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ROYALL TYLER

The *Nō* Play *Matsukaze* as a Transformation of *Genji monogatari*

The prologue to *Kakaishō,* a seminal commentary on *Genji monogatari* (The Tale of Genji) compiled during the Jōji era (1362–68), begins with this explanation of how the *Genji* came to be written:

> The origin of this tale is explained in various ways. However, when in Anna 2 [969] the Nishinomiya Minister of the Left [Minamoto no Takaakira, 914–82] was sent into exile as Provisional Governor of Dazaifu, Tō Shikibu [i.e., Murasaki Shikibu, 970??–1014??], who had been close to him since childhood, was upset; and it was just then that Daisaiin (Senshi Naishinnō [964–1035], the tenth child of Emperor Murakami) asked Jōtōmon'in [Empress Shōshi, 988–1074] whether she had any unusual story books. Since Daisaiin already knew the old tales like *Utsubo* and *Taketori,* Jōtōmon'in told Shikibu that she must make up a new one. Shikibu accordingly spent a night at Ishiyama-dera, praying for inspiration [*kono koto o inori-mōsu*]. The moon of the fifteenth night of the eighth month was then shining from the waters of the lake, and as Shikibu became absorbed in its beauty, the idea for the tale [*monogatari no fuzei*] rose up before her. Before she should forget it, she begged the *honzon* [the Kannon of Ishiyama] for the paper on the altar—paper meant for copying the *Daihannya-kyō*—and immediately wrote down the "Suma" and "Akashi" chapters. Presumably that is why the "Suma" chapter has [Genji] "realizing that tonight is the fifteenth night."[1] Later on, in order to expiate her misdeed,

This paper began when I wrote the introduction to *Matsukaze* for my *Japanese Nō Dramas* (London: Penguin, 1992); I presented some ideas in it at the symposium "Translations and Transformations" in honor of Donald Keene, held at Columbia University in March 1992. To Susan Tyler I owe a vital insight and much subsequent help. I would like to thank Richard Gardner for his encouragement and for his careful critique of the paper's first version, and Richard Bowring for his invaluable support. David Pollack and Dani Botsman also gave me reason to hope, while anonymous readers spurred me on toward getting things more or less right.

1. References to the *Genji,* below, are keyed to Abe Akio, Akiyama Ken, and Imai Gen'e, eds., *Genji monogatari,* 6 vols. (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1970–76) (hereafter Shōgak-

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> Shikibu personally copied out and dedicated [to the Kannon of Ishiyama] the 600 fascicles of the *Daihannya-kyō*. They are said to be there still. In writing ["Suma" and "Akashi"], she appears to have modeled Hikaru Genji on the Minister of the Left and Murasaki-no-ue on herself; to have borne in mind the experiences of Tan, the Duke of Chou and of Po Chü-i; and to have drawn on the example of Sugawara no Michizane. Later on, she gradually added other chapters until she had done 54 in all.[2]

Never mind *Kakaishō*'s chronological discrepancies. What matters here is that according to the work's very first page, Murasaki Shikibu, the author of the *Genji,* began by writing in one rush both the "Suma" and "Akashi" chapters; that the full moon at Ishiyama became the full moon in "Suma"; that Murasaki referred to the T'ang poet Po Chü-i (J. Hakurakuten, 772–848) and to Sugawara Michizane (845–903);[3] and that she "gradually added" the other chapters of her work later on. These issues, and especially the idea that the "Suma" and "Akashi" chapters are the source of *Genji monogatari,* will all play a role in the following pages.

Kakaishō was compiled by the court noble Yottsutsuji Yoshinari (1326–1402) at the order of Yoshiakira, the second Ashikaga shogun. It was undoubtedly known to the great *renga* (linked verse) master and man of letters Nijō Yoshimoto (1320–88), Yoshinari's older contemporary, since Yoshimoto himself was intensely concerned with the *Genji*. Furthermore, Yoshimoto played a major role in the literary education of Zeami (1363–1443), the classic genius of the *nō* theater. Since Zeami prized the *Genji* as a source for *nō* materials, he too must have known *Kakaishō,* and particularly the content of its opening page.[4] This paper analyzes, especially in the light of *Kakaishō,* the complex intertextual relationship between the *Genji* and *Matsukaze* (Wind in the Pines), one of Zeami's most popular and important plays.[5]

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kan); Ishida Jōji and Shimizu Yoshiko, eds., *Genji monogatari,* 8 vols. (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1976–85) (hereafter Shinchōsha); and Edward G. Seidensticker, trans., *The Tale of Genji* (New York: Knopf, 1976) (hereafter Seidensticker). This line occurs in Shōgakkan, Vol. 2, p. 210; Shinchōsha, Vol. 2, p. 256; and Seidensticker, p. 246. All translations in this paper are my own.

2. Muromatsu Iwao, ed., *Kakaishō, Kachō yojō, Shijo shichiron* (Kokubun chūshaku zensho, Vol. 3) (Tokyo: Kokugakuin Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1908), p. 1.

3. For the Duke of Chou (not relevant here) see ibid., p. 147, in connection with the storm at Suma.

4. In his *Genji* commentary *Genji monogatari teiyō* (1432), Imagawa Norimasa repeated the story told in *Kakaishō,* stressing that "the words of ["Suma" and "Akashi"] are the beginning of the 54 chapters of the tale." In Zeami's time, the legend of Murasaki at Ishiyama was apparently accepted as fact. See Inaga Keiji, ed., *Genji monogatari teiyō* (Genji monogatari kochū shūsei, Vol. 2) (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1978), p. 90.

5. Translated passages of *Matsukaze* quoted below are from my *Japanese Nō Dramas.* Other translations of the play are in Donald Keene, ed., *Twenty Plays of the Nō Theatre* (New

A Summary of Matsukaze

Matsukaze tells how, long ago, a courtier named Yukihira went down in exile to Suma and how he took up there with two sisters, two *ama* (seafolk) who lived by making salt. Yukihira dressed them like ladies and gave them the poetic names Matsukaze and Murasame (Autumn Rain). Then, three years later, he left Suma (having presumably been pardoned) to become governor of Inaba Province, across Honshu on the Sea of Japan. Soon, the sisters heard that he had died. They too passed away in time, but their spirits lingered on where they had known him, and a pine on the shore continued to commemorate their presence.

As the play begins, a wandering priest (the *waki*) reaches Suma late on an autumn afternoon, notices the pine, and hears of Matsukaze and Murasame (the *shite* and *tsure*) from a villager (the *ai-kyōgen*). Having prayed for them, the priest decides to seek shelter for the night in a nearby "salt house" (*shioya,* where salt is extracted from brine) inhabited by two young *ama* women. Meanwhile, the young women come on stage. Unseen and unheard by the priest, they lament their sad lot on this shore, then pass to celebrating the beauty of the place—a beauty that lightens their burden after all. At last, they enter their salt house and the priest asks to be admitted. When, in conversation with them, he quotes a poem composed by Yukihira at Suma, they weep and confess that they are the phantoms of Matsukaze and Murasame. Overwhelmed by memories of Yukihira, Matsukaze takes up the hat and robe Yukihira left behind as keepsakes, clasps them to her, and actually puts them on. Having succumbed a moment to despair, she then looks toward the pine (represented by a prop on stage) and sees not the pine but Yukihira. She cries out that he is calling her name and that she will go to him. Murasame, believing her sister to have lost her senses, intervenes, but is soon caught up herself in Matsukaze's passionate faith, inspired by Yukihira's parting promise, that he will one day come again. As the play ends, dawn breaks and the priest awakes (for it was all a dream) only to hear the wind blowing, as ever, through the pines.

The Genji *and* Matsukaze

It has been recognized for 250 years or more that the text of *Matsukaze* draws on the "Suma" chapter of the Genji. *Yōkyoku shūyōshō* (compiled between about 1680 and 1741) says, "This play uses language from the 'Suma' chapter of the *Genji* to treat Yukihira's stay on Suma Shore. More-

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York: Columbia University Press, 1970); Kenneth Yasuda, *Masterworks of the Nō Theater* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989); Chifumi Shimazaki, *The Noh* (Vol. 2, *Woman Noh,* Book 2) (Tokyo: Hinoki, 1977); and Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai, trans., *Japanese Noh Drama,* Vol. 3 (Tokyo: Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai, 1960).

over, the 'Suma' chapter bases its description of Genji's move to Suma on the story of Yukihira."[6] Like *Yōkyoku shūyōshō,* commentators on the *Genji* have consistently pointed out that the "Suma" chapter draws on a still earlier story about Yukihira's exile to Suma. As for *Matsukaze,* modern writers agree on its debt to the *Genji.* Kōsai Tsutomu, for example, named the "Suma" chapter as the "source" (*honzetsu*) of *Matsukaze* and continued, "The Suma where *Matsukaze* lives and breathes is the Suma of Hikaru Genji; Yukihira [in the play] is precisely traced over the image of the Shining Prince."[7]

This two-stage borrowing process, from earlier material to the *Genji* and then from the *Genji* to *Matsukaze,* begins with two poems by Ariwara no Yukihira (818–93). In the "Suma" chapter Genji, beset by political troubles, retires to Suma, where his thoughts dwell endlessly on those he has left behind in the capital. The chapter alludes repeatedly to poem no. 962 in the *Kokinshū* (905), the only document that actually mentions Yukihira's exile:

> When, having been implicated in an incident, [Yukihira] was in retirement at a place called Suma in the province of Tsu, during Tamura's [Emperor Montoku's] reign, he sent this poem to someone in the palace:
>
> Should one perchance ask after me, say that, on Suma shore, salt, sea-tangle drops are falling as I grieve.[8]
>
> *wakuraba ni / tou hito araba / Suma no ura / moshio taretsutsu / wabu to kotaeyo*

The "Suma" chapter was clearly conceived with *Kokinshū* 962 (including its prose preface) in mind. Furthermore, the text has Genji remember, on arrival at Suma, another of Yukihira's poems (no. 868 in *Shoku kokinshū* [1265]):

> The traveler finds his sleeves suddenly cool: through the pass comes blowing the Suma shore breeze.
>
> *tabibito wa / tamoto suzushiku / narinikeri / seki fukikoyuru / Suma no urakaze*

Both of these older poems then entered the text of *Matsukaze. Kokinshū* 962, quoted in full in the play, has a prominent role, while *Shoku kokinshū* 868 is quoted in part, just as it appears in the original *Genji* text. In addition, the playwright brought into his work a third poem by Yukihira (*Kokinshū* 365), one not present in the *Genji* but prominent near the end of *Matsukaze:*

6. Muromatsu Iwao, ed., *Yōkyoku shūyōshō* (Tokyo: Kokugakuin Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1909), p. 413.

7. Kōsai Tsutomu, "Sakusha to honzetsu: *Matsukaze,*" in *Yōkyoku shinkō: Zeami ni terasu* (Tokyo: Enoki Shoten, 1972), p. 131.

8. Tyler, *Japanese Nō Dramas,* p. 199.

Now I say goodbye, bound for Inaba's far green mountains; yet, my love, pine, and I will come again.[9]

tachiwakare / Inaba no yama no / mine ni ouru / matsu to shi kikaba / ima kaeri-kon

In *Matsukaze,* this poem's context and meaning are quite unlike those proposed for it in medieval commentaries on the *Kokinshū.* This is one of the reasons why Kōsai Tsutomu commented on the remarkable "imaginative power" displayed by the author of the play.[10]

The text of *Matsukaze* also quotes from the "Suma" chapter itself, using expressions from the "Suma" chapter that were approved for use in *renga.* Such expressions, known as *yoriai* (linking words), connect a verse to the preceding one by means of a suitable allusion—in this case, to a chapter of the *Genji.* An example from *Matsukaze* is the expression *nami kokomoto ya,* from the sisters' opening passage:

Waves here at our feet: on Suma shore
nami kokomoto ya *Suma no ura*
the very moon moistens a trailing sleeve.[11]
tsuki sae nurasu tamoto kana

Nijō Yoshimoto listed *nami tada kokomoto ni* (the waves [seemed] so very near) in his *Hikaru Genji ichibu renga yoriai* (ca. 1376), a manual that consists of lists of such *yoriai* expressions from the *Genji,* arranged by chapter.[12] (The play's adaptation of the words is permissible.) "Suma" *yoriai* in *Matsukaze* include, among many others, *tsuki no kao* (the face of the moon), *yomo no arashi* (all four storm winds), and *ushiro no yama* (the hills behind the beach).[13] All appear in *Hikaru Genji ichibu renga yoriai.*

Obvious though they may be, however, a shared setting (Suma), shared source material (Yukihira's poems), and *yoriai* from the "Suma" chapter do not yet give *Matsukaze* any substantial connection with the *Genji.* They

9. Ibid., p. 203.

10. Kōsai, *Yōkyoku shinkō,* p. 132.

11. From the *issei* in part one; Tyler, *Japanese Nō Dramas,* p. 193.

12. Okami Masao, ed., *Yoshimoto rengaron shū,* Vol. 3 (Tokyo: Koten Bunko, 1958), pp. 77–100; for *nami tada kokomoto ni,* see p. 85. Yoshimoto probably completed this manual ca. 1376, at a time when outstanding *renga* poets were gathered around him, discussing *yoriai* from poetry in Chinese, from the *Man'yōshū,* and from the *Genji.* See Teramoto Naohiko, *Genji monogatari juyō shi ronkō* (seihen) (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1970), p. 396.

13. The *yoriai* in *Matsukaze* are indicated in the headnotes to Itō Masayoshi's edition of the play. See Itō Masayoshi, ed., *Yōkyokushū,* Vol. 3 (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1988), pp. 238–49. Janet Goff analyzed the influence of *renga* on *nō* at length in her *Noh Drama and* The Tale of Genji: *The Art of Allusion in Fifteen Classical Plays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991). She discussed *Matsukaze* on pp. 64–66.

fail in particular to explain Matsukaze and Murasame. Literarily, these two are a puzzle since, even if the "Suma" chapter can be called the play's "source," no such women appear in the *Genji* or elsewhere. Several modern writers have noted this problem. Although Kōsai Tsutomu felt the need to explain them with reference to the *Genji,* he wrote that he could not do so.[14] Matsuoka Shinpei remarked that, lacking any literary past, the sisters have no clear "outline,"[15] while Tashiro Keiichirō felt the difficulty so keenly that he posited a lost story about them: one that, although known to the playwright, has now vanished without a trace.[16]

In truth, the issue of Matsukaze and Murasame's literary past is vital to the intertextual relationship between the tale and the play. But before I take it up, I must support the statement I have already made that Zeami wrote *Matsukaze.* This attribution, not yet universally recognized, is essential to my argument.

Authorship and Text

A *nō* play is, properly speaking, a performance event involving dance, music, costume, etc. as well as text; but the text, as one subset of the forms that constitute the total work, may be taken as seriously as other subsets, for instance dance or musical structure. (Doing so does not require the assumption that the text of a play is "literature," independent of the whole.) Though the text is simply one area of the playwright's concern, it is important. Zeami called it "the very life of our art."[17]

The text of *Matsukaze* has most often been described as Zeami's revision of a play by his father, Kan'ami (1333–84).[18] Yokomichi Mario, for example, wrote to this effect, adding the possibility that Kan'ami's version was revised from a yet earlier play (now lost) entitled *Shiokumi* (Gathering Brine), by the *dengaku* actor Kiami.[19] This three-stage evolution was long accepted, for Zeami's own writings seemed to support it.

In *Sarugaku dangi,* Zeami described *Matsukaze* as being "by Zeami,"[20] which no doubt means that he claimed overall responsibility for

14. Kōsai, *Yōkyoku shinkō,* p. 132.

15. Matsuoka Shinpei, "Zeami/Matsukaze," in *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kyōzai no kenkyū,* Vol. 34, No. 15 (Dec. 1989), p. 64.

16. Tashiro Keiichirō, "Yōkyoku *Matsukaze* ni tsuite" (part 2), in *Hikaku bungaku kenkyū,* No. 50 (April 1986), p. 54 (part 1 appeared in No. 48 [Oct. 1985], pp. 61–73).

17. J. Thomas Rimer and Yamazaki Masakazu, *On the Art of the Nō Drama: The Major Treatises of Zeami* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 43; *Fūshikaden* in Omote Akira and Katō Shūichi, eds., *Zeami, Zenchiku* (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1974), p. 42.

18. Recent examples in English are Goff, *Noh Drama and* The Tale of Genji, p. 65; and Shirley Fenno Quinn, "How to Write a Noh Play: Zeami's *Sandō,*" in *Monumenta Nipponica,* Vol. 48, No. 1 (Spring 1993), p. 75.

19. Yokomichi Mario, ed., *Yōkyoku shū,* Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1960), p. 57.

20. Omote and Katō, *Zeami, Zenchiku,* p. 291. See also Rimer and Yamazaki, *On the Art of the Nō Drama,* pp. 221–22.

the text of the play. However, a passage in his treatise *Go on* suggests that there was once a version by Kan'ami.[21] Next to the title of the play, Zeami wrote "*kyoku* [music, or words and music] by my late father; 'Fall winds were blowing, to call forth sighs [*bōfu kyoku, kokorozukushi no akikaze ni*].' "[22] However, in a 1981 article, Takemoto Mikio asked how much of *Matsukaze* is really covered by the expression *bōfu kyoku* and precisely what *kyoku* means here.[23]

Referring to studies of similar questions affecting other plays, Takemoto concluded that Zeami in *Go on* was attributing to his father not the whole play, but only the passage of which he quoted the first line: a *sashi-ageuta-sageuta* sequence sung shortly after Matsukaze and Murasame's first appearance in part one. The sequence begins:

> Fall winds were blowing, to call forth sighs,
> *kokorozukushi no akikaze ni*
> and although the sea lay some way off,
> *umi wa sukoshi tōkeredo*
> Yukihira, the Middle Counsellor,
> *kano Yukihira no Chūnagon*
> sang of the breeze from Suma shore
> *seki fuki-koyuru to nagame-tamau*
> blowing through the pass.[24]

Takemoto held that it was originally an independent dance piece for which Kan'ami composed only the music, and suggested that the words are by an unknown "amateur." He concluded that Kan'ami had nothing to do with the rest of the play.

Takemoto reached this conclusion thanks to an analysis not only of Zeami's entry in *Go on,* but of the distribution of *renga yoriai* in the play. None is present in this *sashi-ageuta-sageuta.* Instead, the sequence's opening lines quote from the "Suma" chapter more extensively than is possible in *renga.*[25] No quotations of this kind appear elsewhere in the text. This evidence confirms that the sequence was originally independent from *Matsukaze* and was written by someone other than Zeami.

Another problematical section of the play is the *rongi* in part one,

21. Omote and Katō, *Zeami, Zenchiku,* p. 209. Scholars agree that, in this passage, the play is called simply *Matsukaze* because of an emendation made after Zeami's time. Zeami himself called the play *Matsukaze Murasame* (for example, in *Sandō,* Omote and Katō, p. 143).

22. Tyler, *Japanese Nō Dramas,* p. 194.

23. Takemoto Mikio, "*Sandō* no kaisaku reikyoku o meguru shomondai," in *Jissen kokubungaku,* No. 19 (March 1981), pp. 22–27. In 1984, Takemoto's conclusions were endorsed by Omote Akira in "Kan'ami den saiken (2)," *Kanze* (May 1984), p. 12.

24. Tyler, *Japanese Nō Dramas,* p. 194. The words *seki fuki-koyuru* are from *Shoku kokinshū* 868, which is quoted in the same way in the "Suma" chapter of the *Genji.*

25. Goff, *Noh Drama and* The Tale of Genji, pp. 64–65 and p. 224, note 7.

during which Matsukaze and Murasame evoke the poetic exaltation that sometimes lightens the saltmaker's labors in a world that is beautiful after all. The passage begins:

Far away they haul their brine
hakobu wa tōki
in Michinoku: though the name
Michinoku no
is "near," Chika. . . .[26]
sono na ya chika

Zeami said in *Sarugaku dangi* that he took it from a play called *Tōei*.[27] *Tōei* was set at Ashiya, along the coast east of Suma, and this explains why the speakers in the *rongi* appear to be at Ashiya. Takemoto argued that *Tōei* was Zeami's own work, especially since Zeami took the liberty of criticizing its music. However, the authorship of the *rongi* remains uncertain.

Although the *sashi-ageuta-sageuta* sequence and the *rongi,* like most of the rest of the play, are stable, *Matsukaze* does have textual variants. Writers on the play seldom mention them because they do not affect vital passages. (Takemoto Mikio, for example, said nothing about them.) However, they deserve acknowledgment.

These variants are of two kinds. First, there are two *shidai* (brief verse passages) that are performed only by the Shimogakari schools of *nō* (Kongō, Konparu, and Kita); second, there are several versions of the wandering priest's prose *nanori* (self-introduction) and *tsukizerifu* (arrival speech). Among them, the most immediately obvious is the *shidai* that opens Shimogakari performances:

Suma! and on down the shore to Akashi
Suma ya Akashi no urazutai (repeat)
I will go roaming with the moon.[28]
tsuki morotomo ni ijō yo

Both this and the second *shidai,* which occurs a little later, appear in the undated manuscript of Konparu Zenpō (1454–1532), the origin of the Shimogakari line of texts; however, they are absent from the manuscript of Kanze Motohiro, dated 1517, which is the origin of the Kamigakari (Kanze and Hōshō) line. As for the *nanori* and *tsukizerifu,* those in the Zenpō manuscript are less conventional than those in either the Motohiro manuscript or the various modern versions. Nakamura Itaru therefore held

26. Tyler, *Japanese Nō Dramas,* p. 196.

27. Omote and Katō, *Zeami, Zenchiku,* p. 285; Rimer and Yamazaki, *On the Art of the Nō Drama,* p. 212. The current play named *Tōei* may not be the same as the one mentioned by Zeami.

28. Tyler, *Japanese Nō Dramas,* p. 192.

that Zenpō's text is the earlier of the two, and that Motohiro's represents a revision of it.[29] Nonetheless, neither *shidai* is thought to belong to the original text of the play; nor can one be sure about the *nanori* and *tsukizerifu,* since such prose passages often vary in other plays as well.[30]

In sum, Zeami borrowed the *rongi* from another play that may or may not have been his own; the *sashi-ageuta-sageuta* sequence is definitely not his; and the variant passages (the two *shidai,* the *nanori,* and the *tsukizerifu*), even in the Zenpō manuscript, are unlikely to be by him. However, all these passages occur in the play's first half, which is so complex that several writers have noted its patchwork character. Tashiro Keiichirō, for example, called it a "collage."[31] Zeami himself wrote that *Matsukaze* is an "excessively complicated play" (*koto ōki nō*),[32] though he expressed satisfaction with it and, elsewhere, assigned it to the second of his nine grades of excellence, that of the "flower of great depth" (*chōshinkafū*).[33] The play clearly meant much to him, for he mentioned it in his treatises and in *Sarugaku dangi* more often than any other.

It is certainly the second half of *Matsukaze* that gives the play its lasting value. Judging from a passage in *Go on,* Zeami held that this half begins near the end of the prose dialogue that follows the *rongi,* when Matsukaze and Murasame exclaim, "Oh, it is true! When love is within, love's colours will show without!"[34] For this and other reasons, part two is now generally agreed to start at the beginning of this dialogue, when the wandering priest says, "The people of the salt-house have returned. I will ask them to give me shelter for the night."[35] Takemoto held that part two is by Zeami alone. My argument in this paper rests upon it.

There remains the question of the now-lost *Shiokumi.* If Kan'ami did not rewrite it, did Zeami? Takemoto's suggestion that *Shiokumi* treated a young *ama*'s tragic love certainly agrees with the poetic image of the *ama* evident in *Matsukaze.* Moreover, on Zeami's own testimony, the music for the last *ageuta* in part one—

29. Nakamura Itaru, "*Matsukaze* no henbō: Muromachi makki shodenbon o chūshin ni shite," *Gengo to bungei,* Vol. 7 (May 1974), pp. 47–66. The translation in Tyler, *Japanese Nō Dramas,* adopts the Zenpō text variants.

30. The play *Genjō,* which survives in an exceptionally early manuscript dated 1506, suggests that the opening *shidai* at least belongs to the late fifteenth century. *Genjō,* too, is set at Suma, and its unknown author drew on *Matsukaze* in several ways. See Omote Akira, "Eishō sannen bon *Genjō* o megutte," *Kanze* (July 1981); and "Sakuhin kenkyū: *Genjō,*" *Kanze* (Aug. 1981).

31. Tashiro, "Yōkyoku *Matsukaze* ni tsuite" (part 2), p. 64.

32. *Sarugaku dangi,* 15, in Omote and Katō, *Zeami, Zenchiku,* p. 289; Rimer and Yamazaki, *On the Art of the Nō Drama,* p. 219.

33. *Sarugaku dangi,* 14, in Omote and Katō, *Zeami, Zenchiku,* p. 286; Rimer and Yamazaki, *On the Art of the Nō Drama,* p. 214.

34. Omote and Katō, *Zeami, Zenchiku,* p. 210; Tyler, *Japanese Nō Dramas,* p. 199.

35. Tyler, *Japanese Nō Dramas,* p. 198.

Cranes start from the reeds with cries
ashibe no tazu koso wa tachisawage
while all four storm winds add their roar
yomo no arashi mo oto soete—

is "in the musical style of Kiami" (*Kia gakari nari*), the author of *Shiokumi*.[36] Something therefore did pass from *Shiokumi* to *Matsukaze*.[37] However, Takemoto believed *Matsukaze* to be Zeami's own play. Itō Masayoshi, in his recent edition of *Matsukaze,* agreed that the appearance of Kan'ami's name in *Go on* must be evaluated with the greatest caution and doubted that there ever existed an intermediate text by him. He then went on to propose that, with respect to *Shiokumi, Matsukaze* should be considered an entirely new work.[38]

Zeami's Conception

In *Go ongyoku no jōjō,* Zeami wrote of part two of *Matsukaze,* "It is the purest intensity of love's longing" (*renbo no moppara nari*).[39] He applied this expression also to *Hanjo,* which no one doubts is entirely his own. His remark presumably refers not only to the play's mood as perceived by a spectator, but to his own conception of the play. Having conceived *Matsukaze* as an expression of "the purest intensity of love's longing," he was satisfied that it actually produced that effect.

The American poet Hart Crane (1899–1932) once expressed his own understanding of poetry in this way: "It is as though a poem gave the reader as he left it a single, new *word,* never before spoken and impossible to enunciate." By "word," Crane meant (in context) an emotion. His remark applies quite well to a text like that of *Matsukaze.* He continued:

> The terms of expression employed are often selected less for their logical (literal) significance than for their associational meanings. Via this and their metaphorical relationships, the entire construction of the poem is raised on the organic principle of a "logic of metaphor."[40]

I believe that Zeami, having conceived *Matsukaze* as a pure expression of love's longing, also "raised" his work on an "organic principle," a "logic" of metaphor or association.

However, such an assertion challenges much recent criticism that has,

36. *Sarugaku dangi,* 13, in Omote and Katō, *Zeami, Zenchiku,* p. 285; Rimer and Yamazaki, *On the Art of the Nō Drama,* p. 212.

37. In *Sandō,* Zeami actually wrote, "*Matsukaze Murasame* is the old *Shiokumi.*" Omote and Katō, *Zeami, Zenchiku,* p. 143.

38. Itō Masayoshi, *Yōkyoku shū,* Vol. 3 (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1988), pp. 483–84.

39. Omote and Katō, *Zeami, Zenchiku,* p. 201.

40. From an essay entitled "General Aims and Theories," quoted in John Unterecker, *Voyager: A Life of Hart Crane* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1969), pp. 377–78.

precisely, questioned the concept of authorship and, often, denied its importance. Stephen Orgel noted, regarding the theater of Shakespeare's time, "how much the creation of a play was a collaborative process, with the author by no means at the center of the collaboration."[41] Jerome McGann wrote that the "mode of existence [of the 'literary work of art']. . . . is fundamentally social rather than personal,"[42] demonstrated how little the concept of the author's "final intentions" can mean, and went on to contend that "the 'achieved results' of an actual productive process . . . involve the translation of an initially psychological phenomenon (the 'creative process') into a social one (the literary work)."[43] Although McGann's "initially psychological phenomenon" seems related to what I have called the author's "conception" and his "achieved results" to the undoubtedly social phenomenon of a play's achieved effect on an audience, McGann remained uninterested in the titular author's own effort to realize his conception. His author is a rather impersonal entity whose chief activity is to introduce new artifacts (successive drafts, corrected proofs, revised editions) into society (friends, editors, critics, readers), in response to society's own pressures and demands.

Roland Barthes went further than lack of interest in the author as a person. In an essay entitled "The Death of the Author," he condemned any attempt to use the author as a reference point for understanding the work, championing instead the reader's complete freedom in the presence of the text and declaring that the idea of the author is, in any case, a modern construct,

> a product of our society insofar as, emerging from the Middle Ages with English empiricism, French rationalism and the personal faith of the Reformation, it discovered the prestige of the individual, of, as it is more nobly put, the "human person."[44]

Seen from such a perspective, Zeami as an author is a modern, Western, ideologically motivated invention of the kind deplored by Masao Miyoshi,

41. Stephen Orgel in "What is a Text?" *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama,* Vol. 24 (1981), pp. 3, 6; quoted by Jerome J. McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), p. 130, note 5. With respect to *nō,* the two texts of *Unrin'in* (the one in Zeami's own hand, although not necessarily by him, and the quite different modern version) are a vivid, if extreme, reminder of the problem. See the discussion by Thomas B. Hare, *Zeami's Style: The Noh Plays of Zeami Motokiyo* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), pp. 55–58; and the translations by Earl Jackson, Jr., in Karen Brazell, ed., *Twelve Plays of the Noh and Kyōgen Theaters* (Ithaca: Cornell University East Asia Program, 1988), pp. 40–61.

42. McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism,* p. 8.

43. Ibid., p. 63.

44. Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," in Stephen Heath, ed. and trans. *Image-Music-Text* (London: Fontana, 1977), pp. 142–43.

who proposed instead that authorship of premodern Japanese texts, specifically including *nō* texts, should be understood as "communal."[45] Still, the idea of an "author" was commonplace in Zeami's time, as the prologue to *Kakaishō* shows. The *renga* treatises of Nijō Yoshimoto demonstrate this very well.

In 1374, when Zeami was still a boy, the shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358–1408) adopted him as a favorite. Nijō Yoshimoto was then both the senior court official and the senior man of letters of his time, and he quickly took an active interest in the young Zeami. His influence on Zeami's vocabulary and style is well recognized. As Thomas Hare observed, "He seems to have had a profound influence on Zeami's literary style and is credited with much of Zeami's education in the classics."[46]

Yoshimoto clearly recognized the existence of distinct authors with their own styles. In his *Jūmon saihi shō,* for example, he wrote, "In the arts, one who would be a master does not insist on retaining his teacher's own style [*shi no tei*]. . . . If you have caught on to something of your own [*wa ga satorietaru tokoro araba*], you should start your own line." He went on to say that although Ki no Tsurayuki (d. 946) studied the style of Ōtomo no Yakamochi (d. 785), his style is not Yakamochi's; that while Fujiwara no Teika (1162–1241), Fujiwara no Ietaka (1158–1237), and others studied Tsurayuki, they do not in the end resemble him; and that the *renga* master Kyūsei (or Gusai, 1282?–1376?) learned from Zenna (fl. early 14th c.) but eventually gave him up.[47] Surely Zeami, too, had "caught on to something of [his] own" in all aspects of his art, including the writing of play scripts.

A little further on in *Jūmon saihi shō,* Yoshimoto limited originality to matters of style rather than fundamental intent. He wrote, "My advice to abandon one's teacher concerns only *kakari* [the musical quality of *renga* language] and *fuzei* [poetic ingenuity]; one's inspiration [*iji*] no doubt re-

45. Masao Miyoshi, "Against the Native Grain," in his *Off Center: Power and Culture Relations between Japan and the United States* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), pp. 34–35.

46. For example, Thomas Hare treated it in *Zeami's Style,* pp. 17–20; Janet Goff in *Noh Drama and* The Tale of Genji, pp. 35–38; Konishi Jin'ichi in his *A History of Japanese Literature,* Vol. 3 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 534; and Dōmoto Masaki in *Zeami* (Tokyo: Geki Shobō, 1986), pp. 293–99. Having acknowledged the "close relationship" between Zeami and Yoshimoto, Konishi Jin'ichi cautioned that Zeami "by no means adopted the position of the Nijō school," noting that he also followed Ashikaga Yoshimitsu's somewhat different tastes; Janet Goff (p. 38) wrote to the same effect. However, since the case of *Matsukaze* involves *yoriai* prescribed by Yoshimoto, it seems reasonable to rely on him here.

47. Kidō Saizō and Imoto Nōichi, *Rengaron shū, hairon shū* (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1961), p. 109.

mains the same."[48] His "inspiration" therefore refers to something prior to particular expressive traits, which may and in fact should differ from one poet to another. It has to do with what Yoshimoto often called *kokoro* (heart or conception).[49] In *Renri hishō,* he wrote: "What matters above all is conception [*kokoro o dai-ichi to subeshi*]. It is thanks to his conception that the expert makes good [*renga*] links."[50] Further on, he insisted that "in general, since it is intensity of conception [*kokoro hishi to tsukite*] that makes a link superior, the link will not necessarily be defective even if its words themselves are poor."[51]

Having emphasized the importance of conception, Nijō Yoshimoto soon went on to say, "Just memorizing a lot of *yoriai* and piecing your links together from bits of old lumber will produce absolutely nothing worthwhile, as long as nothing of your own goes into them."[52] His "bits of old lumber" (*kozaimoku*), like *yoriai,* are of course vocabulary and expressions from the classics that he commended for study to the *renga* amateur. Among these, the *Genji* figures prominently. In *Kyūshū mondō,* for example, Yoshimoto wrote that "*yoriai* from the *Genji* are of the highest importance."[53] No doubt this is why a surviving letter of his mentions abstracting for the young Zeami words and phrases from several chapters of the *Genji,*[54] and why Yoshimoto selected, for all *renga* poets, *Hikaru Genji ichibu renga yoriai.*[55]

In short, Yoshimoto held that the poet could achieve nothing good by just trotting out memorized material and assuming that this material would allow his work to stand on its own. He insisted that the poet must have a conception capable of giving life and distinction to this "old lumber." Therefore, it is not enough simply to identify Zeami as the man who wrote down the words of *Matsukaze* and to note that "Suma" *yoriai* are scattered through the play. Zeami could hardly have missed Yoshimoto's lesson. As Dōmoto Masaki and others have pointed out, Zeami in his treatises drew

48. Ibid., p. 113. *Kakari* is a term particularly favored by Yoshimoto in his later *renga* treatises.

49. "Conception" is the translation adopted in Konishi, *A History of Japanese Literature,* Vol. 3, for example on p. 430.

50. Kidō and Imoto, *Rengaron shū, hairon shū,* p. 39.

51. Ibid., p. 41.

52. Ibid., p. 39.

53. Okami Masao, ed., *Yoshimoto renga ron shū,* Vol. 2 (Tokyo: Koten Bunko [Koten bunko, Vol. 78], 1954), p. 191.

54. Teramoto, *Genji monogatari juyō shi ronkō,* p. 397. For the text of the letter, dating probably from the Eiwa era (1375–79), Teramoto referred to Inaga Keiji, *Genji monogatari no kenkyū,* p. 276. It mentions "Wakana," "Nowaki," "Momiji-no-ga," "Hana-no-en," "etc."

55. Yoshimoto also compiled a *Genji* digest entitled *Hikaru Genji ichibu renga yoriai no koto.* See Okami, *Yoshimoto rengaron shū,* Vol. 3, pp. 101–240.

many terms and ideas (including *yūgen*) from Yoshimoto.[56] If Zeami put those *yoriai* in *Matsukaze,* he must have meant something by them. They must have served his conception.

How Not to Write a Nō *Play*

In *Sandō,* Zeami described how to write a *nō* play.[57] He gave directions on how to recognize a suitable central character (*tane,* the seed), how to lay out the musical and dramatic structure of the play (*nō o tsukuru*), and how to write the script (*nō o kaku*). Regarding the last item, he wrote:

> Writing: make sure you ask yourself and answer this question from the opening line of the play and for each type of character that enters: "What kind of words would it be best to write for a person such as this?" In your writing, you should allot words from poems that invoke various associations . . . in conformity with the style of the noh. In the play, the setting of the authentic source should be established. If it is of poetic import, such as a noted place or historic site, then take words from well-known poems of the place and write them into those parts of the three *dan* of *ha* that you judge to be the points of highest tension. . . . For the rest, fine words, well-known verses and such must be written in for the *shite* to render.[58]

Zeami's injunction to write appropriately for each character makes perfect sense, and his advice to "allot words from poems that invoke various associations" or to give the *shite* "fine words, well-known verses" confirms an obvious feature of most *nō* scripts, especially his own. However, guidance like this bears the same relationship to a finished script as a booklet on how to write a thesis does to a completed thesis. Though helpful, it leaves much unsaid. In particular, this and other advice in *Sandō* may not match the way a playwright like Zeami actually went about composing a specific play.

In *Matsukaze,* Zeami did not necessarily follow his own advice. For example, nothing in *Sandō* encourages the playwright to write anything like part one of the play, nor does *Sandō* encourage the choice of Matsu-

56. Dōmoto, *Zeami,* pp. 293–99. Dōmoto mentioned especially (p. 296) the terms *yūgen, honzetsu, fushimono, fuzei,* and *kakari* as words prominent both in Yoshimoto's treatises and in Zeami's. Thomas Hare quoted a letter by Yoshimoto praising the young Zeami and his skill at *renga,* and observed that Yoshimoto described Zeami's ways in terms that often appear also in his *renga* treatises. They include *hana* (flower) and *yūgen,* which became Zeami's own favorites in his treatises on *nō* (Hare, *Zeami's Style,* pp. 17–18 and p. 258, note 18).

57. Omote and Katō, *Zeami, Zenchiku,* pp. 134–44. For a translation and commentary, see Quinn, "How to Write a Noh Play," pp. 53–88; for a translation alone, see Rimer and Yamazaki, *On the Art of the Nō Drama,* pp. 148–62.

58. Quinn, "How to Write a Noh Play," p. 65; Omote and Katō, *Zeami, Zenchiku,* pp. 135–36.

kaze and Murasame as *shite* and *tsure*. Under the heading of *tane* (how to recognize a suitable central character), Zeami urged the playwright to select from his "authentic source" (*honzetsu*) a character for whom it is appropriate to dance and sing on stage; and he illustrated his meaning with examples. But while Matsukaze may suitably sing and dance, she and her sister have no visible *honzetsu* at all. And although Zeami recognized that one might wish to write a play without *honzetsu* (he called such a play a *tsukuri-nō*, or "made up noh"[59]), he warned anyone but a "consummate master" against attempting such a feat.[60]

A related problem is Zeami's advice that "in the play, the setting of the authentic source [the *honzetsu*] should be established." Not that *Matsukaze* is not set appropriately at Suma, as long as it involves Yukihira. However, the prose preface to *Kokinshū* 962 says nothing about Matsukaze or Murasame, and moreover, all the *yoriai* blur Yukihira's identity since they suggest that he is somehow Genji as well. In sum, *Matsukaze* cannot be taken as the sort of model *nō* that Zeami had in mind, and this only confirms that in composing *Matsukaze*, Zeami had an idea of his own—just as Murasaki Shikibu, according to *Kakaishō*, had an idea of her own when she began writing the *Genji*.

On Reading a Nō *Play*

But even if he did, how does one legitimately read a *nō* text like *Matsukaze?* In the presence of dissenting literary theories, Steven Carter felt obliged to justify his own "rule-based" approach to reading a 100-link *renga* sequence, even though the traditional rules for reading *renga* are known in exceptional detail.[61] To explain my approach to *Matsukaze* in this paper, I will appeal to Umberto Eco.

In an essay entitled "The Poetics of the Open Work," Eco discussed the rules for interpreting medieval European allegorical texts, with their "preestablished. . . . interpretative solutions" that "never allow the reader to move outside the strict control of the author."[62] *Nō* scripts clearly are not like this, since their writers have never been in a position to claim "strict control" over what actors and audiences make of them, and since

59. Quinn, "How to Write a Noh Play," p. 60; Omote and Katō, *Zeami, Zenchiku*, p. 134.

60. This is why Tashiro Keiichirō held that Zeami cannot have invented the sisters. He wrote that *Matsukaze* must have been written roughly ten years before *Sandō*, which is dated 1422, and objected that Zeami cannot have considered himself, at that time, a "consummate master." He concluded that *Matsukaze* cannot really be a "made up noh." See Tashiro, "Yōkyoku *Matsukaze* ni tsuite," part 2, p. 53.

61. Steven Carter, *The Road to Komatsubara: A Classical Reading of the Renga Hyakuin* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987), pp. 6–7.

62. Umberto Eco, *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), p. 51.

there certainly are no rules for reading them. But Eco then went on to talk about a different, more relevant sort of modern work: the "work in movement," in which the reader or listener takes an active part in the apprehension and even the composition of the work, on a basis of material supplied by the author. Eco affirmed that such a work still does not admit arbitrary interpretation. He wrote, "The possibilities which the work's *openness* makes available always work within a given *field of relations.*"[63]

A *nō* script, too, can be read "within a given *field of relations.*" My argument for the intertextual relationship between the *Genji* and *Matsukaze* involves reading the script within the field established, by detailed custom if not by explicit rules, between the literary elements (vocabulary, images) and the historical elements (history or legend taken as true) assembled by the playwright into his text. Other fields—for example, ritual patterns, folklore motifs, or semiotic analysis of imagery—might also have their value, but they would quickly lead beyond the materials consciously available to Zeami and so would not answer my purpose. They would obscure the intricate ties between the script and its literary context.

In other words, some readings of *Matsukaze,* even if fruitful within other fields, are barren in this one. Two examples concern a moment, in part two of the play, that gives a critical clue to Matsukaze and Murasame's literary background. It is the one when Matsukaze sees not the pine tree but Yukihira. Matsukaze cries out: "Oh what happiness! Yukihira is standing there, calling my name, Pining Wind! I am going to him!" But as she starts toward the pine, Murasame stops her, exclaiming, "How awful!. . . . You have not yet forgotten the mad passion you felt when when we still belonged to the world. That is a pine tree. Yukihira is not there." Matsukaze protests that "That pine *is* Yukihira" and reminds her sister of Yukihira's promise to return. Only then does Murasame exclaim, "Why, you are right! I had forgotten!"[64]

The sisters reveal here quite different natures, since one has Yukihira's promise constantly present to mind while the other has forgotten it. Because of this difference, each now witnesses a different reality: one sees Yukihira while the other sees only a pine tree. Nonetheless, many writers on the play have taken Matsukaze and Murasame as practically the same. This interpretation (their sameness) is probably due to Murasame's being only the *tsure,* so that her standing in the play is far below her sister's. Seen in the light of the undoubtedly orthodox performance "doctrine of the *shite* as sole actor" (*shite ichinin shugi*), she hardly counts.[65]

63. Ibid., p. 62.

64. Tyler, *Japanese Nō Dramas,* pp. 202–3.

65. This principle was set forth most concertedly by Nogami Toyoichirō in his "Nō no shuyaku ichinin shugi." See Nogami, *Nō: kenkyū to hakken* (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1930), pp. 1–42.

The second example is an interpretation offered by Matsuoka Shinpei. Matsuoka suggested that "Murasame is the rational aspect of Matsukaze herself; she is another, inner Matsukaze who restrains Matsukaze's madness." He called this division of Matsukaze into two a "theatrical device" of Zeami.[66] Perhaps, but could a single personality have, for Zeami, dual aspects? Certainly, plays like *Aoi no ue* or *Dōjōji* (neither of which is by him) involve a woman who appears first in ordinary guise and then as a demonic being. However, such women reveal their "true" nature by displaying a new form. Dual aspects of a single personality do not appear side by side, in the same form, in *nō* or in medieval tale literature. Matsuoka's interpretation appeals to ideas from modern psychology and so remains isolated in the field I have described.

I might mention here the story that Matsukaze and Murasame were real people, since it could affect any reading of the play. Bashō wrote near the end of *Oi no kobumi* (1687): "Beyond the hills that border [Suma Shore], there is a place called Tai-no-hata; they say that is where Matsukaze and Murasame were from."[67] Kanai Kiyomitsu, appearing to take the idea seriously, held that the sisters were making salt for ritual use in the village shrine and so were the daughters of a senior member of the village.[68] However, since this story first occurs in a work by Hayashi Gahō (1610–80),[69] it seems not to be older than the seventeenth century, and is probably itself an explanation—a reading—of this famous play.

Major Poetic Motifs in Matsukaze

As *ama,* Matsukaze and Murasame belong to a community that lives from the sea by fishing, diving for shellfish or seaweed, or making salt. Men, too, were *ama,* but the literary *ama* is usually a young woman. Many poets evoked her romantic yearnings or used her persona to express their own. An example is *Senzaishū* 713:

> Could even the *ama* who gather dainty seaweed on Noshima Shore ever have sleeves as wet as mine [are with tears of unhappy love]?
> *tamamo karu / Noshima no ura no / ama danimo / ito kaku sode wa / nururu mono / ka wa*

66. Matsuoka, "Zeami/Matsukaze," p. 64.

67. Sugiura Shōichirō, et al., eds., *Bashō bun shū* (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1959), p. 64.

68. Kanai Kiyomitsu, "*Matsukaze,*" in his *Nō no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1969), pp. 417–18.

69. Nose Asaji wrote that Matsukaze and Murasame must have been known before Zeami's time because a document he called *Jungō Chikafusa ki* says they were from Tai-no-hata. However, this title is another name for Hayashi Gahō's *Kitabatake Jungō den.* See *Nose Asaji chosaku shū,* Vol. 6 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1982), p. 372. Nakamura Kyōzō, in his *Yōkyoku to shiseki* (Tokyo: Yōkyoku Shiseki Honzonkai, 1988) cited many legends and artifacts clearly inspired by *nō* plays.

The *ama*'s sleeves, wet with brine, suggest tears of romantic longing: the poetic mood of the shore, be it Noshima (on Awaji) or elsewhere. Suma provides an outstanding example. The poetic *ama* of Suma is a saltmaker, as in *Matsukaze,* who tends her "salt-fire" (*shiohi*) in her "salt-burning robe" (*shio-yaki kinu*), while her "salt-fire smoke" (*shio yaku kemuri*) rises into the sky, proclaiming her unhappy love to all. Already in the *Man'yōshū* (no. 947), an envoy to a *chōka* by Yamabe no Akahito speaks of "the well-worn robe the *ama* of Suma burns salt in" (*Suma no ama no shio-yaki kinu*) and associates it with the lover's longing. This robe, characteristic of Suma poetry, foreshadows the robe handled by Matsukaze in the play.

Matsukaze often refers to making salt, which involved gathering seaweed, further saturating it in brine dipped from the sea, and boiling the mixture down. When the sisters lament that they are "brine-drenched" (*shiojimite*),[70] speaking of the love they can never renounce, they sound like *Shinkokinshū* 1041:

> I had only heard of the waved-washed robe the Suma *ama* wears, but now I understand I wear it too.[71]
>
> *Suma no ama no / namikake-goromo / yoso ni nomi / kiku wa waga mi ni / narinikeru kana*

This *ama*'s "wave-washed robe" is impregnated with *shio* (brine, salt, or the tide), and *shio* has strongly sensual overtones. A *kouta* song like no. 122 in the *Kanginshū* (1518) makes its meaning plain:

> Lost am I in the brine [=her charms], lost in the byways of [love's] stony shore.[72]
>
> *shio ni mayōta / iso no hosomichi*

Shio here means feminine charm or allure. Even *iso* (stony shore) implies romance, as is clear from the entry for *iso* in *Renju gappeki shū,* an authoritative *renga* manual by Ichijō Kanera (1402–81). To follow a mention of *iso,* Kanera listed *shio miteba,* "when the *shio* is high"; *wakame,* "seaweed" or "young woman"; *matsu,* "pine tree" or "await with longing"; and *mirume karu,* in which *mirume* means either seaweed or "seeing" one's lover.[73] All these expressions evoke romance in *waka* poetry, and the pun on *matsu* is central to *Matsukaze.*[74]

70. Part two, *kudoki-guri;* Tyler, *Japanese Nō Dramas,* p. 199.

71. Kubota Jun confirmed that the *ama* in the poem (who may also be plural) is a pretty girl whose wet robe alludes to romantic yearnings. See Kubota Jun, *Shinkokin wakashū zen hyōshaku* (9 vols.), Vol. 5 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977), p. 130.

72. Kitagawa Tadahiko, ed., *Kanginshū, Sōan kouta shū* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1982), p. 71.

73. Kidō Saizō and Shigematsu Hiromi, eds., *Renga ron shū,* Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Miyai Shoten, 1974), p. 51.

74. *Iso,* in the variant form *isobe,* describes the shore at Suma in the *ageuta* in part one of *Matsukaze;* Tyler, *Japanese Nō Dramas,* p. 194.

The *shio*-suffused *ama* of Suma is burning with a love that is revealed by the smoke from her salt-fire, as it rises from her salt-house. *Kanginshū* 121 evokes this scene through a lover's eyes:

> Smoke of the salt house, O salt house smoke, just as she stands there, she is so lovely![75]
> *shioya no kemuri / shioya no kemuri yo / tatsu sugata made / shiogamashi*

In *Shinkokinshū* 1116, the smoke betrays the speaker's feelings:

> The evening smoke of the salt sea-tangle fire, rising over the *ama*'s house on the stony shore, proclaims, alas, that I love, even as I burn on
> *moshio yaku / ama no isoya no / yū kemuri / tatsu na mo kurushi / omohi taenade*

She does not wish her feelings to be known, but they are all too plain. In *Matsukaze,* the sisters strive in vain to conceal their feelings and their identity, and it is the wandering priest's discovery of them, in their own salt-house, that reveals them to the audience. Read in this light, the following pair of *renga* links are a capsule summary of the play:

> Alas that my sorry name should rise and spread abroad!
> *uki na bakari ya yoso ni tatsuran*
> The evening smoke above the Suma salt-house proclaims I have no thought but love.[76]
> *koi o nomi / Suma no shioya no / yū kemuri*

The first link is by Nijō Yoshimoto and the second, the featured one of the pair, is by Kyūsei. Yoshimoto included them in his *renga* anthology *Tsukuba shū* (1356) and in his *renga* manual *Gekimōshō* (1358), prepared for Emperor Go-Kōgon. Since he regarded Kyūsei as his teacher, this second link has special authority as a model. In fact, all the model links in *Gekimōshō* are by Kyūsei.[77]

Matsukaze and Murasame, for whom a pine stands on Suma shore, pine for their lover. Ichijō Kanera listed *matsu* ("pine" in both senses) as suitable for a *renga* link exploiting romantically colored seashore imagery, but this association between the shore and *matsu* is not a *renga* invention. It appears, for example, in a famous poem (*Hyakunin isshu* 97) by Fujiwara no Teika:

75. The song seems at first to mean that the smoke of the fire as it rises (*tatsu*) is lovely, but the loveliness is really that of the girl's standing (*tatsu*) figure.

76. See Ijichi Tetsuo, ed., *Renga shū* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1960), p. 122; and Okami, ed., *Yoshimoto renga ron shū,* Vol. 2, p. 12.

77. Yoshimoto wrote in *Jūmon saihishō:* "Kyūsei's words were always just right, and gracefully lovely. He never tried to make his *renga* stylish, he just added perfect links." See Kidō and Imoto, *Rengaron shū, hairon shū,* p. 113.

On Matsuho shore, in the evening calm, I await one who comes not, and, with the salt sea-tangle, burn.
konu hito o / Matsuho no ura no / yūnagi ni / yaku ya moshio no / mi mo kogaretsutsu

Teika's use of the place name *Matsu*ho resembles the use of the name *Matsu*kaze in the play. Although the one who "pines" is of course a person, *matsu* nonetheless means a tree. The images of the *ama* and the pine are superimposed on one another.

The pine in the play is a single tree, as the wandering priest makes clear when he describes it as *matsu hitoki* (one pine tree):

There they lie buried deep in the earth
sono mi wa dochū ni uzumorenuredomo,
yet their names still linger, and in sign,
na wa nokoru yo no shirushi tote,
ever constant in hue, a single pine
kawaranu iro no matsu hitoki
leaves a green autumn.[78]
midori no aki o nokosu

The autumn is "green" because a pine is green in every season, as Zeami insisted in *Takasago,*[79] and it therefore contrasts with the red of autumn leaves, which in poetry is the color of love. For example, a sequence in the *Shinkokinshū* (nos. 1025–30) evokes the lover's resolve not to betray his or her feelings, that is, to remain green like a tree that does *not* show love's color in reddened leaves (or sleeves). In the play, Matsukaze and Murasame remain similarly "green" until at last they weep and exclaim to the wandering priest: "Oh, it is true! When love is within, love's color will show without!"[80] The pine on the shore therefore suggests an *ama* whose feelings remain unseen. When her feelings show, the smoke from her fire rises to the sky and her sleeves redden (as the late autumn rains redden the leaves) with bitter tears. In part two of the play, the sisters are like red autumn leaves.

The expression *matsu hitoki* itself appears to be taken from *renga,* perhaps from this sequence in *Gekimōshō:*

The branches' colors glow from sleeves where autumn leaves fall.
momiji chiru / sode ni kozue no / iro utsushi
Pine groves of Ejima and Akashi—
Ejima Akashi no / matsu no muradachi
a single pine, it is, that sounds in the wind.

78. From an unnamed *shōdan* in part one; Tyler, *Japanese Nō Dramas,* p. 193.

79. *Takasago* is translated in Tyler, *Japanese Nō Dramas,* among other places. For a translation with detailed commentary, see Richard Gardner, "*Takasago:* The Symbolism of the Pine," *Monumenta Nipponica,* Vol. 47, No. 2 (Summer 1992).

80. Tyler, *Japanese Nō Dramas,* p. 199.

matsu hitoki koso / kaze ni kikoyure
Still, o ripples, such is the name of this shore. . . .[81]
sasanami ya / kono ura no na no / shikasuga ni

The sequence passes from sleeves red with leaves (and tears) to pine groves on separate shores (Ejima is on Awaji, across from Akashi), which then merge into a single pine sounding in the wind. The final link alludes to another single pine: the Karasaki pine on the southern coast of Lake Biwa.[82] Considering the role of the *matsu* in Teika's poem and the value given *matsu hitoki* in the play, the pine in the third link could well hint at a grieving *ama*. The Karasaki pine, on the other hand, was a *yōgō no matsu* (pine of the divine manifestation, where the Sannō deity once appeared), so that it, too, resembles the pine in the play; for if, in part one, the pine is an emblem of the sisters' longing, in the second it is the pine in which Yukihira himself becomes visible.[83]

Playing through a pine in spring, the wind may have a happy sound, as in *Takasago,* but in autumn (the season of *Matsukaze*) it stirs thoughts of mortality and loss. Spring or fall, night or day, however, it blows on without rest.[84] This is what the wandering priest finds when, at the end of *Matsukaze,* he wakes from his dream of the sisters:

The dream is gone, without a shadow
yume mo ato naku
night opens into dawn.
yo mo akete
It was autumn rain you heard,
murasame to kikishi mo
but this morning see:
kesa mireba
pining wind alone lingers on.[85]
matsukaze bakari ya nokoruran

These lines, in turn, resemble a pair of links from a sequence composed in 1453 (40 years or so later than the play) by a group gathered around Sōzei (d. 1455):

81. Okami, ed., *Yoshimoto renga ron shū,* Vol. 2, p. 41.

82. In the last link, *sasanami ya* is a "pillow word" for Shiga, the name of which is hidden in shika*suga ni*. The Karasaki pine, on a point jutting out into Lake Biwa, was famous.

83. The expression *matsu hitoki* also occurs in a *renga* sequence by Nijō Yoshimoto and others (*Shitoku ninen Ishiyama hyakuin* in Shimazu Tadao, ed., *Rengashū* [Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1979], p. 47). The link emphasizes that the pine does not redden in autumn, unlike the leaves that fall from other trees.

84. Saigyō (1118–90), in *Sankashū* 1090, described wind in the pines as blowing *tokiwa ni* (eternally): "Wind ever blowing through pines chills one always, yet brings keenest sorrow as day dies from the sky" (*matsukaze wa/ itsumo tokiwa ni/ mi ni shimedo/ wakite sabishiki/ yūgure no sora*).

85. Tyler, *Japanese Nō Dramas,* p. 204.

In fitful sleep, I dream [of her] a vain dream—
sameyasuki / yume no omoine / musubōre
blow swift or soft, the wind is ever in the pines,[86]
fuku mo tayumu mo / onaji matsukaze

The speaker wakes from his dream of love, only to hear, as always, the wind in the pines. He could be the wandering priest in *Matsukaze*.

Matsukaze *and the* Genji: *Yukihira*

The *ama* of poetry burns for a visitor who came down to her shore, had a brief affair with her, and then went away. The story told in *Matsukaze* follows this pattern, and so does the story told in the "Suma" and "Akashi" chapters of the *Genji*. However, these two are not the only chapters of the tale relevant to the play, for "Matsukaze" and perhaps "Usugumo" (A Rack of Cloud) must be included as well.

In "Suma," the exiled Genji longs especially for his wife, Murasaki. Soon, he hears about a lady at Akashi. Then, in a series of dreams during a storm, he receives a supernatural command from the Sea King to leave Suma. At last, in yet another striking dream, Genji's father demands to know why he has not obeyed the divine "summons to the palace"—a summons generally understood to be from the Sea King, that is, Sumiyoshi. By this time the storm has abated, and as it clears, a boat arrives from Akashi: the Akashi lady's father, obeying a counterpart divine command, has sent it for Genji. Sped on by a miraculously favorable wind, Genji sails to Akashi where, in the "Akashi" chapter, he comes to know the lady. By the time he is recalled to the capital, she is pregnant. But although he invites her to follow him, she does not immediately do so, for although of noble birth, she feels the shame of her seaside upbringing. After her daughter is born, Genji continues urging her to join him until, in the "Matsukaze" chapter, she moves with her mother and child to a house just outside the capital, at Ōi. Genji seldom actually visits her there, however, and in "Usugumo" he has Murasaki adopt the little girl in order to promote her fortunes more effectively. Later on, the daughter rises to be empress and makes Genji the grandfather of an emperor, but the intimacy between the lady and Genji is never restored.

The "Suma" *yoriai* in *Matsukaze,* and the play's two poems by Yukihira that figure also in "Suma," already suggest that Yukihira's identity in the play includes that of Genji. In fact Genji himself, in "Suma," realizes that he is repeating Yukihira's exile, which had all the poetic authority of its presence in the *Kokinshū*. The first time the name Suma appears, at the

86. *Kyōtoku ninen Sōzei ra nanimichi renga* in Shimazu, *Rengashū,* p. 131. The first link quoted is by Sōzei, the second by Ninsei.

start of the chapter, Genji is wondering where to seek refuge from his troubles: "There's Suma, of course' he thought to himself; 'long ago, yes, someone did live there, but now. . . .'"[87] *Kakaishō* explicitly connects this remark with *Kokinshū* 962 ("Should one by chance ask after me"), while *Genji monogatari teiyō* (1432) says that "Genji decided to leave for Suma in the footsteps of the Middle Counselor Yukihira."[88] Genji's house at Suma stood roughly where Yukihira's had, and allusions to *Kokinshū* 962 appear in poems throughout the chapter to evoke his plight.

Ariwara no Yukihira was the elder brother of Narihira (825–80), the lost lover in Zeami's *Izutsu* and the hero of *Ise monogatari*. However, he had none of Narihira's glamor. While Narihira's fame resounded through the ages,[89] Yukihira's few good poems did not rank him among the "poetic immortals" of the *Kokinshū* period, and in medieval *Kokinshū* commentaries he has no particular identity. The few interesting passages about him explain why he went to Suma.

Having analyzed mentions of Yukihira in *Montoku jitsuroku,* Ishikawa Tōru concluded that Yukihira was at Suma from the spring of 850 to the autumn of 852—a "three year" (*ashigake sannen*) period that corresponds closely to that of Genji's exile. Yukihira would then have been in his thirty-third year when he arrived.[90] But why did he go? The commentaries give different reasons. One, cited by Ishikawa, explains that Yukihira had had an affair with a concubine of Emperor Montoku.[91] (Ishikawa noted that this story parallels the proximate cause of Genji's own difficulties, since Genji had been caught in bed with a woman destined to become the crown prince's consort.) However, *Kōan jūnen Kokinshū chū* (1287) states that Yukihira was exiled because he had murdered Fujiwara no Moroshige, a rival for promotion. Meanwhile, *Kokinwakashū jo chū* by Ton'a (1289–1372) describes how Yukihira became angry with an old gardener of his, and how the gardener saved himself with an apt poem.[92] This story then appears in *Yōkyoku shūyōshō* as an explanation of Yukihira's exile: the poem did *not* calm Yukihira's wrath, and to save the gardener, the emperor had to send him away.[93]

87. Shōgakkan, Vol. 2, p. 153; Shinchōsha, Vol. 2, p. 201; Seidensticker, p. 219.

88. Muromatsu, *Kakaishō, Kachō yojō, Shijo shichiron,* p. 135; and Inaga, *Genji monogatari teiyō,* p. 82.

89. On Narihira as a "star," see Richard Bowring, "The *Ise monogatari:* A Short Cultural History," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies,* Vol. 52, No. 2 (Dec. 1992), pp. 401–80.

90. Ishikawa Tōru, "Suma, Akashi no shomondai," in Genji Monogatari Tankyū Kai, ed., *Genji monogatari no kenkyū,* Vol. 11 (1986), p. 88.

91. Ishikawa, "Suma, Akashi no shomondai," p. 89–90.

92. Katagiri Yōichi, ed., *Chūsei Kokinshū chūshakusho kaidai* (6 vols.) (Kyoto: Akao Shōbundō, 1973–86), Vol. 2, pp. 451 (*Kōan jūnen kokinshū kachū*) and 300 (*Kokinwakashū jo chū*).

93. Muromatsu, ed., *Yōkyoku shūyōshō,* p. 413.

All this confusion rather cancels itself out, leaving Yukihira, historical though he may be, a far less substantial figure than the fictional Genji. Perhaps one might call his name an empty vessel that Zeami, in *Matsukaze,* filled with Genji. The play's mention of Yukihira's death confirms this idea. After telling the wandering priest how Yukihira spent three years at Suma, the sisters continue:

> Then Yukihira went up to Miyako
> *Yukihira Miyako ni agari-tamai*
> and, not long after, came the news
> *ikuhodo nakute yo o hayō*
> that he, so young, had passed away.[94]
> *sari-tamainu to kikishi yori*

Yet *Montoku jitsuroku* shows that Yukihira rose quickly after his probable return from Suma, and that he died in his 70s at a distinguished rank.[95] Why did Zeami have him die young? Perhaps he erased Yukihira's biography so as not to cloud the purity of the sisters' longing with extraneous detail, and so as not to distract his audience's attention from the *Genji* overtones of the play.

Suma and Akashi

In a dream during the storm at Suma, it seemed to Genji that someone unknown was trying to draw him down into the deep. Afterward, Genji realized that this person must have been the "Dragon King of the Sea," who, being "a great lover of beauty" (*itaku monomede suru mono*), apparently had his eye on him.[96] The *Genji* commentary *Genchū saihishō* (compiled between 1318 and 1364) connects this passage with the myth of Hikohohodemi, noting how Hikohohodemi went down to the Dragon King's palace and there married the Dragon King's daughter, Toyotama-hime, who in time bore him a son: the future Jinmu Tennō.[97] In other words, *Genchū saihishō* takes it that the Dragon King wanted Genji for his son-in-law. *Kakaishō* cites the same myth in the same connection.[98]

Fourteenth-century commentators on the *Genji* therefore detected an analogy between Hikohohodemi's visit to the sea realm and Genji's exile. Hikohohodemi's descent into the sea, like Genji's exile, was forced upon him by misfortune: having lost his elder brother's magic fishhook, he was

94. From the *kudoki* in part two; Tyler, *Japanese Nō Dramas,* p. 200.

95. Ishikawa, "Suma, Akashi no shomondai," p. 87.

96. Shōgakkan, Vol. 2, p. 210; Shinchōsha, Vol. 2, p. 256; Seidensticker, p. 246.

97. *Genchū saihishō* in Yoshizawa Yoshinori, ed., *Mikan kokubun kochūshaku taikei* (Tokyo: Teikoku Kyōikukai Shuppanbu, 1936), Vol. 11, p. 46. The *kaisetsu* states that this work was known to Nijō Yoshimoto.

98. *Kakaishō* in Muromatsu, *Kakaishō, Kachō yojō, Shijo shichiron,* pp. 147–48.

required to go and search for it. He and Genji both married women of the sea, each fathered a child who rose to imperial rank, and each benefited greatly: Hikohohodemi received from the Dragon King a gift that allowed him to triumph over his elder brother, while Genji triumphed over his political opposition, came to enjoy quasi-imperial status, and became the grandfather of an emperor.

Modern scholars have agreed with this summary of Genji's experience, seeing in it a pattern classically designated by Origuchi Shinobu as "the exile of the young noble" (*kishu ryūri tan*). Haruo Shirane and Norma Field both discussed it in these terms.[99] In this reading of the story, the Akashi lady corresponds to Toyotama-hime and her father, the Akashi priest, to the Sea King.

The former correspondence may be obvious, but the latter needs explaining. It has to do with the old man's devotion to the Sumiyoshi deity. When at last Genji reaches Akashi, the Akashi priest, overjoyed, turns to thank Sumiyoshi. Later, he confesses to Genji that he has been praying to Sumiyoshi for 18 years and taking his daughter on pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi every spring and fall.[100] His object has been the restoration of his house (despite the eccentricity of his own retirement to Akashi) through a brilliant marriage for his daughter. That is why the Sea King's seeming wish to draw Genji to him resembles the Akashi priest's desperate eagerness to greet an acceptable son-in-law.

However, this is not the only parallel between the old man and the Sea King. Another is that both rule a domain foreign to their guest. The sea is alien to Hikohohodemi, who visits it from the upper world. Similarly, Akashi is alien to Genji. As Fujii Sadakazu pointed out, Suma and Akashi, although close to one another, were not just in different provinces, Suma being in Settsu and Akashi in Harima. Settsu was within the Kinai region, under direct imperial sway, while Harima lay outside (Kigai). Fujii therefore suggested that for Genji to pass the boundary between them was for him to violate a sort of "taboo."[101] Moreover, Genji's situation in the two realms (Suma and Akashi) is different. At Suma, though in exile, he is his own master. Then the Sumiyoshi deity brings about his move to Akashi, where he is the guest of an impressively wealthy old man who for years past has constantly prayed to Sumiyoshi for just such a visitor. Seen in this

99. Haruo Shirane, *The Bridge of Dreams: A Poetics of "The Tale of Genji"* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), pp. 3–4; Norma Field, *The Splendor of Longing in the* Tale of Genji (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 33–34.

100. Shōgakkan, Vol. 2, pp. 224, 235; Shinchōsha, Vol. 2, pp. 270, 279; Seidensticker, pp. 252, 256.

101. Fujii Sadakazu, "Uta no zasetsu," in Murasaki Shikibu Gakkai, ed., *Genji monogatari oyobi igo no monogatari: kenkyū to shiryō* (Kodai bungaku ronsō, Vol. 7) (Tokyo: Musashino Shoin, 1979), p. 71.

light, Akashi looks quite like the Dragon King's palace. After all, Sumiyoshi is among other things a deity of the sea.

Suma and Akashi are therefore complementary realms, closely linked to one another. The legend that Murasaki Shikibu wrote both chapters in a single rush of inspiration suggests that, for medieval readers, her inspiration embraced the whole process of Genji's fall, exile, and happy return to the capital. In this, it resembled the will of the Sumiyoshi deity in the tale. Fujii Sadakazu noted, and Toshima Hidenori showed in detail, that in Murasaki Shikibu's time both Settsu and Harima were within the domain of the Sumiyoshi shrine and that the Sumiyoshi cult had deep roots at Akashi.[102] Separated by the border between two provinces and two political realms (Kinai and Kigai), Suma and Akashi were one in allegiance to Sumiyoshi, the deity not only of the sea but of poetry.

No wonder Suma and Akashi are frequently paired in *renga,* as for instance in these links from a sequence presided over by Nijō Yoshimoto in 1355:

> The dream is gone and instead I see the moon.
> *yume ni kaetaru / tsuki o koso mire*
> A boat moored at Akashi, near Suma along the shore.[103]
> *Suma chikaki / ura wa Akashi no / tomari-bune*

Genji's dream vision of his father at Suma has melted away and he finds himself looking only at the moon. Then, in the next link, he has already disembarked at Akashi. In poetry, his journey from Suma to Akashi is captured especially often in the word *urazutai* (along the shore), from the poem he sent to his wife in the capital as soon as he arrived:

> How much further my thoughts fly to you, now I have moved on along a shore I never knew![104]
> *haruka ni mo / omoiyaru kana / shirazarishi / ura yori ochi ni / urazutai shite*

Urazutai, a *yoriai* for the "Akashi" chapter, appears in the capsule description of the chapter given in many commentaries, and in at least nine *enkyoku* songs that also evoke Genji's journey.[105] It figures too in the *shidai* that begins some texts of *Matsukaze.*

102. Fujii, "Uta no zasetsu," p. 72; Toshima Hidenori, "Suma, Akashi no maki ni okeru shinkō to bungaku no kisō: *Sumiyoshi Taisha jindai ki* o megutte," in Genji Monogatari Tankyū Kai, ed., *Genji monogatari no kenkyū,* Vol. 12 (1987), pp. 167–98.

103. *Bunna senku daiichi hyakuin* in Kaneko Kinjirō, et al., eds., *Renga haikai shū* (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1974), pp. 107–8. The first link is by Yoshimoto, the second by Gyōa.

104. Shōgakkan, Vol. 2, p. 226; Shinchōsha, Vol. 2, p. 271; Seidensticker, p. 253.

105. Inui Katsumi, *Enkyoku no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1972), pp. 123–24. *Enkyoku* songs were popular throughout the Kamakura and Muromachi periods. Karen Brazell discussed them in "Blossoms': A Medieval Song," *Journal of Japanese Studies,* Vol. 6, No. 2 (Summer 1980), pp. 243–66.

Suma and Akashi are therefore so closely connected that the apparent absence of Akashi from *Matsukaze* (except for the *shidai* just mentioned) is surprising. This is why Kōsai Tsutomu could not help suspecting the Akashi lady's background presence in the play,[106] and presumably also why Kanai Kiyomitsu, discussing the significance of *renga* for *Matsukaze,* quoted a passage about the "Akashi" chapter by the *renga* master Sōgi (1421–1502).[107] Sōgi observed that once an allusion to "Akashi" has appeared, the two succeeding links should follow through by alluding to "Matsukaze" and "Usugumo." Sōgi attributed this practice to *kojin* (the master of old), probably Nijō Yoshimoto.[108]

The Nō *Play* Suma Genji

Perhaps Zeami avoided mentioning Akashi because Yukihira had no sanctioned poetic connection with it. If so, however, one still needs to explain the absence of Akashi from a related play entitled *Suma Genji* (Genji at Suma).

Suma Genji is probably by Zeami, who seems to have adapted for its main section an earlier dance piece by the *dengaku* actor Kiami—the same Kiami whose *Shiokumi* lies somewhere in the background of *Matsukaze.*[109] The play's *waki,* a "shrine official," visits Suma and meets there an old woodcutter like the *shite* in part one of Zeami's *Tadanori.*[110] Then, in part two, Genji appears. Having revealed that he now dwells in the Tuṣita Heaven (where the Future Buddha, Maitreya, waits to be born into the world), he descends in a blaze of light, amid heavenly music, to dance on Suma shore and "to protect sinners."[111] As dawn breaks, his dancing figure melts away.

Suma Genji is a minor work, and one wonders how seriously to take this "Genji *raigō*" that mimics a buddha's descent to save sentient beings. Despite the play's many references to the *Genji,* it tells a story unlike anything in the tale.[112] Still, it clearly assumes Genji's rise to glory after

106. Kōsai, *Yōkyoku shinkō,* p. 132.

107. Kanai Kiyomitsu, "*Matsukaze,*" pp. 423–24.

108. From *Azuma mondō.* See Kidō and Imoto, *Rengaron shū, hairon shū,* p. 211.

109. Omote Akira, *Nōgaku shi shinkō,* Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Wan'ya Shoten, 1979), pp. 494–96. For a discussion and translation of *Suma Genji,* see Goff, *Noh Drama and* The Tale of Genji, pp. 150–52 and 155–59.

110. *Tadanori,* too, is set at Suma and contains *yoriai* from the "Suma" chapter. It is translated in Tyler, *Japanese Nō Dramas,* among other places. Janet Goff discussed its connection with *Genji* in *Noh Drama and* The Tale of Genji, pp. 62–64.

111. Goff, *Noh Drama and* The Tale of Genji, p. 159.

112. However, it does perhaps recall the moment in "Akashi" when the lady's father, hearing Genji play on a moonlit night, rushes to join him, exclaiming that he now knows what paradise must be like. See Shōgakkan, Vol. 2, p. 230; Shinchōsha, Vol. 2, p. 275; Seidensticker, p. 255.

the trial of his exile and celebrates a supernatural return to Suma, this time freely to confer blessings on all beings there. In other words, it assumes the Akashi episode and the rise of Genji's daughter.

Perhaps this seemingly exclusive choice of Suma can be explained by the character of Genji's experience at Akashi. At Suma, Genji was still living the true exile's life, alone. At Akashi, however, he lived in comfort as a guest and then a son-in-law. Akashi belongs to the old priest and, poetically, to the Akashi lady. Since only Suma was Genji's own, it is the proper setting for a play about him in exile. *Suma Genji* is one such play but *Matsukaze* is another. *Matsukaze,* too, can be taken to involve a spirit-return by Genji to Suma: Matsukaze's vision of Yukihira.

Matsukaze therefore varies on the theme of *Suma Genji.* In it, Genji's descent is seen not through the eyes of a shrine official to whom a direct vision of him is simply an honor and a blessing, but rather through the eyes of an *ama,* a suffering sentient being typical of this shore. In *Matsukaze,* the wandering priest dreams of a young woman who, distraught with longing, calls down a vision of her lover, only to be reminded that this vision is not "real." In keeping with the poetic character of an *ama*'s love, Matsukaze's vision suggests a fulfillment always desired and always insubstantial at best.

The Akashi Lady as an Ama

But what can all this really have to do with the Akashi lady, even if she, too, languishes for an absent lover? Can *she* be seen legitimately as an *ama?* An *ama* inhabits a lowly, marginal realm, while the Akashi lady is of very high birth. In spite of the serious social disadvantage inflicted on her by her upbringing, writers on *Matsukaze* have been unable to see her actually as an *ama.* Kōsai Tsutomu could not, and Tashiro Keiichirō dismissed the idea explicitly because the sisters and the lady are separated by too wide a social gulf.[113] In the end, however, the solution is clear. The lady resembles an *ama* in Genji's eyes and in the eyes of his world, because what matters in this regard is not her lineage but her standing vis-à-vis Genji.

Although no *ama* by birth, the Akashi lady feels herself to be hardly more than one in relation to Genji. While desperately wondering whether or not to receive him, she reflects with mortification that an *ama* is exactly what he must take her for:

> The lady herself was certainly not going to go to *him.* It was miserable country girls who, so she had heard, heedlessly yielded that way to the

113. Kōsai, *Yōkyoku shinkō,* p. 131; Tashiro, "Yōkyoku *Matsukaze* ni tsuite" (part 2), p. 57.

> flattering talk of visiting gentlemen from the capital. No doubt he felt immensely superior to her, whereas for herself, to see him would mean nothing but distress. . . . [What with his being so close,] she [by now] knew a good deal about how he spent his time; but for him to seek her out as though she really was of his own kind—that was simply too much for someone whose life had been wasted among *ama* like those of this shore.[114]

And she is right. Her father dreams of Genji marrying her and Genji does. However, Genji will not acknowledge her as his public equal because she grew up at Akashi. This, her only blemish, is enough. For Genji, she might as well be an *ama;* and not wishing, in her pride, to be treated as one, she feels she would rather not meet him at all.

This social truth has its counterpart in private exchanges where Genji and the lady sometimes assume the roles already glimpsed in the poetry of the shore: he is the visitor, she the *ama* whom the visitor leaves burning with love. This passage occurs shortly before Genji leaves Akashi:

> The noise of the waves had somehow changed under the autumn wind, and smoke from the salt fires was trailing thinly across the sky. Everything that gave the place its character seemed gathered into the scene.
>
> For now, alas, I must say good-bye, but perhaps the salt-fire smoke will follow me where I go,
> *kono tabi wa/ tachiwakaru tomo / moshio yaku / keburi wa onaji / kata ni nabikan*

said Genji; and she,

> Sea-tangle the *ama* raked in is now burning, its fire all in vain, though I will not complain.[115]
> *kakitsumete / ama no taku mo no / omoi ni mo / ima wa kai naki / urami dani seji*

Others beside the Akashi lady may present themselves as *ama* in their poems. Yukihira did so in *Kokinshū* 962, and Genji after him in a poem to Fujitsubo. So did Lady Rokujō when she wrote as "the *ama* of Ise" to Genji "at Suma Shore where, they say, the salt, sea-tangle drops fall."[116] But Yukihira, Genji, and Rokujō are only poetic *ama,* whereas the Akashi lady has no escape from her condition. Like the sisters in the play, she is a woman of the sea and can rightly be compared to Hikohohodemi's sea-bride.

114. Shōgakkan, Vol. 2, p. 243; Shinchōsha, Vol. 2, pp. 287–88; Seidensticker, p. 260.

115. Shōgakkan, Vol. 2, p. 254; Shinchōsha, Vol. 2, p. 298; Seidensticker, p. 266.

116. Shōgakkan, Vol. 2, p. 186; Shinchōsha, Vol. 2, pp. 232–33; Seidensticker, p. 233.

The Robe and Kin

The world of *Matsukaze* is not one of commonly visible realities, nor one shaped simply by workmanlike choice of theme and vocabulary. It is a world of essences imagined in consonance with *waka* and *renga* practice, and with the material offered by the *Genji* itself. In this world, the Akashi lady is an *ama* like the sisters. But the sisters have a "hunting cloak" (*kariginu*) and a hat (*eboshi*) left them by their lover. Does anything in the *Genji* correspond to Yukihira's parting gifts?

Matsukaze has Yukihira's hunting cloak, and sometimes, when she misses him, she takes it out and handles it fondly as though it were he. The Akashi lady has Genji's hunting cloak, since he gave it to her just as he was leaving. However, his cloak is never mentioned again. Does the Akashi lady, too, take it out and fondle it? She can be imagined doing so if only because in "Suma" Genji fondles a counterpart robe.

The Akashi lady also has Genji's *kin* (a seven-stringed Chinese koto), since he gave it to her shortly before he left. Matsukaze certainly has nothing like it. However, Genji's *kin,* too, appears in the "Suma" chapter, where Genji plays it himself. In fact, both the robe and the *kin* figure in the scene of Genji under the full moon: the one inspired, according to *Kakaishō,* by the full moon at Ishiyama.

On the fifteenth night of the eighth month, Genji is overcome with longing. Fondly remembering a talk with his brother the emperor, and his brother's wonderful resemblance to their father, the previous emperor, he murmurs a line of Chinese verse by Sugawara no Michizane: "Here is the robe He so graciously gave me." Michizane, in exile at Dazaifu, had written a poem on the topic "autumn yearnings" and had mentioned in it a robe given him by Emperor Daigo. The novel's next sentence says, "And [Genji] really did keep His robe with him all the time, placing it close beside him." Genji, like Michizane, has a robe the emperor gave him and holds it dear.[117] In the succeeding lines, the windborne music of Genji's *kin* surprises a party of travelers returning along the coast from Kyushu to the capital: the family of the Gosechi Dancer, whom Genji once loved briefly. His music on this remote shore brings tears to the eyes of all who hear it.[118]

Not only does *Kakaishō* gloss this passage by pointing out the allusion to Michizane's poem,[119] but its prologue specifically mentions Michizane's exile in connection with Murasaki Shikibu's writing of the "Suma" and

117. The text being ambiguous, commentators are divided over whether Genji received it from his brother or his father. *Kakaishō* does not comment on the issue.

118. Shōgakkan, Vol. 2, p. 195; Shinchōsha, Vol. 2, pp. 241–42; Seidensticker, pp. 238–39.

119. *Kakaishō* in Muromatsu, *Kakaishō, Kachō yojō, Shijo shichiron,* p. 142.

"Akashi" chapters. In other words, Zeami was probably well aware of Genji's robe, even though it appears only briefly. (*Kakaishō* brings it up only to point out the allusion, and other commentaries may omit it.) Moreover, at least three *enkyoku* mention it, which suggests that medieval readers did not miss it. For example, *Kaikyū* (Remembering the Past) has this passage:

> Autumn nights being still filled with longing, seduced by the brightness of the moon, he murmurs "the robe He so graciously gave me" and gazes till dawn, then on down the shore to Akashi, wave-tossed, and with, all the while, the form he loved at home somehow floating up before him.[120]
>
> *ima made mo kokoro nagaki wa aki no yo no / tsuki no hikari ni sasowarete / onshi no gyoi to ei-jitsutsu / nagame akashi no ura-zutai / nami no tachii no furusato no omokage ika ni ukabiken*

The Genji of *Kaikyū* is surely to be imagined fondling the robe with longing—a longing directed not only to the emperor who gave it to him but to his wife Murasaki, since *Kaikyū* associates his feelings with his move to Akashi and with the *omokage,* or "beloved form," that haunts him on his way there. *Genji shimei ryō eiga* (The Twin Glory in the *Genji* of Murasaki and Akashi), another *enkyoku,* also takes this *omokage* as Murasaki's; links the robe directly with Genji's longing for her, suggesting that what he sought from it was *her* presence; and hints that only failure to evoke this presence predisposed him in favor of moving to Akashi:

> Yes, even at his lodging on this unimagined journey, he did not forget, for all the waves' tossing and heaving, the dear form he had left in the capital; there, in unsettled sleep, pillowed on the oar, he turned inside out "the robe He so graciously gave me," trusting dreams to bring him and his love together, though all in vain; and what with the shore wind coming to call him from his cares, in those days when the waves surged on without rest, he moved on further along the coast. . . .[121]
>
> *sareba ya omowanu tabi no sumai made mo / miyako ni tomeshi omokage / nami no tachii ni wasureneba / ukine no toko no kajima-kura ni / onshi no gyoi o kaeshitemo / yume o tanomishi tsuma to naru / namima naki koro no aware o ba / urakaze no tsute ni ya toiken / ura yori ochi no ura-zutai*

This song not only reads into Genji's affection for the robe thirst for Murasaki, but has him wear it (in the manner customary on such an occasion) in order to dream of her. In this, his feelings and behavior both resemble Matsukaze's. But what of his *kin?*

120. Yoshida Tōgo, ed., *Chūko kayō enkyoku zenshū* (Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1917), p. 133. The romanization follows not 5-7-5 syllable units but the song phrases separated in the original by "commas." The translation conveys something of the words' way of flowing on and on like a brook.

121. Ibid., p. 264.

At Akashi, music brings Genji and the Akashi lady together, as *Genji monogatari teiyō* points out.[122] It is while talking with Genji about music that the Akashi priest first mentions his daughter and agrees to have her play for him. Later, as Genji stands for the first time at her gate, the first sound he hears from her house is that of a curtain cord brushing a 13 stringed *sō-no-koto;* and when at last he hears her play, he realizes she is just as good as the Fujitsubo he so deeply loves and admires.[123]

As his departure nears, he gives her the *kin* he had played at Suma, together with a poem asking her not to retune the *naka no o* (middle string) until they meet again. Then, on the morning when he leaves, she sends him a new hunting cloak she has made him. He answers by sending her his old one, still fragrant with his scent, and speaks in his accompanying poem of the *naka no koromo* (middle robe) that will now be between them for so long. The *naka* in *naka no koromo* and *naka no o* alludes both to their separation and to the deeper bond that joins them.[124]

Like the robe Genji had from the emperor, the *naka no koromo* is mentioned only once. Yet a lady like her would have handled it sometimes, remembering him, just as Genji handled the emperor's robe at Suma. Genji, a poetic *ama* at Suma, was longing for the capital. She, an *ama* too, had the robe he gave her on leaving for the capital. If Genji kept "His robe with him all the time, placing it close beside him," she would have done the same,[125] in a manner true both to literary convention and to human feelings.[126]

Yukihira's Hat: The Ama *and the Entertainer*

That the lady would have treasured Genji's hunting cloak does not prove her imagined behavior to have influenced Matsukaze's in the play. Still, the *Kakaishō* prologue's mention of Sugawara no Michizane, together with the gloss on "the robe He so graciously gave me," suggests that to a reader like Zeami, a gift-robe was a natural attribute of one grieving in separation from his or her beloved. Certainly, *Matsukaze* is consis-

122. Inaga, *Genji monogatari teiyō,* p. 97.

123. Shōgakkan, Vol. 2, p. 255; Shinchōsha, Vol. 2, p. 299; Seidensticker, p. 266.

124. *Naka* (middle) puns on the word that means "relationship [between two people]." According to *Kakaishō* (p. 156), the *naka no o* is the "tuning string" (*chōshi no gen*) or "plectrum string" (*bachi no o*) In poetry, a *nako no koromo* comes between the bodies of lovers who have lain down together, although the thin cloth that separates them also attests to their closeness.

125. Murasaki, too, grieving for her exiled Genji, handled clothing and furnishings of his, feeling all the while as though he might as well have passed from this world altogether.

126. That a robe could stand for its wearer not only in sentiment but in an imperial ritual is shown by the rite of the *Goshichinichi mishiho,* in which rites for the emperor's health were performed over the emperor's robe. See Yamaori Tetsuo, "Goshichinichi mishiho to daijōsai," *Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan kenkyū hōkoku,* No. 7 (1985), pp. 365–94.

tent with the *Genji* on this issue. But Matsukaze's behavior on stage is undoubtedly stronger than the Akashi lady's imagined one. As her *kuse* scene shows, the woman who holds her lover's robe in her arms still knows the difference between herself and him, but the one who puts it on seeks (or affirms) identity with him. In taking this step before the wandering priest and the audience, Matsukaze reveals a quality different from any attributed to the lady in the novel.

This quality is one required of Matsukaze as a *shite* in a *nō* play. Zeami discussed it in *Sandō*. He wrote:

> Material: the character in the source of the play who does the performing; understand the implications for the dance and chant. . . . However celebrated an ancient or artist, if the character is not the type to perform these two modes of acting, then visional affect cannot materialize.[127]

He went on to mention "Ise, Komachi, Giō, Gijo, Shizuka, Hyakuman, and other such women of artistic accomplishment" as suitable for the "material" of a play. The women named, none of them from the *Genji,* are obvious examples. Later on in *Sandō,* however, Zeami wrote:

> The noh image of the woman: write it in such a way as to embellish its style. Dance and chant are fundamental to this style of performance in particular. Within it, there should be an elevated style of figure. For the gentlewomen, whether a junior consort, an imperial concubine, Lady Aoi, Yūgao, or Ukifune, be mindful of the noble image, the uncommon aristocratic presence and appearance when you write.[128]

This time, he specified women from the *Genji* as models of "an elevated style of figure." However, Aoi does not appear as the *shite* in any currently performed play, *Yūgao* cannot be attributed to Zeami with any confidence, and the text of *Ukifune* is known not to be by him.

None of these three women is known for "artistic accomplishment." In contrast, the Akashi lady was an outstanding musician. If Zeami had her in mind when he conceived *Matsukaze,* he had only to turn her into a figure likely to dance—a figure more resembling the dancers Giō, Gijo, or Shizuka, or the famous *monogurui* (madwoman) Hyakuman. He had no need to destroy the elevation of her style, nor did he do so, since whether or not the Akashi lady has anything to do with *Matsukaze,* the sisters are universally agreed to be figures of exceptionally elevated beauty.

Assuming that the Akashi lady underlies the sisters as Genji underlies Yukihira, Yukihira's hat highlights this transformation. There is no hat in the *Genji.* Added to the hunting cloak, it completes a costume like that originally worn by a *shirabyōshi* dancer. This costume signals that Matsukaze, who is after all a figure in a musical play, is going to dance. In

127. Quinn, "How to Write a Nō Play," pp. 59–60.
128. Ibid., pp. 70–71.

short, the hat changes an *ama* who is also a lady into an entertainer. Entertainers who long for a departed, noble lover appear in several other Zeami plays. One is the *yūjo* (a prostitute or singing-girl) of *Hanjo,* while others are the *yūjo* of *Matsura* (no longer performed) and the *shirabyōshi* of *Higaki.* All three, like Matsukaze and the Akashi lady, long for gentlemen from the capital who came to them briefly and then went away.

The disparate figures of the Akashi lady and the *shirabyōshi* meet in the complete image of the female *ama,* for an *ama,* too, could be an entertainer. Abe Yasurō, for example, cited a document dated 1297 that lists *yūjo, shirabyōshi,* and *ama* equally under the heading of entertainers.[129] Even more vividly than the poems already discussed, a story about Yukihira in *Senjūshō* (ca. 1200?) helps to explain why.

> Of old, there was a man known as the Middle Counselor Yukihira. Having misbehaved, he was sent down to Suma shore, where, with the salt brine dripping from him, he wandered along the beach. Among the divers on Ejima there was one whom he found singularly attractive. Going up to her, he asked, "Where do you live?" She replied:
>
> No home have I of my own, for I, a diver's daughter, live beside white-breaking waves upon the ocean shore.
>
> *shiranami no / yosuru nagisa ni / yo o sugosu / ama no ko nareba / yado mo sadamezu*

Then she slipped away. Yukihira, deeply moved, could not refrain from weeping. And the compiler of *Senjūshō* added:

> Amid the seas' thrust and ebb she dove into the billows, and although she did not *mean* to have the moon lodge on her sleeves, those sleeves of hers were lovely indeed. Upon them, swept as they were by wave on wave, a dear face shone, illumined still more brightly by the moon. Alone, she spread her moistened robe and lived aboard a boat among the divers. Yukihira was astonished to discover so delicious a girl. Her poem was quite wonderful.[130]

Imagining this diver's beauty, wit, mystery, and erotic appeal, the writer endowed her—in keeping with the poetic tradition—with an absent lover for whom she weeps (she sees his face in the teardrops on her sleeve) and gave her a "moistened robe" (*nureginu*) that hints at love. The poem in

129. Abe Yasurō, "Seizoku no tawamure to shite no geinō: *Ama,*" in Moriya Takeshi, ed., *Geinō to chinkon* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1988), p. 192, note 26. Barbara Ruch discussed medieval female entertainers in "The Other Side of Culture in Medieval Japan," in Kozo Yamamura, ed., *The Cambridge History of Japan, Vol. 3, Medieval Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 525–31.

130. *Senjūshō,* No. 87 (*kan* 9, no. 11); Nishio Kōichi, ed., *Senjūshō* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1970), pp. 244–45. A few writers on *Matsukaze* have cited this story in connection with the play, but most have ignored it since it has nothing to do with the poems that are so prominent in the "Suma" chapter.

this story appears also as no. 722 in the earlier *Wakan rōei shū* (1018), in the "Yūjo" section, with a note that it is "by an *ama.*"

As far as the Akashi lady is concerned, the discrete categories "lady," "*ama,*" "*yūjo,*" etc., all allude in the end to a single truth: she is *available* to Genji just as the Sea King's daughter (unlike an ordinary lady) combined the qualities of being at once worthy of Hikohohodemi and unconditionally *available* to him. Moreover, it is the Akashi lady's music that draws Genji to her. In this, and in her role as a bestower of good fortune, she resembles the *ama* of a story in *Shasekishū* (1283).[131] Entranced by the beauty and wit of an *ama* girl he heard sing on the shore of Iwami, the governor of the province married her and took her back to the capital, where she gave him many fine children.

In this tale, as in that of Genji himself, good fortune comes from marriage to a musical woman of the sea. Similar happiness is promised by medieval paintings of Benzaiten, a divinity of music and good fortune. The beautiful goddess is seated on a rock by the water, with behind her a halo or moon-disk. She is playing a *biwa* (lute).[132] The Akashi lady plays the *biwa,* too.

Matsukaze and Murasame

However, Matsukaze has no *biwa,* and the play says nothing about her bringing Yukihira good fortune. The analogy between her and the Akashi lady fails here, and remembering Murasame does not help. How could two sisters correspond to one lady? The answer is that they do not. They form a pair, and the fundamental tie between them does not identify them with people at all.

To begin with, the "Wakamurasaki" (Lavender) chapter of the *Genji,* taken together with *Ise monogatari,* suggests a literary context for the presence in the play of two women loved by one man. In "Wakamurasaki," Genji leaves the city for the first time to see a healer at a temple in the mountains to the north. There, he catches his first glimpse of little Murasaki, who immediately fascinates him and whom he will later take home and make his wife. He also hears tell, for the first time, of the eccentric old official who has retired to far-off Akashi, and of that official's only daughter. "Wakamurasaki" is a chapter of beginnings. The two young girls who come to Genji's attention during this trip to the country will both play central, though quite distinct, roles in his life.

In the opening section of *Ise monogatari,* another very young man sallies forth from the capital to hunt on an estate of his near Nara and sees

131. Watanabe Tsunaya, ed., *Shasekishū* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1966), pp. 230–31.

132. See Sekiguchi Masayuki, ed., *Nihon no butsuzō daikyakka,* Vol. 5 (*Ten*) (Tokyo: Gyōsei, 1991), pp. 176–77.

there two beautiful sisters who throw his heart into turmoil. Cutting a piece off the bottom of his hunting cloak, he writes on it this poem for them:

> Robe patterned with young lavender from the Kasuga meadows, all in a hopeless tangle, my longing goes to you.
> *Kasugano no / wakamurasaki no / surigoromo / shinobu no midare / kagiri shirarezu*

The young man was Yukihira's brother, Narihira. The text does not say how many sisters there were, but commentators over the centuries have agreed that there were two. Takeoka Masao suggested that (as *two* sisters) they are meant above all to heighten Narihira's romantic excitement.[133] Narihira knows he will have to make a choice but really wants both at once, hence his confusion.

Yukihira's position at Suma, as presented in *Matsukaze,* resembles his brother's near Nara. His involvement with two *ama* suggests exciting complexities of feeling and so heightens the color of an already erotic situation. However, the "Wakamurasaki" chapter's allusion to *Ise monogatari* overshadows the analogy between the brothers. Since Narihira's poem gave Murasaki (and the chapter) her name, the first appearance in this chapter of both Murasaki and the Akashi lady is itself an allusion to *Ise monogatari.* The analogy between Genji in the "Wakamurasaki" chapter and Yukihira in the play, sustained by the reference to Narihira, therefore allows one to see in Matsukaze and Murasame not the Akashi lady alone, but the Akashi lady and Murasaki as a pair.

Still, "Wakamurasaki" and *Ise monogatari,* by themselves, fall short of connecting the *Genji* to *Matsukaze* in any compelling manner, and they shed little light on the sisters' differing natures or on their complementary roles in part two of the play. The real key to the issue is provided by the sisters' obviously literary names.

Since Zeami himself seems to have called the play *Matsukaze Murasame* rather than just *Matsukaze,*[134] he may have seen the sisters as roughly equal. In his time, Murasame probably took more lines of the text than she does now.[135] Nevertheless, the sisters' names confirm the difference between them. Matsukaze's means "wind in the pines," while Murasame's means a rain that falls hard, then gently, in fits and starts; in poetry, *murasame* refers especially to the cold showers of late autumn. The Murasame who objects that "Yukihira is not there" has forgotten Yukihira's promise to return and so is true to her name, since like *murasame* she starts and stops. In contrast, Matsukaze's memory and faith are constant, like *matsukaze* in poetry.

133. Takeoka Masao, *Ise monogatari zenchūshaku* (Tokyo: Yūbundō, 1987), p. 29.
134. *Go ongyoku no jōjō* in Omote and Katō, *Zeami, Zenchiku,* p. 201.
135. Nakamura, "*Matsukaze* no henbō," p. 51.

The words *matsukaze* and *murasame* figure in *renga,* too, as a pair. But although Ichijō Kanera in *Renju gappeki shū* listed *matsukaze* as suitable to follow a mention of *murasame,*[136] this *renga* pairing is not really convincing. *Renju gappeki shū* lists seven other images that may follow *murasame* and fails to sanction the reverse order (*murasame* placed after *matsukaze*).[137] A closer, more precise poetic tie between *matsukaze* and *murasame,* that is to say between the sisters, has to do with music.

The *Genji* often associates *matsukaze* with koto music. Amazed by the tone of a koto (a *wagon*) that Genji is playing, Tamakazura, in the "Tokonatsu" (Wild Carnations) chapter, asks quite naively, "What wind can be blowing, then, to make it sound so beautifully?"[138] Wind in the pines and the music of the koto are in fact constant companions in poetry, and while the "Suma" chapter associates wind and the koto with waves rather than pines, "Akashi" often touches on this theme.

The pines in the "Akashi" chapter are those around the Akashi lady's house. One moonlit night in the fourth month, Genji is gazing out over the sea toward Awaji and imagining, in his longing for home, that he sees before him his own garden lake, when, in search of consolation, he begins to play his *kin.* The music carries to the lady's house, to "that house under the hill [*okabe no ie*], mingled with the sound of waves and the murmuring of the pines."[139] Just as the first sound Genji heard from her house, a little later on, was that of a curtain cord brushing against koto, so her first sound from him is koto music, played on an instrument he had not touched since the previous fall at Suma, and carried to her by the wind. A page later the lady's father, speaking of her playing, modestly wonders to Genji whether his old ears may not have simply mistaken the *matsukaze* for the music of his beloved daughter.[140]

Kakaishō glosses the old man's words by citing a poem by Saigū no Nyōgo (*Wakan rōeishū* 469):[141]

> The sound of the pines on the mountain wind mingles with the music of the *kin;* and, for this concert, which string was tuned to which?
> *koto no ne ni / mine no matsukaze / kayou nari / izure no o yori / shirabe-someken*

136. Kidō and Shigematsu, *Renga ron shū,* Vol. 1, p. 39. Nijō Yoshimoto regularly listed *murasame* as an *ichiza ikku mono* (a word allowed once per hundred-link sequence) and *matsukaze* as an *ichiza niku mono* (twice per sequence), for example in *Renga shinshiki, Renga shogaku shō,* and *Renri hishō.* See Okami, *Yoshimoto renga ronshū,* Vol. 1, pp. 9, 43, 160–61.

137. *Renga tsukeai no koto* (Kidō and Shigematsu, *Renga ron shū,* Vol. 1, pp. 204–20), another, undated medieval *renga* manual, does not list *murasame* at all.

138. Shōgakkan, Vol. 3, p. 224, Shinchōsha, Vol. 4, p. 93; Seidensticker, p. 445.

139. Shōgakkan, Vol. 2, p. 230, Shinchōsha, Vol. 2, p. 275; Seidensticker, p. 254.

140. Shōgakkan, Vol. 2, p. 232, Shinchōsha, Vol. 2, p. 277; Seidensticker, p. 255.

141. *Kakaishō* in Muromatsu, *Kakaishō, Kachō yojō, Shijo shichiron,* p. 152.

Saigū no Nyōgo wrote her poem on the poetic topic (*dai*), "The wind in the pines enters the *kin* played by night." Referring to the same poem and topic, Minamoto no Shitagō (911–83) wrote of the wind in the pines: "Listening in the spirit [of that topic], one hears mingling variously together the beauty of the deep green pines, sounding in the wind from off the mountain, and the *kin* played in the depths of the night.[142] The setting of Saigū no Nyōgo's poem is like that of the Akashi lady's "house under the hill," and its question recalls the poem Genji made when he gave the lady his *kin*. His mention of the "middle string" evoked and enjoined the same mutual attunement as that heard by Saigū no Nyōgo in the music of the pines and the music of the *kin*.

The topic "*matsukaze* enters the night *kin*" is derived ultimately from a poem on the wind by the T'ang poet Li Ch'iao[143] and so illustrates the importance of Chinese literary motifs in the *Genji* and in many *nō* plays. *Kakaishō* glosses a large number of them, and its prologue insists particularly on the significance, for the "Suma" and "Akashi" chapters, of the poetry of Po Chü-i. One passage in "Akashi" alludes to Po Chü-i's *P'i-p'a-yin,* although this poem concerns the *biwa* rather than the *kin*.[144]

Early in the chapter, Genji is talking with the father of the Akashi lady, whom he has not yet met. They have been discussing the *sō-no-koto,* which the lady learned from her father. However, when Genji expresses a wish to hear her play, the old man assents by referring to *P'i-p'a-yin*. After all, he says, "even among the merchants there was one who did honor to the music of old."[145] This one "among the merchants" was a former courtesan of Ch'ang-an. She had married a provincial merchant, and Po Chü-i, in exile, heard her play her *biwa* one night on a boat moored along a river.

Much in the setting of *P'i-p'a-yin* corresponds to the one at Akashi: the waterside scene; the lowly woman who, with longing in her heart, plays in a distant province the music of the capital;[146] and the listener (Genji and the poet) who is himself in exile and who recognizes in her music the voice

142. Kawaguchi Hisao and Shida Nobuyoshi, eds., *Wakan rōei shū, Ryōjin hishō* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1955), p. 169, note for no. 469.

143. Ibid., p. 169.

144. David Pollack discussed Chinese allusions in the "Suma" chapter in *The Fracture of Meaning: Japan's Synthesis of China from the Eighth to the Eighteenth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 55–76. Nakanishi Susumu analyzed the role of *P'i-p'a-yin* in the *Genji* in "In'yu to an'yu (6): *Genji monogatari* ni okeru, *Hakushi monjū, Biwa in* nado," *Nichibunken Nihon kenkyū,* No. 6 (March 1992), pp. 75–101.

145. Shōgakkan, Vol. 2, p. 233, Shinchōsha, Vol. 2, pp. 277–78; Seidensticker, pp. 255–56.

146. The Akashi priest's talk of one "among the merchants" alludes to his own daughter's provincial upbringing, but the skill of Po-Chü-i's *biwa* player actually comes from her old life as a singing-girl.

of the home that both have lost. The resemblance between Genji and Po Chü-i is intended, since Genji's house at Suma and the things he brought there from the capital (Po Chü-i's collected poems, for example) are described—as *Kakaishō* points out[147]—partly in terms drawn from poetry by the exiled Po Chü-i.

Still, the old man's sudden introduction of the *biwa* into a conversation about the koto is striking. No doubt it betrays his eagerness to show off his daughter, tempered by an urge to be ceremoniously modest about doing so. The text makes it clear that she plays both *biwa* and koto, but she is not associated with the *biwa* again. Throughout the "Akashi" chapter, her instrument is the koto, played to the accompaniment of the wind in the pines. The old man's allusion to *P'i-p'a-yin,* which highlights a mood of exile, therefore stands out sharply.

Po Chü-i wrote about the koto as well. These lines from a poem on the five-stringed *kin* (*Wakan rōei shū* 463) all evoke frustrated yearning, and they do not omit the autumn wind in the pines.

> The first and second strings sound low, swelling and dying:
> Autumn wind sweeps through pines, then the passing harmonies fade.
> The third and fourth strings ring out high and shrill:
> A caged crane in the night cries, longing for her children.
> The fifth string's voice is the most smothered, yet urgent:
> The cascade's waters freeze and groan, unable to flow.

Although the "Akashi" chapter does not refer to these lines, the first four appear in *Tsunemasa* and *Semimaru,* both of which may be by Zeami. Itō Masayoshi wrote of *Tsunemasa* in particular that it exhibits many Zeami-like features and should be attributed to him.[148]

In *Tsunemasa,* which concerns not the koto but a famous *biwa* and the ghost of the man who loved it, the playwright quoted both from *P'i-p'a-yin* and from Po Chü-i's lines on the five-stringed *kin.* This couplet from *P'i-p'a-yin* comes first:

> The great string is loud like autumn rain;[149]
> The little string murmurs like intimate whisperings.

These lines form the climax of the following passage, which concerns first *murasame,* then *matsukaze:*

> SHITE [*kakeai*]: The dead man draws near, though still unseen in the lamplight, and tunes the *biwa* presented in offering.
> WAKI: In these depths of the night, when Midnight Music awakens the sleeper,

147. See also Pollack, *The Fracture of Meaning,* pp. 67–68.

148. Itō Masayoshi, *Yōkyoku zakki* (Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 1989), p. 45.

149. The original characters, literally "rapid rain," are glossed as *murasame* in Japanese.

SHITE: how strange! The clear sky clouds over, and there comes the noise of rain suddenly falling:
WAKI: a hard rain, tossing the grasses and trees. What, then, of the hour's proper tuning?
SHITE: No, no not rain! Look there, at the edge of the clouds,
CHORUS [*uta*]: where wind from the pines on moonlit Narabi-no-oka sweeps down on us, sounding like *murasame*—a lovely moment! The great string is loud like autumn rain; the little string is urgent like the whisperings of lovers.

The ghost has just begun to play the *biwa* when a *murasame* (or so it seems) interrupts his music with discordant noise. But then the sound proves to be wind in the pines, not rain, and the moment of distress becomes one of pure poetry: the living present of Po Chü-i's famous lines. Wind and *biwa* together are truly playing "the music of old." Just after this, the beginning of the play's *kuse* section quotes the lines on the koto.

Genjō states the value of *murasame* even more plainly than *Tsunemasa*. Although not by Zeami, this play is set at Suma and often imitates *Matsukaze*. "Genjō" is the name of a famous *biwa*. The *waki*, the *biwa* master Lord Moronaga, stops for the night at Suma, in a "salt house" inhabited by an old couple who beg him to play for them. As he begins, a *murasame* comes clattering down on the board roof. The old man quickly has his wife cover the roof with straw matting, explaining that the rain is beating down in *banjiki* mode while Moronaga's *biwa* is tuned to *ōshō*. The rain is therefore both noisy and out of tune. In *Genjō* as in *Tsunemasa*, *murasame* ruins the music of a *biwa*.

The parallel with *Matsukaze* is striking. Matsukaze having reached such a pitch of longing that she sees Yukihira standing before her, Murasame "dashes cold water" on her exaltation.[150] Murasame therefore seems to owe her name and nature ultimately to that line from *P'i-p'a-yin:*

The great string is loud like autumn rain.

And if she does, Matsukaze must owe hers to the line that follows:

The little string murmurs like intimate whisperings.

This couplet explains why, in *renga*, Ichijō Kanera allowed *matsukaze* only to follow *murasame*, and why *Tsunemasa*, too, follows this order.

Tsunemasa links these lines from *P'i-p'a-yin* directly with wind in the pines and displays yet another parallel with *Matsukaze*. In *Tsunemasa*, *murasame* is jarring while those who hear it think it real, yet when it proves to be *matsukaze* after all, noise gives way to harmony. In *Matsu-*

150. In a *kouta* song (*Kanginshū* 234), the singer even begs for a *murasame* to fall and dispel her hopeless longing for one to whom she is nothing.

kaze, Murasame's jarring intervention is similarly transformed as, at Matsukaze's prompting, she remembers Yukihira's promise to return.[151] The image of *matsukaze* therefore has to do with musical harmony. In his lines on the five-stringed *kin,* Po-Chü-i even referred to the poetic "rhymes" audible in the wind blowing through autumn pines.

In the couplet from *P'i-p'a-yin,* it is "intimate whisperings" (literally, private talk, read in Japanese as *sasamegoto*) that implies *matsukaze. Mutsugoto* (intimate talk), a near-synonym for *sasamegoto,* appears in a courting poem Genji sends to the Akashi lady (he longs, he says, for someone to exchange *mutsugoto* with), and *Kakaishō* connects this word with *matsukaze* by citing a poem from *Kokin rokujō* that puns on *mutsu*koto and koto *no ne* (the sound of a koto).[152] In fact, Zeami himself developed at length, in *Takasago,* the equivalence of lovers' whisperings and the music of wind through pines, for in this play the exemplary lovers *are* pines. Moreover, in *Takasago* as in countless poems the pine's unchanging green signifies "constancy," which Zeami attributed in *Matsukaze* not only to the pine but to *matsukaze.* The wind in the pine of the play blows forever, just as the lovers' whisperings in *Takasago* continue through the ages. It even murmurs on as dream turns to day.

In short, the couplet from *P'i-p'a-yin* evokes as voices of music both *murasame* and *matsukaze.* This is the fundamental tie between the sisters who bear these names in the play. If Zeami did not know *P'i-p'a-yin* himself, *Kakaishō* would have drawn his attention to it, for it points out the allusion in the old man's talk of one "among the merchants" and praises "the elegance [*yūgen*] of [the author] remembering this here."[153] But Zeami probably did know it, since Nijō Yoshimoto urged the poet to study not only the *Genji* but Chinese verse, and in *Tsukuba mondō* applied to *renga* Fujiwara no Teika's advice to memorize Po Chü-i's collected works (*Hakushi monjū*).[154]

Music and the Pines of Ōi

To the extent that Matsukaze and Murasame are the twin voices of music, this music is the play itself, and especially the climactic scene in

151. In *Genjō,* the musical rent is repaired by the matting that the old woman (the *tsure*) stretches across the roof. The *murasame* having been silenced, the old man (the *shite*) picks up the *biwa* and plays like a god. This woven matting is an image of the same unbroken harmony that is conveyed in the old man's music and that appears in *Tsunemasa* and *Matsukaze* as the music of the wind in the pines.

152. *Kakaishō* in Muromatsu, *Kakaishō, Kachō yojō, Shijo shichiron,* p. 152.

153. Ibid.

154. Okami, *Yoshimoto renga ron shū,* Vol. 2, pp. 179–80. Yoshimoto was referring to Teika's *Eiga taigai.* See Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Nishio Minoru, eds., *Karon shū, renga-ron shū* (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1961), p. 115.

which Matsukaze sees Yukihira. Through them, one can hear the Akashi lady's music as she plays, absorbed, to call Genji to her even though she knows he will not come. As she does so, she may have Genji's robe by her, although the novel does not say so. However, she is certainly playing the *kin* he left her. But where in the *Genji* does she play that way? Not at Akashi, but at Ōi.

After their daughter was born, Genji pressed the Akashi lady more than ever to come up to the capital, but she continued to delay. When at last she moved, it was not to the city itself but to a property of her father's, at the foot of a hill beside a wide reach of the Ōi river. The house stood in a grove of pines. Koremitsu, Genji's confidant, noticed instantly that the place looked like Akashi[155] and the novel reaffirms this resemblance several times. The lady herself "hardly felt as though she had moved at all," so similar were the two settings.[156]

This resemblance is of the same order as the one Genji saw, at Akashi, between the moonlit ocean and his own garden lake. The legend of Murasaki Shikibu at Ishiyama provides a model of it: in the moonlit water of the lake, Murasaki saw the moonlit sea at Suma. A particularly elaborate conscious example is Zeami's play, *Tōru,* which affirms identity between an artificial Shiogama landscape, built in a Kyoto garden, and the real landscape of Shiogama Bay near Sendai.[157] *Matsukaze,* too, brings up Shiogama in a play on the ideas of "near" and "far":

> Far away they haul their brine
> *hakobu wa tōki*
> in Michinoku, though the name
> *Michinoku no*
> is "near," Chika, where workers tend
> *sono na ya Chika no*
> the Shiogama salt-kilns.[158]
> *Shiogama*

Hence there is good reason to take seriously the analogy between Akashi and Ōi, and nowhere more so than in connection with a play by Zeami. Having the same configuration, they are, in the imagination, the same place.

On another level, however, daily life makes the difference clear enough. The Akashi lady, waiting in vain for Genji to appear, cannot help missing Akashi:

> Move or no move, she felt as depressed as ever, and homesick as well. Having nothing in particular to look after, she turned to playing the *kin* he

155. Shōgakkan, Vol. 2, p. 391, Shinchōsha, Vol. 3, p. 123; Seidensticker, p. 319.
156. Shōgakkan, Vol. 2, p. 397, Shinchōsha, Vol. 3, p. 129; Seidensticker, p. 322–23.
157. *Tōru* is translated in Yasuda, *Masterworks of the Nō Theater,* pp. 460–84.
158. From the *renga* sequence in Jōei, 1 *Japanese Poetic Diaries,* p. 196.

had given her; and since it was now beyond her to hide her sorrow, she withdrew to a place where she could be alone and play at her ease. Indiscreetly enough [*hashitanaku*], the wind in the pines joined in her music. The nun her mother, who was lying disconsolately nearby, sat up and said:

Different now, and alone, to this mountain village I return to hear the wind blowing as it did then through the pines.
mi o kaete / hitori kaereru / yamazato ni / kikishi ni nitaru / matsukaze zo fuku

And the lady:

Longing for the one I knew there at my old home, I stammer out a country tune, but who will understand?[159]
furusato ni / mishi yo no tomo o / koiwabite / saezuru koto o / tare ka wakuran

The Akashi lady's own instrument is the *sō-no-koto,* which Genji describes in "Akashi" as especially suited to a woman. However, the *kin* on which she "stammers out her country tune," being Chinese, is the koto favored by men. This one is Genji's own. At Suma, Genji played on it music of sorrow and longing for Murasaki. At Ōi, which is still Akashi, the lady plays on it the same sad music for *him.* Perhaps, in playing this music to the accompaniment of the wind, she even plays *as* him, like Matsukaze dancing dressed as Yukihira. And the chapter in which she does so is entitled "Matsukaze."

In the play, however, Matsukaze's vision appears to be a moment of madness. Murasame treats it as such, and the chorus, near the end, sings:

In the pine a wind blows wild. . . .[160]
matsu ni fukikuru kaze mo kyō-jite

This line suggests that Matsukaze "is mad" (*kyō-jite*), and those who know the play generally agree that she is. But can the lady, as she plays, be imagined that way? No, not literally. The koto could certainly be used in shamanic rites to summon spirits, and Honda Yasuji wrote (without reference to music or the koto) that when Matsukaze dons the hunting cloak, she behaves like a medium calling down a spirit.[161] However, the Akashi lady's playing seems to involve less magic than sorrow and longing. Only in her imagination could these feelings, expressed in her music, have brought *him* back across the gulf that parted them and have given her his presence for a moment. At that moment, she might have felt him with her, at home, not visiting *from* home. However, a vision like that, flitting through her head, would have hardly shown in her behavior.

159. Shōgakkan, Vol. 2, pp. 397–98; Shinchōsha, Vol. 3, pp. 129–30; Seidensticker, p. 323. *Saezuru* (twitter, chirp, warble) describes in the "Suma" chapter the speech of the *ama* folk of Suma. *Koto* puns on "word" and "koto."

160. Tyler, *Japanese Nō Dramas,* p. 203.

161. Honda Yasuji, *Nō oyobi kyōgen kō* (Tokyo: Nōgaku Shorin, 1980 [reprint]), pp. 121–23.

One moonlit evening at Ōi, when Genji finally came to see her, she took out the *kin*. The middle string was as it had been; she had not changed its tuning. Genji spoke a poem about how, like this string, his own feelings had remained unchanged, and she replied:

> Trusting in your promise to be true, I added my own, weeping music to the sounding of the pines.[162]
>
> *kawaraji to / chigirishi koto o / tanomi nite / matsu no hibiki ni / ne o soeshi kana*

Without this trust, her music could not have summoned even a brief illusion of his presence. Still, this evening the real Genji had to leave again, his real home being with Murasaki in the heart of the capital. Soon, in "Usugumo," the lady would even give Murasaki her daughter so that the little girl should not suffer from her natural mother's unfortunate upbringing.

There is no need to pursue the correspondence between the sisters and the Akashi lady beyond that moment at Ōi when the lady plays Genji's *kin*. But there is another possibility, however tenuous. Since the lady's longing for Genji need not exclude grief at the thought of what will become of her daughter, one might hear faintly, in Matsukaze's lament, not only a woman crying for her love but Po Chü-i's caged crane, crying in the night for its child. Speaking of the Akashi princess' rise to be empress, the *enkyoku Genji shimei ryō eiga* calls her "the crane's child" (*tsuru no ko*) who has flown up into the heavens, and so hints at the plight of her mother, caught so far below her on the common earth.[163] If any echo of this cry can be heard in *Matsukaze,* then the "Usugumo" chapter is present in the play, thus honoring Sōgi's "old rule" after all.

The Akashi Lady and Murasaki

In "Akashi" and "Matsukaze," the wind in the pines accompanied a koto, as it does in poetry. No *murasame* could have fallen while the lady played the *kin,* since *matsukaze* and *murasame* belong together only in connection with the *biwa*. However, the lady's fleeting vision (if one grants her one) still ended quickly, as Matsukaze's did when Murasame stopped her. Both drew back from fancy to rest again in their faith in their beloved's promise. If the Akashi lady has her *murasame* after all, it must be the thought of Murasaki.[164] The connection between the two ladies, already

162. Shōgakkan, Vol. 2, p. 404; Shinchōsha, Vol. 3, p. 135; Seidensticker, p. 326.

163. Yoshida, *Chūko kayō enkyoku zenshū,* pp. 263–65. Earlier, this *enkyoku* calls the daughter Genji's *wasure-gatami,* the "memento he left carelessly behind" at Akashi.

164. Fujii Sadakazu noted that a polar tension between the Akashi lady and Murasaki develops as the tale progresses; see Fujii, "Uta no zasetsu," p. 78.

hinted at in the "Wakamurasaki" chapter, would then acquire further resonance in the play thanks to the couplet from *P'i-p'a-yin.*

The lady well knew the consequences of her upbringing, but in an intimately personal sense, the shadow that parted her from Genji and that blighted any dream of union with him was surely Murasaki. These two ladies' destinies remained intertwined ever since Genji first saw the child Murasaki and heard of the old Akashi priest's daughter. At Akashi, Genji often checked himself for Murasaki's sake, but still was strongly drawn to the lady. Later on, Murasaki personally brought up the lady's daughter. No wonder *Genji shimei ryō eiga* pairs the two explicitly. After celebrating Genji's love for Murasaki, the song passes to his exile where he desperately seeks to dream of her:

> and what with the shore wind coming to call him from his cares, in those days when the waves surged on without rest, he moved on further along the shore, thinking only to dally a while, yet he and the lady melted to each other, and the lack of distance between them showed, no doubt, in their intimate talk. . . .
>
> *urakaze no tsute ni ya toiken / ura yori ochi no urazutai / tada sabakari no susami zo tomo / uchitokegatari ideshi ya / semete hedate nakarishi naka no / kono mutsugoto ni arawaren*

However, at Ōi and later he seems seldom to have been intimate with the Akashi lady. She was the first lady he visited after Murasaki's death, but he did not spend the night with her and she hardly appears again. Akashi and Murasaki appear and disappear together, but while Genji lives, Murasaki's is the brighter star. To Genji, these two loves must for a time have resembled both the sisters who troubled Narihira's heart in *Ise monogatari,* and Matsukaze and Murasame in the eyes of a courtier visiting their shore.[165]

"The Image of the Source"

The relationship between the *Genji* and *Matsukaze,* as presented in this paper, is subtle and complex—so much so that one may wonder briefly whether it is all an illusion. Yet the evidence is there. Certainly, *Matsukaze's* original audience, versed in the classics and in *renga,* could not have seen the play without remembering Genji at Suma, and would have thought of Akashi as well, since "Suma" and "Akashi" were hardly separable. In this way, the spectator would have glimpsed the image of the lady, since only her story corresponds to the play's romantic theme. The spec-

165. The Akashi/Matsukaze and Murasaki/Murasame distinction works consistently only from the Akashi lady's point of view. For Genji, either lady could have had either value, depending on which one was foremost in his thoughts at the time.

tator might also have recognized *matsukaze* and *murasame,* and remembered for that reason too the one "among the merchants" at Akashi. *Matsukaze* therefore evokes the *Genji* even though no character from the tale appears in it.

This effect must be intentional, in consonance with Zeami's conception of the work. Zeami did indeed "raise" his text according to a "logic" of metaphor and association, and he did so toward a poetically ambitious end. Nijō Yoshimoto discussed this end when he praised a model link included in *Gekimōshō:*

> No doubt people know all about how to draw on a source poem or passage, but *this* is catching the image of the source without using the source's words—quite another style [*honka honzetsu toru yō o ba yo no hito mina shireri to iedomo, sono koto o arawasazu shite, omokage bakari o toru ittei nari*].[166]

Judging from his words, Yoshimoto held "catching the image [*omokage*] of the source without using the source's words" to require superior skill and to mark superior success. This is the success Zeami achieved in *Matsukaze* when he left all *Genji* character names, and the place Akashi as well, out of his play.

In fact, the prologue to *Kakaishō* shows that he achieved even more, since a play that yields the *omokage* of "Suma" and "Akashi" yields, by the same token, that of the whole tale. These chapters transcribe the vision that "rose up before" (*sora ni ukabitaru*) Murasaki Shikibu as she contemplated the full moon in the waters off Ishiyama. They are the heart of the *Genji,* to which only "later on she gradually added other chapters until she had done 54 in all." Many scripts by Zeami offer more than meets the eye, but the riches offered by *Matsukaze*'s few pages—riches hardly exhausted by this paper—are exceptional.

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166. Okami, *Yoshimoto rengaron shū,* Vol. 2, p. 34.