as "What a man thinks is love, is really a caress." The film also contains numerous normative characterizations of women: "Please remember this well. A woman's jealousy is a frightening thing." "Please believe that a woman is stronger than a man. Because it is the woman who gives birth." "Perhaps women who cannot bear children are pitiful. But a woman's job of rearing children is just as important." The film thus defines child rearing as the woman's role; for a man, woman is solely the object of carnal desire. These views are typical of mass-marketed re-creations of the *Genji*. Indeed, the incorporation of essentialist definitions of the sexes (as well as definitions of Japan and the Japanese) into *Genji* discourse is a phenomenon in *Genji* popular culture. The tale's perceived authority of having "one thousand years of tradition" underscores this essentialist ideology.

The classical literature curriculum of secondary school is reflected in *Love of a Thousand Years* as well. In the film, Sei Shōnagon attempts to educate Teishi with *Makura no sōshi* (*The Pillow Book*, ca. 1017). When tested, Teishi recites—in classical Japanese (while the rest of the film is in

modern Japanese)—the opening section, "Haru wa akebono" (Spring Is Dawn), and is praised by the emperor. This scene is a parody of the curriculum requiring students to memorize and recite the opening sections of *Makura no sōshi*, *The Tale of Genji*, and other classical works. Students who see this film will likely identify with Teishi, regarding the texts solely as materials to be memorized for exams. These works are crucial components of semester and university entrance exams, since Heian literature is emphasized in premodern curricula as the epitome of Japanese aesthetics. Thus introductory and explanatory notes for the *Genji* circulate as exam study guides. In fact, Yamato's comic *Asaki yume mishi* is now used as supplementary reading material in the classroom, clearly demonstrating that there is a market for *Genji* popular culture in the educational system.

The characters in *The Tale of Genji* are firmly established as stereotypical personalities in popular culture. For instance, Lady Rokujō is the "lustful and jealous older woman" and is almost always portrayed wearing clothing with a spiderweb pattern.[23] In *Love of a Thousand Years* as well, Lady Rokujō, wearing a robe with a spiderweb design, is demonized for her carnal lust and self-pity. Although it is tempting to consider the film as a parody, it is not a tightly structured caricature of the original text. With its numerous contradictions and inconsistencies, it lacks cohesion. For example, the pretext of the film is Murasaki Shikibu's education of Empress Shōshi using *The Tale of Genji*, but it is not clear what the author hoped to teach her. Murasaki Shikibu expresses her dissatisfaction with men such as Nobutaka and Fujiwara Michinaga, who treat their wives and daughters as political pawns. In the first half of the film, we detect a degree of resistance to patriarchal society, as those men who abuse their authority are invariably ruined, abandoned by their women, and forced to live their last years alone and desolate. Ultimately, however, Murasaki Shikibu educates the young girl in preparation for her role as an imperial consort and a bearer of the emperor's children. How Murasaki Shikibu's resistance to male domination will play out is unclear. We cannot but agree with the words of Yamane Sadao: "If it was making fun of itself it would be amusing, but in its seriousness and sincerity it is not at all conscious of being a *Genji* parody, let alone a self-parody. It is pitiful."[24] The absence of unity in the film is particularly apparent in the inconsistencies between the advertisements for it and its actual content. Much like *The Tale of Genji* of 1951, *Love of a Thousand Years* was marketed with such grand phrases as "a historical work of art on a scale never before seen; a Japanese film presented to the world with pride." The film ends with a

single sentence on the screen: "*The Tale of Genji* is the world's greatest novel, written exactly one thousand years ago." Consistent with the grandeur of *Love of a Thousand Years: The Tale of the Shining Genji*, the world premiere took place in Hollywood, rather than in Japan.

Love of a Thousand Years not only reflects the state of current *Genji* culture, but also camouflages any potential irreverence toward the emperor. One advertisement for the film declared: "Only in a tale [*monogatari*] can one write of the truth of politics [*matsurigoto*]. The true history of this nation can only be found in this tale."[25] In the film, Murasaki Shikibu's brother Korenori expresses a similar sentiment: "Isn't this about an affair involving the emperor's wife? . . . If you write such a tale, sister, you will be ruined. Not just you. Father, and I, and everyone else—we'll all be ruined." The film thus presents *The Tale of Genji* as an expression of resistance to the deification of the emperor and the perceived legitimacy of recorded history. Nevertheless, the emperors' names are changed from Suzaku to Jūjō and from Reizei to Reirō. There is no reason to alter the names except that both Suzaku and Reizei were historical emperors. Clearly, even in 2001 the film producers feared showing disrespect for the throne. This discretion is reminiscent of that in the *Genji* boom of the 1950s, but the *Genji* films of that decade did not change the emperors' names.

Indeed, media self-censorship continues to be observable in manifestations of *The Tale of Genji* in popular culture. The author Shimada Masahiko, whose own novel portraying illicit affairs involving the imperial court had been suppressed, spoke out against this censorship:

> So long as one is to employ complex metaphors, present political opinion, or make some historical observation, there is no restriction to expressing ideas involving the emperor or the imperial court. However, if someone in the court is specified, and a writer imagines a story about him, it seems that suddenly people are alarmed and the author is attacked. That is to say, to write a modern *Tale of Genji* that depicts the emperor troubled by love would be dangerous.[26]

Although the *Genji*, which depicts sexual affairs in the imperial court and a disruption in the imperial line, has existed for centuries as part of the Japanese literary canon, the publication of any new novel that treats the same subject still faces social censorship. Or the media itself, as seen in *Genji* films, including *Love of a Thousand Years*, self-censors, a situation that Shimada calls a "dark conspiracy of the right wing, business, and media."[27]

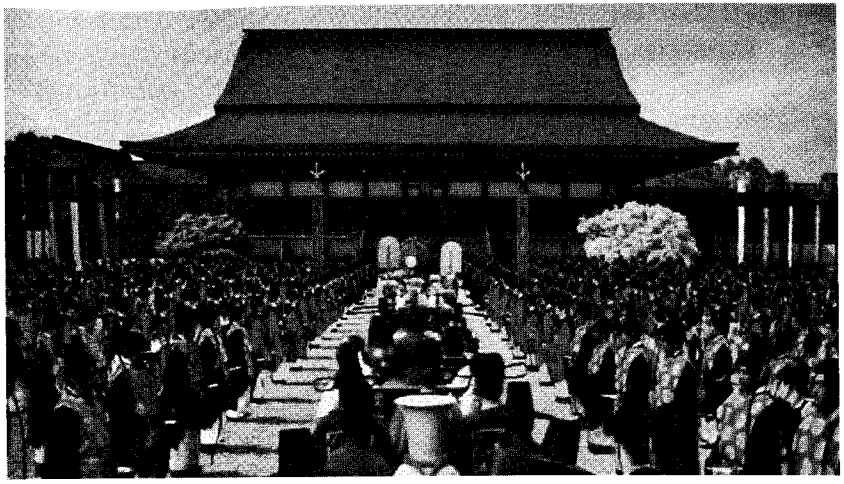


FIGURE 60 Horikawa Tonkō, *Love of a Thousand Years*: at the accession ceremony for Reirō (Reizei), representatives of Asian countries pay tribute to the Japanese emperor.

This film furthermore manifests Japan's self-consciousness toward other Asian countries. At Reirō's enthronement ceremony, elephants are lined up while Asian women dance and offer gifts (figure 60). The screenplay calls for a scene in which, "as if indicative of Japan's power, the authorities of neighboring countries arrive one by one—now from China, now from the Korean Peninsula, and also the Ryukyu Islands."[28] This portrayal of the Japanese emperor as the suzerain who controls Asia is apparent throughout the film and is reminiscent of wartime ideology. The self-censorship with respect to the emperor, along with the colonialist perspective, suggests a popular *Genji* culture that encourages nationalism.

Many of the essential elements of *Genji* popular culture can be found in *Love of a Thousand Years*. Indeed, it can be argued that it is not a film adaptation of *The Tale of Genji*, but a rendering into film of *Genji* culture—mixing the colonial imagination, imperial profanity, Orientalism, comic-book-ization, recycled *Genji* imagery, and the marketing of classical education. The film opens with an aerial shot of modern-day Kyoto. This unexpected contemporary landscape implies that *Love of a*

Thousand Years: The Tale of the Shining Genji is not based on a close study of the original text or intended as a historical retrospective of the Heian age. Rather, it is a product of our time and, as such, is representative of the current status of *Genji* culture.

The power of film can be seen not only in audience size or revenue, but also in the enormous funds invested in its production, as well as its numerous advertisements. No other medium is capable of such a wide distribution. Each film adaptation of *The Tale of Genji* becomes the subject of great discussion, as such other media as television and magazines follow the film from initial stages of production to public release. Because of the cultural clout of the *Genji* and the visual power of cinema, the six films discussed in this chapter have become deeply involved in the construction of the *Genji* as popular culture. The films vacillate between two poles: a Heian court aesthetic, in which the *Genji* is presented as a traditional narrative and aesthetic worthy of displaying to the world as a cultural representation of Japan, and a sexual aesthetic, in which the tale is interpreted as erotica. Each of the six postwar *Genji* films were produced and advertised using some combination of these two poles. At the same time, they also present a *Tale of Genji* that is implicitly disrespectful of the imperial system but whose irreverence is hidden by aesthetics and eroticism. The intertwining of these three themes—Heian court aesthetics, eroticism, and imperial profanity—is not limited to film adaptations, but lies at the heart of contemporary *Genji* culture.

TRANSLATED BY SATOKO NAITO

PRODUCTION DETAILS ON SIX POSTWAR FILM ADAPTATIONS OF *THE TALE OF GENJI*

1. *Genji monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji*). Director, Yoshimura Kōsaburō; screenwriter, Shindō Kanemoto; editor, Tanizaki Jun'ichirō; proofed, Ikeda Kikan; music, Ifukube Akira; director of photography, Sugiyama Kōhei. Black and white, 124 minutes, Daiei Motion Picture Company; November 2, 1951. Cast: Hasegawa Kazuo (Genji), Kogure Michiyo (Fujitsubo), Mito Mitsuko (Lady Aoi), Kyō Machiko (Lady Awaji), Otowa Nobuko (Lady Murasaki), Hori Yūji (Yoshinari), Ōkouchi Denjirō (Priest of Suma),

Honma Kentarō (Tō no Chūjō), Sugai Ichirō (Minister of the Left), Shindō Eitarō (Minister of the Right), Ozawa Sakae (emperor), Hasegawa Emiko (Oborozukiyo), Souma Chieko (Emperor Kiritsubo), Higashiyama Chieko (Kokiden).

2. *Genji monogatari Ukifune* (*The Tale of Genji: Ukifune*). Director, Kinugasa Teinosuke; screenwriter, Hōjō Hideshi; music, Saitō Ichirō. Color, 118 minutes, Daiei Motion Picture Company; April 30, 1957. Cast: Hasegawa Kazuo (Kaoru), Yamamoto Fujiko (Ukifune), Ichikawa Raizō (Niou), Otowa Nobuko (Naka no kimi), Mimasu Aiko (Chūjō).

3. *Shin Genji monogatari* (*The New Tale of Genji*). Director Mori Issei; screenwriter, Yahiro Fuji; script, Yamaguchi Matsutarō; music, Saitō Ichirō; art director, Nishioka Yoshinobu. Color, 102 minutes, Daiei Motion Picture Company; October 14, 1961. Cast: Ichikawa Raizō (Genji), Sumi Hanayo (Fujitsubo/Kiritsubo Consort), Nakamura Tamao (Oborozukiyo), Wakao Ayako (Lady Aoi), Mizutani Yoshi'e (Suetsumahana), Takano Michiko (Lady Rokujō), Hasegawa Akiko (Akikonomu), Mizutani Mitsuko (Kokiden).

4. *Genji monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji*). Producer, director, and screenwriter, Takechi Tetsuji; music, Chiba Hirohisa. Color, Genji eiga sha; distributor, Nikkatsu; January 14, 1966. Cast: Hananomoto Kotobuki (Genji), Asaoka Ruriko (Fujitsubo), Yoshikawa Izumi (Lady Murasaki), Hanagawa Chōjūrō (Emperor Kiritsubo), Hōjō Kikuko (Yūgao), Shigayama Akira (Emperor Suzaku), Nakamura Takao (Kashiwagi), Tsuki Machiko (Ōmyōbu), Kashiwa Misa (Third Princess), Kazuki Minako (Lady Aoi), Matsui Yasuko (Utsusemi), Kawaguchi Hideko (Lady Rokujō), Yashiro Mayako (Oborozukiyo), Kawaguchi Sae (Akashi Lady), Yamamoto Yōko (Akashi Princess).

5. *Murasaki Shikibu Genji monogatari* (*Murasaki Shikibu: The Tale of Genji*). Director, Sugi'i Gizaburō; screenwriter, Tsutsui Tomomi; art director, Nakura Yasuhiro; animation director, Maeda Yasuo; character designer, Hayashi Sei'ichi; music, Hosono Haruomi. Color, animation, 110 minutes, Asahi, TV Asahi, and Japan Herald Films; distributor, Herald; December 19, 1987. Cast of voices: Kazama Morio (Genji), Kaji Miwako (Lady Rokujō), Tajima Reiko (Lady Aoi), Fubuki Jun (Oborozukiyo), Hagio Midori (Yūgao), Yokoyama Megumi (Lady Murasaki), Yazaki Shigeru (Koremitsu), Nozawa Nachi (Emperor Kiritsubo), Tokita Fujio (Priest of Kitayama), Ōhara Reiko (Fujitsubo).

6. *Sen'nen no koi: Hikaru Genji monogatari* (*Love of a Thousand Years: The Tale of the Shining Genji*). Director, Horikawa Tonkō; screenwriter, Hayasaka Akira; art director, Nishioka Yoshinobu; music, Tomita Isao.

Color, 143 minutes, project committee: Tōei Animation, Kaga denshi, Samii, Marukō, TV Asahi, Dentsū, Nihon shuppan hanbai, Tōei video, Tokyo FM, Asahi shinbunsha, and Asahi hōsō; December 15, 2001. Cast: Yoshinaga Sayuri (Murasaki Shikibu), Amami Yuki (Genji), Tokiwa Takako (Lady Murasaki), Takashima Reiko (Fujitsubo), Katase Rino (empress), Minamino Yōko (Oborozukiyo), Hosokawa Fumie (Akashi Lady), Takeshita Keiko (Lady Rokujō), Takenaka Naoto (Priest of Akashi), Matsuda Seiko (Lady Ageha), Danta Yasunori (Fujiwara Korenori), Asari Kazuko (Teishi), Mizuhashi Takami (Shōshi), Maeda Aki (Kataiko), Nakayama Shinobu (Lady Aoi), Kishida Kyōko (Gen no naishi), Kamiyama Shigeru (Fujiwara Tametoki), Katō Shigeru (Minister of the Right), Mori Mitsuko (Sei Shōnagon), Watanabe Ken (Fujiwara Michinaga).

Genji monogatari asaki yume mishi (*The Tale of Genji: Fleeting Dreams*). Director, Saegusa Takeoki; screenwriter, Kara Jyūrō (Ōgaki Takahiro). Color, 84 minutes, NHK Enterprise 21; distributor, Asakiyumemishi Production Committee. Cast: Aika Mire (Genji), Ōtori Rei (Emperor Kiritsubo, Fujitsubo). Based on Yamato Waki's *Asaki yume mishi*; all the characters were depicted by actresses of the Takarazuka theater troupe's Hanagumi (Flower Group). Broadcast on NHK BS2 (satellite) as "high vision drama" on March 29, 2000, the film was screened as matinee shows at Cinema Karite beginning on July 29, 2000.

Genji monogatari yori Ukifune (*Ukifune: From The Tale of Genji*). Director, Shinoda Masahiro; screenwriters, Shibata Masahiro and Kawabata Takao. Color, 20 minutes. Cast of voices: Iwashita Shima (Murasaki Shikibu), Hatsugiri Ona (Ukifune). This unique film, which includes digital synthesis of Hori Hiroshi's dolls, sensitively portrays the story surrounding Ukifune's attempt to drown herself and her life following her renunciation of the world. It was screened in the film exhibition room of The Tale of Genji Museum, Uji.

NOTES

1. The following representative works were produced during the *Genji* boom: Murasaki Shikibu, *Shin'yaku Genji monogatari*, trans. Tanizaki Jun'ichiro, 12 vols. (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1951); a kabuki adaptation of *The Tale of Genji*, which attracted a record-breaking number of people in March 1951, was restaged in October, while the second and third parts were staged in 1952 and 1954, respectively; a film version of the *Genji*, which was released in November 1951; *Genji monogatari*, a production by the musical troupe Takarazuka in 1952; a theatrical adaptation of Hōjō Hideji's *Ukifune*, broadcast on television by Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) in 1952; and performances loosely based on the *Genji* staged in an Asakusa strip club, creating much controversy.
2. Details of the six films of *The Tale of Genji* are provided at the end of the chapter.
3. Satō Tadao, *Nihon eigashi* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1995), vol. 1, p. 91.
4. Kobayashi Masaaki, "Wadatsumi no *Genji monogatari*: Senjika no junan," in Yoshii Miyako, ed., *"Miyabi" isetsu: Genji monogatari to iu bunka* (Tokyo: Shinwasha, 1997), pp. 184–228; "Shōwa 13-nen no *Genji monogatari*," *Kokubungaku*, April 1999, pp. 25–31; "Ushinawareta monogatari o motomete," in Akiyama Ken, Shimauchi Keiji, Kobayashi Masaaki, and Suzuki Ken'ichi, eds., *Hihyō shūsei Genji monogatari*, vol. 5, *Senjika hen* (Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 1999), pp. 511–569.
5. *Asahi shinbun*, January 1, 1951.
6. Quoted in *Asahi shinbun*, May 13, 1952.
7. *Asahi shinbun*, November 11, 1951.
8. According to Togaeri Hajime, "The death of Ukifune does not move today's audience. That is because people do not believe in the pure love of the heart for which Kaoru yearns. It is only to be expected that Ukifune gives in to Niou's advances. Therefore, her death does not have the intensity of a tragedy" ("Ukifune," *Kinema junpō*, May 1957, pp. 40–41). A positive review of *The Tale of Genji: Ukifune* notes: "Pure love losing out to carnal lust is an old story, but within the film *The Tale of Genji* it seems mysteriously fresh" (*Asahi shinbun*, July 15, 1953).
9. Togaeri, "Ukifune."
10. *Meiji tennō to Nichiro daisensō* (*The Meiji Emperor and the Russo-Japanese War*), dir. Watanabe Kunio, color, 113 minutes, Shintōhō Company, 1957. The original concept was by production committee leader Ōkura Mitsugu; text, by Watanabe Kunio; screenplay, by Tateoka Ken'nosuke, and Emperor Meiji was portrayed by Arashi Kanjūrō. With a distribution income of over ¥ 500 million, it was the highest grossing film of the fiscal year. This record would not be surpassed until the film *Tokyo orimpikku* (*Tokyo Olympic*, 1965), directed by Ichikawa Kon, which grossed ¥ 1.2 billion.
11. *Asahi shinbun*, April 17, 1957.
12. *Asahi shinbun*, April 26, 1957.
13. For instance, in both we are introduced to Genji as he visits his mother's grave. The manner in which the palace female attendants admire Genji is also similar, as are the depictions of the clandestine meeting with Fujitsubo in the rain, Lady Aoi's attendance at the imperial court banquet, Oborozukiyo's flirtatious advances toward Genji, and the lightning that illuminates the female attendants as they gossip about the affair between the two.
14. *Black Snow* is set in a brothel in the vicinity of a military base. A sex scene between an American soldier and a Japanese prostitute was just one part of the film deemed problematic. In another scene, a naked woman runs along the wire fence enclosing the Yokota military base. And 1965 was also the year in which American bombing of North Vietnam began. Takechi Tetsuji advocated anti-American nationalism and resisted prosecution; Mishima Yukio, Ōshima Nagisa, and others appeared in court as defense witnesses. In 1967, at this so-called *Black Snow* trial, Takechi was found

innocent at the district court's first hearing. The decision was affirmed in 1969, when the higher court dismissed the prosecutors' appeal.

15. *Mainichi shinbun*, January 10, 1966.
16. In 1965, Ōkura pictures established the OP (Ōkura Pink Films) division and released a series of "erotic/grotesque" films. Nikkatsu also started a line of "romantic/pornographic" films in 1971. Takechi's *Day Dream* and *Black Snow* were also "pink films."
17. *Yomiuri shinbun*, January 21, 1966.
18. Satō Shigeomi, "Nippon eiga geppyo: Eiga wo amaku miruna," *Eiga hihyō*, March 1966, p. 94.
19. The 1951 film version was produced for Daiei's tenth anniversary; a 1991 television drama was a special broadcast for Tokyo Hōsō's (Tokyo Broadcasting System) fortieth anniversary; the publication in 1996 of Setouchi Jakuchō's modern-language translation of *The Tale of Genji* coincided with Kōdansha's ninetieth anniversary; and the production of the opera *The Tale of Genji* in 2000 was the St. Louis Opera's twenty-fifth anniversary project. The *Genji* was also featured in various celebrations of the new millennium; the Japanese government even printed a new commemorative ¥2000 *Genji* bill on the occasion of the Kyūshū-Okinawa Summit on July 14, 2000, although few of the bills entered circulation. As the closing event of the Tokyo 2000 festivals on New Year's Eve, "1000-nen emaki LIVE: Sekai-geki Genji monogatari" was performed. The following year, the film *Love of a Thousand Years: The Tale of the Shining Genji* was released as the fiftieth-anniversary project of Tōei. The animated film *Murasaki Shikibu: The Tale of Genji* was also a three-company anniversary project, simultaneously commemorating the centennial of the foundation of the Asahi Newspaper Company (Tokyo) and the thirtieth anniversaries of both TV Asahi and Japan Herald Films.
20. In 1987, for its fifty-fifth anniversary, Tōhō, in cooperation with Fuji Television, released *Taketori monogatari* (*The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter*), dir. Ichikawa Kon, color, 121 minutes. The cast included Sawaguchi Yasuko as Princess Kaguya; Mifune Toshirō as Taketori no Miyatsuko, the bamboo cutter; Wakao Ayako as Tayoshime, his wife; and Ishizaka Kōji as the emperor. Selected to be the opening film of the Second Tokyo International Film Festival, it was derided by critics, appalled by what one called "such obtuseness in boldly showing, in this international setting, a film that is only a pallid imitation of Spielberg" (Tayama Rikiya, "1987-nendo kessan tokushū 1: Nippon eiga," *Kimane junpō*, February 1988, p. 111). Organizers clearly chose *Bamboo Cutter*, as they had Kurosawa Akira's *Ran* (the opening film for the first Tokyo Film Festival in 1985), for what they thought was its ability to "represent Japan"; this desire to cater to an Orientalist audience was one reason for the film's failure.
21. In the 1980s, new receptors of Heian culture emerged in the form of *manga* and "light novels," which became new windows into the world of *The Tale of Genji*. One example of the former is Yamato Waki, *Asaki yumemishi*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1980). As the most accessible form of *Genji*, no other piece of work has sold so many copies or been so widely read by young readers who wish to understand *The Tale of Genji*. The latter is represented by Himuro Saeko, *Nante sutekini Japanesque* (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1984). Because of popular demand, it was serialized, establishing a genre that may be aptly called "Heian love-comedy."

22. Tanabe Seiko, *Shin Genji monogatari*, 5 vols. (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1978–1979), is often read as a "modern translation." For more on Tanabe's work, see Yuika Kitamura, "Sexuality, Gender, and *The Tale of Genji* in Modern Japanese Translation and *Manga*" (chapter 12, this volume). The following are examples of dialogue in *Shin Genji monogatari* that do not exist in the original *Genji* but appear in *Love of a Thousand Years*:

FUJITSUBO (*in reaction to young Genji's advances*): When you look at me so much, I feel like I want to disappear.

Love of a Thousand Years has an almost identical line:

FUJITSUBO: If you look at me so much, I will disappear.

Shin Genji monogatari has the following exchange between Fujitsubo and Genji during their clandestine meeting:

FUJITSUBO: We cannot, it is forbidden.... You are weeping, my shining prince.... Shining prince, please save such beautiful grief, those tears, for other women.

GENJI: Does that mean that you do not love me? Is that it?

FUJITSUBO: I cannot say, I cannot say.

Again, *Love of a Thousand Years* echoes *Shin Genji monogatari*:

FUJITSUBO: We cannot, it is forbidden.... Oh, you are weeping.... Please, offer those tears not to me but to another woman.

GENJI: Does that mean you do not love me? When you were kind to me, were you merely acting?

FUJITSUBO: That I cannot say, I cannot say.

23. The first to associate Lady Rokujō with the image of the spiderweb was most likely Uemura Shōen, in her painting *Honō* (*Flame*, 1918). It was her intention to depict "the beauty of an older woman's jealousy" by juxtaposing the patterns of wisteria and a spiderweb. The spiderweb pattern is repeatedly used in illustrations, *manga*, and stage costumes. In a book about divination based on the *Genji*, certain women are categorized as the "Rokujō-type": "Short-tempered and impulsive. Has tendency to become hysterical... is relentless, with a strong desire for revenge. Implacable" (Ono Toden, *Ketteiban Genji monogatari uranai* [Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2001], p. 102). Watanabe Jun'ichi depicts Rokujō as lacking sexual allure; Genji, who nevertheless keeps her company, is portrayed as the archetypal man of grace (*miyabi*) (*Genji wo aishita onnatachi* [Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1999], pp. 173–186).
24. Yamane Sadao, "Nippon eiga jihyō 165: Eiga ga kowareteiku," *Kinema junpō*, January 2002, p. 102.

25. *Asahi shinbun*, December 5, 2001.
26. Shimada Masahiko, "Mikan no ji *Utsukushii tamashii* wa nemuru," in *Tanoshii Nationalism* (Tokyo: Mainichi shinbunsha, 2003), p. 115. In September 2003, Shimada's trilogy *Mugen Canon*, a love story between the crown princess and protagonist Kaoru, was completed. The trilogy included *Suisei no jūnin* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 2000), *Utsukushii tamashii* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 2003), and *Etroff no koi* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 2003). The publication of *Utsukushii tamashii* had been postponed for fear of controversy, since it was thought to show irreverence toward the imperial court. During this postponement, Shimada repeatedly spoke of *The Tale of Genji*. He voices the same opinion in an interview, "Tennōsei-taboo no ryouiki ni fumikonda Shimada Masahiko no shōsetsu *Suisei no jūnin* no hyōban," *Uwasa no shinsō*, April 2001, p. 59.
27. This interview appeared in the monthly magazine *Uwasa no shinsō*.
28. Hayasaka Akira, "Osoroshiya *Genji monogatari*," *Kōbunsha* 21 (2001): 177.

Chapter 12

Sexuality, Gender, and *The Tale of Genji* in Modern Japanese Translations and *Manga*

Yuika Kitamura

THE 1970S marked the beginning of a boom in new translations of *The Tale of Genji* that continues even today. Free translations, which deliberately take liberties with the original text, began to be published in the middle of the 1970s, and the first *manga* (comic) version appeared at the end of that decade. Since the publication of *Shin'yaku Genji monogatari* (*New Translation of The Tale of Genji*, 1912–1913), an abridged translation into modern Japanese by Yosano Akiko, which turned the *Genji* into a modern novel, translations have played a key role in the reception of the tale. Modern Japanese translations, which were produced as a result of the establishment of *hyōjun-go* (standard Japanese) and the *genbun-itchi* (unification of spoken and written languages) movement in the Meiji period, enabled people to read *The Tale of Genji* even without a knowledge of Heian culture and classical Japanese. By the end of the 1930s, the complete modern Japanese translations of the *Genji* by Yosano Akiko, *Shin shin'yaku Genji monogatari* (*New New Translation of The Tale of Genji*, 1938–1939), and Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, *Jun'ichirō-yaku Genji monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji: The Jun'ichirō Translation*, 1939–1941), had been published and had become prestigious forms of national literature (*kokubungaku*). Complete translations undertaken in the postwar years, such as those by Enchi Fumiko and Setouchi Jakuchō, are similar in character, since they have been received as examples of national literature and allow readers who have no knowledge of the original *Genji* or of classical Japanese to become part of the contemporary audience of *The Tale of Genji*.

The appearance of free translations in the 1970s, however, changed the reception of *The Tale of Genji* drastically. Since then, the complete modern Japanese versions have lost their prestige as authoritative forms of national literature, while the free translations, which re-create the *Genji*

as part of contemporary popular culture, have earned widespread popularity among a general audience, especially younger readers. The abundant representation of sexuality, which does not appear in the complete versions, is one of the major characteristics of the free translations. The free translations differ noticeably from one another in their description and use of sexuality, reflecting the years in which they were published and their relationship to popular culture. I concentrate on the six translations that have enjoyed the widest readership, those by Tanabe Seiko, Yamato Waki, Setouchi Jakucho, Maki Miyako, Hashimoto Osamu, and Egawa Tatsuya. Of these, the translations by Yamato, Maki, and Egawa appear in comic-book form. Some of their renditions have been translated into other languages—including English, German, and Chinese—and performed as plays, presented as public readings, and broadcast as radio dramas.

THE 1970s AND 1980s

Enchi Fumiko and Free Translation

The novelist Enchi Fumiko (1905–1986) produced one of the earliest contemporary free translations of *The Tale of Genji*, published in the early 1970s.[1] It is a complete version, like those of Yosano Akiko and Tanizaki Jun'ichirō from the late 1930s, but it has several features that anticipate the later free translations, as is evident in the following examples from the "Kagerō" (The Mayfly) chapter, in which a fairly faithful English translation by Royall Tyler is followed by English renditions of the three translations into modern Japanese:

> I shall not describe the scene further, since it resembled the morning after a maiden's abduction in a tale.[2]
>
> ROYALL TYLER

> I cannot write such a sorrowful episode since it looks like the next morning after a kidnapping of a young noblewoman in a novel.[3]
>
> YOSANO AKIKO

> I shall not give the details because it is just like the morning after a young lady is carried off in a romance.[4]
>
> TANIZAKI JUN'ICHIRŌ

> I won't write down the details, since it looks like the morning after a young lady is abducted in an old romance.[5]
>
> ENCHI FUMIKO

Enchi translated *monogatari* as *furui monogatari* (old romance). By contrast, Yosano had rendered *monogatari* as a *shōsetsu* (novel), and Tanizaki as *monogatari* (romance, tale). After the Meiji Restoration, when the Western concept of literature was introduced to Japan, the notion of the *shōsetsu* replaced that of the *monogatari* as the principal form of prose fiction. The versions by Yosano and Tanizaki reveal the difference between the notions of the novel and of the romance or tale in modern Japan: Yosano re-created *The Tale of Genji* as a modern novel in a crisp style with neologisms that came into use after the Meiji Restoration, while Tanizaki re-created it as a tale in a flowing style with classical words and honorifics.

When Yosano's complete translation and Tanizaki's first version were published, in the late 1930s, *kyūji-kyūkana-zukai* (the classical Japanese writing system) was still taught in elementary school, so even small children could pronounce the words used in the Japanese classics. By contrast, Enchi's translation appeared around 1970, after the introduction of *shinji-shinkana-zukai* (the new Japanese writing system), as part of the educational reforms following World War II.[6] As a consequence, college students who had been educated under the new writing system usually did not know much about how classical Japanese was read. It was only natural for them to consider *The Tale of Genji* as an "old romance" that did not attract their interest. In translating the *Genji*, Enchi intended "to retell it in words that were easy for today's readers to understand."[7] She deleted and simplified honorifics, divided the very lengthy sentences into several paragraphs, and provided explanations of Heian culture and classical Japanese words. Such "readability," which was considered a "service to readers," is a feature of most of the subsequent free translations.

Enchi also made many additions to the text, particularly in the sex scenes.[8] Here is the scene in which Genji sneaks into Ustusemi's room in the "Hahakigi" (The Broom Tree) chapter:

> "And so judge how far I am from failing to be in earnest." Genji spoke so gently that Utsusemi could not very well cry out rudely, "There is a man in here!" because not even a demon would have wished to resist him.[9]
>
> TYLER

"Please believe me. I'm very serious . . . ," he said gently and lay beside her in a refined manner. She felt as if she had been drawn into a whirlpool of cool petals whose fragrance was intoxicating. Half fainting, she gasped and tried to resist the sensuous pleasure. She could not shout out rudely, "A man in here!" because even demons could not have been angry at him.[10]

ENCHI

Not only does the elaboration of the original aid the understanding of the story, but the translator has her own story to tell. The most common feature of subsequent free versions is that their creators, following Enchi Fumiko's lead, tell their own *Genji* stories.

Tanabe Seiko and "Girl's Dreams"

In 1974, one year after Enchi's version of *The Tale of Genji* was completed, the novelist Tanabe Seiko started a 169-installment serial publication called *Shin Genji monogatari* (*The New Tale of Genji*) in *Shūkan asahi* (*Asahi Weekly*), a weekly magazine.[11] A revised and enlarged edition was published in book form in 1978 and 1979, and it has gone through numerous printings, mostly as a pocketbook (3- by 4-inch paperback). Tanabe's translation enjoys the second largest number of readers among contemporary translations.[12]

Tanabe's version is accessible to contemporary readers. As one reader has commented, "You can enjoy this *Genji* like an ordinary contemporary novel."[13] In addition to simplifying honorifics and shortening sentences, as in Enchi's translation, it deletes many *waka* (classical poems) as well as narrative comments that may be puzzling to modern readers, and inserts grammatical subjects and objects of the verb in sentences that are unspecified in the original. It shows the pronunciations of many words in *furigana*.

Tanabe also added dialogue and scenes, changed the narrative sequence of episodes, and even omitted the first chapter, "Kiritsubo" (The Paulownia Pavilion), which she thought was too boring for modern readers.[14] Enchi's *Genji monogatari* tends to be faithful to the original, and its correspondence with the original is readily apparent; but this is not so with Tanabe's or, indeed, the other contemporary free translations.

Tanabe calls her additions *umeru sagyō* (bridging work) and says that writing them gave her the most pleasure in translating *The Tale of Genji*.[15] This "bridging work" is a major characteristic of Tanabe's translation and can be seen in a comparison of versions of the following excerpt, from the scene in "Ukifune" (A Drifting Boat) in which Niou steals into Ukifune's room at Uji and spends the night with her:

The young woman beside him realized with utter horror that he was not who he claimed to be, but he stopped her from crying out. The outrage was worthy of someone capable of almost anything, even in a place that required him to be on his best behavior.[16]

TYLER

Ukifune was upset. She just assumed the man who calmly lay down beside her was Kaoru, but the voice that said "Be quiet. Don't make a sound. Calm yourself" was not his. Neither were the arms that hugged her hard or the amorous sigh that caressed her ear. Since the scent of the incense had seemed the same as that of Kaoru, her servant let him in, but it had a unique smell mixed with body odor and heat, which was subtly different from his.

"Oh . . ." She tried to cry out, but he pressed his lips to hers. She was stunned by his ardent kiss. The kiss ended at last. . . .

"Who are . . . ?"

"Shush," he interrupted, "I am a man who loves you. Isn't that enough? Don't say a word. Don't let your attendants know anything."

Ukifune couldn't get over the confusion and felt as if she had been dreaming.[17]

TANABE SEIKO

Whereas the original text describes the action simply as an "outrage" (*hitaburuni asamashi*), Tanabe's version has dialogue and provides a vivid depiction of the night on which Ukifune's life becomes unraveled. While such elaborations, which are made mostly in the love scenes, may add to the enjoyment of modern readers, they may detract from other elements in the original narrative. Ukifune's situation in the original is a tragedy, but Tanabe's presentation reduces the tragic intensity.

In Tanabe's *Shin Genji monogatari*, Ukifune's story becomes a romantic triangle. The sex scenes are erotic but not pornographic. Tanabe has commented that Ukifune, who is loved by Kaoru and Niou, is the fantasy

of every girl.[18] Indeed, "girl's dreams" is the recurrent theme of Tanabe's re-creation of *The Tale of Genji*. While it was originally serialized in a weekly magazine whose target audience is men, it does not idealize situations or characters; it describes ugliness and stupidity, such as Kaoru's snobbery and Niou's scorn for Ukifune. But the characters never appear vulgar because they are described with elegant words.

Tanabe's translation of *The Tale of Genji* shares features with her own novels. After winning the Akutagawa Prize for *Kanshō ryokō* (*Sentimental Journey*) in 1963, Tanabe wrote many stories for popular literary magazines. In her "girls' novels for adults," she often made a single woman in her thirties the protagonist.[19] From the end of the 1950s, when more and more married women became full-time housewives, single women in their thirties who worked outside the home were often severely criticized. Tanabe, however, treated them sympathetically. She has continued to portray women in various situations—not just unmarried salaried women but also housewives and women who are disabled, elderly, or divorced. As a novelist who gives dreams and vitality to women, she has enjoyed a wide female readership. In a similar manner, Tanabe Seiko's *Shin Genji monogatari*, with its idealized romantic situations and evocations of girl's fantasies, appeals to women of all ages.[20] They eagerly seek "girl's dreams" in fiction as a source of energy to get through the more mundane reality of their lives.

Yamato Waki and Girls' Comics

In 1979, the year that Tanabe's complete version of *The Tale of Genji* was published in book form, the serialization of Yamato Waki's *Asaki yume mishi* (*Fleeting Dreams*), a comic-book rendition of the *Genji*, began in *Mimi*, a monthly comic magazine for teenage girls. The serialization lasted for almost fifteen years, until 1993. Yamato's version has exceeded other contemporary translations in its popularity, selling more than 17 million copies in book form by the end of 1999. This comic book for girls had a major impact on the reception of the *Genji* in contemporary Japanese culture.

Yamato's *Asaki yume mishi* appeared exactly when the golden age of girls' comics (*shōjo manga*) was beginning. Girls' comics, born as a subgenre of boys' comics (*shōnen manga*), first showed their originality with the appearance in 1955 of two monthly magazines—*Ribon* (*Ribbon*) and *Nakayoshi* (*Friends*)—and made a dramatic breakthrough in the 1970s. New techniques—including the flexible layout of frames and a large number of words artfully arranged outside balloons—were introduced, which enabled girls' comics to feature extremely complicated stories and minutely detailed psychological descriptions.

Girls' comics with more elaborate and realistic drawings also appeared. Sex scenes, which had been a major taboo, gradually emerged in these *shōjo manga*. It was also around this time that the Nijū-yonen-gumi (Twenty-Four-Year Group) became active.[21] This group included such renowned comic-book writers as Hagio Moto, Ōshima Yumiko, and Takemiya Keiko. They wrote compelling—sometimes controversial—stories on diverse themes like eternal life, suicide among the young, and homosexual love. With the development of girls' comics, the readership expanded to include not only children in elementary school but students in junior high and high school as well as older readers. In the 1970s, girls' comic magazines with specific themes targeting readers of different ages began to appear. *Mimi*, which published Yamato's version of the *Genji*, made its debut in 1975. As the catchphrase of its first issue—"to you, just in the spring of life"—suggests, it targeted girls in their late teens who presumably had read comics in their elementary- or junior-high-school days.

During her long career, which began in 1966, Yamato has been one of the major writers of girls' comics. Because she had produced mostly romantic comedies (*romakome*), Yamato is rarely considered a member of the Twenty-Four-Year Group, but she was one of the earliest *manga* writers to take up the new techniques and themes of girls' comics in the 1970s.[22] And her comic of *The Tale of Genji* shares distinctive qualities with the work of this group. Among the most appealing features of Yamato's *manga* are her exquisite drawings, which are often called a "modern *Genji* picture scroll." As the serial progressed, the delicacy and rigidity of the drawings of the earlier chapters gradually gave way to bolder and full-bodied renditions, and their "realistic" intensity increased. Drawings of the scenery, architecture, and other details were precisely executed, partly as a result of the greater availability of information about Heian culture. With the dexterous use of several screen tones, Yamato succeeded in creating figures and scenery through shading. In contrast to Tanabe's *Shin Genji monogatari*, however, the reality of Yamato's *Asaki yume mishi* is not that of "naturalistic realism." Even the gloomiest scenes are depicted beautifully; its "reality" is that of an elegant world exquisitely drawn, conjuring up images of the graceful courtliness of the Heian period (794–1185).

In 1979, when the serial began, the themes of girls' comics were already diverse, although "love" was, and continues to be, the most popular

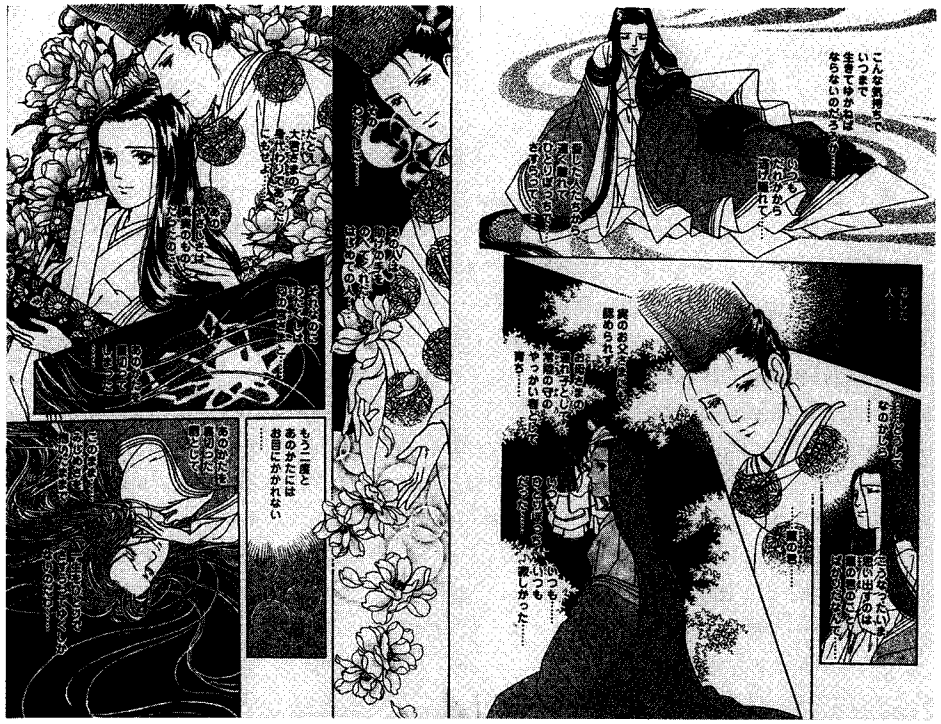


FIGURE 61 Yamato Waki, "Tenarai" (Writing Practice), in *Asaki yume mishi* (*Fleeting Dreams*, 2001), vol. 7: in the old nun's room, Ukifune recalls her life. (Reprinted by permission of Kōdansha)

subject. Targeting a young audience, Yamato made her version of *The Tale of Genji* a much purer love romance than the original. She deleted many episodes, such as the political conflict between Genji and Tō no Chūjō, because of their thematic incompatibility. Her version also elevates the heroes and heroines. For example, Kaoru's arrogant snobbery, amorous fixation on the First Princess, and disdainful attitude toward Ukifune were omitted, and his love for her is more sincere than in the original; Ukifune became his only woman, even though she is a substitute for Ōigimi. In girls' comics, a hero must love a woman wholeheartedly, no matter how flirtatious or arrogant he may be.

In addition, Yamato included an element that is essential to girls' comics: self-affirmation brought about by a man.[23] For example, in the "Tenarai" (Writing Practice) chapter, Ukifune is in the old nun's room, recalling her former life (figure 61). In the original text, she is "heartily sick" of Niou and remembers Kaoru's "never really passionate yet always so patient" love; she criticizes herself for having entertained even "the slightest feeling of love for" Niou and for still being attached to Kaoru. In Yamato's version, by contrast, Ukifune feels love for Kaoru, not for Niou. In keeping with the convention of girls' comics, the heroine chooses the man who stands by her side and protects her rather than the passionate but fickle playboy. But the most critical reason why Ukifune chooses Kaoru is that he is the first person who offers her (who had been a wanderer) a place to settle down.

In *Asaki yume mishi*, Ukifune, who asks herself, "Why didn't they accept me as a respectable and independent human being," finds meaning in her existence for the first time, even if to Kaoru she is merely a surrogate for Ōigimi (figure 62). But by betraying him, Ukifune loses her place again and comes to think that "the only thing she can do is to roam around alone for the rest of her life." In the next scene, however, she is accepted as she is by a "shining" man who appears to be Genji and decides to become

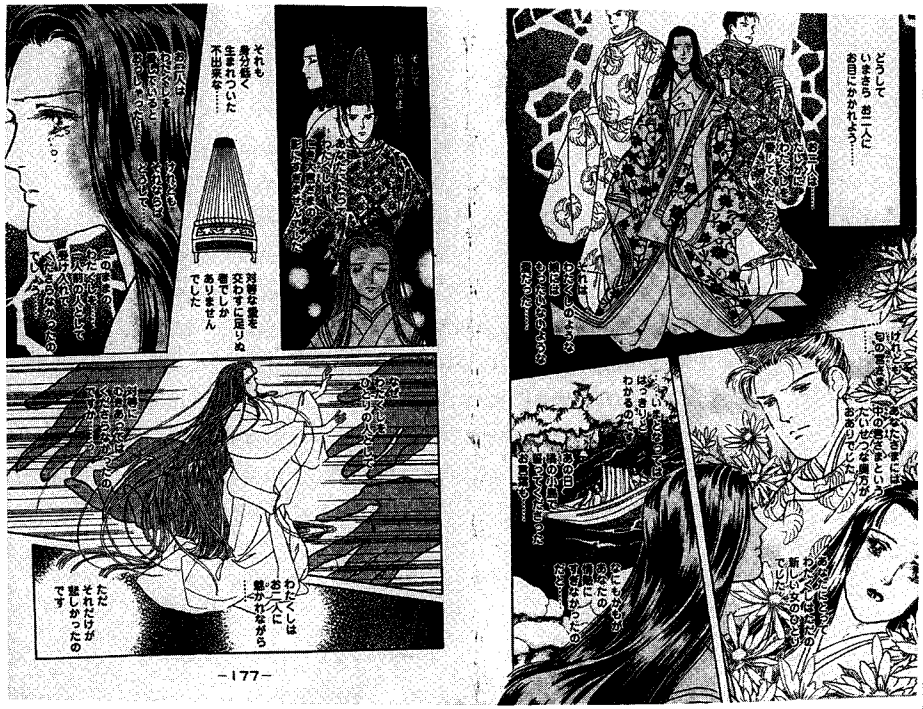


FIGURE 62 Yamato Waki, "Tenarai," in *Asaki yume mishi*: Ukifune asks herself about Kaoru and Niou. (Reprinted by permission of Kōdansha)

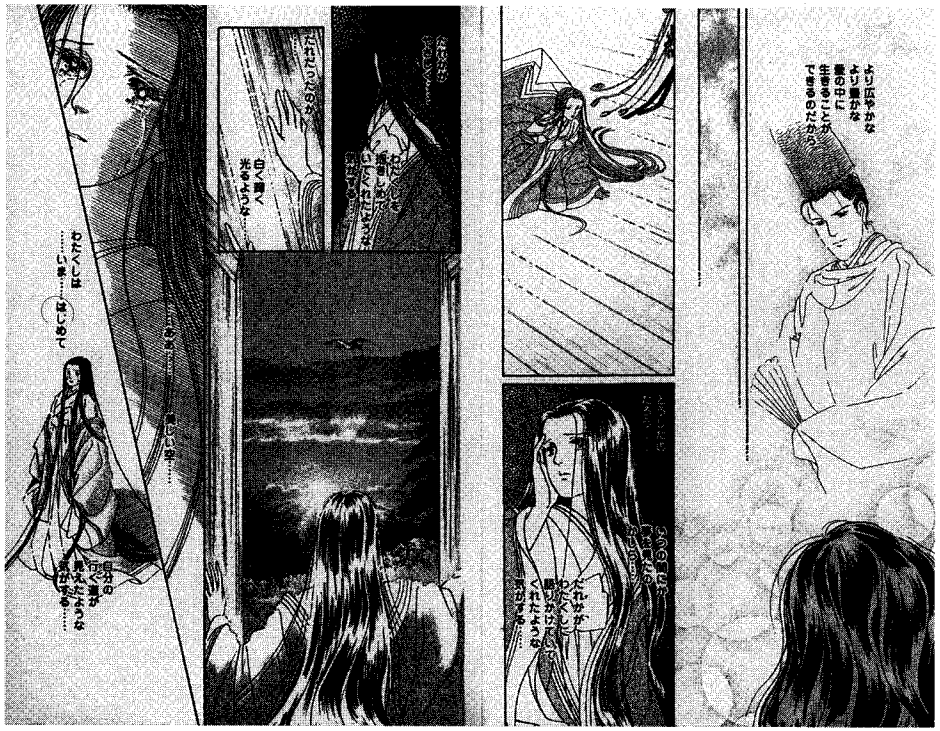


FIGURE 63 Yamato Waki, "Tenarai," in *Asaki yume mishi*: (*right*) a "shining" man, probably Genji, appears to Ukifune as she meditates, and (*left*) Ukifune makes a decision about her future. (Reprinted by permission of Kōdansha)

a nun (figure 63). Whereas in Murasaki Shikibu's text Ukifune meditates all alone, in Yamato's version readers can satisfy their dreams of self-affirmation. Yamato has said that her work is "*Genji* through the filter of a comic for girls, not a translation of *Genji*."[24] The two essential elements of girls' comics—love and self-affirmation brought about by a man—are clearly reflected in her re-creation of *The Tale of Genji*.

Tanabe Seiko's *Shin Genji monogatari* and Yamato Waki's *Asaki yume mishi*, the two most popular translations of *The Tale of Genji* of the 1970s and 1980s, focus on "girl's dreams." With her beautiful style and ingenious additions, Tanabe depicts a romantic world that appeals to the fantasies of "eternal girls" (*eien no shōjotachi*), women of all ages who want to remain

shōjo (girls) forever, while Yamato, through her superb drawings and renditions of the love stories in the original, appeals to the fantasies of modern young girls who yearn for self-affirmation through men.

Yamato has said that it was her hope to offer a *manga* version of *The Tale of Genji* before people lost all interest in it.[25] Since the end of the Meiji period (1868–1912), complete translations into modern Japanese (such as those by Yosano Akiko and Tanizaki Jun'ichirō) had played a major role in the reception of the *Genji* as a "masterpiece of Japanese literature." Beginning in the 1970s, however, these versions no longer attracted readers, especially in the younger generation. The potential readers began to lose interest in books in general, owing to several factors, notably the collapse of traditional literary culture and the diversification of values brought about by the influx of foreign—especially American—ideas and products. Under these circumstances, Tanabe's and Yamato's versions, with their accessible language and without graphic depictions of sex or lengthy psychological discussions, allow "beginners" with no knowledge of the *Genji* to easily read them from cover to cover. Moreover, the quality of Tanabe's narrative and Yamato's illustrations is sufficiently high for each version to provide pleasure as either a novel or a *manga* with contemporary characters. Gradually, both adaptations came to be enjoyed by a wider range of readers than the original target audience of teenage girls and young women.

Both *Shin Genji monogatari* and *Asaki yume mishi*, born in the popular culture of girls' novels and comics, were first published in magazines and thus were disposable. The authoritative modern translations of *The Tale of Genji* had been published as hardcover books, with elaborately designed slipcases. A complete set of these editions was a sort of "high-culture" luxury with a graceful touch of Heian elegance. In contrast, Tanabe's and Yamato's versions, even when they eventually came out in book form, were cheap and easy to carry and were read like magazines. *Shin Genji monogatari* did not have slipcases, and since 1984, it has been read mostly in the pocketbook edition. *Asaki yume mishi* was published as a paperback. Disposability as well as the attractive stories made both versions very popular among ordinary readers.

As Tanabe has noted, there is a strong affinity between *The Tale of Genji* and Takarazuka as girls' culture.[26] After the 1980s, Takarazuka, an influential all-women's musical-theater company, adapted the works of Tanabe and Yamato for the stage, gaining new devotees to the Takarazuka versions of the *Genji*. Since its beginning in 1913 as Takarazuka Girls' Revue, Takarazuka has been strongly supported by women and has contributed to girls' culture in Japan under the motto *kiyoku, tadashiku, utsukushiku*

(purely, correctly, beautifully). Followers of Takarazuka often become fans in their teenage years and continue to be "eternal girls" as they grow older. Beginning with its first performance in 1918, the *Genji* has been repeatedly staged at Takarazuka.[27] The earlier adaptations were based on the original text, but after the success of the stage version of Tanabe Seiko's *Shin Genji monogatari* in 1981, Takarazuka has not used the original text. (Tanabe's *Genji* was restaged in 1989.) In 1974, Takarazuka gained a nationwide base of fans with the huge success of a play based on a girls' comic, *Berusaiyu-no-bara* (*Roses of Versailles*). This set the stage for the presentation of Yamato Waki's *Asaki yume mishi*, which premiered in 2000.

Setouchi Jakuchō and Female Sexuality

In the 1980s, a new kind of *Tale of Genji* emerged outside girls' culture. In 1984, Kōda Sachiko recited on stage Setouchi Jakuchō's *Miotsukushi* (*The Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi*), based on a monologue by Lady Rokujō. This was followed by the five-year serialization of Setouchi's *Nyonin Genji monogatari* (*The Ladies' Tale of Genji*) in *Hon-no-mado* (*Book Window*), a monthly magazine. It became a fifty-chapter, five-volume translation that was published as a book in 1989.[28]

Each chapter of *Nyonin Genji monogatari* is narrated by a woman in monologue form. Since she was interested in only the women's perspectives, Setouchi deleted such male-oriented episodes as the *amayo-no shinasadame* (rainy-night discussion of women) in the "Hahakigi" chapter. Probably because it was originally written for stage recitation, the narration, with its abundant use of honorifics, has an authentic ring and seems to address the reader directly. Because it is an interior monologue, each speaker expresses her feelings candidly and in a natural voice. For example, the following excerpts—following Tyler's translation—show how the two women feel when Murasaki takes charge of the Akashi Lady's daughter in the "Matsukaze" (Wind in the Pines) chapter:

> She [Murasaki] gave him a faint smile. She did love children, and she wanted very much to have this one to cuddle and look after.[29]
>
> TYLER

> [Murasaki, to Genji:] When I heard that the Akashi Lady gave birth to your child, I wished to become a nun. But I couldn't. Not just because of my attachment to you, but also because I found that I couldn't take my revenge on her if I became a nun. . . . Am I willing to take care of a daughter of a love rival just because I love children—am I that simple-minded?[30]
>
> [Akashi Lady:] Even so, from what kind of feeling does Murasaki cherish my daughter, who resembles me more and more as the years go by? If I were her, I would never take care of a child who was the fruit of a union between my husband and another woman. Does every woman lose her pride when she falls victim to the rare charms of Genji?[31]
>
> SETOUCHI JAKUCHŌ

In contrast to the versions by Tanabe and Yamato, who considered any reference to malicious feelings in their heroines to be inappropriate to the theme of "girls' dreams," in the adaptation by Setouchi, most of the heroines speak frankly of their ill will. Even Murasaki and the Akashi Lady, who are generally described as "ideal" or "submissive" women, express their deep hatred or jealousy toward other women.

In addition, Setouchi, reading between the lines in *The Tale of Genji*, finds and gives voice to a female sexuality that deeply permeates the narrative. In Tanabe's *Shin Genji monogatari* and Yamato's *Asaki yume mishi*, the agonies of love cause only mental distress, whereas the heroines of Setouchi's *Nyonin Genji monogatari* experience their sexuality physically and agonize over it again and again. Her descriptions of a sex-starved Murasaki, who "shivers all over, hotly, with carnal pleasures, to her heart's content,"[32] and sympathizes with a woman "who suffers from a long-felt desire for sex,"[33] would be unthinkable in the two earlier versions.

Setouchi's use of interior monologue allows her heroines to candidly express their feelings about their sexuality:

> [Murasaki:] Then, I couldn't do anything but be drawn into the whirlpool of his irresistible caress, losing my pride and vanity.[34]
>
> [Oborozukiyo:] Is there a woman who can keep her senses once he pulls her close to him and holds her tight?[35]
>
> [Nakanokimi:] I wanted to breathe my last breath in his arms. What a sad, evil, and sinful nature women are born with![36]

Even Ōigimi, who in the *Genji* maintains her attitude as a "rejecter of erotic love,"[37] talks about her sexual desire: "On that night, deep down in my heart, maybe I waited for you—even if you had to kick open the sliding

door—to take me violently. YES, I did."[38] Women's sexuality had never been so forthrightly expressed in a modern translation of the *Genji*. But the sexual desires of these women are passive: they never initiate a sexual encounter; they wait to be "grabbed" and "dragged" into "irresistible" sex by controlling men. Moreover, in these monologues the heroines are not given individual personalities. Repeated phrases like "a woman's destiny" and "a woman's happiness," and clichés like "a woman is most beautiful after she has had one baby" and "the beauty and the coquette can be seen only in women loved by men," further diminish the sense of the heroines as individuals.

In short, Setouchi Jakuchō re-created *The Tale of Genji* with a focus on "women's nightmares," stressing their malicious feelings and unfulfilled sexual desires through the monologues of her heroines. This perspective on the tale was taken even farther in the *manga* version of the *Genji* by Maki Miyako.

Maki Miyako and Ladies' Comics

The popularity of girls' comics reached a peak in the 1980s, and the new genre of ladies' comics (*redīsu-komikku* or *redi-komi*) appeared.[39] Ladies' comics, characterized by the descriptions of sex that fill their pages, enjoyed a publication boom in the late 1980s. At first, ladies' comics portrayed "the reality of love between men and women, not just a fairy tale,"[40] rather than sex itself. But gradually, the sexual descriptions became more and more graphic, and the comics featured scenes of violent and sadomasochistic sex, causing a boycott against "indecent" books in 1991. Many of these graphic ladies' comics survived the backlash, however, and continue to be published.

Maki Miyako began writing girls' comics in 1956, and she gained fame in 1967 as the creator of Licca-chan, the Japanese Barbie doll. Eventually, however, her realistic illustrations in *gekiga* (dramatic comic) style came to be considered old-fashioned; the innovations of the 1970s that so influenced Yamato had very little impact on her style. The layout of frames and the exploration of psychology in her work are rather simple compared with those in other comics for girls. After 1970, Maki moved from girls' comics to weekly women's magazines and then to ladies' comic magazines, in which she realistically depicted women's love, hatred, and sexual passion. In addition to creating her own works, including *Akujo baiburu* (*Femme Fatale Bible*),[41] she made several adaptations of novels in *manga*

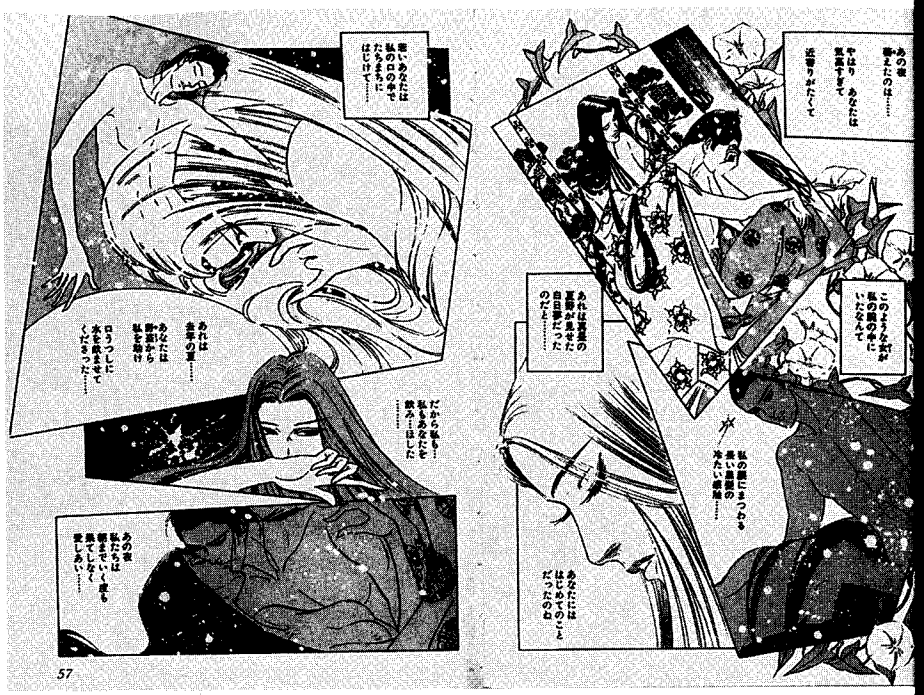


FIGURE 64 Maki Miyako, *Genji monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji*, 1997), vol. 2: Lady Rokujō performs fellatio on Genji. (Reprinted by permission of Shōgakukan)

form, notably Watanabe Jun'ichi's *Shitsurakuen* (*Paradise Lost*, 1997),[42] Ihara Saikaku's *Kōshoku gonin onna* (*Five Women Who Loved Love*, 1686),[43] and Oscar Wilde's *Salome* (1893).[44] The serialization of Maki's *Genji monogatari* began in 1986 in *Biggu kommiku foa redīsu* (*Big Comic for Ladies*).[45] More recently, in 2002 and 2003, *Weekly Visual Genji monogatari*, a new weekly "mook" (topical) magazine, published her version of the tale.[46]

Whereas Yamato's *Asaki yume mishi* generally presents sex scenes in an idealistic manner, Maki's *Genji monogatari* has not only more sex scenes than Yamato's version, but highly explicit depictions of sexual acts, with sexual postures drawn with great accuracy. This realism and artistic ability accounts for her success in the world of ladies' comics. In his first tryst with Lady Rokujō, for example, young Genji is "withered" emotionally and physically. Seven years older, Lady Rokujō takes the lead with fellatio (figure 64). Such a scene, in which an older woman initiates a younger man into sex, would never have been depicted in the



FIGURE 65 Maki Miyako, "Matsukaze" (Wind in the Pines), in *Genji monogatari* (1998), vol. 5: Murasaki agonizes over Genji's request that she raise the Akashi Lady's daughter. (Reprinted by permission of Shōgakukan)

works of Tanabe and Yamato. Maki's version differs markedly from theirs also in its plots, which focus on the spitefulness of women. Her opening scene, for example, is one of hatred and intrigue in which Lady Kokiden plots to have Genji blinded.[47] This is in stark contrast to the scene in the first installment of Yamato's version, which is a romantic encounter between Emperor Kiritsubo and the Kiritsubo Consort in the moonlight.

Like Setouchi's female characters in *Nyonin Genji monogatari*, those in Maki's *Genji monogatari* suffer "women's nightmares," characterized by malice, hatred, and unsatisfied love. For example, Murasaki is fiercely jealous of and spiteful toward the Akashi Lady. In the scene from the "Matsukaze" chapter in which Genji asks her to care for the Akashi Lady's daughter, Murasaki's inner thoughts are revealed: "What a cruel man! You cannot understand my feeling. No matter how charming the child may be, I cannot help but see the Akashi Lady, her mother, in her" (figure 65). In the scene that follows, Ukon, her attendant, persuades Murasaki to raise

the child, saying that Genji would go to Ōi, where the Akashi Lady lives, more often if she refused to adopt her.

Maki's and Setouchi's women resemble one another in the way they talk about their sexuality:

> [Ō-no-myōbu:] How sinful and pitiful a woman's body is![48]

> [Oborozukiyo, thinking of Suzaku:] For now, instead of tenderness, with your strong heart, tie me up tightly! Violently! Like Genji's passionate caresses.[49]

These expressions of passive sexual desire and descriptions of "women at the mercy of love and sex" have continued to be a regular feature in ladies' comics.[50]

Another element evident in the genre is the expression of a woman's desire for liberation through sex. This is exemplified in Setouchi's *Nyonin Genji monogatari*:

> [Ukifune:] Niou untied all strings not only from my body but also from my heart. I heard myself laughing, which startled and amazed me. I wondered what had happened to me?[51]

In this monologue, Ukifune finds a new self through a sexual encounter, similar to the transformative sexual experience found in ladies' comics. Although replete with clichéd sexual expressions, Setouchi's *Nyonin Genji monogatari* and Maki's *Genji monogatari* signal an achievement in dealing with the theme of love and sex in *The Tale of Genji*, and their significance should not be underestimated. Prior to these works, only a few modern novels, such as Kajiyama Toshiyuki's *Kōshoku Genji monogatari* (*The Erotic Tale of Genji*),[52] focused on sex per se in the *Genji*. Such novels were parodies of the original, however, and readers enjoyed them as *oiroke poruno* (erotic porn) imbued with the flavor of the *Genji* rather than as translations of the tale.

In the 1980s, the discrimination against women in Japan improved to some extent as a result of such events as the Second World Conference on Women, held in Copenhagen in 1980; the revision of the Nationality Law in 1984; the enactment of the Equal Employment Opportunity Law for

Men and Women in 1985; and the change in the home economics school curriculum in 1985. Many universities began to offer courses on women's studies. The 1980s in Japan, which is often called *onna-no-jidai* (the period of women) as a result of these social trends, was a time when women began to affirm and express their desires.[53] For example, the essays by Hayashi Mariko were very popular with young women in the 1980s, mostly because they supported her frank expressions of desires for all-round success. In 1986, Doi Takako was chosen as chairwoman of the Socialist Party—the first woman ever to lead a major political organization—and a wave of Doi fever known as the "Madonna Boom" swept the country.

The issue of sex also emerged with the feminist movement. In 1989, the year Setouchi's version of *The Tale of Genji* was completed, the national birthrate of Japan fell to 1.57, which became a major public concern. In the same year, *Anan*, a woman's magazine, ran a feature on sex for the first time with the title "Sex Makes Us More Beautiful," and the issue sold out. In the 1990s, the theme of women's desire to create a new self through sex was featured not only in ladies' comics but also in pornographic novels, magazines, and even films for women. Setouchi Jakuchō's *Nyonin Genji monogatari* and Maki Miyako's *Genji monogatari*, with their sharp focus on sex, were important parts of this trend in the women's movement.

THE 1990s

Hashimoto Osamu and Psychological Exploration

In the decades after Tanizaki Jun'ichiro published *Jun'ichirō shin-shin'yaku Genji monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji: The New New Jun'ichirō Translation*, 1964), his third translation of *The Tale of Genji*, the world of *Genji* translation was dominated by women. The male writers Imaizumi Tadayoshi and Funahashi Jun'ichi also published translations of the *Genji* in the 1970s,[54] but they did not enjoy as wide an audience as those by female writers. This situation began to change in the 1990s. In 1993, Hashimoto Osamu started to publish *Yōhen Genji monogatari* (*The Transformed Tale of Genji*), a fourteen-volume translation.[55] With its design—an elegant white cover, an epigraph in French at the beginning of every chapter, and black-and-white photographs of Caucasian models—it looks like a translation of a Western novel rather than a modern translation of a Japanese classic. In contrast to its appearance, however, the vocabulary is strictly limited to words of Japanese and Chinese origin. Hashimoto began his writing career in 1978

with *Momoshiri musume* (*Pink Hip Girl*), which garnered considerable attention at the time for its innovative *atashi katari*, a first-person, highly colloquial narrative in the voice of a high-school girl. Ueno Chizuko considers *Momoshiri musume* to be a pioneer of the "Heisei colloquial style,"[56] which became very popular in girls' comics and novels in the 1980s. With its appearance in the fiction of Yoshimoto Banana in 1988, the "Heisei colloquial style" came to be widely recognized and then spread beyond the borders of girls' culture. Hashimoto attracted public attention again in 1987 with his modern translation of the Heian classic *Makura no sōshi* (*The Pillow Book*, ca. 1017) by Sei Shōnagon, in which he used a similar narrative style with colloquial vocabulary.[57]

For *Yōhen Genji monogatari*, however, Hashimoto chose a highly writerly style to create a psychological novel. He added detailed descriptions of the emotions of the characters in *The Tale of Genji*—emotions that he believed modern readers found difficult to understand.[58] Genji narrates the main part (chapters 1 to 41) in the first person, reminiscent of the female monologues in Setouchi's *Nyonin Genji monogatari*, but with the focus on the mentality of Genji as a male figure. In a few lines from the rainy-night scene (*amayo no shinasadame*) in the "Hahakigi" chapter, for example, Genji expresses his contempt for the three men whom he has overheard talking about their experiences with women:

> The man inside me awoke.
>
> In front of me, now a man, these men were all stupid. I finally realized that those who were acting as "women"—as female counterparts to these men—were nothing more than stupid prey.
>
> The short rainy night in early summer while these three men talked about "ideal women," while these men were having a silly pipe dream, was a long long night for me, a time when I awoke from my own stupidity.
>
> "I will attack a woman, even right now!" I'll let myself do it.[59]

Genji, who rapes Utsusemi in the sequence that follows, is no idealized hero. Everything is given to him, and everything is allowed him. In Hashimoto's version of the *Genji*, he is "a man who can do cruel things in cold blood." Genji represents a whole gamut of evils.[61]

In contrast to chapters 1 to 41 of *Yōhen Genji monogatari*, which are narrated by Genji, chapters 42 to 54 are narrated by an old lady-in-waiting (*nyōbō*)—apparently Murasaki Shikibu. The style is graceful and fluent, with more honorifics than in *The Tale of Genji*. Hashimoto consistently describes such negative emotions as malice, jealousy, and arrogance. Just

as Setouchi and Maki explored "women's nightmares," Hashimoto has Genji and the old lady-in-waiting talk at length about the darkness of the heart in both men and women. In "Ukifune," for example, the *nyōbō* describes Nakanokimi's feelings when Niou complains about her having kept Ukifune's whereabouts from him:

> The sadness attending these melancholy reflections made her look very dear indeed.[62]
>
> TYLER

> Nakanokimi, who thought Niou's love was the only thing she could rely on, was reduced to becoming a despicable figure with an insatiable craving for power. Or maybe it was an inevitable result of trying to protect herself and of the shameful fall that occurred before she knew it. She didn't know the feelings of Kaoru, of her illegitimate half-sister, of the sister's mother, or of Niou, who had at heart Uji—a place far away from the capital. She enjoyed Niou's favor, but people said it was "unusual" and whispered that it was "inappropriate." She was now falsely accused; her shoulders shook helplessly. She worried about only one thing: "Aside from Kaoru, what if Niou's affection shifted to the daughter of the Minister of the Right because of this misplaced doubt?"[63]
>
> HASHIMOTO OSAMU

In Tanabe's *Shin Genji monogatari* and Yamato's *Asaki yume mishi*, Nakanokimi worries about Ukifune, who lives in Uji. Hashimoto, by contrast, starkly portrays her as "a despicable figure" who craves power and wants to keep her carefree and luxurious life at all costs.

Another important element in Hashimoto Osamu's *Yōhen Genji monogatari*, particularly in the chapters narrated by Genji, is politics—"the real world of men." Hashimoto describes the political discord and intrigues that bring about Genji's anger and contempt. He also adds detailed information (about rank and the marriage system) to help the reader understand the politics of the Heian court. Clothing, furniture, annual observances, and imperial court rituals are also meticulously portrayed. For example, in the "Eawase" (The Picture Contest) chapter, Hashimoto re-creates *e-awase* (picture-poetry contests), describing everything from the details of the *e-makimono* (painted scrolls) to the dress of the attendants and giving more than eleven pages of information full of classical Japanese and Chinese words. The fourteen-volume work—with its difficult vocabulary and sentences, detailed background information, and exhaustive psychological descriptions—stands in stark contrast to the easily readable love stories in the translations of *The Tale of Genji* by women writers.

Egawa Tatsuya, Sex, and Education

At the dawn of the twenty-first century, new translations of *The Tale of Genji* appeared, including ladies' comics, which had been subdivided according to theme after the boycott against indecent books in 1991. From about 1997, ladies' horror comic magazines became popular, mirroring the success of psychological suspense and gothic novels, horror films, and macabre television dramas. The *Genji* was considered ideal material because it deals with the supernatural, such as the appearance of evil spirits (*mono-no-ke*). In 2001, Terakado Kazuko and Ide Chikae published versions of the *Genji* that feature supernatural phenomena, along with sexual encounters, the staple of ladies' comics.[64]

Most important of all to the reception of *The Tale of Genji* in present-day Japan is the *manga* version by Egawa Tatsuya. The serialization of his *Genji monogatari* began in March 2001 in *Ōru-man* (*All Man*), a comic-book magazine for young men. The chapters from "Kiritsubo" to "Momiji no ga" (Beneath the Autumn Leaves) have been published in book form.[65] Young men's comics (*seinen manga*) proliferated in the 1980s, with the publication of *Yangu janpu* (*Young Jump*) in 1979 and *Yangu magajin* (*Young Magazine*) in 1980. A key feature of comic-book magazines for young men is the wide range of themes and writers. Each offers various kinds of comics, including erotic comics with the kind of explicit sexual illustrations that cannot be published in boy's magazines.

Egawa writes that his dual purpose in creating his *Genji monogatari* was to provide a resource for study and a "night friend" for his target audience, teenagers preparing for college examinations.[66] As his comment suggests, Egawa's version is a word-for-word translation of *The Tale of Genji* into modern Japanese, with copious descriptions and illustrations of sexual encounters. There are also explanatory notes in the margins. (From the last part of the "Utsusemi" [The Cicada Shell] chapter, the original text is written in *hentai-gana* [classical calligraphy].) Consequently, in spite of its 5- by 8-inch format—fairly large for a comic—which allows Egawa to draw big and elaborate pictures, the book is rather unwieldy (figure 66). Moreover, the characters are relatively static, except in the sex scenes, which makes it difficult for the eye to quickly go from one frame to the

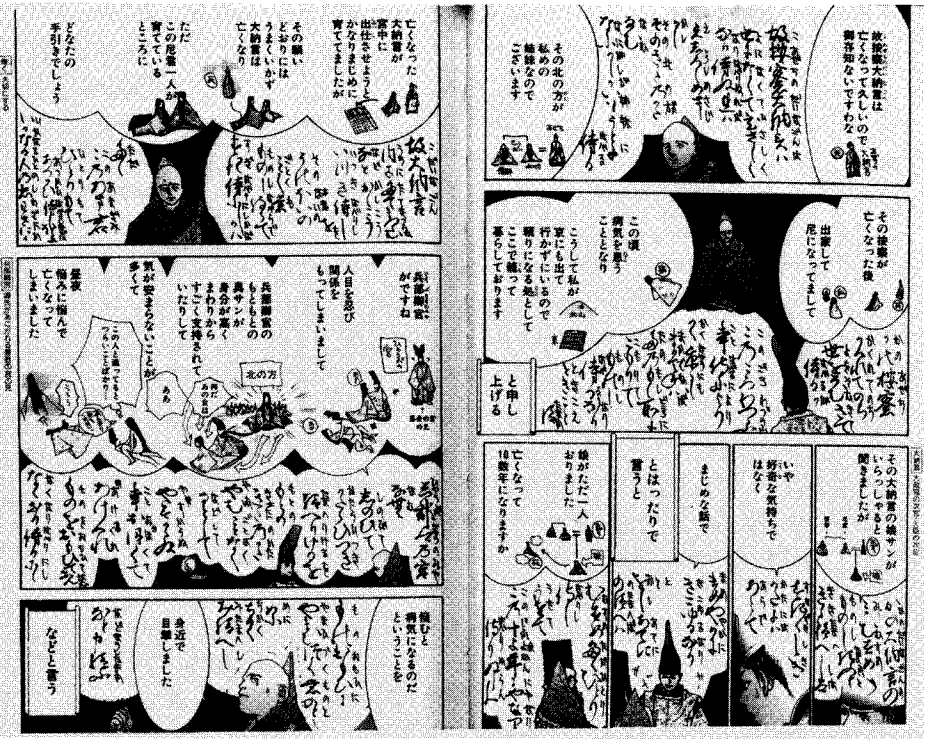


FIGURE 66 Egawa Tatsuya, *Genji monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji*, 2004), vol. 5: the drawings are placed in a word-for-word translation in classical calligraphy and explanatory notes in the margins. (Reprinted by permission of Shūeisha)

next. According to one study, the average reading speed per page of Japanese comic-book readers is 3.75 seconds,[67] an impossible pace when it comes to Egawa's translation. Readers cannot possibly grasp both the pictures and the words at a single glance. Although the inclusion of the original sentences is unpopular with some readers and editors, Egawa has continued the practice, "with eagerness to show the original text as the origins of Japanese to readers."[68]

The quote on the cover of the first installment of Egawa's *Genji monogatari* in *Ōru-man* states, "The wizard has brought fresh air to the oldest erotic novel in the world," which suggests that Egawa considers *The Tale of Genji* to be a pornographic text (*erohon*).[69] His sexual descriptions go beyond those of all previous versions. Indeed, it is possible that men who read comic magazines became interested in the *Genji* because of the sex scenes in Egawa's translation. Conversely, a number of women have

been turned off by the overt and recurrent sexual episodes.[70] Scenes of sexual encounters, including detailed pictures, extend over many pages—one such encounter between Genji and Nokiba-no-ogi is graphically described in sixty-five pages, divided into two installments.[71] Egawa has noted that in the Heian period, "the most important official duty of the emperor was the sex act," and "any woman who was sexually involved with Genji, the emperor's son, was truly fortunate." In Egawa's *Genji monogatari*, the emperor is "a god of sex," and every woman receives satisfaction from sex with the emperor or Genji.[72]

Egawa has said that *The Tale of Genji* has elements that cannot be translated by women of little sexual experience, and it is a ladies' comic for married women rather than a girls' comic.[73] Egawa's *Genji monogatari* shares several features with ladies' comics, specifically Maki's *Genji monogatari* and Setouchi's *Nyonin Genji monogatari*: not only explicit descriptions and depictions of sexual encounters, but women who express their passive sexual desires in such phrases as "Do whatever you like. I am yours."[74] But in stark contrast to the renditions by the two women, Egawa's *manga* graphically depicts female (never male) masturbation. For example, consorts resort to masturbation when they cannot have sex with Emperor Kiritsubo, and Utsusemi masturbates as she recalls her sexual encounter with Genji. He frequently has the women describe themselves as *iyashii* (impure, contemptible, dirty). One of Kiritsubo's consorts refers to her carnal lust as *kitanaku midara na* (filthy and obscene). Whereas in the original *Genji*, Utsusemi thinks of herself as *kazunaranu* (insignificant) because of the difference in social status between her and Genji, Egawa attributes her self-consciousness to her *iyashii* body and has her describe herself as *iyashii* sixteen times.[75] Depictions of female masturbation and references to a woman's body as impure are absent from Setouchi's and Maki's adaptations, which instead emphasize Utsusemi's indignation and resistance toward Genji.

Whereas Yamato created a romantic encounter between Emperor Kiritsubo and the Kiritsubo Consort at the beginning of *Asaki yume mishi* and Maki opened *Genji monogatari* with a story about Lady Kokiden's intrigue against Genji, Egawa starts his narrative with an explanation of Heian culture. As does Hashimoto in *Yōhen Genji monogatari*, Egawa emphasizes the men's world of politics and sex and portrays Genji from today's point of view as a villainous man. Eschewing readability—the priority of earlier translators to keep sentences plain, simplify honorifics, and reorganize plots—both Hashimoto and Egawa have sought to teach the culture of the Heian period and, by extension, that of Japan to their

readers. Egawa has said that he started his translation hoping to "enable every Japanese to read classical Japanese!"[76]

Inherent in both *Yōhen Genji monogatari* and *Genji monogatari* is a sense of crisis. Hashimoto has noted that contemporary books indulge readers by encouraging them not to think that they are too difficult to enjoy.[77] Hashimoto and Egawa undertook their translations of *The Tale of Genji* in response to what they regarded as a decline in print culture in Japan since the 1970s, a decline reflected in the tendency to adapt the *Genji* for readability and disposability. Their versions are more comprehensive than the earlier ones, requiring readers' patience and diligence. However, readers with enough knowledge of the *Genji* can recognize their significance and enjoy their radical interpretations of the original. It may be a similar apprehension that has spurred a recent interest in works focusing on Japanese culture.[78] In addition to continuing his work on the *Genji*, Egawa Tatsuya is serializing *Nichiro sensō monogatari* (*The Story of the Russo-Japanese War*, 2001–)[79] and drawing comics of Japanese classics of literature and history because "he wants to get back to genuine Japanese culture."[79]

Since the 1970s, translators have presented new interpretations of *The Tale of Genji* that were deeply influenced by trends in popular culture and society in each decade, with later versions often responding to the perspectives of the earlier ones. Marketing, consumer demand, and genre conventions have also played key roles in the nature and development of free translations and *manga* of the *Genji*. In terms of sales, it is the versions of the first generation—Tanabe Seiko's *Shin Genji monogatari* and Yamato Waki's *Asaki yume mishi*—that are by far the most successful, not only because they have been available longer than the others, but probably because of their readability and the quality of the narratives and of the illustrations. The second generation of translations—Setouchi Jakuchō's *Nyonin Genji monogatari* and Maki Miyako's *Genji monogatari*—with their focus on "women's nightmares," reflect a darker view of women's sexual desires and emotions. For their devotees, their sharp focus on sex is a major draw. But these versions leave out more episodes than the other translations, so it is fairly difficult for readers to get a sense of the complete *Tale of Genji*. Hashimoto Osamu's *Yōhen Genji monogatari* and Egawa Tatsuya's *Genji monogatari*—the third generation of translations—are often described as being for specialists because of their difficult

sentences, detailed descriptions, and radical interpretations. And, unlike the earlier versions, they approach the tale from a male point of view. In short, from girls' comics to men's comics, from love story to pornographic text, sexuality and gender have played a major role in recent translations and adaptations of *The Tale of Genji*, and their different approaches and levels of accessibility allow a wide range of readers to enjoy this thousand-year-old classic.

NOTES

1. Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji monogatari*, trans. Enchi Fumiko, 10 vols. (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1972–1973).
2. Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji monogatari*, ed. Abe Akio, Akiyama Ken, Imai Gen'e, and Suzuki Hideo, Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū (SNKBZ) 25 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1995), p. 201, and *The Tale of Genji*, trans. Royall Tyler (New York: Viking, 2001), p. 1047.
3. Murasaki Shikibu, *Shinshin'yaku Genji monogatari*, trans. Yosano Akiko (Osaka: Kanao bun'endō, 1939; Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1956), and *Zen'yaku Genji monogatari*, trans. Yosano Akiko, rev. ed. (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1972), vol. 3, p. 490.
4. Murasaki Shikibu, *Shinshin-yaku Genji monogatari*, trans. Tanizaki Jun'ichirō (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1965, 1973), and *Jun'ichirō-yaku Genji monogatari*, rev. ed. (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1991), vol. 5, p. 336.
5. Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji monogatari*, trans. Enchi Fumiko (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1973, 1980), vol. 5, p. 297.
6. The cabinet order was announced in 1946.
7. Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji monogatari*, trans. Enchi Fumiko (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1972, 1980), vol. 1, p. 6.
8. Most additions appear in the *sōshiji* (comments by the narrator), in direct speech, and in the interior monologues in the first half.
9. Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji monogatari*, ed. Abe Akio, Akiyama Ken, Imai Gen'e, and Suzuki Hideo, SNKBZ 20 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1994), p. 99, and *Tale of Genji*, p. 39.
10. Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji monogatari*, trans. Enchi, vol. 1, p. 99.
11. Tanabe Seiko, *Shin Genji monogatari*, *Shūkan Asahi*, November 8, 1974–December 27, 1978.
12. Tanabe Seiko, *Shin Genji monogatari*, 5 vols. (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1978–1979, 1986–1988). As of June 2005, volume 1 of *Shin Genji monogatari* had been reprinted forty-six times. As of November 1999, 2.4 million copies of the pocketbook edition had been sold.
13. "Tanabe Genji," *Morigatari*, October 25, 2007 (available at http://www.rose.ne.jp/~mori).
14. Tanabe Seiko, *Genji kamifūsen* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1981, 1985), pp. 48–49.

15. Ibid., pp. 205–207.
16. Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji monogatari*, SNKBZ 25, p. 125, and *Tale of Genji*, p. 1016.
17. Tanabe Seiko, *Shin Genji monogatari kirifukaki ujino koi* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1990, 1993), vol. 2, pp. 118–119.
18. Ibid., p. 384.
19. Tanabe Seiko, "Yume miru shōjo ga yumeiro no shōsetsu o kaku yō ni naru made," in Saitō Minako, ed., *L-bungaku tokuhon* (Tokyo: Magazine House, 2002), p. 43.
20. Tanabe, *Genji kamifūsen*, pp. 7–33.
21. The Nijū-yonen-gumi refers to girls' comic writers who were born around 1949.
22. Ōtsuka Eiji, *"Kanojotachi" no rengō sekigun* (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1996, 2001), pp. 220–223.
23. On the theme of self-affirmation in girls' comics, see Hashimoto Osamu, *Hanasaku otometachi no kinpiragobō* (Tokyo: Hokusōsha, 1979); Nakajima Azusa, *Communication fuzen shōkōgun* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1991); Fujimoto Yukari, *Watashi no ibasho wa doko ni aru no* (Tokyo: Gakuyō shobō 1998); and Yokomori Rika, *Ren'ai wa min'na shōjo manga de osowatta* (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1996, 1999).
24. Yamato Waki, "Geppō" (monthly newsletter), for Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji monogatari*, ed. Fujii Sadakazu, Imanishi Yūichirō, Murofushi Shinsuke, Ōasa Yūji, Suzuki Hideo, and Yanai Shigeshi, Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei 21 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1995), p. 6.
25. Yamato Waki, *Asaki yume mishi* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1993, 2001), vol. 7, p. 278.
26. Tanabe, *Genji kamifūsen*, pp. 7–33. The close relationship between Tanabe and Takarazuka is well known. Tanabe's novel was first staged at the Takarazuka Theater in 1978 as *Hayawake-Ōji-no-hanran* (*Rebellion of Prince Hayawake*).
27. An adaptation of *The Tale of Genji* appeared as *Hikaru Genji tabi nikki* (*The Travel Diary of the Shining Genji*) in 1929, and the *Genji* was staged twice in 1952 and once in 1957.
28. Setouchi Jakuchō, *Nyonin Genji monogatari*, 5 vols. (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1988–1989).
29. Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji monogatari*, ed. Abe Akio, Akiyama Ken, Imai Gen'e, and Suzuki Hideo, SNKBZ 21 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1994), p. 424, and *Tale of Genji*, p. 344.
30. Setouchi Jakuchō, *Nyonin Genji monogatari* (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1989, 1992), vol. 3, pp. 136–137.
31. Ibid., p. 116.
32. Ibid., p. 243.
33. Setouchi Jakuchō, *Nyonin Genji monogatari* (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1989, 1992), vol. 4, p. 227.
34. Setouchi, *Nyonin Genji monogatari*, vol. 3, p. 181.
35. Setouchi, *Nyonin Genji monogatari*, vol. 4, p. 101.
36. Setouchi Jakuchō, *Nyonin Genji monogatari* (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1989, 1992), vol. 5, p. 141.
37. Fujii Sadakazu, "Ōchō bungaku no josei," in Itō Seiko and Kōno Nobuko, eds., *Onna to otoko no jikū* (Tokyo: Fujiwara shoten, 1996), p. 118.
38. Setouchi, *Nyonin Genji monogatari*, vol. 5, p. 132.

39. Until the 1970s, girls' novels and comics were very often set in the West, and traditional Japanese culture was very often inconspicuous in them. In the 1980s, however, a "back to Japan" trend became discernible in girls' culture, with novels and comics set in ancient or medieval Japan. This trend helped Yamato's *Genji* to catch the fancy of girls. Some other works—for example, Himuro Saeko's *Za chenji* (*The Change*, 1983) and *Nante sutekini japanesuku* (*How Wonderfully Japanesque*, 1984) and Yamagishi Ryōko's *Hi izuru tokoro no tenshi* (*Prince of the Land of the Rising Sun*, 1980)—also became best sellers.
40. Shinpo Nobunaga, *Kieta manga zasshi* (Tokyo: Media Factory, 2000), p. 165.
41. Maki Miyako, *Akujo baiburu*, 27 vols. (Tokyo: Kōbunsha, 1980–1991).
42. Watanabe Jun'ichi, *Shitsurakuen*, trans. Maki Miyako (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1997).
43. Ihara Saikaku, *Kōshoku gonin onna*, trans. Maki Miyako (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1996).
44. Oscar Wilde, *Salome*, trans. Maki Miyako (Tokyo: Sekaibunkasha, 1996).
45. *Big Comic for Ladies* is a woman's version of the young men's *Big Comic* that was started in 1981 and is one of the oldest ladies' comic magazines. The publisher of both magazines is Shōgakkan. Maki Miyako's version of *The Tale of Genji*, including the chapters "Kiritsubo" (The Paulownia Pavilion) to "Fuji no uraba" (New Wisteria Leaves), appeared in book form as *Genji monogatari*, 10 vols. (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1988–1991).
46. Maki Miyako, *Genji monogatari*, *Weekly Visual Genji monogatari*, January 8, 2002–November 18, 2003.
47. Kokiden orders Daini-no-Myobu, Genji's nurse, to help her blind Genji. The nurse at first obeys Kokiden but later changes her mind. This type of intrigue is similar to the kind of *oie-sōdō* (internecine strife) in a *daimyō* (feudal lord) household commonly found in *jidaigeki* (Japanese period drama).
48. Maki Miyako, *Genji monogatari* (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1989, 1998), vol. 3, p. 41.
49. Maki Miyako, *Genji monogatari* (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1990, 1998), vol. 4, p. 207.
50. On ladies' comics, see Fujimoto Yukari, *Kairaku denryū* (Tokyo: Kawade shobō shinsha, 1999), and Shinpo, *Kieta manga zasshi*.
51. Setouchi, *Nyonin genji monogatari*, vol. 5, p. 228.
52. Kajiyama Toshiyuki, *Kōshoku Genji monogatari* (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1983).
53. Nakamori Akio, afterword to Hayashi Mariko, *Once a Year* (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1992, 1995); Saitō Minako, *Aidoru bungakuron* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2002); Nimiya Kazuko, *Naze feminizumu wa botsurakushita ka* (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 2004).
54. Imaizumi Tadayoshi, *Genji monogatari*, 13 vols. (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1974–1975); Funahashi Seiichi, *Funahashi Seiichi yaku Genji monogatari*, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1976).
55. Hashimoto Osamu, *Yōhen Genji monogatari*, 14 vols. (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1991–1993). Hashimoto's manuscript was more than 9,000 pages long, on composition paper marked for four hundred characters a page, more than twice the length of Setouchi's complete version.

56. Ueno Chizuko, *Ueno Chizuko ga bungaku o shakaigakusuru* (Tokyo: Asahi shinbunsha, 2000), pp. 34–37.
57. Hashimoto Osamu, *Momojiri goyaku Makura no sōshi*, 3 vols. (Tokyo: Kawade shobō shinsha, 1987–1998).
58. The exhaustive use of difficult written words shows an affinity with the *nankai text ha* (difficult text group), a new trend in Japanese novels in the 1990s. On the trends of 1990s literature, see Shimizu Yoshinori, *Saigono bungei hihyō* (Tokyo: Yotsuya round, 1999).
59. Hashimoto Osamu, *Yōhen Genji monogatari* (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1991, 1995), vol. 1, p. 176.
60. Hashimoto Osamu, *Genji kuyō* (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1993, 1996), vol. 1, p. 28.
61. Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji monogatari*, SNKBZ 25, p. 139, and *Tale of Genji*, p. 1021.
62. Hashimoto Osamu, *Yōhen Genji monogatari* (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1993, 1996), vol. 14, p. 74.
63. Terakado Kazuko, *Yōhen Genji monogatari*, 4 vols. (Tokyo: Bunkasha, 2001–2002); Ide Chikae, *Genji monogatari utsukushi no karan*, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Sōmasha, 2002), which includes the chapters "Kiritsubo" to "Suetsumuhana" (The Safflower).
64. Egawa Tatsuya, *Genji monogatari*, 7 vols. to date (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 2002–). The serialization is in progress in *Ultra Jump*. Egawa made his debut in 1984 with a serial of *BE FREE!* in *Morning* and since then has published many daring works in comic magazines for boys as well as young men.
65. Egawa Tatsuya, *Zenshin mangaka* (Tokyo: Kōbunsha, 2001), p. 210.
66. Frederik L. Schodt, *Manga! Manga! The World of Japanese Comics* (Tokyo: Kōdansha International, 1986), p. 18.
67. Egawa Tatsuya, "Seishōnen ni okuru koi to erosu to genbun heiki," *Eureka*, February 2002, p. 195.
68. Egawa Tatsuya, "Kanmatsu taidan" (interview with Tsuchiya Hiroei), in *Genji monogatari* (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 2002), vol. 2, p. 204.
69. Egawa claims that his version of *Genji* has been popular among women (*Zenshin mangaka*, p. 210), but "from the female point of view, Egawa's version is absolutely disgraceful and indecent" (book review of volume 1 of Egawa, *Genji monogatari*, cited on June 14, 2005 [http://www. amazon.co.jp]). It is difficult to grasp the actual situation, but judging from the comments by female readers on the Internet, Egawa's version will not attain the popularity of Yamato's adaptation. Women who read his translation tend to be either Egawa fans or admirers of *The Tale of Genji*.
70. Egawa Tatsuya, *Genji monogatari* (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 2003), vol. 3, pp. 120–185. Maki's version also repeats sexual descriptions, but even the most detailed sex scene covers only a couple of pages.
71. On his interpretation of sex in *The Tale of Genji*, see Egawa, "Seishōnen ni okuru koi to erosu to genbun heiki," and "Kanmatsu taidan."
72. Egawa, "Seishōnen ni okuru koi to erosu to genbun heiki," pp. 197–199.

73. Egawa, *Genji monogatari*, vol. 2, p. 175. They also share the basic pattern of male-guided sex, unless an older woman initiates a younger man. There is only one episode in which a woman (Ukifune) asks a man (Kaoru) for sex, which is in Yamato's version.
74. Utsusemi's self-description is in the "Hahakigi" (The Broom Tree), "Utsusemi" (The Cicada Shell), and "Yūgao" (The Twilight Beauty) chapters.
75. Egawa, "Seishōnen ni okuru koi to erosu to genbun heiki," p. 195.
76. Hashimoto Osamu, *Genji kuyō* (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1994, 1996), vol. 2, p. 124.
77. The *Nihongo būmu* (Japanese-language boom) in the publishing world in the past several years in Japan shows a similar apprehension among readers.
78. Egawa Tatsuya, *Nichiro sensō monogatari*, 22 vols. to date (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2001–).
79. Egawa, "Seishōnen ni okuru koi to erosu to genbun heiki," p. 196.

Chapter Titles of *The Tale of Genji*

	MURASAKI SHIKIBU	ARTHUR WALEY	EDWARD SEIDENSTICKER	ROYALL TYLER
1	Kiritsubo	Kiritsubo	The Paulownia Court	The Paulownia Pavilion
2	Hahakigi	The Broom-Tree	The Broom Tree	The Broom Tree
3	Utsusemi	Utsusemi	The Shell of the Locust	The Cicada Shell
4	Yūgao	Yugao	Evening Faces	The Twilight Beauty
5	Wakamurasaki	Murasaki	Lavender	Young Murasaki
6	Suetsumuhana	The Saffron-Flower	The Safflower	The Safflower
7	Momiji no ga	The Festival of Red Leaves	An Autumn Excursion	Beneath the Autumn Leaves
8	Hana no en	The Flower Feast	The Festival of the Cherry Blossoms	Under the Cherry Blossoms
9	Aoi	Aoi	Heartvine	Heart-to-Heart
10	Sakaki	The Sacred Tree	The Sacred Tree	The Green Branch
11	Hanachirusato	The Village of Falling Flowers	The Orange Blossoms	Falling Flowers
12	Suma	Exile at Suma	Suma	Suma
13	Akashi	Akashi	Akashi	Akashi
14	Miotsukushi	The Flood Gauge	Channel Buoys	The Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi
15	Yomogiu	The Palace in the Tangled Woods	The Wormwood Patch	A Waste of Weeds

	MURASAKI SHIKIBU	ARTHUR WALEY	EDWARD SEIDENSTICKER	ROYALL TYLER
16	Sekiya	A Meeting at the Frontier	The Gatehouse	At the Pass
17	Eawase	The Picture Competition	The Picture Contest	The Picture Contest
18	Matsukaze	The Wind in the Pine Trees	The Wind in the Pines	Wind in the Pines
19	Usugumo	A Wreath of Cloud	A Rack of Cloud	Wisps of Cloud
20	Asagao	Asagao	The Morning Glory	The Bluebell
21	Otome	The Maiden	The Maiden	The Maidens
22	Tamakazura	Tamakatsura	The Jeweled Chaplet	The Tendril Wreath
23	Hatsune	The First Song of the Year	The First Warbler	The Warbler's First Song
24	Kochō	The Butterflies	Butterflies	Butterflies
25	Hotaru	The Glow-worm	Fireflies	The Fireflies
26	Tokonatsu	A Bed of Carnations	Wild Carnations	The Pink
27	Kagaribi	The Flares	Flares	The Cressets
28	Nowaki	The Typhoon	The Typhoon	The Typhoon
29	Miyuki	The Royal Visit	The Royal Outing	The Imperial Progress
30	Fujibakama	Blue Trousers	Purple Trousers	Thoroughwort Flowers
31	Makibashira	Makibashira	The Cypress Pillar	The Handsome Pillar
32	Uma ga e	The Spray of Plum-Blossom	A Branch of Plum	The Plum Tree Branch
33	Fuji no uraba	Fuji no Uraba	Wisteria Leaves	New Wisteria Leaves
34	Wakana jō	Wakana, Part I	New Herbs, Part I	Spring Shoots I
35	Wakana ge	Wakana, Part II	New Herbs, Part II	Spring Shoots II
36	Kashiwagi	Kashiwagi	The Oak Tree	The Oak Tree
37	Yokobue	The Flute	The Flute	The Flute
38	Suzumushi	(Not translated)	The Bell Cricket	The Bell Cricket
39	Yūgiri	Yugiri	Evening Mist	Evening Mist
40	Minori	The Law	The Rites	The Law
41	Maboroshi	Mirage	The Wizard	The Seer

	MURASAKI SHIKIBU	ARTHUR WALEY	EDWARD SEIDENSTICKER	ROYALL TYLER
42	Niou miya	Niou	His Perfumed Highness	The Perfumed Prince
43	Kōbai	Kobai	The Rose Plum	Red Plum Blossoms
44	Takekawa	Bamboo River	Bamboo River	Bamboo River
45	Hashihime	The Bridge Maiden	The Lady at the Bridge	The Maiden of the Bridge
46	Shii ga moto	At the Foot of the Oak-Tree	Beneath the Oak	Beneath the Oak
47	Agemaki	Agemaki	Trefoil Knots	Trefoil Knots
48	Sawarabi	Fern-Shoots	Early Ferns	Bracken Shoots
49	Yadorigi	The Mistletoe	The Ivy	The Ivy
50	Azumaya	The Eastern House	The Eastern Cottage	The Eastern Cottage
51	Ukifune	Ukifune	A Boat Upon the Waters	A Drifting Boat
52	Kagerō	The Gossamer-Fly	The Drake Fly	The Mayfly
53	Tenarai	Writing-Practice	At Writing Practice	Writing Practice
54	Yume no ukihashi	The Bridge of Dreams	The Floating Bridge of Dreams	The Floating Bridge of Dreams

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