KENDAL ANNE KORACH
From Court to Pleasure Quarters: Edo Period *Ukiyo-e* Representations of the *Tale Of Genji* as Reflections of Social Transformations in Japan
(Under the Direction of ALISA LUXENBERG)

Genji is the beloved protagonist in Murasaki Shikibu's literary masterpiece *The Tale of Genji* about court life during the Heian period in Japan. Images of this popular novel pervade Japanese art throughout the centuries in painted and printed form. This thesis will survey the visual history of the *Tale of Genji* from the Muromachi through Edo periods, in both painting and woodblock prints, but will primarily concentrate on *Genji* images from the Edo period. Historical evidence will be used to shed light on the political and economic policies established by the Tokugawa shogunate, and how they affected the status of the merchants and artisan classes, and, in turn, the visual depictions of *Genji*.

INDEX WORDS: Genji, ukiyo-e, Edo, Momoyama, Heian, merchants, machishu, chōnin, Tosa, Japan, prints, painting

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EDO PERIOD *UKIYO-E* REPRESENTATIONS OF THE *TALE OF GENJI* AS REFLECTIONS OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN JAPAN

by

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DEDICATION

To my mother and father for taking me on my first trip to Japan, and for all their love and support of my dreams and aspirations throughout my life.

To Gordon for believing in me when I did not believe in myself. His faith and love inspire me in all I do, and my accomplishments are his.

And to Professor Bradley Tindall for introducing me to Asian art, and for his continued encouragement and guidance.

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In this world, unchanging from the past to the present

these "leaves of words" preserve

the seeds of human feeling.

Inishie mo ima mo kawaranu yo no naka ni
Kokoro no tane o nokosu koto no ha

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INTRODUCTION

The *Tale of Genji*, a romantic epic centering on the amorous escapades of the main protagonist Genji, is one of the masterpieces of Japanese literature. Considered to be the world's first novel, the *Tale of Genji* was written by Murasaki Shikibu, a noble court lady of the late Heian period (898-1185 CE).[1] The novel is divided into fifty-four chapters, with over four hundred and thirty characters relating to the numerous romances and associated court activities of the charismatic and much beloved Genji.[2] However, the *Tale of Genji* is much more than a romance. The novel explores the full range of human emotions expressed through eloquent poetry and allusions to nature. Although the characters and plot of the novel are fictitious, historians have long accepted the settings and customs presented in the novel as accurate descriptions of daily court life of the late Heian period.

The novel became so popular that it was hand-copied as early as the mid-twelfth century in *emakimono* (illustrated handscroll) format, using the traditional *kana* script from right to left, with alternating painted illustrations and text.[3] Often two or more

[1] Most scholars believe that Lady Murasaki wrote the *Tale of Genji* around the late tenth or the early eleventh century. See Alexander C. Soper, "The Illustrative Method of the Tokugawa 'Genji' Pictures," *Art Bulletin*, XXXVII, no. 1 (March, 1955): 4-5; Miyeko Murase, *Iconography of The Tale of Genji* (New York: Weatherhill, Inc., 1983), 4-5; and J. M. Maki, "Lady Murasaki and The Genji Monogatari," *Monumenta Nipponica*, III (1940): 484-485.

[2] See Murase, 1983, 3. A total of 500 characters is asserted by one scholar. See Dietrich Seckel, *Emakimono* (Zurich: Max Niehans Verlag A. G., and London: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1959), 204. For an excellent guide to the characters and summary of the chapters of the *Tale of Genji*, see William J. Puette, *Guide to The Tale of Genji* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle, 1983).

[3] The only remaining sections of the oldest illustrated copy of *Genji*, which dates from the Kamakura period, are today preserved in the Goto and Tokugawa museums in Japan. See Murase, 1983, 11-19; and Akiyama Terukazu, *Japanese Painting* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1990), 70.

illustrations were used to depict each chapter. The Japanese nature of the tale was emphasized by the illustrations being executed in *yamato*-e (Japanese-style painting) as opposed to *kara-e* (Chinese-style painting), with *tsukiri-e* (built-up pictures) and the *fukinuki-yatai* (blown-off roof) convention, a Japanese innovation, which allowed all the activities of the scene to be visible.[4]

A scene from the *Yadorigi* ("The Ivy") chapter (Fig. 1) illustrates these unique characteristics of the late Heian *Genji monogatari emakimono,* which would be imitated by later artists. The *fukinuki-yatai* device allows the viewer to see into both rooms of the composition, giving a fuller visual representation of the narrative. The *tsukiri-e* technique of painting allowed for excellent detail of the figures and dazzling color effects. A series of diagonal lines carries the viewer's eyes through the picture, and conveys spatial recession, while the raised perspective enables the artist to decorate the entire surface of the paper handscroll. Painted figures are seated in a traditional Heian period *shinden* architecture building, and are dressed in Heian period garments. The women have long lacquered black flowing hair and multiple layers of patterned garments that are arranged stiffly around them. The heads of all the figures appear out of the mass of their drapery with round faces, thick black eyebrows, very thin diagonal lines for their eyes, and little mouths that are barely visible. They are not individualized, but rather are

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Kana was the script based on the Japanese syllabary, and the *kanji* were the characters borrowed from China. Women in Japan during the Heian period were not allowed to read or write in the latter type of script. Lady Murasaki, however, was able to read and write *kanji* from listening in secret to the lessons her father gave her brother in the Chinese classics. Still, she conformed to the conventions of the time and composed the *Tale of Genji* entirely in *kana*. Murase, 1983, 4-6.

[4] Some general differences between *yamato-e* and *kara-e* are subjects depicted, the use of line, and types of compositional devices and techniques employed. For an excellent in-depth discussion on *yamato-e*, its characteristics, development, and cultural significance, see Alexander C. Soper, "The Rise of Yamato-e," *The Art Bulletin*, 24 (December 1942): 351-379. For a good discussion on the *tsukuri-e* technique, see Seckel, 1959, 18-19. For a discussion on *fukinuki-yatai* and how it is used in the *Tale of Genji* illustrations, see Masako Watanabe, "Narrative Framing in the *Tale of Genji Scroll*: Interior Space in the Compartmentalized *Emaki*," *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 58, no. 1/2 (1998): 115-145.

depicted in a generic, doll-like manner. Elaborate paintings decorate areas of the house, showing the details of luxury items that court nobles possessed at this time.

Outdoor scenes (Fig. 2) were also depicted in the handscroll reflecting the imagery of nature that figures so prominently in the *Tale of Genji*, and that alludes not only to the season of the year, but also to the stages of life. A characteristic found in this early handscroll, not often evident in later renditions of *Genji* paintings, is the psychological introspection on the part of the characters from the novel. For this reason, the late Heian *Genji monogatari emakimono* has been classified as the *onna-e* (feminine painting) style, which emphasizes contemplative emotion.[5]

Sometime during the early medieval period, a manual entitled *Genji monogatari ekobota* was composed, which contained the text of the *Tale of Genji* accompanied by written instructions on how to illustrate it. A copy of this manual dates to the late Muromachi period (1392-1568), a time when *Genji* experienced a great revival in art with the Tosa school in Kyoto.[6] The establishment of this school coincided with the rise of the merchant class in Japan.[7] The Tosa school presented *Genji* in a traditional, yet slightly modified manner, still using the *yamato-e* style and the *fukinuki-yatai* convention, but with the addition of bolder colors and gold and silver dust and leaf, which made their imagery even more exuberant and luxurious. Tosa artists continued to produce *Genji*

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[5] *Onna-e* contrasted with *otoko-e* (masculine painting), which emphasized action, often having subjects such as battles, see Stanley-Baker, 1984, 84.

[6] Although this is the earliest extant copy, it is obvious from certain errors found in the text that the manuscript was a copy of an earlier work, which itself is not securely dated. The copy is housed in the Osaka Women's College Library in Japan. For more information on the *Genji monogatari ekobota*, as well as a full translation of the text, see Murase, 1983, 19-312.

[7] For scholarship that discusses the rise of Japanese merchants as patrons of the Tosa school *Genji-e*, see Yoshiaki Shimizu and Susan E. Nelson, *Genji: the World of a Prince* (Bloomington: Indiana University Art Museum, 1982), 12-13; Murase Miyeko, *Tales of Japan* (New York: The New York Public Library, 1986), 105; Money L. Hickman, *Japan's Golden Age Momoyama* (Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 1996), 24-25; and Carolyn Wheelwright, *Word in Flower* (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1989), 15.

images in the album, screen and hanging scroll formats into the Momoyama period (1568-1615), mainly in Kyoto and Sakai. Both the newly wealthy elite merchant class, the *machishu*, and the imperial family patronized their Genji paintings.[8]

Following the founding of the Tokugawa shogunate at the start of the seventeenth century, Japan experienced tremendous political, social, and economic changes that directly affected the appearance and style of Japanese art. Tokugawa rulers introduced new policies that changed the socio-economic position of the merchant class, placing them in the lowest class of a four-tiered social hierarchy called *shi-nō-kō-shō*. The artisans and merchants formed the two lowest classes, and were often referred to together as the *chōnin* (townspeople).[9] Although the merchants in the new Tokugawa capital city of Edo were considered socially inferior to the rest of society, they prospered economically and became patrons of art forms that represented their leisure activities, specifically the pleasure quarters of the city that were dominated by courtesans and Kabuki theater.

This world of pleasure and entertainment was called the *ukiyo* ("floating world") and was recorded in woodblock prints, a new and popular genre among the townsmen. These woodblock prints (*ukiyo-e*, literally "pictures of the floating world") evolved from

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[8] For an in-depth study of the Tosa school and their patrons in the Momoyama period, see John M. Rosenfield, "Japanese Studio Practice: the Tosa Family and the Imperial Painting Office in the 17th Century," *Studies in the History of Art*, vol. 38 (1993): 78-102. Additionally, see sources in footnote seven for further information on the merchant class patronage of *Genji-e* during the Momoyama period.

[9] The class system started at the top with the shogunate and then the *shi* (samurai), followed by the nō (farmers), kō (artisans), and shō (tradesmen). See Sandy Kita, *The Last Tosa* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 241-242; and Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, *The Japan of the Shoguns*, exh. cat. (Montreal, 1989), 21.

the book illustrations of previous eras.[10] Interestingly, images of the *Tale of Genji* continued as a popular subject matter for woodblock printmakers in Edo.

This thesis will address the unanswered question in Japanese art historical scholarship of why the *Tale of Genji*, a literary masterpiece about court life in the classical Heian period of Japan, persisted during the Edo period (1615-1868) as a subject in woodblock prints, which predominately featured modern images of lower-class leisure activities. Additionally, this thesis will serve as the first comprehensive survey on Edo period woodblock prints of the *Tale of Genji*.

The literature on *Genji* images from the Momoyama and Edo periods is fairly recent, and the subject has only received serious scholarly attention within the past twenty years. There have been five exhibitions in recent decades that have been devoted entirely to *Genji-e* ("pictures of Genji"), and two comprehensive scholarly studies that examine *Genji-e* from the late Heian period *Genji monogatari emakimono* to the Momoyama period paintings.[11] Miyeko Murase has produced numerous catalogues of the Burke collection of Japanese art from the Metropolitan Museum of Art that contain some very fine examples of *Genji* paintings from the Muromachi through Edo periods executed

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[10] For a general discussion on the rise of woodblock print medium in Japan, see Christine Guth, *Japanese Art of the Edo Period* (London: Calmann and King Ltd., 1996); Donald Jenkins, *Ukiyo-e Prints and Paintings The Primitive Period, 1689-1745* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1971); and Richard Lane, *Images From the Floating World: The Japanese Print* (New York: G. P. Putnams Sons, 1978).

[11] Kyoto National Museum. *Genji Monogatari no Bijutsu (The Tale of Genji in Arts)*, exh. cat., 1975, no. 20; Sakai City Museum, *Genji monogatari no Kaiga (Paintings of the Tale of Genji*), exh. cat., 1986; Shimizu Yoshiaki and Susan E. Nelson, *Genji: The World of a Prince*, exh. cat. (Bloomington: Indiana University Art Museum, 1982); *The Tale of Genji: Splendor and Innovation in Edo Culture* at the Herbert Johnson Museum of Art at Cornell University in 1997; and *Reflections of The Tale of Genji in Japanese Art*, at the Saint Louis Art Museum in 2000. For the two comprehenisve scholarly studies of *Genji-e*, see Akiyama Terukazu, "Genji-e", no. 119 of *Nihon no Bijutsu*, ed. (Tokyo: Staff of the National Museums of Tokyo, Kyoto, and Nara, 1976); and Akiyama Ken and Taguchi Eiichi, *Gōka "Genji-e" no sekai Genji monogatari* (Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1988). The latter study looks at *Genji-e* from the Kamakura to the Edo period in painting, excluding any examination of the woodcut/woodblock print illustrations from the Edo period.

by the Tosa school.[12] Murase has also translated the *Genji monogatari ekobota*, a manual of instruction on how to illustrate the *Tale of Genji*,[13] which was essential to the preservation and standardization of the traditional attributes of *Genji* imagery in Japanese art.

Other scholarship, although not specifically addressing *Genji* imagery, does discuss the historical factors that affected Japanese art of the Edo period, and therefore serves to deepen further our understanding of the development of Japanese art at that time. John M. Rosenfield has published a thorough study of the Tosa school that includes the history and lineage of the artists.[14] Issues of patronage by the imperial family during the seventeenth century for themes such as *Genji* has been examined in a recent article by Elizabeth Lillehoj.[15] Sandy Kita's groundbreaking article on Iwasa Matabei, the painter who shifted from the classical Tosa style and became the founder of the *ukiyo*-e movement, was expanded into a monograph on the artist.[16] Kita's book traces Matabei's role in the development of *ukiyo-e* in Edo from his roots in the Tosa school of Kyoto and Sakai. Kita investigates Matabei's shifting social status, consquent to his move from Kyoto to Edo, and how this is reflected in his compositions.

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[12] Some of the most important of Murase's catalogues are: *Japanese Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975); *A Selection of Japanese Art from The Mary and Jackson Burke Collection* (Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum, 1985); *Jewel Rivers* (Richmond: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 1993); and *Bridge of Dreams* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000).

[13] Murase, 1983, 35-312.

[14] See Rosenfield, 1993.

[15] See Elizabeth Lillehoj, "Flowers of the Capital: Imperial Sponsorship of Art in 17th Century Kyoto." *Orientations* (September 1996): 57-69.

[16] See Sandy Kita, "An Illustration of the Ise Monogatari: Matabei and the Two Worlds of Ukiyo," *Cleveland Museum of Art Bulletin*, vol. 71 (1984): 252-267, and Sandy Kita, *The Last Tosa: Iwasa Katsumochi Matabei, Bridge to Ukiyo-e* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai' i Press, 1999).
The idea that Matabei was the founder of the *ukiyo-e* movement is still a matter of debate. See Guth, 1996, 98 and Kita, 1984.

Scholarship that specifically addresses images of the *Tale of Genji* in Edo period woodblock prints is very rare. Indeed, there are only minor references to *Genji* imagery in studies of Edo period woodblock prints.[17] Despite the fact that the *Tale of Genji* is the most recognized work of Japanese literature outside of Japan, as well as being a beloved tale inside Japan, and while there have been several studies of *Genji* images from the Momoyama period, there is a nearly complete absence of scholarship on *Genji* images from the following Edo period.[18] Eiko Kondo's essay is one of the few studies to focus only on the *Tale of Genji* in Edo period woodblock prints.[19] Examining the woodblock illustrations by Utagawa Kunisada (1786-1865) that accompanied the novel, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (The false Murasaki—Genji of the country), written by Ryūtei Tanehiko (1783-1843) and published by Tsuruya Kiemon from 1768 to 1842,[20] Kondo discusses the novel and theatrical performances that influenced Kunisada's conventional depictions of *Genji*. While Kondo's study does fill a gap in literature on later *Genji*

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[17] Selective sources that include research on *Genji* in woodblock prints are: Jack Hillier, *Art of the Japanese Book*, vols. 1 & 2 (New York: Sotheby's Publications, 1987); Sebastian Izzard, *Kunisada's World* (New York: Japan Society, Inc., 1993); Donald Jenkins, *Ukiyo-e Prints and Paintings: The Primitive Period, 1680-1745* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1971); Richard Lane, *Images From the Floating World* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1978); Kenji Toda, *Descriptive Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Illustrated Books in the Ryerson Library of the Art Institute of Chicago* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1931); and Sarah Thompson, *Undercurrents in the Floating World: Censorship and Japanese Prints* (New York: The Asia Society Galleries, 1991).

[18] The paintings of the *Tale of Genji* by the Tosa, Kano, and Rinpa schools around Kyoto during the Edo period are discussed by a various sources, and these images are often included in the large overview studies on *Genji-e* such as: Akiyama Terukazu, "Genji-e", no. 119 of *Nihon no Bijutsu*, ed. (Tokyo: Staff of the National Museums of Tokyo, Kyoto, and Nara, 1976); and Akiyama Ken and Taguchi Eiichi, *Gōka "Genji-e" no sekai Genji monogatari* (Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1988).

[19] See Eiko Kondo, "Inaka Genji Series," in Matthi Forrer, ed., *Essays on Japanese Art Presented to Jack Hillier* (London: R. G. Sawers Publishers, 1982), 78-93. Additionally, Hayashi Yoshikazu wrote a book that examines the erotic variations of *Genji* woodblock prints created by Kunisada and Tanehiko in the early to mid-1800s. However, there are no copies of this book available in the United States, therefore I have not seen the book first hand and only have knowledge of its subject matter from the scholar Timothy Clark of the British Museum who owns a personal copy of the book. See Hayashi Yoshikazu, *Hihan Genji* (Tokyo: Rokuen Shobo, 1965). There is a volume containing four woodblock print series of the *Genji monogatari* written by Walter Strauss and Carol Bronze; however, the volume is almost entirely illustrations, with only a few pages of text, mainly about the original *Tale of Genji* novel and handscroll. See Walter L. Strauss and Carol Bronze, eds., *Japanese Woodcut Book Illustrations*, vol. 2 (New York: Abaris Books, Inc., 1979).

images, it does not explore possible reasons for why *Genji* persisted as a subject during the entire Edo period. Nor could it, as Utagawa Kunisada only produced his depictions of the *Tale of Genji* within the limited time frame of about 1830-1860, while the Edo period began in 1615 and ended in 1868.

My study will examine *Genji* printed images from the seventeenth through eighteenth centuries, and the various factors that resulted in their continued patronage by the new inhabitants of Edo. A comprehensive survey of *Genji* woodblock prints in Japan during the Edo period has never been attempted. Commoners bought numerous woodblock prints of the *Tale of Genji* during the Tokugawa era. This patronage raises the question that constitutes the second contribution of this thesis: why would commoners in Edo society want to patronize and purchase prints of this tale that focuses on the lives of the court nobility in early Japan? The response to this question provides a broader historical context for these visual images and considers the impact of socioeconomic policies, patronage, as well as the artists' personal creative vision.

It is my contention that the *Tale of Genji* continued as a popular subject from Momoyama painting to Edo period woodblock prints due to the lingering influence of Kyoto culture brought to Edo by Tosa school artists and their patrons, the merchant class. The artists and merchants both moved to the new capital of Edo in the seventeenth century to achieve greater prosperity, but with the consequence of lower social status. The merchants in Edo patronized woodblock prints that featured the *Tale of Genji* in the Tosa style with traditional iconography in order to cling to the aristocratic overtones of Kyoto culture and status. However, as the Edo period progressed and the merchants and artisans settled into their new social classes, the *Genji* prints began to reflect the personal

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[20] See Kondo, 1982, 78.

style and interest of the artists, and also the political and social atmosphere of the city, especially the life of the Edo-born merchant class.

This thesis will examine the above issues in the following manner. In Chapter One, the standardization of *Genji* imagery by the Tosa school and the rise of the merchant class (the *machishu*) during the Muromachi period are discussed, as well as the role the *machishu* played in patronizing the Tosa school *Genji* images from the Muromachi and the Momoyama periods. Chapter Two treats the momentous political, social, and economic changes of early seventeenth-century Japan that accompanied the establishment of the Tokugawa shogunate, in particular the move of artists and merchants from Kyoto to Edo, along with its implications for Japanese pictorial art. Chapters Three and Four of this study will present and examine in depth the central visual evidence, woodblock prints of the *Tale of Genji* from the Edo period, beginning with book illustrations from the seventeenth century, and continuing with single sheet woodblock prints from the eighteenth century.[21] This study will survey the visual history of the *Tale of Genji* from the Muromachi through the Edo periods, in both painting and woodblock prints, but will primarily concentrate on *Genji* images from the Edo period. Historical evidence will be used to shed light on the political and economic policies established by the Tokugawa shogunate, and how they affected the status of the merchant and artisan classes, and, in turn, the visual depictions of *Genji*.

My study is necessarily limited. For example, both the Tosa school in Kyoto and the Rimpa school just outside of Kyoto continued to depict *Genji* in a classical,

[21] The limited availability of illustrations of the prints relevant to this study is a major constraint. Color prints often appear as black and white reproductions in books. Since color plays a significant role in the overall visual experience and symbolism of *Genji* prints, the lack of this information has somewhat compromised certain conclusions I may draw on this material.

traditional painted format for the wealthy merchants of that region, at the same time that Edo artists were illustrating *Genji* in new and often unorthodox ways in the woodblock print format for the Edo *chōnin*. The study of Tosa school images ends with Tosa Mitsunori (1583-1638) whose pupils, Matabei and Gukei, moved to Edo in the seventeenth century, because it is necessary to understand how the Tosa style was transmitted to Edo depictions of *Genji* in woodblock prints. The numerous *Genji* paintings of the Kanō school will not be examined since Kanō productions are primarily Chinese in inspiration, and do not reflect the style and content of the Japanese-style depictions.

Individual patronage from the merchant classes presents a special problem. In many cases, the names of individual patrons are simply unknown or else highly problematic. Therefore, this study will treat the merchant class as an entity in terms of its patronage, and explore its fascination with Genji as a cultural icon. Further study of the provenance of *Genji-e* in Japanese archives and museums may allow me to confirm my argument of the relationship between pictorial content and social class.

CHAPTER ONE

THE TOSA SCHOOL'S STANDARDIZATION OF GENJI IMAGERY AND THE ROLE OF THE MERCHANT CLASS (*MACHISHU)*, 1500-1615

The numerous developments in politics, society, and art during the Muromachi period (1392-1568) reached fruition during the Momoyama period (1568-1615). The Momoyama imperial line was virtually powerless, having long since lost political power to the Ashikaga shogunate, which attempted to rule through its provincial deputies (*shūgo daimyō*). However the Ōnin War (1467-1477) had weakened the shogunate and in turn the *shūgo daimyō*, permitting other provincial warriors with closer ties to the land to usurp control over military and agricultural affairs.[22] The weakened status of the Ashikaga shogunate and depleted power of the court family led eventually to the rise of a new breed of military leaders, and the emergence of a new, national political order. This sequence of developments began in earnest with Oda Nobunaga and continued with Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu.[23]

The Ōnin War also produced a new group of townsmen whose houses faced one another in wards called *machi* in the capital city of Kyoto.[24] A selective group of *machi*

[22] See Hayashiya Tatsusaburō with George Elison, "Kyoto in the Muromachi Age," in John W. Hall and Toyoda Takeshi, eds., *Japan in the Muromachi Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 17-19.
[23] John Whitney Hall, "Japan's Sixteenth-Century Revolution," in George Elison and Bardwell L. Smith, *Warlords, Artists, & Commoners* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1981), 7-9.
[24] See Hayashiya and Elison, 1977, 27-29. Kyoto was the capital city of Japan during the Heian period. Kyoto's ancient name, Heian-kyō, denoted the city as the location of the imperial palace and court. See John W. Hall, "Kyoto As Historical Background," in John W. Hall and Jeffrey P. Mass, eds., *Medieval Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 3-4.

residents rose from their origins as a communal unit of townsmen charged with protecting the members of their community during the Muromachi period, into an elite, cultured group that included wealthy merchants, the *machishu*, during the Momoyama period.[25] These political and social changes are reflected in the revival and popularity of the *Tale of Genji* in the art of this time. The military ruling class mainly patronized paintings of Chinese subjects produced by the Kanō school of artists. The rising merchant class closely aligned themselves with the aristocracy and sought to emulate the imperial elegance of the classical Heian period when Japan was ruled by emperors who had real political power. To this end, the *machishu* turned to the classical themes from the Heian period such as the *Tale of Genji*, which eulogized the grandeur of the ancient Kyoto nobility.[26]

The Tosa school was established in the Muromachi period to serve as the painting office for the imperial house, but by the Momoyama period, the merchants were virtually the only class able to afford the exquisite albums and screens produced by the Tosa school in the bold, colorful traditional *yamato-e* style.[27] The Tosa school paintings displayed not only the *machishu's* newly acquired wealth but also their cultured taste

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[25] I am using the term *machishu* as defined by Sandy Kita to refer to the group of elite merchants and artisans living in Kyoto, Sakai, and Osaka during the Momoyama period. See Kita, 1999, 141-161. Historical scholarship does not include the term *machishu* to discuss this group, but Japanese art historians do utilize the term in their publications, see Guth, 1996, 153-154, and Mason, 1993, 389. I will use the term *machishu* and merchants interchangably in this and the following chapters to discuss the wealthy merchant class of Kyoto, Sakai, and Osaka during the Momoyama period.

[26] A type of loyalist movement developed around the imperial family with remembrances of the Heian period, the Golden Age of Japan. The citizens of Kyoto sought the nobility's air of grace and morality demonstrated during the Heian period, again during the Momoyama period and continuing into the Edo period. See Herschel Webb, *The Japanese Imperial Institution in the Tokugawa Period* (New York: Columiba University Press, 1968), 208-209.

[27] Although there is no scholarship written to prove this point, from the literature that I have read on the social and economic state of Japan at this time I believe this is an accurate assumption. The imperial family's great fortune at this time was in decline, while the merchants were becoming increasingly wealthy. Both classes undoubtedly patronized the Tosa school, however by the end of the Momoyama period the merchants were more than likely the major financial supporters.

through the classical subject matter depicted, thus distinguishing the merchants from the other Kyoto townspeople. Additionally, the merchants may have gravitated towards *Genji* because of its protagonist. Despite his obvious talent, grace, beauty, and enormous wealth, Genji could never be recognized as a scion of royalty because of his mother's inferior social stature to that of her rivals at court.[28] I contend that the wealthy and talented *machishu*, a group that sought to identify itself with the royal family but, like Genji, could not, appropriated Genji as a symbol of their own social aspirations.

The establishment of the Tosa school and the rise of the merchant class during the Muromachi and Momoyama periods represented a significant change for the shogunate and samurai, both of which admired Chinese models of life and art. These political and social changes were directly tied to the Ōnin War, which helped to bring together the *dosō* (rich warehouse owners), *sakaya* (sake merchants), and the old *kuge* aristocracy with the merchants, all of whom lived side by side in the distinct *machi* of Kyoto.[29] Together they worked to provide security for their community, which was no longer offered by the war-weakened shogunate, and, as a result, formed a new social group. The merchants and artisans of the new social group were considered highly talented and accomplished.[30]

The wealth that the *machishu* possessed, together with the old aristocratic influence within the group, are two possible sources for its patronage of the Tosa school paintings of the *Tale of Genji*. Wealthy merchants, attempting to display their new found riches and higher status, were drawn to both the rich colors accented with real gold and

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[28] See Rose Hempel, *The Golden Age of Japan 794-1192* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1983), 170. Details of Genji's birth and his mother's relationship with the emperor are included in the first chapter of the *Tale of Genji*. See also Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, translated by Edward G. Seidensticker (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), 3-19.

silver in Tosa school compositions, and to the *Tale of Genji* because it represented the classical culture of the Heian court that, for them, was the height of Japanese taste and elegance.[31] Essentially, the Tosa school and *machishu* class engendered a renewal of the spirit of traditional Japan through social and artistic models from classical Heian culture.[32]

The general Tosa style of painting has been traced back to Fujiwara Motomitsu, a court artist painting during the eleventh century, around the same time that Lady Murasaki is believed to have composed the *Tale of Genji*.[33] The Tosa school, however, was established early in the Muromachi period by Tosa Mitsunobu (d. 1521/22), who was appointed superintendent of the Imperial Painting Office in 1469.[34] The selection of the Tosa school by the imperial house to provide the official court style was a critical step in pictorial developments of the Muromachi era. Tosa artists were the ones willing and capable of producing screens, hanging scrolls, and albums of Heian literary classics in the traditional style of the original late Heian period *Genji monogatari emakimono*, utilizing both *yamato-e* and *fukinuki-yatai*. The imperial house, still residing in Kyoto, had lost

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[29] Kita, 1999, 145-146.
[30] Kita, 1999, 217.
[31] Hickman, 1996, 93.
[32] In the Muromachi period, the imperial family still was the main patron of the Tosa school artists; however, during the Momoyama period, the *machishu* merchants become major supporters of the Tosa school. I am here trying to show how the rise of the *machishu* and the rise of the Tosa *Genji* paintings both began during the Muromachi period. The scholarship is at times vague in regard to this connection, therefore I am trying to reconstruct chronologically the development using socioeconomic and political evidence.
[33] See Walter L. Strauss and Carol Bronze, eds., *Japanese Woodcut Book Illustration*, vol. 2 (New York: Abaris Books, 1979), 8. The *Genji monogatari emakimono* from the Kamakura period is attributed to Fujiwara Takayoshi; see Lee, 1961, 28. Okudaira attributes the *Genji monogatari emakimono* to Fujiwara Takayoshi; however, he believes that the style provides evidence that it was painted by several artists; see Okudaira, 1962, 170. The *Genji monogatari emakimono* was probably created in the *E-dokoro*, the official painting atelier of the imperial family, housed in the palace. See John M. Rosenfield, *Japanese Arts of the Heian Period: 794-1185* (New York: Asian House Gallery, 1967), 36. The Fujiwara clan was the ruling imperial family when the *Genji monogatari emakimono* was created; therefore, it is very possible that Fujiwara Takayoshi and Fujiwara Motomitsu were contemporary painters in the imperial *E-dokoro*.
[34] See Rosenfield, 1993, 86.

virtually all its political power by the Muromachi period, along with the luxurious court life it had enjoyed. Therefore, it enlisted the Tosa school of artists to create magnificent paintings in a refined *yamato-e* style to represent its classical heritage and culture, including the *Tale of Genji*. In addition, this patronage of a truly Japanese style of painting contrasted with the Chinese-inspired Kano school that was patronized by the ruling shogunate and samurai.

Tosa Mitsushige (1496- c.1559) was the second leader of the Tosa atelier in Kyoto, having inherited its direction from his father Tosa Mistunobu.[35] The earliest extant Tosa school painting of the *Tale of Genji* is a six-paneled screen by Tosa Mitsushige depicting the *Hahakigi* ("Broom Tree") chapter (Fig. 3).[36] The screen depicts one scene from *Genji* spread out over the six panels with a gold leaf background. The composition utilizes the *fukinuki-yatai* device, with *kumogata* (decorative cloud forms), a Tosa school innovation, lining the lower bottom edge of the screen.[37] The colors are vivid and the architectural forms and decorations are quite detailed, especially the *fusuma*

[35] There is confusion over Tosa Mitsushige and Tosa Mitsumochi, who may or may not have been the same person. Murase identifies Tosa Mitsuyoshi as the pupil, and by theory the son, of Tosa Mitsumochi. See Murase, 1985, fig. 37 caption. In contrast, Rosenfield does not mention Tosa Mitsumochi in his discussion on the lineage of the Tosa school, but talks about Tosa Mitsushige as being the master of Tosa Mitsuyoshi, see Rosenfield, 1993, 86-87. The dates given for Mitsumochi (1496- ca.1559) and Mitsushige (1496- c.1569) are almost identical. Therefore, it seems possible that Rosenfield and Murase may have been discussing the same artist, using two different names. Which name is correct is difficult to say, though Michael Cunningham attributes a screen of the *Tale of Genji* as being executed by Tosa Mitsumochi according to an inscription on the screen by Tosa Mitsuoki, see Michael Cunningham, *The Triumph of Japanese Style* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1991), 73. However, because Rosenfield's study is an extensive look into the Tosa school development and lineage, I will refer to the artist as Tosa Mitsushige rather than Tosa Mitsumochi. For a discussion on how artist workshops operated in regard to lineage, see Rosenfield, 1993, 85.

[36] Arthur Waley and Edward Siedensticker both completed translations of the entire *Tale of Genji*, Waley's came first in 1925, and then Siedensticker's in 1976. Their translations do vary, and they translate the chapter names differently. I will be using the chapter names as translated by Seidensticker in this study; see appendix C for the Japanese and English names for all fifty-four chapters of the *Tale of Genji*. For a listing of both Waley and Seidensticker's translations of the chapter names, see William J. Puette, *The Tale of Genji: A Reader's Guide* (Rutland: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1983), 7-10.

(folding screen) seen in the interior. The season of fall is alluded to in the falling maples leaves scattered about the veranda. Although there are no figures in the painting, the oversized *koto* upon a tatami mat symbolically represents the lady who *Genji* and his friends discuss one evening in this chapter of the novel.[38] The lady is known for her beautiful *koto* music, which reaches the men's ears from her windows. They do not physically see the lady; therefore, the substitution of a *koto* is appropriate to the narrative. Omitting figures from compositions was not a typical practice of the later Tosa school artists, and appears here as a pictorial device that can convey the non-visual elements of the story in this chapter. The other features of Mitsushige's screen painting are very representative of what becomes known as the typical Tosa style.

In the Momoyama period, the *machishu* were accepted as an elite group in Kyoto in part because their taste and culture were reflected in their patronage of the Tosa school. However, Tosa artists were wary of Kyoto because of continuing civil unrest there and temporarily moved to the port city of Sakai outside Osaka. In Sakai, the merchant class was also growing in wealth and status, just as it had in Kyoto, and had the financial privileges to buy and sell property.[39] During the period when the Tosa school of artists resided in Sakai, their production changed due to the tumultuous political events occurring not only in Sakai, but in other parts of Japan. The merchants of Sakai had been allowed great freedom to conduct their business affairs in the early sixteenth century, but

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[37] The *kumogata* (cloud forms) are a prominent feature in the Tosa style. For information on how the cloud forms originated, see Kenji Toda, *Japanese Scroll Painting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935), 22.

[38] A *koto* is long lute, and was a very popular musical instrument among the Heian aristocracy, see Lane, 1978, 293 and Michael R. Cunningham, *The Triumph of Japanese Style: 16th-Century Art in Japan* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1991), 72-73.

[39] See Wakita Haruko and Susan B. Hanley, "Dimensions of Development: Cities in Fifteenth – and Sixteenth-Century Japan," in John Whitney Hall, Nagahara Keiji, and Kozo Yamamura, eds., *Japan Before*

from the 1560's onward, frequent military struggles in and outside of Sakai disrupted this lifestyle.[40] The new military rulers built expansive castles whose rooms were decorated with large screen paintings that featured typical Chinese subjects such as birds and flowers.[41] Tosa artists worked with Kanō artists to produce these large screens for the new rulers' fortified residences.[42] This Chinese-inspired style arranged on large *byōbu* was typical of the Kanō school, while smaller compositions, often in album format using the refined *yamato-e* style with gold leaf background and *fukinuki-yatai* device, constituted the Tosa style.[43] The Tosa school's association with the Kanō school had begun earlier in Kyoto in 1500 when Mitsunobu arranged the marriage of his daughter to the Kanō school artist Motonobu.[44] This marriage helped to preserve the fortunes of the Tosa family which were already declining at that time. The Tosa artists in Sakai

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Tokugawa: Political Consolidation and Economic Growth, 1500-1650 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 321-322.

[40] See Wakita Haruko, "Ports, Markets, and Medieval Urbanism in the Osaka Regin," in James L. McClain and Wakita Osamu, eds., *Osaka: the Merchants' Capital of Early Modern Japan* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), 41-43. For more information on the development of the merchant class in Sakai, see V. Dixon Morris, "The City of Sakai and Urban Autonomy," in George Elison and Bardwell L. Smith, eds., *Warlords, Artists, & Commoners* (Honolulu, HI: University Press of Hawai'i, 1981), 23-54. The three successive rulers mentioned above are: Oda Nobunaga (1534-82), Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-98), and Ieyasu Tokugawa (1542-1616).

[41] For a discussion on the patronage of arts by Nobunaga and Hideyoshi during the Momoyama period, see Money L. Hickman, *Japan's Golden Age Momoyama* (Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 1996), 19-56. It is important to note that the Kanō artists also produced screens portraying different chapters from *Genji*. This attests to the popularity of *Genji* as subject matter outside of the Tosa school. For examples of Kanō *Genji-e*, see Kyoto National Museum, 1975, figs. 30-32 and Sakai City Museum, 1986, figs. 8, 24, 33, and 56.

[42] The Kanō school of artists worked during the same period of the Tosa school, from the Muromachi through the Edo period. However, the Kanō school, because they were patronized by the extremely wealthy *daimyō* class, had numerous workshops throughout the major cities of Japan. They produced paintings of Chinese subjects for the ruling military and samurai class. For a brief but informative discussion on the Kanō school see, Hickman, 1996, 94. For a brief discussion on the affiliation of the Tosa and Kanō schools see Rosenfield, 1993, 79-81.

[43] The Tosa school used both the *byōbu* and album formats for the *Genji* paintings, however, as a school they are known for their unique and exquisite detailed album paintings. For examples of album paintings by three Tosa artists, see Murase, 1985, figs. 37-40. These small albums differed from the Kanō productions of large *byōbu* and *fusuma* (paintings on sliding doors), which decorated the immense castles of their patrons, the military rulers.

[44] See Cunningham, 1991, 7; Hickman, 1996, 95; Hideo Okudaira, *Narrative Picture Scrolls* (New York: Weatherhill, 1973), 41; and Kenji Toda, *Japanese Scroll Painting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935).

continued to produce numerous paintings of the *Tale of Genji* for the merchants there as well as those in Kyoto.[45] The merchants in these two cities, unlike the court nobles, grew increasingly numerous and prosperous, which allowed them to patronize paintings of classical literature by the Tosa school.[46]

Tosa Mitsuyoshi (1539-1613) and Tosa Mitsunori (1583-1638) were the two leading Tosa artists in Sakai during the Momoyama period; both succeeded Mitsushige.[47] Mitsuyoshi and Mitsunori produced *Genji-e* in the three main formats of folding screens (*byōbu*), small albums, and folding fans. Although some details changed from artist to artist, the basic composition and iconography remained the same for their *Genji* representations.[48]

The main factor in this standardization of *Genji* imagery was a painting manual created before the Muromachi period entitled the *Genji monogatari ekobota*.[49] This important manual included selected text from the *Tale of Genji*, along with descriptive passages on how to illustrate each scene. According to Murase, Tosa Mitsunori is thought to have had a copy of the manual.[50] The same copy may have been passed down from *iemoto* to *iemoto* in the Tosa school family.[51]

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[45] See Rosenfield, 1993, 87.
[46] See William Watson, *The Great Japan Exhibition* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1981), 45.
[47] See Rosenfield, 1993, 87-88.
[48] Many of the Tosa *Genji* albums also contained text from the novel, but on a very limited basis, because any cultured person at this time was expected to know the details of the *Tale of Genji*. Therefore, the lengthy passages from the novel were not necessary to include for identification of the illustrated scene. The iconography was standardized, and would have been recognizable to the well-cultivated individual. See Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *Courtly Splendor*, exh. cat., 1990), 128.
[49] See Introduction, footnote 5.
[50] Additionally, Mitsunori's *Genji* compositions most closely resemble the iconography described in the *Genji Monogatari Ekobota*, see Murase, 1983, 24-25.
[51] *Iemoto* (literally, "household foundation"), denotes the head of a family in Japanese, traditionally passed from father to eldest son in a family. *Iemoto* is used in the Tosa school case to denote the head of the painting atelier. Rosenfield, 1993, 85. Although *iemoto* does not have a parallel term in English, the closest would be headmaster.

Additionally, the Tosa style was consistent because the artists modeled their paintings after those of one another, with some individual artistic additions or alterations. Mitsuyoshi and Mitsunori both follow the style of Mitsushige's *Genji* screen painting discussed earlier (Fig. 3), with regard to the *fukinuki-yatai* technique and *kumogata* device. While Mitsuyoshi also included vivid colors characteristic of *yamato-e* like Mitsushige, Mitsunori often chose to depict *Genji* in the *hakubyō* (white drawing) style (Figs. 4 & 5).[52] Although Mitsuyoshi's and Mitsunori's styles contrasted, their iconography did not. Both Mitsuyoshi's and Mitsunori's paintings of the first scene from chapter forty, *Minori* ("The Rites"), mirror the instructions for portraying the scene given in the *Genji monogatari ekobota*:

> At the time of the dedication of sutras at Nijō, on about the tenth of the Third Month, the Akashi lady and the lady of the orange blossoms watch the ceremonies through the open doors at the south and east openings. There should be Buddhist altars and other ceremonial fittings. Murasaki sends a poem to the Akashi lady through the Third Prince. There are musicians, and a dancer performs "General Ling." There should be many princes and high courtiers.[53]

Mitsuyoshi's six-panel screen (Fig. 4) is decorated with five scenes from different chapters of the *Tale of Genji* starting in the lower left corner and continuing in a diagonal manner across the screen. The scenes do not follow the order of their appearance in the

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[52] *Hakubyō* was a techinque developed during the Late Heian period. This ink-painting style was known for its subtle beauty and softness, which was in contrast with the colorful and bold *yamato-e* technique. Both *yamato-e* and *hakubyō* have been used since the Late Heian period to depict Japanese literary classics, such as the *Tale of Genji*, see Miyeko Murase, *Bridge of Dreams* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000), 258. To read more about the *hakubyō* technique being used to depict the *Tale of Genji*, see Sarah Thompson, *A Hakubyō Genji Monogatari Emaki in the Spencer Collection* (unpublished M. A. thesis, Columbia University, 1984). Tosa Mitsunori also depicted the *Tale of Genji* in color, often with clear and vivid greens, reds, and blues, which contrast with Mitsuyoshi's bejeweled color scheme. For an example of Mitsunori's color images of the *Tale of Genji*, see Tosa Mitsunori, *The Tale of Genji* (Japan: The Shogun Age Exhibition Executive Committee, 1983).

novel and are not accompanied by text from the novel, but they are recognizable because of certain standardized iconographic features. In the lower central area of the screen (Fig. 6) is a scene from the *Minori* ("The Rites") chapter, in which Genji's dying wife Murasaki orders a thousand copies of the *Lotus Sutra* to be made and ceremonial activities to be performed.[54] Murasaki and Prince Niou are depicted seated near the veranda where they observe the spring cherry blossoms and the solo dancer performing in the courtyard.[55] Murasaki is represented seated at a desk as though writing out the order for the sutras. This first scene is divided from the rest of the screen by clouds made of gold leaf, and is composed so that the viewer appears to be looking down upon the scene along a diagonal.

Mitsunori also illustrated the *Minori* chapter (Fig. 5), but in a miniature album format using the *hakubyō* technique. This album does not contain any text from the *Tale of Genji*. In Mitsunori's depiction of the *Minori* chapter, Murasaki is again portrayed seated with Niou inside the palace next to the veranda from which they watch a single dancer perform beneath the springtime cherry blossoms. In this version, Prince Niou is seated to the right of Murasaki. As in Mitusyoshi's screen, gold clouds border the scene at the top and bottom (Figs. 3, 4, 5). However, they do not serve to divide the scene from others as in Mitsuyoshi's screen, but are instead a purely decorative device used by Tosa

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[53] See Murase, 1983, 234. For the full text of Chapter Forty in the *Tale of Genji*, see Seidensticker, 1976, 712-22.

[54] See Seidensticker, 1976, 713. The *Lotus Sutra* is the essential text for the Tendai sect of Japanese Buddhism. The founder of the sect in Japan, Dengyo Daishi, emphasized the *Lotus Sutra*, which he interpreted as communicating that all life has been given the ability to attain Buddhahood. For further information on the *Lotus Sutra* in Japanese religion, see H. Byron Earhart, *Japanese Religion* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1982), 83-84, and George J. Tanabe, Jr. and Willa Jane Tanabe. *The Lotus sutra in Japanese culture* (Honolulu : University of Hawaii Press, 1989).

[55] See Murase, 1983, 235. Prince Niou is the grandson of Genji and the Akashi lady. For a detailed list of characters in the *Tale of Genji*, see Seidensticker, 1976, xvii-xix.

artists from the Muromachi through the Edo periods.[56] The architecture in Mitsunori's painting is only slightly different from that in Mitsuyoshi's, with a slightly wider view into the palace room. Mitsunori added more decorative details to the palace interior, and an extra room in the lower right-hand corner where three ladies are shown watching the events.

Tosa Mitsunori moved the Tosa atelier back to Kyoto from Sakai in 1634. The move to Kyoto may have been prompted by the government's ban on foreign trade in 1633, which greatly damaged Sakai's economy.[57] Mitsunori may also have chosen this time to return to Kyoto in the hope of regaining the position of superintendent of the Painting Office and, thus, the patronage of the Imperial family.[58] However, Mitsunori died only four years after his return to Kyoto, without ever regaining the superintendent position that was lost to the Kanō family in the late sixteenth century.[59]

[56] These gold clouds in the work of Mitsushige, Mitsuyoshi, and Mitsunori were characteristic of the Tosa style, and continue into woodblock prints, as I will demonstrate later in this study.
[57] See Murase, 2000, 258.
[58] See Rosenfield, 1993, 88.
[59] See Rosenfield, 1993, 87.

CHAPTER TWO

THE GENJI PAINTINGS OF THE TOSA SCHOOL ARTISTS AFTER THEIR MOVE TO EDO, 1630-1700

Tosa Mitsunori had three pupils, Iwasa Matabei (1578-1650), Sumiyoshi Jokei (1599-1671), and Tosa Mitsuoki (1617-1691), who carried the Tosa painting tradition into the Edo period (1615-1868).[60] The latter remained in Kyoto, regained the head position of the Imperial Painting Office, and continued the grand Tosa style in richly colored *yamato-e* executed on byōbu and in albums.[61] Matabei and Sumiyoshi Gukei (1631-1705), Jokei's son, after working in Kyoto in the Tosa style, moved to the city of Edo in 1637 and 1683 respectively, to pursue new opportunities.[62] They moved to Edo right after the city became the new capital of Japan, and the seat of power for the new ruler, Tokugawa Ieyasu. The Tokugawa shogunate initiated policies that altered the socio-economic status of all Japanese people, especially the merchant and artisan classes. Some of the elite merchants in Kyoto moved to Edo for increased financial opportunities, but, in doing so, they sacrificed their social status. Under the laws of the new regime, they were classified in the lowest tier of the new four-tier class system, and together with

[60] See Kita, 1999, 166-169. Kita discusses three possible masters of Matabei: Tosa Mitsuyoshi, Tosa Mitsunori, and Kanō Naizen. Tosa Hiromichi changed his name to Sumiyoshi Jokei after being asked in 1662 by Emperor Gosai to establish a new atelier. The name Sumiyoshi was a reference to the famous twelfth-century artist Sumiyoshi Kei'in, and Jokei was the religious name given to him, see Rosenfield, 1993, 86.

[61] For examples of Tosa Mitsuoki's *Genji* paintings, see Yoshiaki Shimizu and Nelson, 1982, fig. 6; and Tokyo National Museum, 1985, fig. 40. Mitsuoki also painted in the *kara-e* (Chinese-style) for military patrons. For a discussion on Mitsuoki's life and art, see Rosenfield, 1993, 89-97.

[62] Matabei moved to Edo around 1637, and Sumiyoshi Gukei moved to Edo in 1683. See Kita, 1984, 253; and Rosenfield, 1993, 86.

the artisans collectively referred to as *chōnin*. These artists and merchants clung to their Kyoto culture while in the new capital by patronizing artistic productions of *Genji-e* by Gukei and Matabei. However, their depictions of the classical Heian tale exhibited a break with the traditional Tosa style practiced in Kyoto and Sakai.

Tokugawa Ieyasu ended centuries of fighting in 1615, and attempted to unify the country under his central rule as *shōgun* by establishing new socio-economic policies to consolidate his power and ensure lasting dynastic rule of Japan.[63] Ieyasu, who witnessed the successes and failures of his allies and mentors, Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, sought to realize their goal of unifying Japan and establishing peace and prosperity. In 1590, Hideyoshi had granted Ieyasu eight provinces in eastern Japan, where he set up his headquarters in the small fishing village of Edo. Recognizing Ieyasu's popularity and potential for becoming a great ruler, Hideyoshi had transferred Ieyasu to this remote area of Japan in the hope that the move would isolate Ieyasu from his family and important home ties. This, however, did not happen, and in 1615, Ieyasu built up enough power and support to defeat Hideyoshi's son, Hideyori, further securing his rule over all of Japan. Ieyasu moved the capital city from cosmopolitan Kyoto to Edo.

Edo's population quickly grew due to the socio-economic policies that Ieyasu put in place. One policy, implemented to keep the *daimyō* under control of the shogunate, was the *sankin kōtai*, the policy of alternate attendance. The *daimyō* were forced to live one half or full year in the capital of Edo, and the following half or full year in their

[63] Ieyasu received the title of *shogun* in 1603 and resigned in 1605, passing the title to his son to ensure a lasting lineage. However, Ieyasu continued to gain power and his official rule began in 1615 after he defeated Hideyori in Osaka.

provinces, maintaining homes in each.[64] This policy resulted in growing demands for merchants and artisans in Edo.

The shogunate also put into place the strict Neo-Confucian-based class structure called *shinōkōshō*.[65] All four classes worked at distinctly different tasks, which together formed a basis for sustaining peace and prosperity in Japan during the Tokugawa era.[66] The samurai maintained control over most activities of the public, the farmers tended to the countryside to provide food, while the artisans and merchants ensured the prosperity of the cities by providing other necessary products. The merchants who moved to Edo from Kyoto and Sakai experienced a great drop in their social status, from the cultural elites to members of the lowest social group in Edo.[67] However, the merchants who did make the move to Edo enjoyed numerous financial opportunities as the village grew into a commercial metropolis. After the shogunate took over the minting of coinage, values were standardized, which in turn encouraged the growth of a money economy and greatly stimulated trade and commerce.[68] Additionally, the shogunate attempted to close Japan from the rest of the world, and controlled foreign trade, which helped to strengthen domestic companies and products, and imposed reasonable prices for foreign goods.[69] As a result, merchants who moved to Edo benefited financially from the economic policies of the shogunate.

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[64] See Yōtarō Sakudō, "The Management Practices of Family Business," in Conrad Totman, trans., ed. *Tokugawa Japan* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1990), 147-148.

[65] The majority of social and economic policies initiated by the Tokugawa shogunate were based on Chinese Confucian ideas. Lu, 1997, 243-271. Lu explains that "Tokugawa Ieyasu and his successors found its ideal of orderly submission to the authorities well suited to the *bakufu*'s desire to maintain a stable political and social order."

[66] See Christine Guth, *Japanese Art of the Edo Period* (London: Calmann and King, Ltd., 1996), 10-11.

[67] Although the *shinōkōshō* system was suppose to be implemented in a standardized manner across Japan, Sakai and especially Kyoto did not adhere to the policy fully. The merchants and artisans in these cities still enjoyed higher social status and freedom to mingle with others outside their supposed class. The policy was much more strictly enforced in Edo where the shogunate maintained their residency.

[68] See Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1989, 22.

Despite the merchants' lower social standing in Edo, their growing wealth and increased standard of living allowed them to cling to their Kyoto culture by patronizing paintings of the *Tale of Genji* by the Tosa artists Matabei and Gukei. The new capital city lacked the cultural refinement of Kyoto and other large established cities. Products made in Edo were typically considered of poorer quality, and luxury goods had to be brought in from elsewhere in Japan.[70] Matabei's and Gukei's paintings in the classical Tosa school style were considered luxury goods in Edo, and I believe they were probably patronized by merchants who had migrated from the west and still identified with Kansai culture. However, the styles of Matabei and Gukei changed upon their arrival in Edo. They presented *Genji* in a modified Tosa fashion, imbued with their own artistic influences and varying greatly from the compositions by Mitsuyoshi and Mitsunori.[71]

Sumiyoshi Gukei, who was working for the court in Kyoto in the early seventeenth century, moved to Edo in 1683 by order of the shogunate to take the position of *okueshi* (private painting instructor to the shogun).[72] Kano school artists had previously held this position. The shogunate was not only interested in Gukei for his skill in rendering paintings in the Tosa style, but also for his individual style, which reflected a combination of Tosa and Kanō characteristics. Gukei's subjects remained Heian classical themes and tales, such as the *Tale of Genji*.

A painting of a scene from the *Genji monogatari* circa 1674-91 (Fig. 7) by Gukei demonstrates his training in the Tosa style, through the *fukinuki-yatai* device and the

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[69] See Kate Wildman Nakai, *Shogunal Politics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 106-107.
[70] See Guth, 1996, 89; and William B. Hauser, "A New Society: Japan under Tokugawa Rule," in Dale Carolyn Gluckman and Sharon Sakako Takeda, *When Art Became Fashion* (Los Angeles and New York: Los Angeles County Museum of Art and Weatherhill, Inc), 47.
[71] See Rosenfield, 1993, 86, for comments on Gukei's art after his move to Edo, which "rapidly took on a stylistic identity different from that of the Tosa family."
[72] See Guth, 1996, 58; and Murase, 1985, fig. 41 catalog entry.

round, generalized facial features of the figures who inhabit an accurate depiction of a *shinden* architecture. On the other hand, it lacks the *kumogata* (cloud forms) typical of Tosa paintings. Gukei's shift away from the traditional Tosa style, especially in his blend of new and old Kanō characteristics, can also be seen in the single tree silhouetted against the sky. This motif is found in the earlier paintings of Kaihō Yūshō (1533-1615) and Hasegawa Tōhaku (1539-1610) (Figs. 8 & 9), who worked in Kyoto and practiced a Zen-Buddhist approach to the Kanō style in which they depicted a single element of nature dominating the composition as Gukei did. The tree in Gukei's painting is larger in scale to the environment, and stands out more than does the figure of Genji sitting in the palace, emphasizing the importance of nature to human activities, a theme possibly influenced by Zen Buddhism.[73] The single tree also reflects the Kanō school's principal subjects, those of birds and flowers, inspired by Chinese models. Additionally, Gukei's painting has a long horizontal format that was typically not found in Tosa paintings, which were executed on either a nearly square album sheet or the folded vertical panels of *fusuma* screens. Gukei's choice of a narrow horizontal format is reminiscent of the Kano *byōbu* panels that graced the walls of military castles, as well as Yūshō's paintings, which were executed for Buddhist temples. The luxurious gold leaf, typical of both the Kanō and Tosa schools, is absent, although it appears in another of Gukei's *Genji-e* (Fig. 10), but in a very different manner, with whimsical flowers that resemble stars within the *kumogata*. This painting breaks from the Tosa school tradition even further by depicting the scene without the *fukinuki-yatai* device; instead, it gives the viewer a slightly raised

[73] Zen Buddhists practice daily meditation attempting to reach Enlightenment (*Nirvanā*) by sitting in a seated position and focusing on nature, often only one element such as a waterfall or a rock formation or a tree. For further information on Zen Buddhism, see Heinrich Dumoulin, *Zen Enlightenment*, translated by John C. Maraldo (New York: Weatherhill, 1979).

but frontal perspective on the scene. This type of perspective, called "level distance," is prevalent in Chinese landscape painting from the Song dynasty (960-1279).[74] The use of this perspective by Gukei shows another shift away from the traditional depictions of the *Tale of Genji.*

Iwasa Matabei, like Gukei, was a Kyoto *machishu* from the Tosa school who moved to Edo in 1637. Matabei has been more widely studied by scholars than Gukei has because he was trained directly by a member of the Tosa atelier and, as the only true Tosa artist to move to Edo, he provides the link between the courtly paintings of Kyoto and the woodblock prints of the "floating world" of Edo.[75] After his move to Edo, Matabei longed for the refined culture of Kyoto. Despite his new status in Edo as a *chōnin*, Matabei continued to paint courtly subject matter such as the *Tale of Genji*, attracting many diverse patrons, such as courtiers, the Tokugawa shogunate, and former Kyoto merchants, now living in Edo, who were still attempting, like Matabei, to maintain the *machishu* culture and identity.[76]

Matabei executed many paintings of *Genji* in his individualized style, which was a combination of the Tosa and Kano styles, and in his personal artistic interpretation of the novel. The set of twelve paintings in the Fukui Prefectural Museum that date to the early seventeenth century (Figs. 11 & 12) are excellent examples of Matabei's *Genji*

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[74] See Wen Fong, *Beyond Representation*, exh. cat. (New York : Metropolitan Museum of Art ; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).
[75] Sandy Kita's monograph on Iwasa Matabei focuses around this point, see Kita, 1999.
[76] See Kita, 1999, 5; and Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *Courtly Splendor*. exh. cat., 1990, 132. The courtiers would have been living in Kyoto. In Kyoto, the merchants continued to live in style and mingle with the elite in society, ignoring the Tokugawa shogunate's new four-tiered class system. See Gerd Lester, "The Blossming of Chonin Art and Culture in Japan," *Arts of Asia*, 24 (Jan.-Feb. 1994): 79. It is unclear which group among the different patrons of Matabei acquired the most of his paintings.

paintings.[77] The paintings were created in the *emakimono* format, previously used in late Heian period *Genji monogatari emakimono,* and by the Tosa school during the Muromachi and Momoyama periods. The compositions adhere to the *Genji monogatari ekobota*, representing the scenes with the same standard iconography employed by generations of artists before Matabei.[78] Yet, Matabei refrained from using the bold colors of the Tosa school, and instead emphasized the poetic nature of *Genji* by using a more muted palette. In Matabei's painting of chapter 39, *Yūgiri* ("Evening Mist") (Fig. 11), the figure of *Yūgiri* stands alone on the corner of a balcony looking out at two deer in a field with autumn grasses. He is represented with his arm raised to his face, and his long sleeve gracefully hangs down to his knees. Matabei followed the *Genji monogatari ekobota* for some of the iconography of this scene, but he omitted the waterfall or even an allusion to the waterfall, and also the fan Yugiri is suppose to hold in his hand.[79] In a painting of the same scene from *Genji* attributed to Tosa Mitsunobu's daughter in the Kyoto National Museum, the waterfall and fan are represented.[80] Matabei may have substituted Yugiri's hanging sleeve for the fan, and he filled the landscape with a hazy mist, perhaps to suggest the rising spray of the waterfall obscured below. In sum, Matabei represented the natural elements in a more suggestive, poetic manner,

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[77] It is not clear why Matabei selected these twelve scenes to illustrate; there may have been additional scrolls that accompanied this one. Matabei may have chosen these twelve scenes because he thought they best represented the novel and its poetic imagery.

[78] For more information see Introduction, footnote 6, page 3.

[79] For depicting scene four of chapter 39 in *Genji*, the *Genji Monogatari Ekotoba* reads: "Following the above episode and at Ono, Yūgiri stands at the corner railing and looks around with his fan raised to his eyes. The deer bay amidst the fields; gentians peer from the brown grasses. There should be insects among the grasses, and the roar of the waterfall should be suggested." See Murase, 1983, 229. Yūgiri is Genji's first son by his first wife Lady Aoi. See appendix F for a summation of chapter 39.

[80] Tosa Mitsuoki attributed to the daughter of Tosa Mitsunobu the paintings at the end of each of the three scrolls depicting the *Tale of Genji* in the Ikeda collection at the Kyoto National Museum. However, it is Murase's opinion that the scrolls were produced later, either in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, based on the ornate detail and the large areas of black and grey washes, instead of the sharper

abandoning the detailed clarity and typical *kumogata* of the Tosa school, as seen in the Kyoto picture.

In another painting from Matabei's scroll of the *Ukifune* ("A Boat Upon the Waters") chapter (fig. 12), Genji's grandson, Prince Niou, is depicted with Ukifune in a boat surrounded by dreamlike mist.[81] The snow-covered pine trees are delicately painted and the moon is visible at the top left corner. These elements follow closely the *Genji monogatari ekobota*; the only missing element is the boatman, whose omission helps emphasize the intimacy of this moment in the relationship of Niou and Ukifune. While their boat floats on the water, Niou tells Ukifune:

> *They are fragile pines, no more, but their green is so rich and deep that it lasts a thousand years.*
>
> *A thousand years may pass, it will not waver, this vow I make in the lee of the Islet of Oranges.*[82]

Murasaki Shikibu expressed Niou's feelings for Ukifune through the imagery of nature, a literary device commonly used by the characters in the *Tale of Genji* that pervades Japanese literary and pictorial art.

The permanence of nature symbolized by the green of the pines described by Niou in chapter 51 of the *Tale of Genji* is a unique passage in the novel because it contrasts with the more dominant theme of the transience of nature, the fleeting condition of life. But even this motif Matabei represented as delicate and poetic. This idea of impermanence resonates throughout Matabei's life and paintings, and serves also to

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contrasts of black and white in the traditional *hakubyo* style. See figure 4 for an example. Murase, 1983, 320-321.

[81] Ukifune is the unrecognized daughter of a consort and Prince Hachi. See Appendix F for a summation of chapter 51.

[82] See Seidensticker, 1976, 991.

represent the seventeenth century when Matabei was working, a period of change and transition. The political, social, and economic changes that occurred under the Tokugawa shogunate were reflected in Matabei's artwork. Matabei was a court painter of classical subjects, and yet, his style was innovative and unique, emphasizing strong lines with delicate details in the faces of the figures and in the landscape, all depicted in a muted palette.

As the last artist of the Tosa lineage to work in Edo, Matabei served as the bridge between the ancient courtly style favored by the Tosa artists and the new secular woodblock prints that became popular during the Edo period. Although the *machishu* as a group ceased to exist after 1568 when Oda Nobunaga marched into Kyoto and essentially took over the Japanese government, the spirit of the *machishu* lived on in the elite merchants and artists who moved to Edo. Like Gukei and Matabei, the merchants and artists clung to their cultural traditions from Kyoto by patronizing classical subject matter such as the *Tale of Genji*.[83]

Matabei's nickname was Ukiyo Matabei, one reason for which some scholars identify him as the founder of the *ukiyo-e* movement in Edo.[84] The word *ukiyo* was first used by Buddhist monks to refer to the transitory nature of life.[85] Kita defines *ukiyo* in her monograph on Matabei as, "this world that we perceive in these physical bodies of ours, that is, our present reality, our here and now."[86] For Buddhist monks, this material world was not permanent; therefore, one must meditate and strive to reach a cessation of

[83] Kita spends a great deal of time discussing this date of 1568 as being a good "historical" date, however in regard to an "art historical" date, the *machishu* continued to survive beyond that year. See Kita, 1999, 154-156.
[84] The idea that Matabei was the founder of the *Ukiyo-e* movement is problematic and has been highly debated, see Kita, 1999, 2-3.
[85] See Jenkins, 1971, 16.
[86] See Kita, 1999, 271.

physicality by enlightenment (*nirvāna*). The commoners of Edo had a different approach to *ukiyo*; given that this world is not permanent, they sought to live it up and enjoy all the earthly pleasures rather than reject them. Perhaps Matabei's overindulgence in the pleasure quarters of Edo earned him the nickname of Ukiyo Matabei.

The question of Matabei's involvement in the formation of the *ukiyo-e* movement is debatable, but the fact that *ukiyo-e* arose from book illustrations of the early seventeenth century is not.[87] The next chapter will discuss the rise of book illustrations in Kyoto and Edo, and how the visual forms of the *Tale of Genji* were transformed from scenes of courtiers enjoying high culture activities to scenes of sometimes explicit sexual relations.

[87] See Jenkins, 1971, 16.

CHAPTER THREE

BOOK ILLUSTRATIONS OF GENJI AND THE FORMER *MACHISHU* IN THE EARLY EDO PERIOD, 1650-1700

During the Edo period, an increase in the literacy rate of the Japanese as well as the reduced quality and, subsequently, the price of paper led to deluxe illustrated editions of classical literature being produced in Kyoto. These books, unlike the painted Tosa albums from the Momoyama period, were illustrated primarily with woodcut and woodblock prints in a modified Tosa style. These publications marked the first secular use of the woodblock print, which had previously appeared almost exclusively in temple publications by Buddhist monks.[88] From the Tosa albums to the woodcut and woodblock book illustrations, the *Tale of Genji* continued to be a popular subject; the traditional tale was depicted in a classical manner and patronized by the merchants and court. However, some books illustrating *Genji* began to portray modern Tokugawa society and its fashions, reflecting the tastes of the new *chōnin* class.

Book illustrations originated from bound religious sutras and classical Chinese texts published by Buddhist monasteries, and they were written in *kanji* and had illustrations in woodcut or woodblock prints.[89] During the late Momoyama period, the artists Honami Koetsu and Suminokura Soan began publishing books of tenth-century

[88] Before this time, woodblock prints were used primarily by Buddhist monks to illustrate sutras. See Akiyama Terukazu, 1990, 164; and Donald Jenkins, 1971, 15.
[89] See Christine Guth, *Japanese Art of the Edo Period* (London: Calmann and King, Ltd.), 38; Murase, 1986, 215; and Kenji Toda, *The Ryerson Collection of Japanese and Chinese Illustrated Books* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1931), viii.

classical literature, popularly known as *Saga-bon*.[90] These deluxe illustrated editions were intended for the wealthy *machishu* of Kyoto and Osaka, and served as a sign of their cultured taste.[91] A *Saga-bon* edition of the *Tale of Genji* was published by Soan, but was not illustrated.

During the seventeenth century, Japan appeared to be a centralized feudalistic nation under the leadership of the Tokugawa shogunate, which allowed for growth of major cities, and led to increased prosperity and educational opportunities. Temple school education became more widely available to all levels of society, the literacy rate grew, and along with it, the demand for books.[92] Improvements in printing processes, the advent of the papermaking industry, and the establishment of publishing copyrights were all factors in the increased production of books during the seventeenth century.[93] Written mainly in *kana* script, books were accessible to the samurai and *chōnin* alike, and created an unprecedented demand for the written word.[94] Although moveable type was available, printers chose to create a separate block for each page,[95] and did the same for woodblock illustration. The popularity of books in the early Edo period created the need for skilled

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[90] None of the twenty *Saga-bon* books produced provide a publication date; however, scholars have determined that these artists were working during the Momoyama period, and that the first *Saga-bon* books appeared around 1604. They were called the *Saga-bon* books because they were produced in the *Saga* district of Kyoto on Soan's press. Perhaps the most popular *Saga-bon* book published during the seventeenth century was the *Ise monogatari*. Toda Kenji, 1931, x; and Murase, 1986, 87.

[91] See John Rosenfield, "Japanese Painting and Graphic Arts of the Edo Period," *Apollo*, vol. 107 (June 1978): 472; and Murase, 1986, 88.

[92] See Donald Jenkins, *Ukiyo-e Prints and Paintings The Primitive Period, 1680-1745* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1971), 15; Conrad Totman, trans. ed., Chie Nakane and Shinzaburō Ōishi, eds., *Tokugawa Japan: The Social and Economic of Modern Japan* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1990), 114-115; and Hauser, 1992, 56-57.

[93] See Totman, 1990, 117-119.

[94] Most literary works before this time intended for the affluent and wealthy male nobility and monks were written in Chinese *kanji* characters. Some books, like the *Tale of Genji*, were written in *kana*, the Japanese script based on phonics, because women were not allowed to read or write in *kanji*. However, the books printed in the seventeenth century were for the most part being printed in *kana* script, therefore, any Japanese person with basic knowledge of the very limited alphabet of *kana* could read the books. This increased the demand for books, and allowed the nobility and commoners to enjoy literature. See Toda, 1931, viii.

printers and block carvers who could create both books and book illustrations. The early subjects of these texts were the classical novels of the Heian period, illustrated in a somewhat crude Tosa style. Wanting to appear sophisticated and cultured, the *chōnin* purchased these books, including *Genji*.[96] I suggest that the former *machishu* bought them because they already knew and greatly enjoyed the familiar tales, and perhaps also because they associated *Genji* with their former higher status in Kyoto. As the seventeenth century progressed, book publishers catered increasingly to the prospering *chōnin* in Edo by printing works related to their preferred entertainment, courtesans and Kabuki theater, as well as travel stories. The central stories illustrated in these books were often based in part on classical literary texts.[97] In the late seventeenth century, the publishing center of Japan moved from Kyoto to Edo where the classical *Tale of Genji* continued to be printed and illustrated, and reflected these new interests of the *chōnin* in contemporary Edo culture.[98]

The first appearance of *Genji* woodcut or woodblock illustrated books occurred during the Edo period around 1650. At that time, the sixty volumes that constituted the entire *Genji monogatari* were printed in blockprint by Yamamoto Shunshō, whereas previously, only moveable type had been used to produce copies of Lady Murasaki's novel. The first six volumes present introductory material with genealogical tables and *waka* poems from the novel.[99] The following fifty-four volumes each contain one chapter from *Genji* and are illustrated. The identity of the illustrator of the woodcuts, executed in

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[95] See Jenkins, 1971, 15. The *Saga-bon* books were printed with movable type; see Murase, 1986, 87.
[96] For the *chōnin*, especially the merchants, literacy was essential to operating a successful business, and it is the *chōnin* that often sought higher education in literature and the arts. See Totman, 1990, 119.
[97] See Jenkins, 1971, 15; Totman, 1990, 181; and Akiyama, 1990, 164.
[98] See Akiyama Terukazu, 1990, 164.
[99] A *waka* poem consists of thirty-one Japanese syllables.

sumizuri that accompany the *kana* text of the novel, is unknown.[100] However, the style is similar in the *fukinuki-yatai* technique and the *kumogata* clouds to the Tosa school paintings of *Genji* (Figs. 4 & 5) from the Momoyama period. The figures are depicted in traditional Heian period dress and resemble those found in the late Heian *Genji monogatari emakimono* (Figs. 1 & 2). Female figures display long straight flowing hair, thick eyebrows, and multi-layered richly designed garments. The architectural form and decoration of the houses are also depicted in a manner similar to that of the Tosa paintings, and foliage and natural elements associated with the different chapters of the novel are illustrated. The facial features, while intentionally ambiguous, appear relatively crude compared to the skillful rendering in the late Heian *emakimono* or by the Tosa artists. Certain details of interior decoration and designs on clothing are also absent, due to the limitations of the *sumizuri* woodcut technique to produce such fine or delicate lines that could help convey the grandeur and luxury described in the novel. Additionally, the *kumogata*, rather than dividing scenes from one another as they do on the large Tosa *fusuma* screens, appear as a misty area that frames only the top and bottom of the scenes.

Although the scenes in this publication are a bit crudely illustrated, they do adhere to the basic narrative, and represent the correct attributes for each scene as designated by the *Genji monogatari ekobota*, as do many Tosa paintings. This book continues the Tosa tradition of following the *Ekobota*, exemplified in the depiction of first scene (Fig. 13) from the *Asagao* ("The Morning Glory") chapter, which reads:

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[100] Reproductions of these prints can be found in Walter L. Strauss and Carol Bronze, *Japanese Woodcut Book Illustrations*, volume 2: "Tale of Genji" (New York: Abaris Books, 1979), 9-248; and throughout Seidensticker's translation of the *Tale of Genji*, see Seidensticker, 1976. However, there are more numerous prints from the series in Strauss and Bronze's book. Strauss and Bronze report that the *Genji* series was printed by Yamamoto Shunshō and that the illustrator is unknown. Seidensticker lists Yamamoto Shunshō as the illustrator of the series, and also gives the series the name *Eiri Genji Monogatari* (Illustrated Tale of Genji), see Seidensticker, 1976, contents page.

> It is at Nijō on a moonlit night. There should be a waterfowl on the frozen lake. The moon should be shining on the brook. Little maidservants are sent down to the garden to make snowmen. Their jackets and trousers and ribbons trail off in many colors. The smaller girls let their fans fall. Some of the older fellows jeer at them from the east veranda. Genji and Murasaki, dressed in informal clothes, should definitely be included in this scene. There should be a fire in the brazier.[101]

The 1650 illustration faithfully follows this description, down to the detail of the discarded fans laying on the veranda and the older fellows at the corner of the veranda jeering at the little girls. In fact, such book illustrations often represent the prescribed elements from the *Genji monogatari ekobota* more accurately than did the Tosa school paintings.

The next known illustrated book of the *Tale of Genji* entitled *Genji bin-kagami*, dates to 1660.[102] This one-volume work contains fifty-five illustrations that accompany brief summaries of each chapter with *haiku* poems by seventeenth-century poets. The name of the illustrator is not known, but the pictures are similar to those of the 1650 volumes in their use of the *fukinuki-yatai* and *kumogata* devices. However, the illustrations are even more crudely executed in this edition of *Genji*. For example, the figures' heads and bodies are out of proportion, as is evident in the depiction of a scene (Fig. 14) from the *Hana no en* ("The Festival of the Cherry Blossoms") chapter. Both the 1650 and 1660 illustrated *Genji* books show a connection to past Tosa artists and adhere closely to the *Genji monogatari ekobota*.

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[101] See Murase, 1983, 131.

[102] See Strauss and Bronze, 1979. From this point on in this study, if I do not offer English translations of the Japanese titles of the books or prints discussed, it is because they were not available to me. The

The popularity of the *Tale of Genji* in book form continued into the 1660s and 1670s, with increasingly detailed and skillfully produced woodblock illustrations, still very much maintaining the Tosa style. In 1661, two series of illustrated books, each encompassing all fifty-four chapters of the *Tale of Genji* and entitled *Jūgō Genji* ("A Ten-volume version of Genji") and *Osana Genji* ("The Juvenile Genji"), authored and illustrated by Hinaya Ryūho (1599-1669), were published.[103] The illustrations of the two series closely follow the text of *Genji* and the instructions in the *Genji monogatari ekobota*. The traditional Tosa painting attributes of *fukinuki-yatai* and *kumogata* are present, and the figures are portrayed in a Heian manner as in the late Heian *Genji monogatari emakimono*. The anatomical proportions of the figures and their spatial relationships to one another, as well as their placement within the scene (Fig. 15), appear more naturalistic and logical than those of the previous *Genji* series from 1650 and 1660. Details of architecture and garments are depicted with greater skill, apparent in the illustration (Fig. 16) of the *Umegae* ("A Branch of Plum") chapter from the *Osana Genji*.

The *Osana Genji* series was printed again in 1672 after Ryūho died.[104] While the 1661 edition had only five volumes, the number of the volumes was increased to ten in the 1672 printing. The later edition may have inserted additional illustrations that were not by Ryūho's hand. The different hands become evident in a comparison of the 1661 illustration from the *Umegae* chapter and the 1672 illustration of the same chapter (Figs. 16 & 17). First, the *kumogata* framing the scene in the 1672 illustration have double lines, which are absent in the 1661 illustration. The wooden paneling on the door in the

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majority of the scholarship I used to complete this study presented these titles in *Romanji* instead of *Kanji*, and therefore it was difficult to deceiver the correct translation of the titles.

[103] See Hillier, 1987, 80-81; and Kenji Toda, 1931, 46-49.

foreground of the 1672 picture does not appear in the 1661 illustration, and the plants featured in the lower left corner of the 1661 depiction are placed halfway up the left side, within the room where the figures are sitting, in the 1672 version. The tatami mats, garments, and curtains were given different design patterns by the two illustrators. The architecture also appears slightly different in the wall screens at the left and the doors in the background, which the 1661 illustration depicts as open to the outdoor veranda. Additionally, the faces of the 1672 series are more skillfully depicted than the earlier illustration by Ryūho.

The illustrations of the 1675 book series entitled *Genji ko-kagami*, created by an unknown print artist, display characteristics similar to those in Ryūho's 1672 series.[105] The double lines through the *kumogata* and the wooden textured wall seen in Ryūho's series reappear in various illustrations of *Genji ko-kagami* (Figs. 17 & 18); these are two innovations of the 1670's *Genji* print. Although the illustrations of *Genji* became more detailed during the early 1650s and 1660s, they were still rather mediocre when compared with the more elaborate and skilled depictions of *Genji* produced by the Tosa artists during the Momoyama period.

Beginning in the late 1670s and continuing into the 1680s, the *Tale of Genji* illustrations began to reflect contemporary tastes and interests. In 1676, the first appearance of erotic illustrations of *Genji* (Fig. 19) occurred in a picture book by the artist Hishikawa Moronobu (1638-1714), entitled *Genji kyara-makura*. The *Tale of Genji*, with its numerous love affairs, was an ideal subject for erotic pictures known as

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[104] See Murase, 1983, 328, where Hinaya Ryūho is referred to as Hinaya Rippo. Both Hillier and Kenji Toda refer to the artist as Hinaya Ryūho in their books, therefore I will continue to use Hinaya Ryūho throughout the rest of this study.

[105] See Strauss and Bronze, 1979, 307.

shunga ("spring pictures"). *Shunga* were produced in Japan during the seventeenth century and accepted as uncensored by certain segments of the Japanese population and government.[106] These early erotic images discretely hid the genitalia of the men and women under clothing, alluding to sexual acts, rather than actually depicting them. These prints were expensive and intended for a small audience who could afford them, namely the wealthy merchants of the period.[107] In 1681, Yoshida Hambei's explicit erotic illustrations for the book *Genji oniro-asobi* ("Genji's Erotic Pursuits") were published. Hambei was an illustrator of many *shunga* books in Osaka, a fast growing city like Edo with its own *chōnin* class. Each of his illustrations in *Genji oniro-asobi* spread over two pages, and the title of the book is misleading, because only the first print depicts an erotic scene with Genji. The rest of these erotic illustrations portray other famous men and women from Japanese history and literature. Unfortunately, the only extant print from the book (Fig. 20) does not depict Genji, but the "Love-making of Lord Teika and the Imperial Princess Shokushi." In this illustration, Hambei depicted the couple in Heian style with classical dress and hairstyles, as well as Heian architecture and interior decorations, but he continued the 1670's innovation of creating wood-grain pattern on the walls. Also, the pattern and decorative accents are much more detailed than previously seen in book illustrations.

Sugimura Jihei's *Genji ukiyo fukasa-e* ("Genji of the 'Floating World' in Fukasa-e"), published in 1684, contains images of the classical novel blended together with those of men and women in contemporary dress (Fig. 21). The scenes from *Genji* represented in the classical Tosa style occupy only one-third of each illustration, while the scenes

[106] See Hillier, 1987, 83, and Lane, 1978, 305.

from contemporary life fill the other two-thirds. The modern man and woman sitting closely together in loose clothing at the upper left of the left-hand page contrasts with the image of Genji and one of his many loves sitting farther apart in their restrictive bulky clothing. The meaning of the images is difficult to discern from the illustrations alone. Such juxtaposed illustrations may have served to compare modern lovers to lovers of the Heian period. The lower scenes on both pages may represent female friendship and activities enjoyed together, again, perhaps to contrast modern and ancient relationships. While it would be necessary to study other illustrations from the three volumes of the book series to explore the meanings of these illustrations, Jihei's combination of classical literary narrative with modern-day figures was an innovation in depicting *Genji*.

The 1680s marked a new function of woodblock illustrations, which moved from the bound book format to single sheet prints called *ichimai-e*. The independent print ushered in an entirely new genre of art, called *ukiyo-e* ("pictures of the floating world"), which became popular among the *chōnin*. This new format was begun by Moronobu, the book illustrator who created the first *shunga* images of the *Tale of Genji*. As mentioned earlier, many scholars have debated whether Matabei was the founder of the *ukiyo-e* movement, but they agree that Moronobu was the artist who popularized the single-sheet woodblock print.

Moronobu illustrated many reprints of classical literature, including three books based on the *Tale of Genji*.[108] His depictions of *Genji* alternate between the classical and the contemporary. The illustrations in his 1685 series *Genji yamato ekagami* and a scene from the *Tale of Genji* included in the 1683 (*Shimpan) bijin ezukushi* (A (Newly

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[107] See Sarah Thompson, "The Politics of Japanese Prints," in Sarah E. Thompson, ed., *Undercurrents in the Floating World: Censorship and Japanese Prints* (New York: The Asia Society Galleries, 1991), 44.

Published) Series of Pictures of Beautiful Women) (Figs. 22 & 23), present the figures in traditional Heian period settings and clothing.[109] The arrangement of the two-print composition from the (*Shimpan*) *bijin ezukushi* demonstrates how Moronobu depicted a classical literary work, by employing Heian *yamato-e* techniques. Moronobu used the *fukinuki-yatai* device to create a high perspective over the scene and included strong vertical and diagonal lines to link the two prints through these linear patterns across the divide of the bookbinding.[110] But Moronobu also illustrated the reprint of Saikaku's (1642-1693) novel, *The Man Who Spent His Life in Love*, a modern satire of the *Tale of Genji*. Written in fifty-four chapters, the same number of chapters in the original novel, it portrays a profligate who spends his time doing nothing but having sexual affairs.[111] Moronobu's participation in illustrating this *Genji* demonstrates that the novel was no longer only appreciated for its historical and courtly associations, but also for its ability, through satire, to resemble the modern social landscape of Edo.

Moronobu was the artist who inspired the shift of book publishing in Japan from Kyoto to Edo, where he was working.[112] Around the same time, art production moved from the previous capital city of Japan dominated by the nobility and *machishu* to the new capital city controlled by the shogunate and *chōnin*. This monumentous change resulted in the subsequent development of the single woodblock print as an art form, and

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[108] These three books are in addition to the *Genji Kyara-makura* discussed earlier in the chapter.
[109] See Strauss and Bronze, 1979, 353-408; and Jack Hillier and Lawrence Smith, *Japanese Prints: 300 Years of Albums and Books* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1980), 47.
[110] See Hillier and Smith, 1980, 21.
[111] See Lester, 1994, 83-86. There is no example illustration by Moronobu from Saikaku's book given in this source. I have not been able to locate an example elsewhere.
[112] See Kenji Toda, 1931, xiv; and Akiyama Terukazu, 1990, 164. During the seventeenth century, there were 701 book publishers in Kyoto and only 242 in Edo. However, by the nineteenth century, there were only 491 active publishers in Kyoto, and 917 in Edo, a signifigant increase since the seventeenth century. See Totman, 1990, 115. Moronobu's move to Edo was only one of the factors for the shift of the publishing center. The other factors, discussed earlier in this chapter, are the increased literacy rate due to the

in transformations of its subject matter and its patronage. In Moronobu's contrasting depictions of *Genji*, one can already see the two different components of the Edo *chōnin*: the former *machishu* holding onto their classical Kyoto culture; and, the artists and writers whose clever satires of *Genji* demonstrated their interest in modernizing this historical tale.

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improved education system and the new wealth of the Edo. The move of the capital from Kyoto to Edo was also a factor.

CHAPTER FOUR

GENJI IN *UKIYO-E* AS REFLECTIONS OF *CHŌNIN* LIFE DURING THE MIDDLE EDO PERIOD, 1700-1800

Just as a lineage of artists of the Tosa school producing *Genji-e* existed during the Muromachi and Momoyama periods, the *ukiyo*-e movement had its own lineage of artists producing *Genji* prints. However, the woodblock print artists depicted *Genji* in a very different manner, modifying the subject and composition to reflect new interests and aesthetics, which were influenced by their patrons and other artists. Okumura Masanobu (1690-1768) continued the *Genji* print tradition after Moronobu, with numerous book illustrations. Nishimura Shigenaga (1697-1756) based his style for depicting *Genji* prints on Masanobu's, and likewise, Suzuki Harunobu (1725-1770) was influenced by Shigenaga's prints of *Genji*. Isoda Koryūsai was influenced by his master Shigenaga and Harunobu's style, and subsequently, Torii Kiyonaga (1752-1815) learned to depict *Genji* by studying Koryūsai's and Harunobu's prints. The heritage continued with Chōbunsai Eishi (1756-1829) who took Kiyonaga's style as a model for his *Genji* prints of the late eighteenth century. These print artists were some of the most prolific of the *ukiyo-e* movement, and their advances in the technical process of creating woodblock prints were just as important as their stylistic contributions. The book illustrations of the seventeenth century used *sumizuri-e* (monochrome print), but as the eighteenth century progressed, color began to appear in prints. New formats and sizes also began to be produced that greatly affected the compositions. Many of these new formats and color innovations

were brought about by the Kyōhō Reforms of the 1720s, issued by the Tokugawa shogunate as a way to maintain control over the publishing industry.

The similarity in style of the artists' depictions of *Genji* in prints during the eighteenth century is a result of not only of the master-pupil lineage, but also the political climate in the city of Edo itself, which was now fully feeling the effects of the Tokugawa shogunate rule. The *chōnin* born in Edo during the seventeenth century were not as familiar with their Kyoto roots as their ancestors had been. These Edo-born *chōnin* embraced their place in Edo society and the world of the lower class, for that was all they knew. These merchants and artisans enjoyed all the pleasures that their wealth afforded them and, distanced from Kyoto culture by the passing of generations, they sought to create their own culture in Edo. The entertainment frequently associated with the *chōnin* in Edo was the pleasure quarter.[113]

The pleasure quarter in Edo was located just outside of the city in a gated area called Yoshiwara, surrounded by a moat, where one could visit for only twenty-four hours at a time.[114] Many different pleasures at awaited: restaurants, Kabuki theater, public baths, and, of course, beautiful women, some available for the night and others only after lengthy courtships by very prestigious and wealthy suitors. The pleasure quarters, called *ukiyo*, emphasized the fleeting nature of life, and the goal of its visitors was to enjoy all the earthly pleasures now, for someday they would leave this earth. The lifestyle of wine, women, and song that pervaded the pleasure quarter became eulogized in woodblock prints called *ukiyo-e* ("pictures of the floating world").

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[113] *Ukiyo* "floating world," as it has come to be called. See Lester, 1994, 79. Osaka and Kyoto also had pleasure quarters, but Edo's pleasure quarter is by far the best known. See Thompson, 1991, 29.
[114] See Guth, 1996, 93-94; Lester, 1994, 80; and Murase, 1986 , 217.

The conservative Neo-Confucianism ideology adopted by the Tokugawa shogunate early in its rule began producing more tension between the classes during the eighteenth century. Specifically, the four-tiered class system was viewed as harsh and unfair by the merchants, who were providing the majority of the necessary goods for substaining the economy and lifestyle of Edo. Additionally, individuals from all of the other classes, including the *daimyō,* were financially indebted to the merchants, who, due to their massive wealth, served as bankers to the population, providing loans, and more importantly, charging interest on these loans. The shogunate enacted strict laws on the appearance and moral lifestyle for all classes, as an attempt to curtail any social intermingling, and also to ensure the *chōnin* merchants were kept in their place, at the lowest level of society. The shogunate regulated the style of the *chōnin's* dress, hair, and homes. All these measures restricted the *chōnin* from flaunting their wealth, and may also have contributed to their patronage of the cheaper woodblock prints of *Genji*, rather than the expensive and luxurious *Genji* paintings by the Tosa and Rinpa schools. The *chōnin* were not allowed to attend classical Nōh dramas or other social outings reserved for the aristocracy and samurai. Instead, they turned to visiting the pleasure quarters, which became the only way they could enjoy their massive fortunes.

By the eighteenth century, the *chōnin* had begun to patronize the art forms and entertainment of the pleasure quarter. This world of courtesans and Kabuki theater had already been depicted in book illustrations of the late seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century, however, it began to dominate book illustrations and individual woodblock prints called *ichimai-e*, which became the popular means of artistic expression for the lower classes. Woodblock prints could be purchased at shops that sold

them, or privately commissioned from printmakers. However, the majority of the prints in the eighteenth century were created for the public consumer audience, namely in the *chōnin* class, which had the economic means and leisure to acquire them.[115] Still, the classical novel of the *Tale of Genji* persisted as a common subject in these *ichimai-e*, so that a genre within *ukiyo-e* called *Genji-e* ("Genji picture") was formed.[116] This is a curious phenomenon, since the majority of *ukiyo-e* depicted the activities of the pleasure districts, such as courtesans and Kabuki theater. Additionally, the original text of the *Tale of Genji* was published only nine times during the entire Edo period, and eight of those printings took place during the seventeenth century.[117]

Why did *Genji* continue to be depicted in single prints of the eighteenth century? Two possible explanations suggest themselves. By the eighteenth century, Genji could have been admired by those Edo-born *chōnin*, independent of past Kyoto roots, who aspired to high culture.[118] They patronized *Genji-e* by Masanobu and Shigenaga in the classical Tosa style to show that they were well read and interested in high culture of the Heian past.[119] More obviously, a large segment of eighteenth-century *chōnin* were interested in *Genji* as a tale that could be modernized, and, above all, satirized. Artists such as Harunobu, Eishi, and Koryūsai created prints that creatively presented contemporary allusions to the different chapters of the *Tale of Genji*. These abbreviated iconographic motifs had become a standard way for the *chōnin* to familiarize themselves

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[115] The merchants were the main patrons of *ukiyo-e*. See Jenkins, 1971, 22; and Roger Keyes, *Japanese Woodblock Prints* (Oberlin: Oberlin College, 1984), 30.
[116] *Genji* was not as popular a print subject as Kabuki actors or courtesans were during the Edo period.
[117] See Timon Screech, *The Shogun's Painted Culture* (London: Reaktion Books, Ltd., 2000), 40-41.
[118] See Lee, 1961, 55.
[119] Hirano explains that the merchants were interested in not only classical literature, but also activities that showed culture such as incense burning, *utai*, *shimai*, and the tea ceremony. Some of these activities are discussed in the *Tale of Genji.* See Chie Hirano, *The Making of Japanese Prints and the History of Ukiyo-e* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1939), 6-7.

with the novel, which, due to its length, very few people actually read.[120] The artists could display both their literary knowledge and their creative talent by modifying *Genji* to reflect modern interests and fashions, often centering on the feminine ideal.

Masanobu published three editions of *Genji* that he both wrote and illustrated, *Wakakusa Genji monogatari* in 1707, *Hinazuru Genji monogatari* in 1708, and *Kōhaku Genji monogatari* in 1709.[121] His retelling of the story was essentially the same as the original, but the text was written in modern language for a growing literate audience interested in high culture.[122] The illustrations that accompanied the texts (Figs. 24 & 25) were produced in a very traditional manner similar to the modified Tosa style in *sumizuri-e* displayed in the *Genji* book illustrations of the seventeenth century. The characters are depicted in Heian period clothing within traditional architecture, although the architecture is much more decorative and elaborate in both the *Wakakusa* and the *Kōhaku*.[123] Multi-lined *kumogata* frame the scenes, but not in as encompassing and solid forms as before; the clouds now vary in shape from scene to scene. *Wakakusa* is closer to the traditional Heian style of *shinden* architecture with the railing around the balcony, and the female figures' long black hair flowing down over their backs to the floor. In contrast,

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[120] See Screech, 2000, 40-41.

[121] See Robert Vergez, *Early Ukiyo-e Master: Okumura Masanobu* (Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd., 1983), 33. Masanobu used the pen name Baiō for his *Genji* novels; see Hillier, 1987, 145. There was a sequel made to *Wakakusa Genji monogatari* of the same name by Masanobu in 1710; see Lane, 302, 1978. Toda, 1931, 152, maintains that the three novel series of *Genji* by Masanobu were: 1707 *Wakakusa Genji monogatari*,1709 *Kōhaku Genji Monogatari*, and 1710 *Wakakusa Genji monogatari*. Hillier, 1987, 145, maintains the same opinion as Toda, referencing his earlier book. In contrast, Vergez, 1983, 33, maintains that the three novels in the series were the 1707 *Wakakusa*, the 1708 *Hinazuru Genji monogatari*, and 1709 *Kōhaku*. Without being able to locate illustrations of the 1708 *Hinazuru* or the 1710 *Wakakusa*, it is difficult to determine which three novels belong together in a series. Toda, 1931, 152, states that between the 1707 *Wakakusa* and the 1709 *Kōhaku* chapters five and six were omitted. Perhaps the *Hinazuru* contained the fifth and sixth chapters of *Genji*, and thus all four novels were in the series together.

[122] See Lane, 66, 1978.

[123] I could not locate any illustrations from the *Hinazuru Genji Monogatari*; therefore, I am leaving it out of this discussion.

the *Kōhaku* illustrations depict the court ladies with much shorter hair that stops halfway down their backs.

In contrast to these traditional volumes of *Genji*, Masanobu followed in the footsteps of Moronobu and Hambei by also creating an album of illustrations that satirized the *Tale of Genji,* entitled *Yūkun mitate-Genji*, in the first decade of the eighteenth century. Such satirical illustrations were commonly called *mitate*, and poked fun at ancient classics. Roger Keyes defines the method of *mitate* as "an additional dimension [that] could be added to a picture of a contemporary subject in a modern style by introducing an element of pose, posture, costume, or iconography, which would remind the viewer of some episode from literature or the legendary past."[124] If Masanobu was not the founder of the *mitate*, he was certainly the artist who most used the format early in the *ukiyo-e* movement.[125] Masanobu was careful not to let his satire be seen as criticism of the Tokugawa shogunate by producing light and jovial prints. Further, Masanobu satirized other works of classical Chinese and Japanese literature, mythical heroes, Zen patriarchs, and even himself.[126] Due to his initial efforts, *mitate* of the *Tale of Genji* in particular became very popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[127] Masanobu's strong background in Japanese and Chinese literature allowed him to create images that conformed to the classical texts, and others that were brilliant satires of these texts.[128] In the satirical prints, he divorced the images from the original text to create new

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[124] See Roger Keyes, *Japanese Woodblock Prints* (Oberlin: Oberlin College, 1984), 30. For a discussion on how the another Heian literary classic, the *Ise monogatari*, was used in *mitate* prints, see Nakamachi Keiko, Henry Smith and Miriam Wattles, trans., "Ukiyo-e Memories of *Ise Monogatari*," *Impressions*, no. 22 (2000): 54-85.
[125] See Jenkins, 1971, 28.
[126] See Vergez, 1983, 33.
[127] See Lane, 1991, 36.
[128] See Richard Lane, *Masters of the Japanese Print* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1962), 104-106.

ukiyo-e storylines using the original characters but placing them in a modern Edo environment.

The *mitate* album prints of *Genji* by Masanobu (Figs. 26 & 27) represented intimate interior scenes with women wearing modern Edo hairstyles and garments, together with men who were also depicted with modern accessories. He depicted women as courtesans, recognizable by the bow of their kimono tied in the front instead of the back. Although not overtly erotic, phallic allusions appear in the *Waka Murasaki* chapter illustration (Fig. 26) in the positioning of the *koto* instrument by the courtesan in the center of the print. Additionally, in the *Utsusemi* chapter print (Fig. 27), the small object depicted on top of the bench at the right side of the print appears to have a similar sexual overtone. Men and women appear together in the same room in relaxed postures, which contrasts with traditional *Tale of Genji* illustrations, in which the sexes are typically separated by doors or screens, as one can see in a comparison of the *Utsusemi* chapter illustration from the 1707 *Wakakusa Genji monogatari* with the illustration of the same chapter from the *Yūkun mitate-Genji* (Figs. 24 & 27). The *kumogata* clouds are no longer present to frame the scene and no indications of the exterior landscape, so important to the original novel, appear. The scenes from the *Yūkun mitate-Genji* were the most modern and innovative *ukiyo-e* of the *Tale of Genji* up to that point.

Masanobu created a five-volume series entitled *Yehon ogura nishiki* ("The Brocade of Ogura"), another satirical rendition of *Genji*.[129] The fourth and fifth volumes present the classical poems from the first forty-four chapters of *Genji* accompanied by a humorous version of each poem in *waka* format called a *kyōka*.[130] Additionally, each

[129] See Toda, 1931, 157-159. Unfortunately, I could not locate any illustrations from this series.
[130] See Lane, 1978, 300.

poem is accompanied by an illustration of women depicted in various moods that reflect the meanings of the poems.[131] The ability of Masanobu to manipulate the prose of *Genji* demonstrates his talent and intimate knowledge of the classic novel. The audience for these prints was mixed, but primarily limited to the more elite *chōnin* who were well-versed in the classics, and, consequently, able to appreciate the humor conveyed in the prints by Masanobu.

In 1721, due to social unrest brought on by poor economic conditions, the Kyōhō Reforms were introduced by the Tokugawa shogunate.[132] Erotica and deluxe publications were banned, as well as prints showing the shogunate in a disrespectful way, and all prints of Christian subjects.[133] Additionally, the size of the prints was limited to the smaller single vertical print called *hoso-e*, from the popular *kakemono-e* that consisted of two full-sized *ōban* sheets.[134] This restriction to smaller dimensions may have spurred the development of a wider range of colors in woodblock prints in order to compensate for the reduced size.[135] At this time, the traditional *sumizuri-e* (ink-printed pictures) were being colored by hand. The earliest prints were colored red and known as *tan-e*; following those were *beni-e* prints, which had a pink color added to them. Masanobu is credited with the development of *urushi-e* (lacquer prints) where a mixture of glue and black pigment was applied to the prints for an intense glossy affect

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[131] Because I was not able to locate and view any of these illustrations, it is not possible to comment on whether the *kyōka* made fun of the personality or actions of the characters in the novel, or the culture of the noble class in general during this time.

[132] See Christine Guth, *Japanese Art of the Edo Period* (London: Calmann and King Ltd., 1996), 102; Jenkins, 1971, 27; Lane, 1978, 299; and Thompson, 1991, 39.

[133] See Guth, 1996, 102.

[134] See Jenkins, 1971, 28; and Lane, 1978, 300. The *kakemono-e* print size measures 30 x 10 inches (each *ōban* measures 15 x 10 in.), while the *hoso-e* print size measures 12 x 6 inches. See Basil Stewart, *A Guide to Japanese Prints and Their Subject Matter* (New York: Dover Publications, 1979), xv; and Vergez, 1983, 34.

[135] See Jenkins, 1971, 28.

resembling black lacquer.[136] Other advancements spurred by the Kyōhō Reforms included the development of the two-colored print called *benizuri-e* ("pink-printed pictures"), that had green and pink color applied to the prints.[137] An additional consequence of the reforms was the entry of Western books into Japan that exposed Japanese artists to Western perspective, which was reflected in the development of the *uki-e* (perspective prints) at this time.

Nishimura Shigenaga (ca.1697-1756), a print artist best known for developing, with Masanobu, the *uki-e*, produced two or possibly three *Genji* print series using the triptych-print format and *mizu-e* (water prints).[138] Three different museums possess very similar depictions of the *Genji monogatari* by Shigenaga. The Art Institute of Chicago catalogues their print (Fig. 28) as illustrating chapter fifteen, "the Overgrowth of Weeds," in *Genji gojūyomai no uchi* (Series of Fifty Scenes from the *Genji Monogatari*) and dates it circa 1750-1760.[139] The print was colored by hand in mustard, olive, beni, gray blue, and metal shavings.[140] This print has a fan shape, a popular Tosa school format from the Momoyama period, and depicts the *Genji* characters once again in a classical fashion. The clothing and architecture reflect the Heian period. To add to the classical nature of

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[136] See Stewart, 1979, xvi; and Richard Lane, ed., *Masterpieces of Japanese Prints* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1991), 27.
[137] See Lane, 1991, 27.
[138] See Lane, 1978, 84. The *mizu-e* had blue color added to them.
[139] See Jenkins, 1971, 119. Chapter fifteen of *Genji* is referred to on the print as "the Overgrowth of Weeds," but both Seidensticker and Waley translate the chapter title, *Yomogiu*, as either "The Wormwood Patch" or "The Palace in the Tangled Woods." The translation of "the Overgrowth of Weeds" as the chapter title may either be a description of the chapter by *Shigenaga* or his own translation of the title. See William Puette, *The Tale of Genji: A Reader's Guide* (Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Company, Inc, 1983), 7-10.
[140] In the 1740's only the two-colored prints, *benizuri-e*, discussed earlier, were being printed. During the 1750's prints using three or four colors began being produced, and then in the mid 1760's the full-color print called *nishiki-e* ("brocade prints") began to be produced. Therefore, this print by Shigenaga would have to have been printed during the 1750's, and certainly before his death in 1756. See Guth, 1996, 103; Keyes, 1984, 28; and Lane, 1991, 27.

the print, a poem from the chapter in *Genji* was written in the large *kumogata* that fills the top section of the fan.[141]

This print is the first one examined in this study that is decorated with a *Genji-mon* (Genji crest). Fifty-four *Genji-mon* exist, one to represent each chapter of the *Genji*.[142] The *Genji-mon* may have appeared in woodblock prints to help readers still not entirely literate or familiar with the *Tale of Genji* to recognize what chapter the print depicted. The Chicago print bears the *Genji-mon* for chapter fifteen of the novel. Three fan prints by Shigenaga (Fig. 29) in the Kyoto National Museum are very similar to the Chicago print. However, the prints in the Kyoto collection are cropped at the sides and lack the right-hand panel, which, on the Chicago print, identifies the print series. It is possible that the cropping of the right-hand panel eliminated the characters. If that were the case, it is highly plausible that the Kyoto prints belong to the same series as the Chicago print. The prints are depicted in the same modified Tosa style with the *kumogata* framing the entire top of the prints. The *Genji-mon* appear in the same place on the Kyoto prints as on the Chicago print, and they both have the *kanji* for the chapter number written at the far right side of the fan. The figures are depicted in an almost identical manner, and Genji is shown in a garment with diamond designs in two of the Kyoto prints and in the Chicago print. Another *Genji* print by Shigenaga (Fig. 30) in the Kanagawa Prefectural Museum also resembles the Kyoto and Chicago prints, except that the format of the printed area is a kidney shape instead of a fan. Still, all the stylistic characteristics such as *kumogata* are the same, as are the *Genji-mon* and *kanji* on the right side. The Kanagawa print could not, however, be part of the same series as the Kyoto and

[141] See Jenkins, 1971, 119.

Chicago prints because the writing in the *kumogata* is vertical, rather than diagonal along the sides to conform to the curves of the fan as seen in the other prints.

One might ask why Shigenaga depicted *Genji* in the modified Tosa style reflecting the classical attributes of the story when he was clearly innovative in terms of format and color. Moronobu, Hambei, Jihei, and Masanobu had, by this time, already broken out of the traditional mold, producing *Genji* in modern dress and even in erotic positions. Shigenaga did assist Masanobu with creating new formats and colors for prints, but, for both Japanese and Chinese classical subject, he emulated the classical models. It may be that he was more of a teacher than an innovator, and illustrated *Genji* in this manner so his pupils could learn good form, line, and perhaps something of the cultural and historical basis of *Genji* illustrations.

Two of Shigenaga's pupils, Suzuki Harunobu (1725-1770) and Isoda Koryūsai (active mid-1760's to 1780's) also produced prints of *Genji*, but unlike their master, they produced new depictions by transforming traditional *Genji* iconography into modern scenes of Edo life.[143] Harunobu was perhaps the most well versed *ukiyo-e* artist in classical and contemporary literature. In his prints, he combined literary allusions with modern fashion and design emphasizing the elongated female figure. Harunobu also introduced the full-color print, called *nishiki-e* (brocade prints).[144] In Harunobu's prints of the *Tale of Genji*, the court ladies featured in traditional depictions of the novel are transformed into courtesans and geisha. This modernization of the novel played on the knowledge that the higher-ranking courtesans of the Yoshiwara district had begun

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[142] All fifty-four *Genji-mon* are illustrated in Appendix C of this thesis.
[143] See Lane, 1978, 227, 323. Koryūsai was influenced by Harunobu and possibly the pupil of Shigenaga, see Lane, 1978, 293. Toda states that Harunobu was a pupil of Shigenaga, see Toda, 1931, xxi.

adopting names from the characters in the *Tale of Genji* as their professional titles.[145] Harunobu used his knowledge of classical literature to create a diptych (Fig. 31) of the *Yūgao* ("Evening Faces") chapter.[146] The modernized scene shows a contemporary geisha standing at the entrance to her home on the left-hand print, and Genji in contemporary Edo attire walking towards the woman in the right-hand print. Instead of being depicted arriving in an ox-cart common to the Heian period, Genji is accompanied by a young boy carrying a miniature ox-cart. The entrance of the woman's house is decorated with moonflowers, which allude to her name. These abbreviated motifs would inform an Edo viewer that this print illustrates the *Yūgao* chapter.

Koryūsai, a follower of Harunobu, also created modern scenes of the different chapters from the *Tale of Genji*. However, Koryūsai's prints often had no visual relationship to the text of the original novel, exemplified in his print of the *Suetsumu-hana* chapter (Fig. 32). Koryūsai depicts three figures walking down a path, all clustered together in the center. They are represented dressed in Edo fashion with modern hairstyles, their robe hems fluttering around their ankles. The figure in the middle dressed in a man's kimono and carrying a sword that protrudes from under his left arm may represent Genji. Along the top of the print, a *kumogata* appears with writing, including a *Genji-mon* character for the *Suetsumu-hana* chapter. The furthest figure on the left is holding a cylindrical bag in her hand. Koryūsai's print is from his series entitled *Fūryū ryaku Genji*. Two other prints from the same series, *Hanachirusato* (The

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[144] See Lane, 1991, 14. Harunobu often used colors in his prints that were reminiscent of the late Heian *Genji monogatari emakimono*. See D. B. Waterhouse, *Harunobu and his Age* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1964), 13.
[145] See Timon Screech, *Sex and the Floating World* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 243.
[146] A diptych is a pair of prints meant to be seen together. These two prints were created as part of a calender from 1776. Consumers would purchase both prints, which would reveal the story and bring Genji and his lover together. See Screech, 1999, 244-245.

Orange Blossoms) and *Momiji no ga* (An Autumn Excursion) (Figs. 33 & 34) also seem to have little relationship to the original text. The only reference by the *Hanachirusato* illustration to the Heian period *Tale of Genji* is that the two figures may represent Genji and his servant visiting one of the two women he courts in the *Momiji no ga* chapter. The only forms that relate to the original text are the autumn leaves on the tree. The title of this series of prints, *Fūryū ryaku Genji*, translates as "modern" or "fashionable," "abbreviations" or "omissions," "of Genji." The title indicates that Koryūsai illustrated each chapter in a very abbreviated manner, or that he invented events and actions of the characters not found in the novel as a sign of modernity.

Torii Kiyonaga (1751-1815) continued the production of *Genji* prints, but he reverted to placing the characters in classical Heian period dress and architecture. A new trend developed in the 1770s that depicted figures in a monumental yet still elongated manner, creating a statuesque form,[147] and Kiyonaga implemented this new style in his print of Princess Ōmiya ("The Great Princess") (Fig. 35). Kiyonaga depicted Princess Ōmiya in a portrait-like fashion, with her long Heian dress and its many layers flowing diagonally across the picture plane and dominating the print. The elongated and graceful figure exhibits the influence of Harunobu and Koryūsai. The princess is represented with a little girl to her right inside a room. Both figures appear looking downward to the left, but the object of their gazes is unseen. An exterior veranda is depicted off the room at the upper left, but no further exterior garden or landscape is visible. The natural attributes of the seasons so important to the original novel are only visible as decoration, in the painted screen that is depicted lining the wall behind the princess. The Princess Ōmiya was an important heroine in *Genji*; she was the mother of Lady Aoi and of Genji's

friend Tō-no-Chūjō. Lady Aoi was Genji's first, rather cold wife, who died of demonic possession brought on by her jealousy of another woman. The figure of the younger girl kneeling beside her may represent Murasaki, Genji's second wife, who was a young girl when Genji met her. Murasaki was a playful, happy girl, and Genji greatly enjoyed her company. In that case, the print may be comparing the two wives, or contrasting the jealousy of an older woman to the good-natured innocence of a young girl.

Chōbunsai Eishi (1756-1829) added a special timelessness to the facial expressions and postures of Kiyonaga's elongated female figures to transform them into floating goddesses.[148] Eishi ranked as the most aristocratic of the *ukiyo-e* print artists as he came from a samurai family and had trained in Kanō Eisen's studio, which is apparent in his subject matter. In his prints of the *Tale of Genji*, Eishi populated them with these floating goddesses dressed in Edo fashion with modern hairstyles. His prints have many different formats, including *hashira-e* (pillar prints), single-sheet prints (*ichimai-e*), diptychs, and triptychs[149] (Figs. 36-39). The pillar print of the *Suzumushi* ("The Bell Cricket") chapter (Fig. 36) depicts an abbreviated version of the chapter in which Genji and other princes and courtiers hold a concert of *koto* music before going to the royal palace. This print merely alludes to the narrative by representing a young girl playing the *koto* in front of a tall beautiful geisha, in whose hair autumn leaves refer to the season in

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[147] See Lane, 1991, 16.

[148] Chōbunsai Eishi is also often referred to as Hosoda Eishi by some authors. For excellent biographical entries for other major Edo artists, including their alternate names, see Lane, 1978, 202-355. For Eishi's entry, see 219-220.

[149] *Hashira-e* (pillar prints) were some of the earliest prints created during the eighteenth century, and were used primarily to decorate the homes of the lower class, placed on the main pillars supporting their homes. The prints were a means for peasants and other lower class citizens to decorate their homes like the samurai and nobility did with large *byōbu*, *fusuma*, and *kakmono-e* paintings. See Keyes, 1984, 100; and Lane, 1991, 15. Triptych prints appeared in the 1720's, and became very popular during the last half of the eighteenth century with the large vertical rectangular print form, *oban*, which were used to comprise the triptychs. See Keyes, 1984, 96-98.

which the scene takes place.[150] This scene is so abbreviated that it would be difficult to determine which chapter it represented, as the *koto* appears throughout the novel. In this print, Eishi replaced the male courtiers with refined idealized women of the *ukiyo*, a popular trend in *Genji* prints of the eighteenth century.

In the diptych of the scene from the *Suma* chapter (Fig. 37), Eishi depicted ladies lingering demurely in the foreground, while Genji is featured in his stiff Heian costume in the background standing on a veranda looking out at the landscape. A female figure in modern Edo dress bent down next to Genji on the veranda may represent Murasaki sadly bidding farewell to Genji before he is exiled to Suma. His intended departure and exile are intimated by the background, which resembles the coast of Suma with a ship sailing into the distance. The women depicted in the foreground do not seem to relate to the *Suma* chapter from the original *Genji* novel, unless they represent handmaidens of Murasaki, often visible, off to the side in a separate room in the Tosa school *Genji* paintings. Such emphasis on what appear to be minor female figures can be seen in the triptych of the *Hana no en* (The Festival of the Cherry Blossoms) chapter (Fig. 38) and the single print of the *Murasaki* (Lavender) chapter (Fig. 39). All of Eishi's *Genji* prints concentrate more on pattern, especially designs of the kimono, than on depicting the *Genji* chapters in a recognizable manner. Women are depicted almost exclusively in these prints, often as stand-ins for the traditional male courtiers of the novel, a trend that began with Harunobu. Yet, Eishi's women are not courtesans, as seen in Moronobu and Masanobu's book illustrations, but elegant geisha.

A later print from a *Genji* series by Eishi, entitled *Fashionably Disguised Genji* (Fig. 40), dates to 1790, and depicts the *Matsukaze* ("The Wind in the Pines") chapter

[150] For the traditional iconography for this scene see Murase, 1983, 224-225.

from the novel.[151] The three female figures are represented in modern fashion as in Eishi's earlier prints, but Genji is portrayed prominently in the center of the print, not in the background, and in a costume that recalls the Heian period. This print seems to correspond to a passage in the novel in which Genji visits Ōi, where he has started building a retreat among the windswept pines, and meets with Lady Akashi and her young child. Eishi may have depicted the group walking through the property in Ōi where Genji's future home will be built. The scene is modernized not only in the dress of the figures, but also by inventing a scene that the *Tale of Genji* does not mention. Like Koryūsai, Eishi may have taken artistic license with the general narrative of the novel to suit his aesthetic preferences and interests.

The print artist Chōkōsai Eishō (fl.1794-1799) illustrated the *Tale of Genji* in a very poetic and innovative way by combining *Genji* with the Chinese theme of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers. The Emperor Higashiyama copied the earliest extant text that combines Genji with the Eight Views in the late seventeenth century.[152] The artist Ishiyama Moroka created what may be the earliest illustrated handscroll (Figs. 41 & 42) of this theme entitled *Genji monogatari hakkei* ("The Eight View of Genji") in the late seventeenth century.[153] The series begins with a depiction of Genji with spring motifs and ends with one incorporating winter motifs. The illustrations typically show *Genji* standing or sitting on a veranda or on a shoreline in the lower right-hand corner of the scene. The remaining space is filled with representations of landscape with seasonal attributes appropriate to the time of year of the *Genji* chapter being depicted. Chōki's print series entitled *Eight Sights from Genji Monogatari*, dating to the late eighteenth

[151] This print is the left panel of a triptych illustrating the *Matsukaze* chapter.
[152] See Murase, 2000, 262.

century, portrays modern Edo women dressed in current fashions. In one print from the series (Fig. 43) in the Tokyo National Museum, one of two women depicted is playing a small musical instrument, perhaps a *koto*. In a small circle at the upper left, a small blurred landscape appears, one of the *Eight Sights of Genji*, but it is not detailed enough to indicate which chapter or landscape is being portrayed. Chōki's prints manifest the general trends during the Edo period of emphasizing the characters in the *Tale of Genji* instead of the seasons, and of interpreting the text of *Genji* to reflect contemporary popular culture.

The changes that occurred in *Genji* imagery during the eighteenth century made the *Tale of Genji* relevant for the modern age. While some artists sought to cling to the classical past, others assimilated *Genji* into familiar surroundings, clothing, and situations, a trend that culminated with Genji becoming one of the stock characters of *ukiyo-e* by century's end. The merchants and artists were both part of the *chōnin* class, and their interests, as well as the restrictions placed on them by the shogunate, were similar. The artists were aware that some merchants still held to their Kyoto *machishu* roots, but that the majority of them were not well-versed in classical literature, and were more interested in modern-day pleasures. Although merchants acquired a great deal of wealth in the Edo period, restrictions on how they could spend it affected their ability to live in the luxurious manner that they desired. Therefore, the merchants became patrons of woodblock prints depicting *Genji* because they could, and these, in turn, came to reflect their modern interests and aspirations.

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[153] For illustrations of Ishiyama Moroka's series and further information, see Murase, 2000, 262-267.

CONCLUSION

I have attempted to demonstrate in this study that the images of the *Tale of Genji* in Japanese art changed in content and form as the social status of the merchant class was redefined from the Momoyama to Edo periods. I have discussed how an evolving merchant class may have viewed the *Tale of Genji*, and how their interest in the novel never faltered during the Edo period. During the Momoyama period, merchants may have identified with Genji's status as the cultured but unrecognized son of nobility. In a parallel manner during the Edo period, Genji the lover, enjoying leisure and all the pleasures of life, became something of a model for the wealthy *chōnin*. Such class identifications help to clarify why *Genji* continued to be such a popular subject in the art of the Edo period.

The Heian court nobles and the *chōnin* shared two major characteristics that influenced their patronage of the *Tale of Genji*: enormous wealth and leisure pursuits. This study has discussed how the merchant class accumulated extraordinary wealth during the Edo period due to certain policies established by the Tokugawa shogunate. The merchants positioned themselves so that they controlled most of the wealth and trade in Japan, and the samurai and peasant classes were in debt to them. The control the merchants exerted over the economy left them time to enjoy leisure activities and to patronize art, as Robert Singer has demonstrated.[154]

During the Heian period, the court nobles led a life of leisure in which the arts played a central role. Their leisure activities of ceremonial dancing and poetry contests

differed from the *chōnin* class' visits to Yoshiwara and Kabuki theater. In effect, the merchants acted as the "nobility" of the Edo period, just as Genji was a court noble during the Heian period. And, while their practice of leisure differed, they both acknowledged the ephemerality of earthly life. The Heian court nobles, exemplified by Genji, lived a very free life of romance, and yet they pondered at length the changing seasons and the fleeting moments of life on earth. The Edo *chōnin* also acknowledged the temporary nature of this world, but instead of deep reflection, they decided to enjoy, "the pleasures of the snow, moon, flowers, and autumn leaves, singing songs, and drinking wine."[155] These different motifs are present in the different depictions of the *Tale of Genji*: the earlier imagery of Genji depicts him gazing upon nature in a contemplative manner, while the Genji of the Edo *chōnin* is represented embracing nature and all that life has to offer in the present.

Just as *yamato-e* represented Japanese battles and Heian period romances, *ukiyo-e* depicted similar subjects and narratives, but with a contemporary twist. Romantic pairings of courtiers and court ladies of Heian period pictures became, during the Edo period, modern men and their adoring courtesans. Heian period romances were often erotic, yet never depicted explicitly, but rather, as tastefully veiled allusions. However, by the Edo period, the openness of relations between the sexes, especially those involving courtesans and women from the Yoshiwara district, were more explicitly represented in art.

The Heian court nobles and Edo period merchants patronized *yamato-e* and *ukiyo-e* because these different styles depicted their unique culture in Japan during their

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[154] See Singer, 1998, 23.
[155] *Ukiyo Monogatari* reproduced in Totman, 1990, 179.

respective periods. The Heian court favored the new *yamato-e*, literally "Japanese painting," which developed in a response to the Chinese fashions favored by the nobility in the previous Nara period. *Ukiyo-e* was a new art form in the Edo period, characterized by strong bold lines, and later, expressive color, with subjects that were almost purely Japanese in nature; it contrasted sharply to the Chinese-inspired Kanō school paintings that were patronized by the shogunate and samurai. The Heian handscroll and screen formats were supplanted in the Edo period by illustrated books and woodblock prints, and the *chōnin*, with their wealth and leisure time, became the major patrons.

The great Edo period woodblock artist Hishikawa Moronobu often signed his prints, *yamato-eshi* ("Japanese painter"), expressing an aspiration to establish a new style of art that depicted Japanese life and people.[156] Earlier, Fujiwara artists had attempted to do something similar when they created the *Genji monogatari emakimono* in the *yamato-e* style. The desire to present uniquely Japanese subjects and styles in art was not just the goal of the *yamato-e* artist, but also the *ukiyo-e* artist, and the *Tale of Genji* provided an enduring vehicle for such shifting artistic expressions.

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[156] See Akiyama, 1990, 165.

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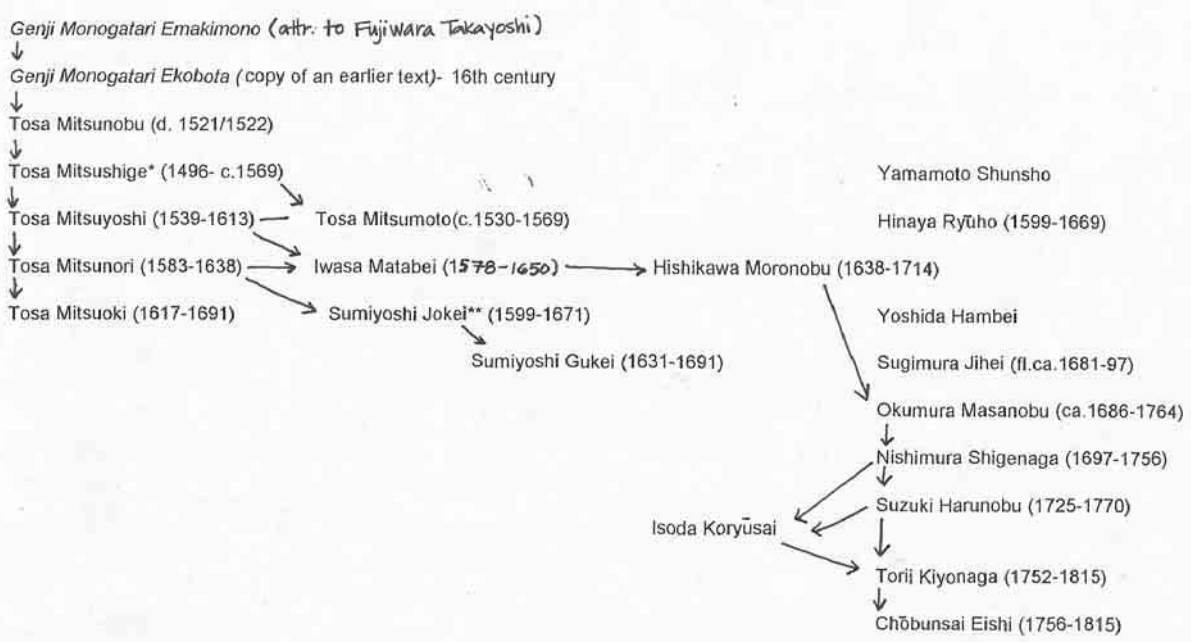
APPENDIX A:

ARTIST TIMELINE AND LINEAGE

Appendix A: *Genji-e* lineage timeline

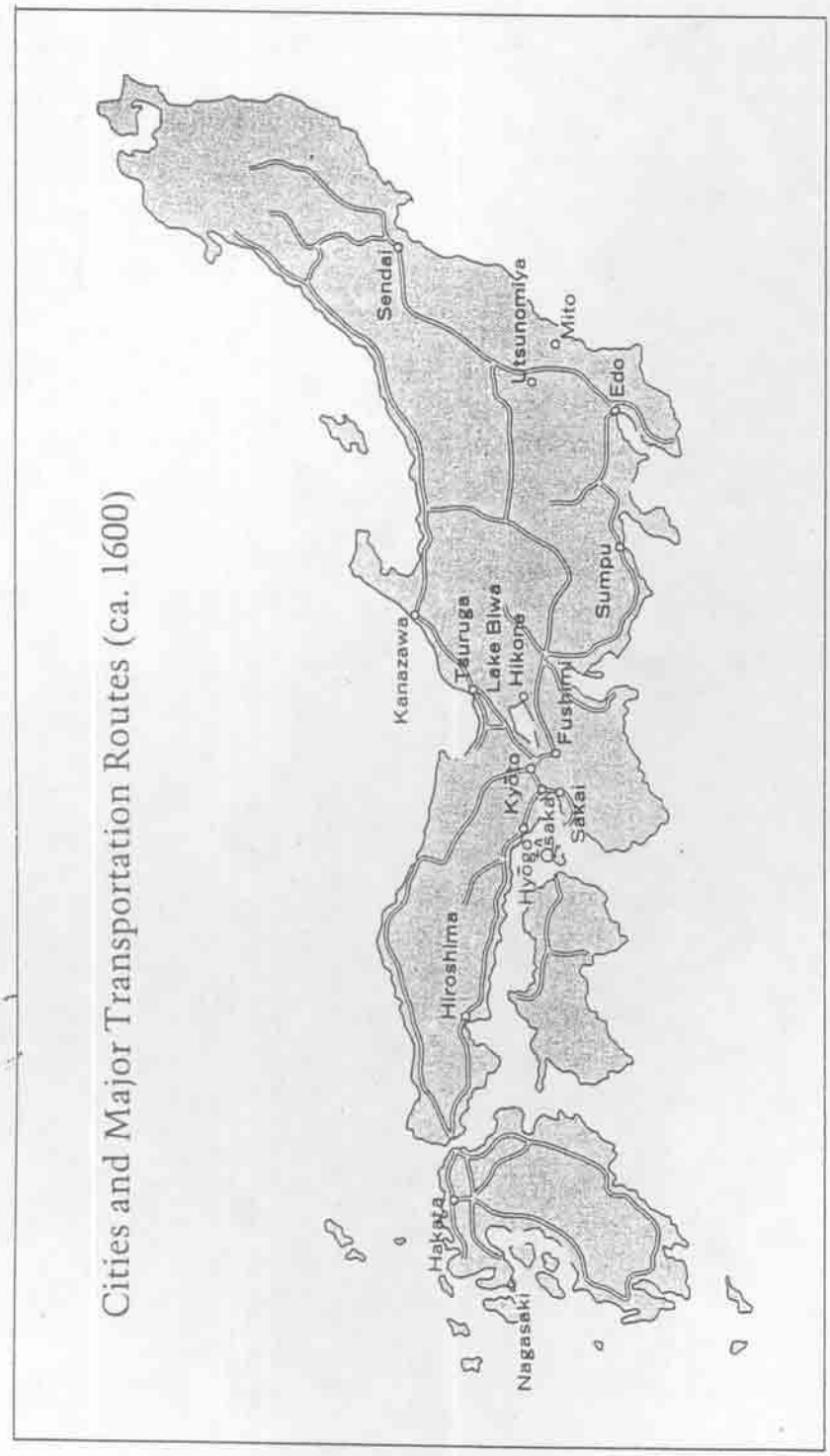


*Tosa Mitsushige may also be the same person as Tosa Mitsumochi (1496- c.1559)
**Sumiyoshi Jokei, his artist name was originally Tosa Hiromichito,
but changed when he started his own atlier

APPENDIX B:

MAP OF JAPAN

Appendix B: Map of Japan

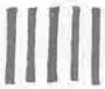


APPENDIX C:

GENJIMON

APPENDIX C: *Genjimon* (Genji crests)

1 *Kiritsubo*
(The Paulownia Court)



2 *Hahakigi*
(The Broom Tree)

3 *Utsusemi*
(The Shell of the Locust)

4 *Yūgao*
(Evening Faces)

5 *Waka Murasaki*
(Lavender)

6 *Suetsumuhana*
(The Safflower)

7 *Momiji no Ga*
(An Autumn Excursion)

8 *Hana no En*
(The Festival of the Cherry Blossoms)

9 *Aoi*
(Heartvine)

10 *Sakaki*
(The Sacred Tree)

11 *Hanachirusato*
(The Orange Blossoms)

12 *Suma*

13 *Akashi*

14 *Miotsukushi*
(Channel Buoys)

15 *Yomogiu*
(The Wormwood Patch)

16 *Sekiya*
(The Gatehouse)

17 *E-awase*
(A Picture Contest)

18 *Matsukaze*
(The Wind in the Pines)

19 *Usugumo*
(A Rack of Cloud)

20 *Asagao*
(The Morning Glory)

21 *Otome*
(The Maiden)

22 *Tamakazura*
(The Jeweled Chaplet)

23 *Hatsune*
(The First Warbler)

24 *Kochō*
(Butterflies)

25 *Hotaru*
(Fireflies)

26 *Tokonatsu*
(Wild Carnations)

27 *Kagaribi*
(Flares)

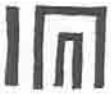
28 *Nowaki*
(The Typhoon)

29 *Miyuki*
(The Royal Outing)

30 *Fujibakama*
(Purple Trousers)

31 *Makibashira*
(The Cypress Pillar)

32 *Umegae*
(A Branch of Plum)



33 *Fuji no Uraba*
(Wisteria Leaves)

34 *Wakana I*
(New Herbs I)

35 *Wakana II*
(New Herbs II)

36 *Kashiwagi*
(The Oak Tree)

37 *Yokobue*
(The Flute)

38 *Suzumushi*
(The Bell Cricket)

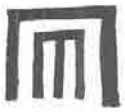
39 *Yūgiri*
(Evening Mist)

40 *Minori*
(The Rites)

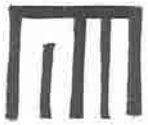
41 *Maboroshi*
(The Wizard)

42 *Niou no Miya*
(His Perfumed Highness)

43 *Kōbai*
(The Rose Plum)



44 *Takekawa*
(Bamboo River)



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46 *Shii ga Moto*
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47 *Agemaki*
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48 *Sawarabi*
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49 *Yadorigi*
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50 *Azumaya*
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51 *Ukifune*
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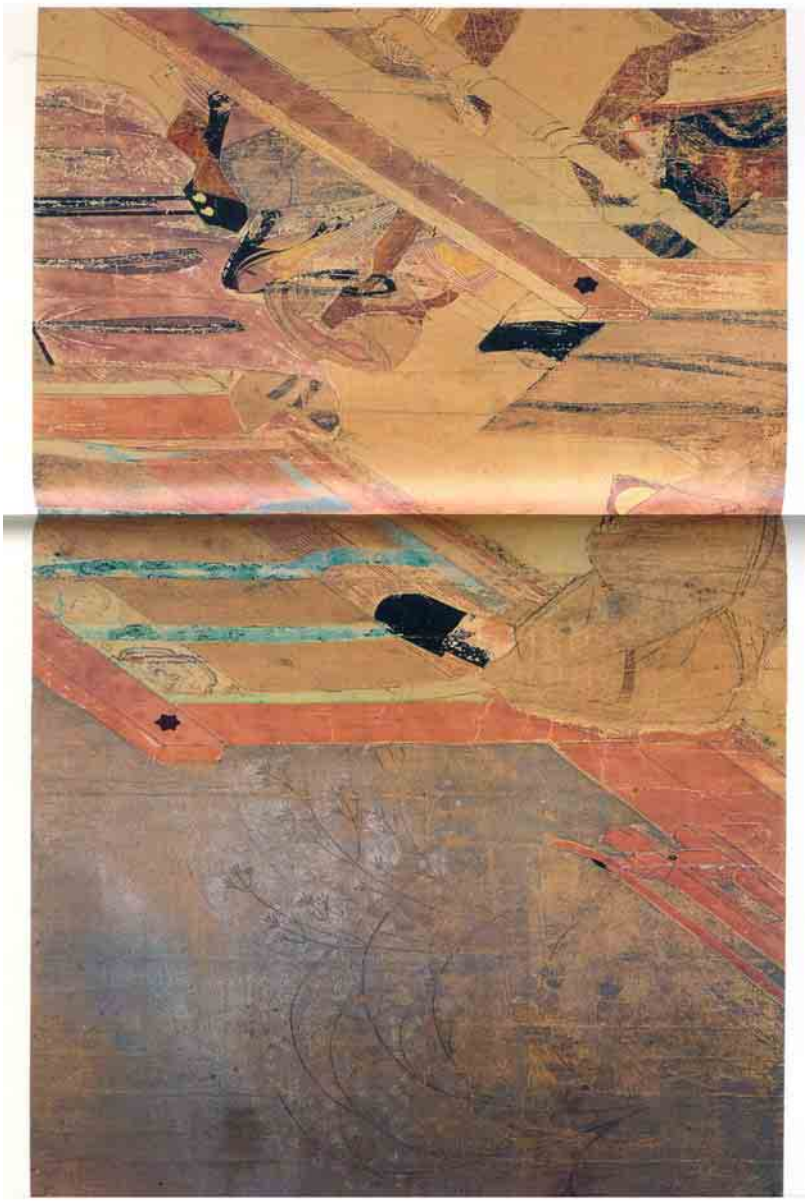

Attributed to Fujiwara Takayoshi
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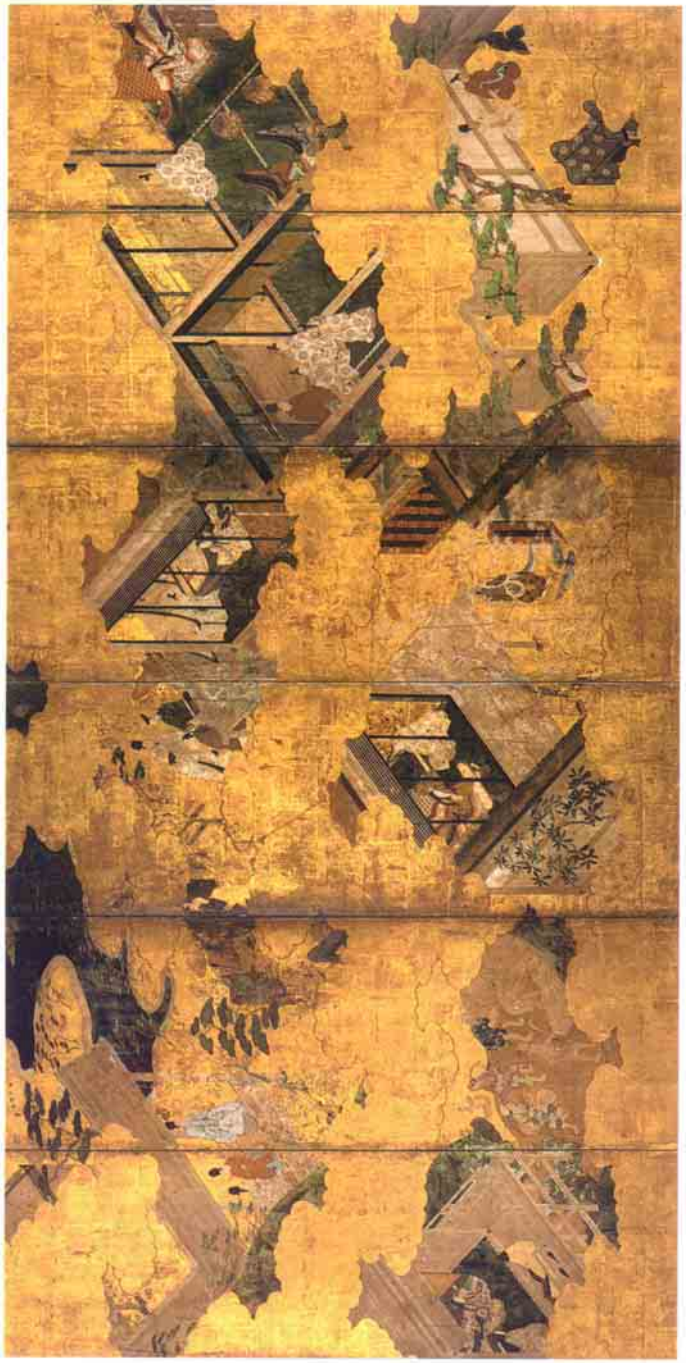

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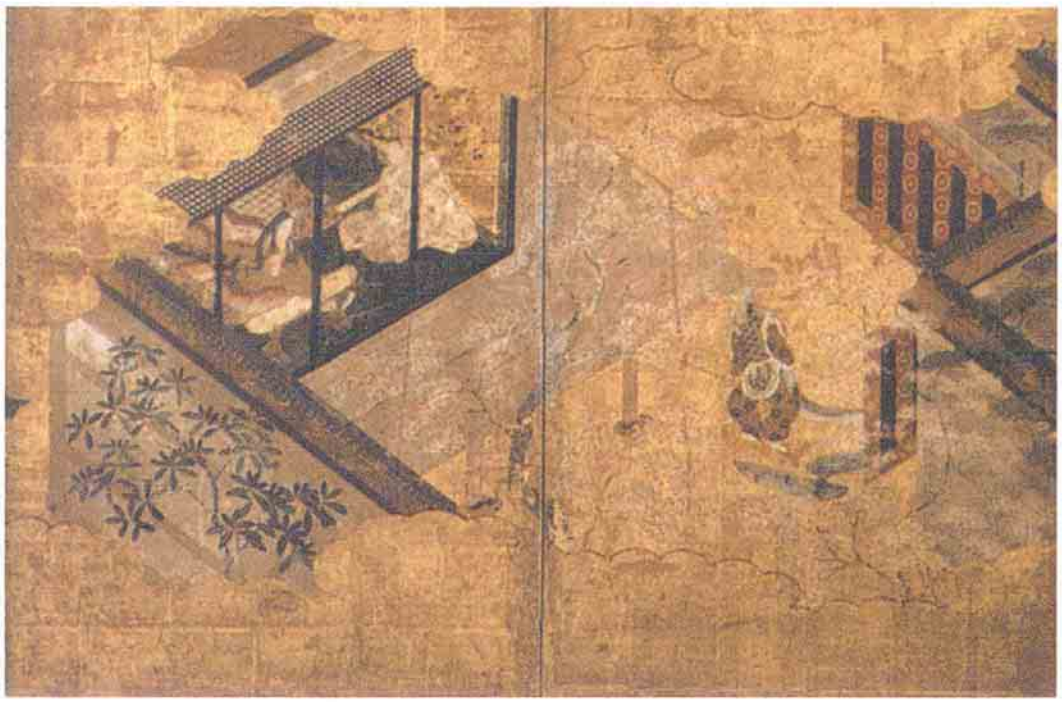

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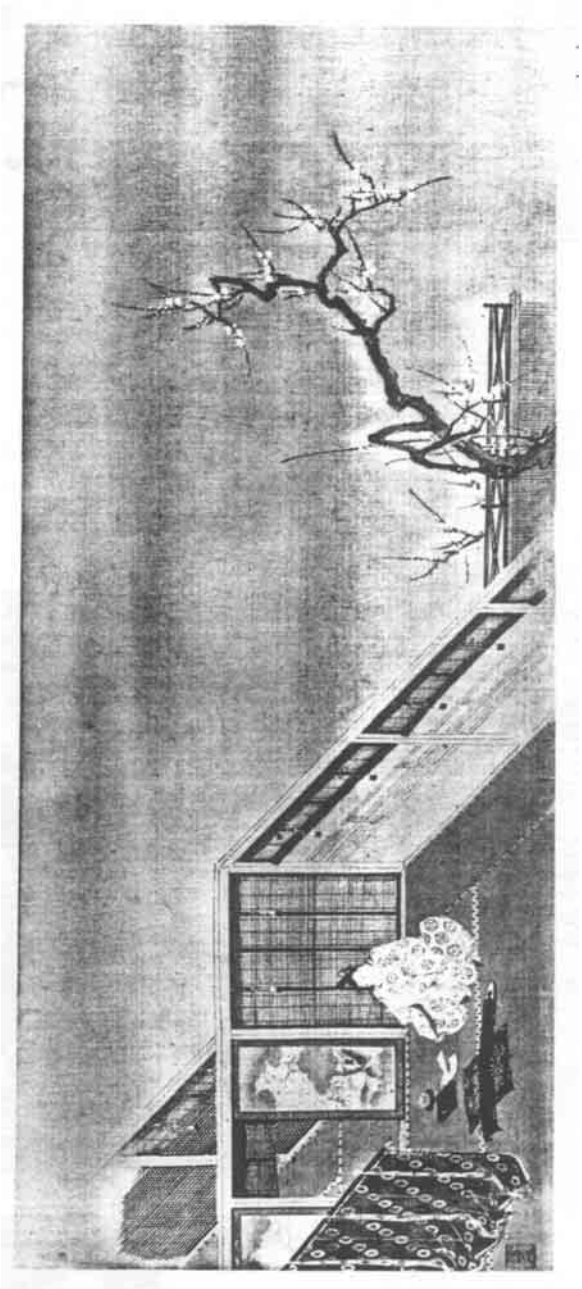

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Collection of MOA Museum, Shizuoka
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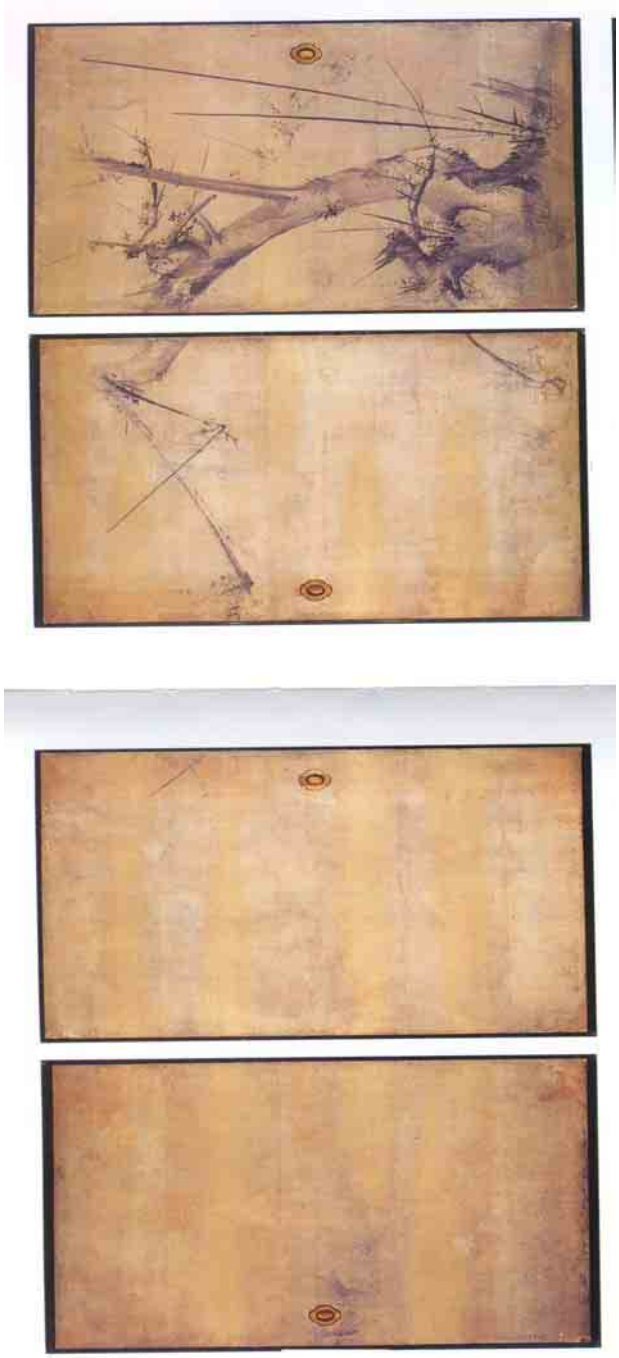

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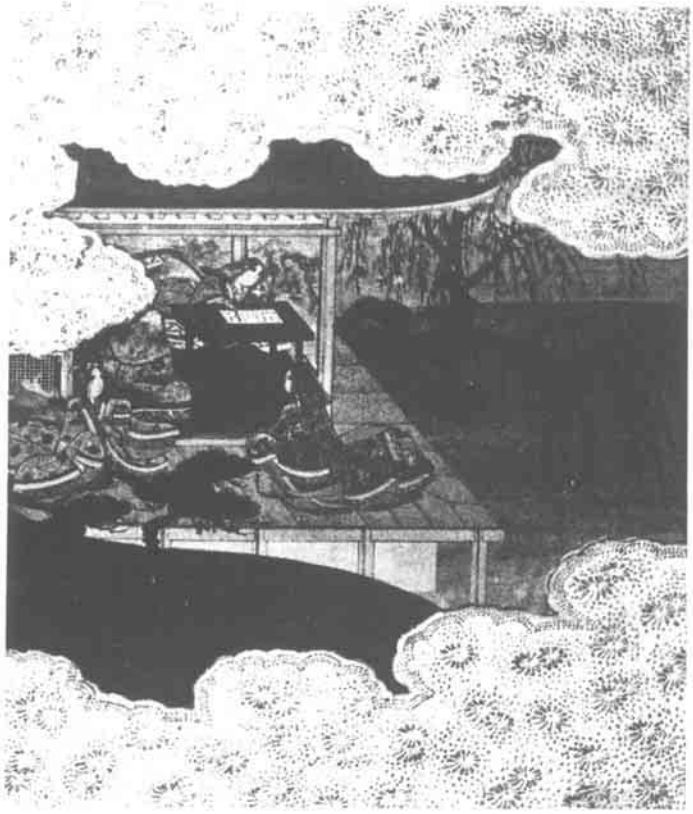

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Edo period, 17th century
From a set of twelve paintings; ink and colors on paper, 36 x 59 cm.
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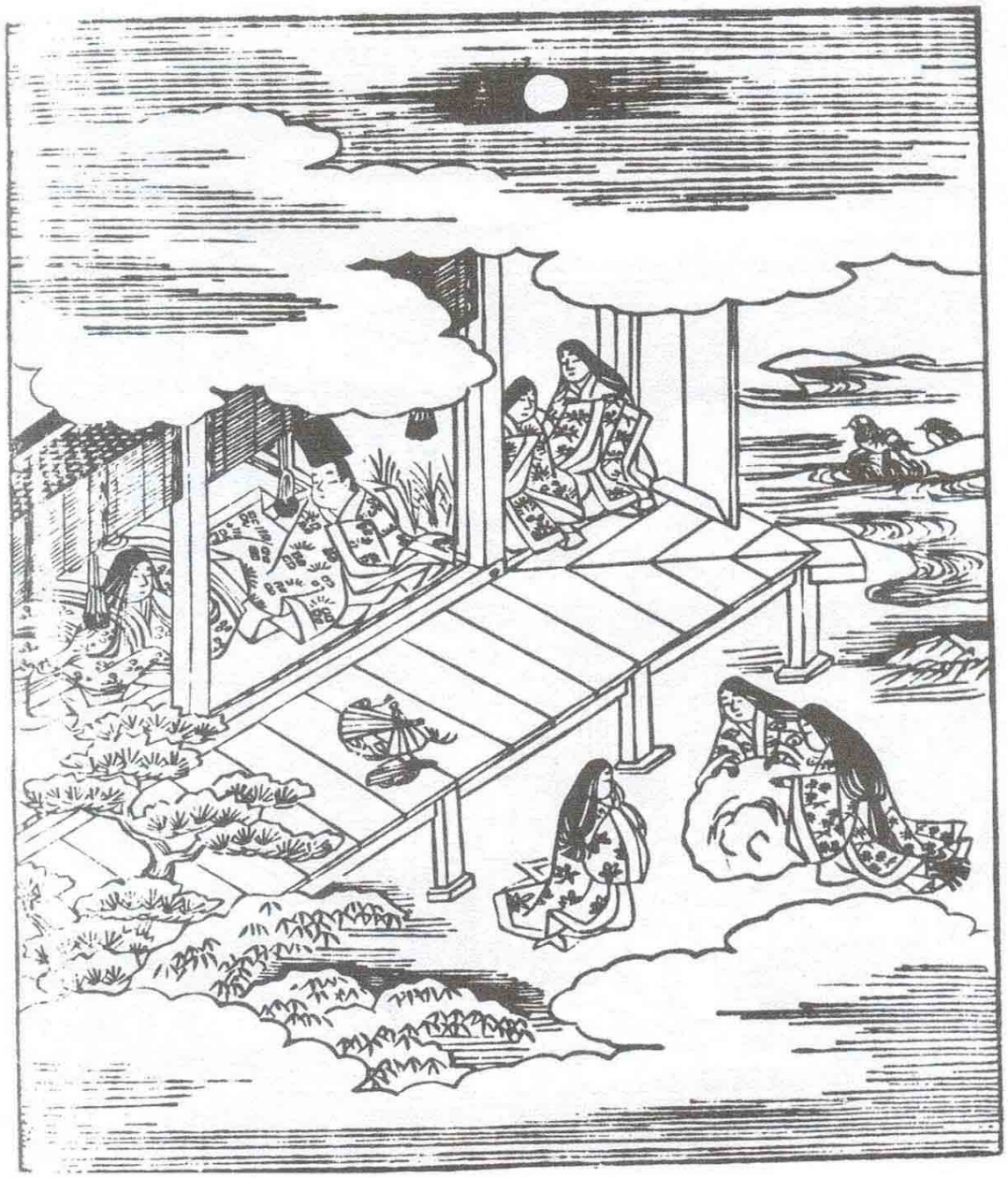

Yamamoto Shunshō (1610-1682)
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Artist Unknown
Illustration from the *Hana no en* ("The Festival of the Cherry Blossoms") chapter
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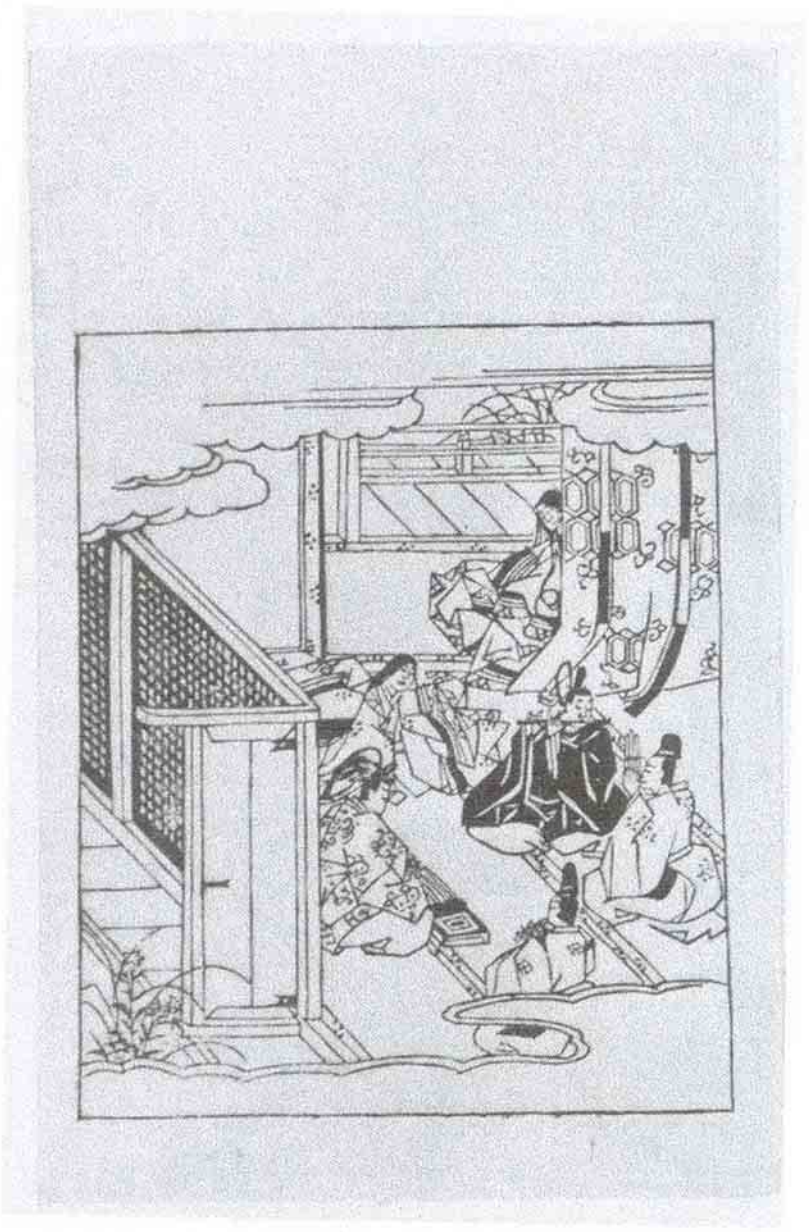

Hinaya Ryūho
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Volume three, sheet thirty-six of *Osana Genji* ("The Juvenile Genji")
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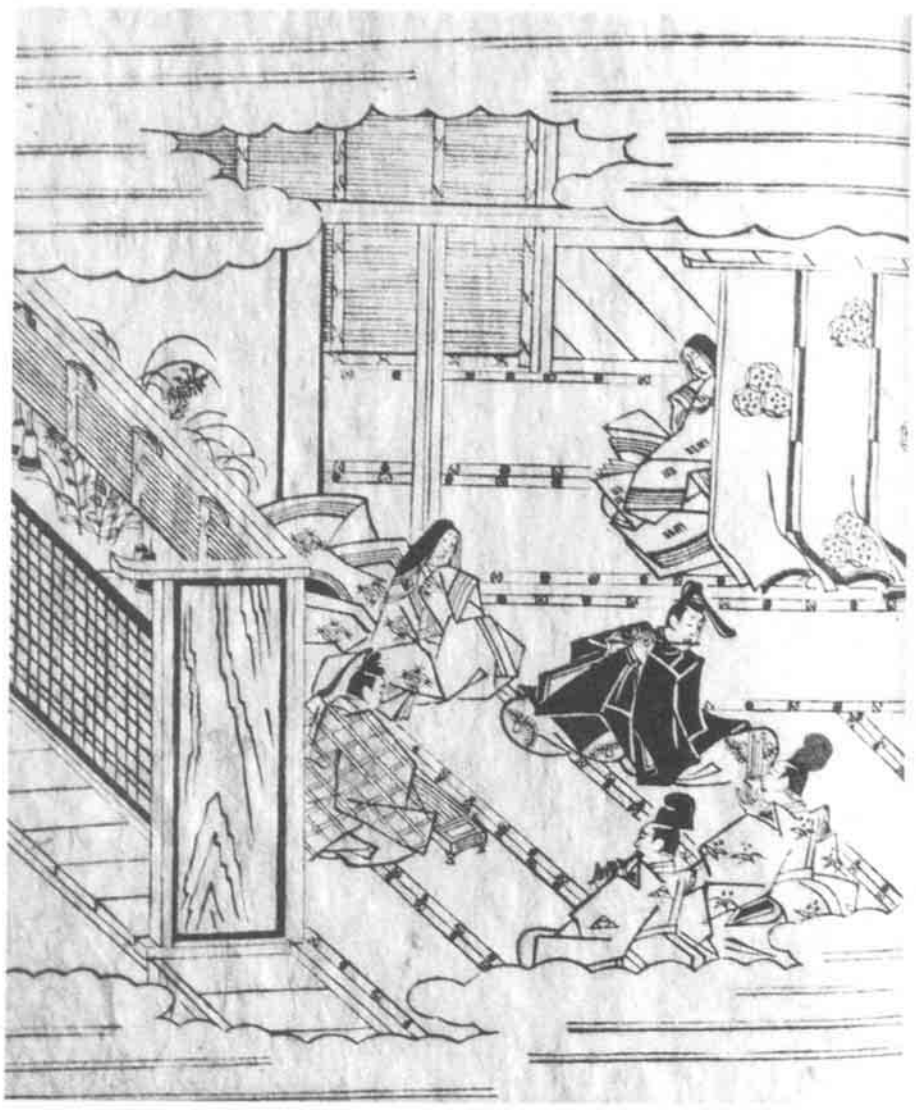

Hinaya Rippo (Ryūho)
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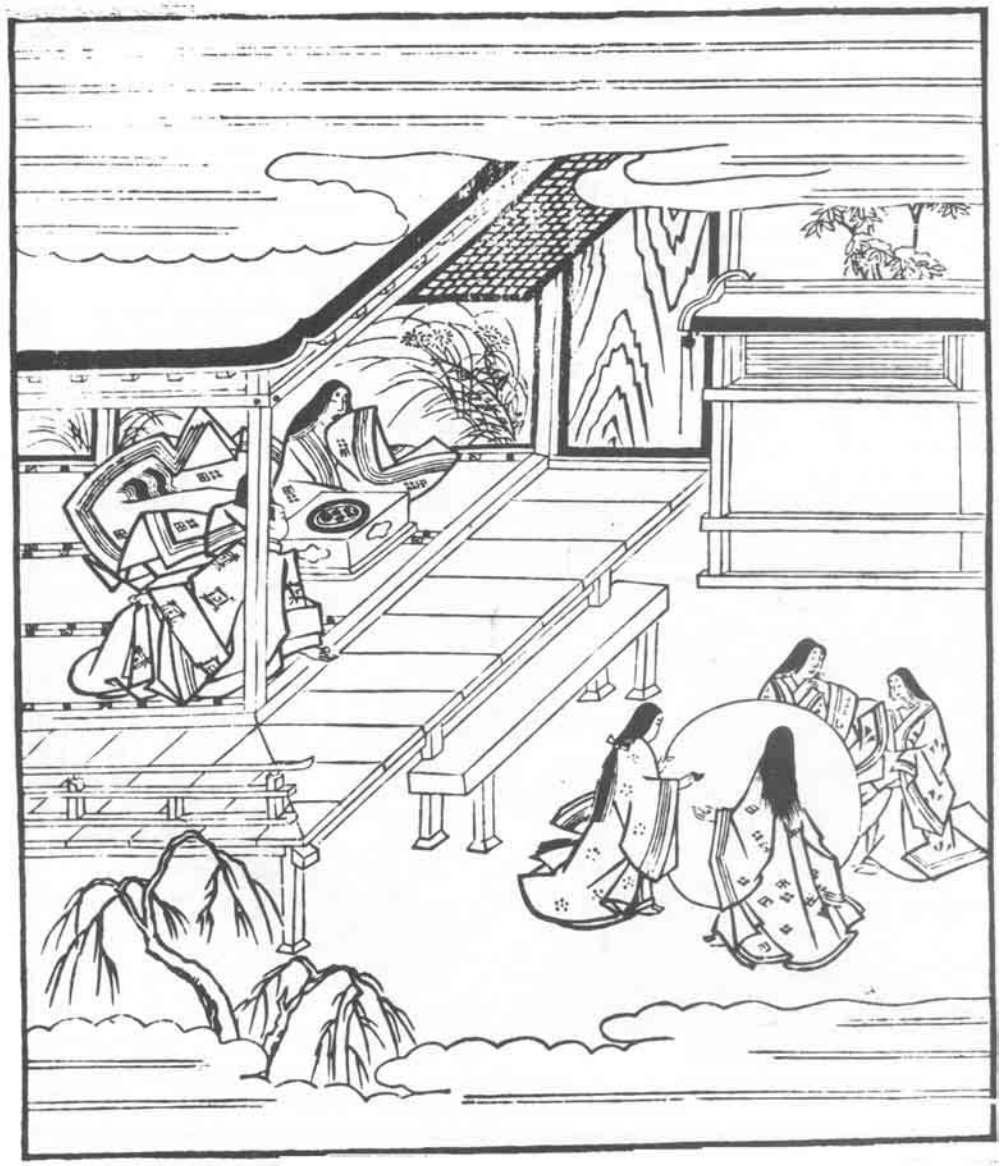

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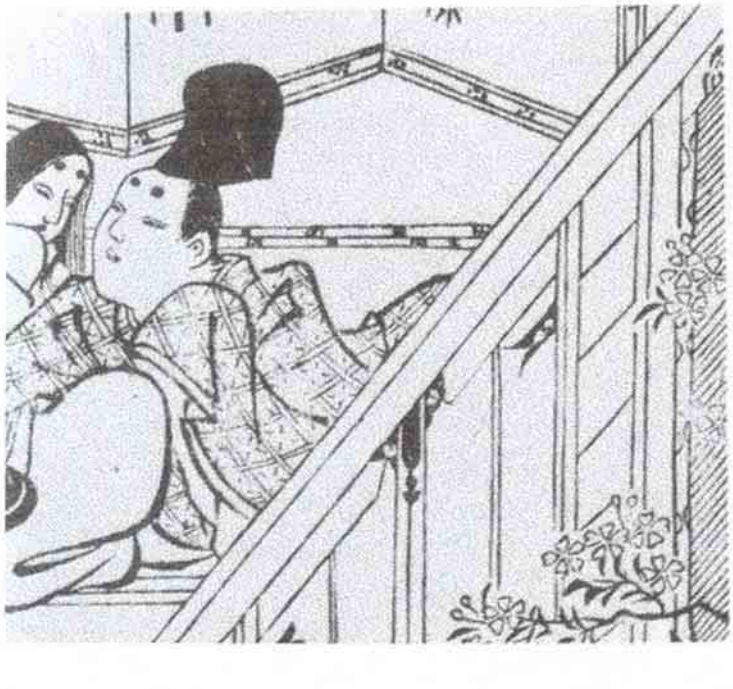

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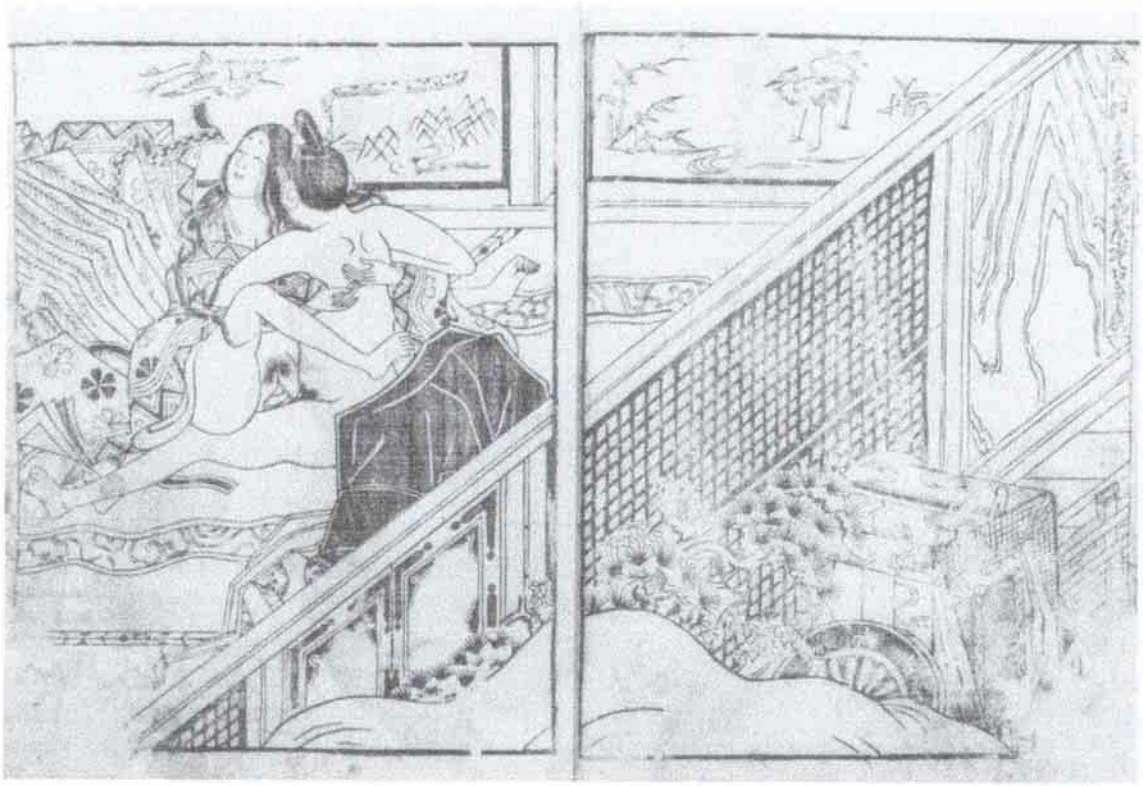

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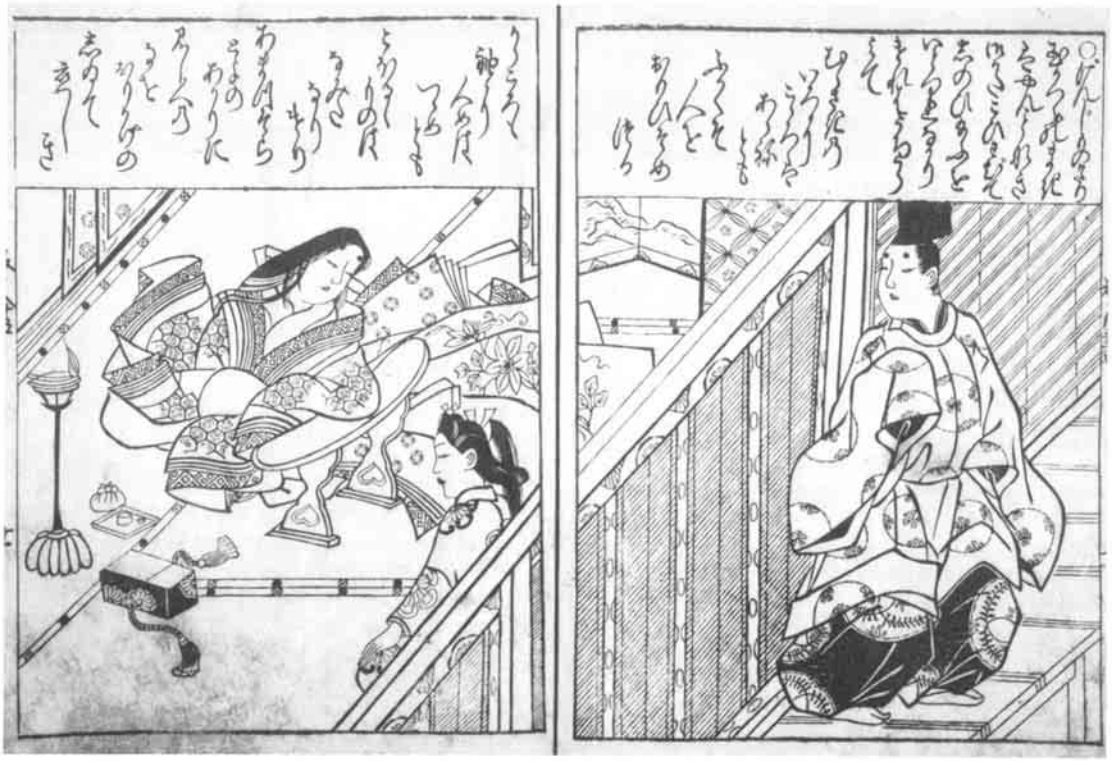

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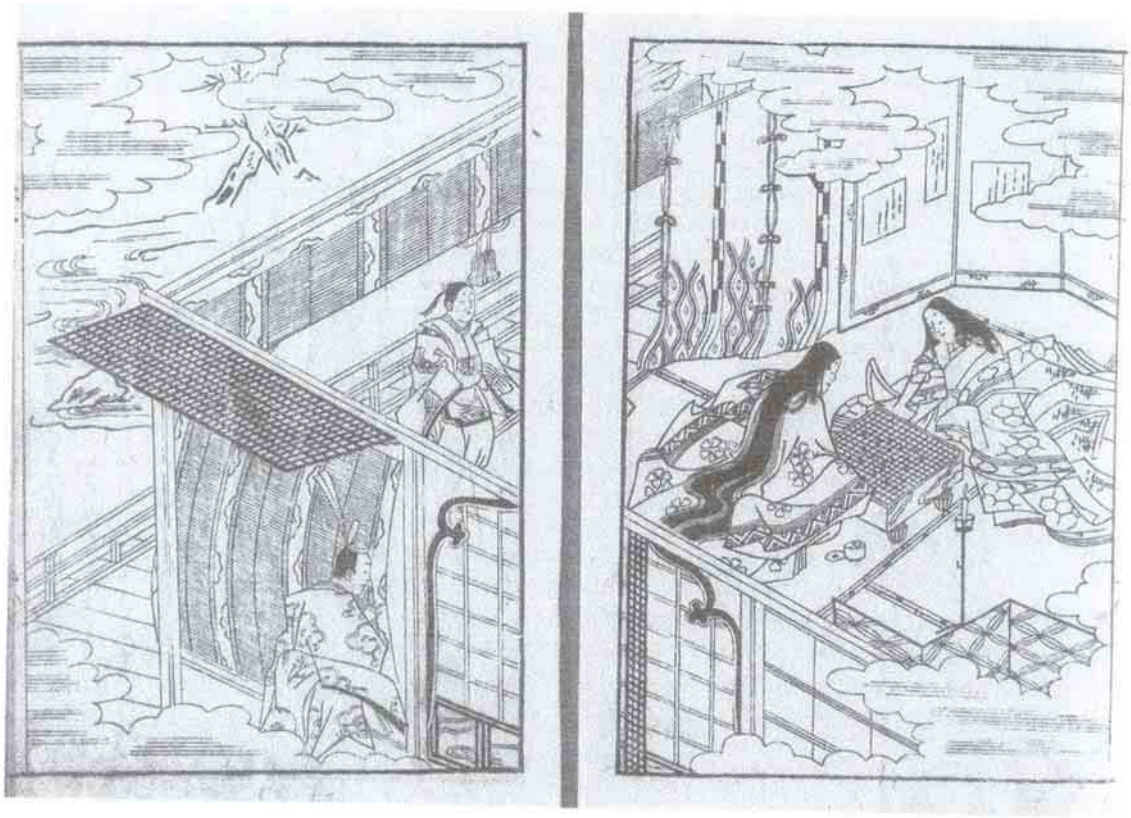

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Collection of the Art Institute of Chicago
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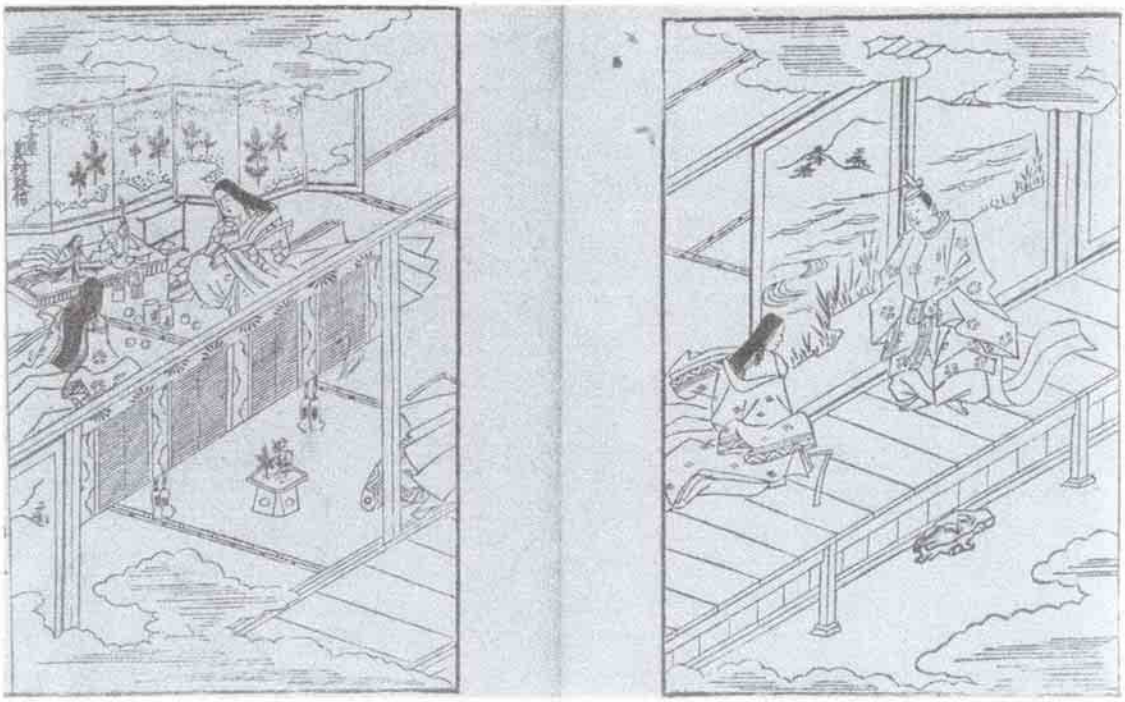

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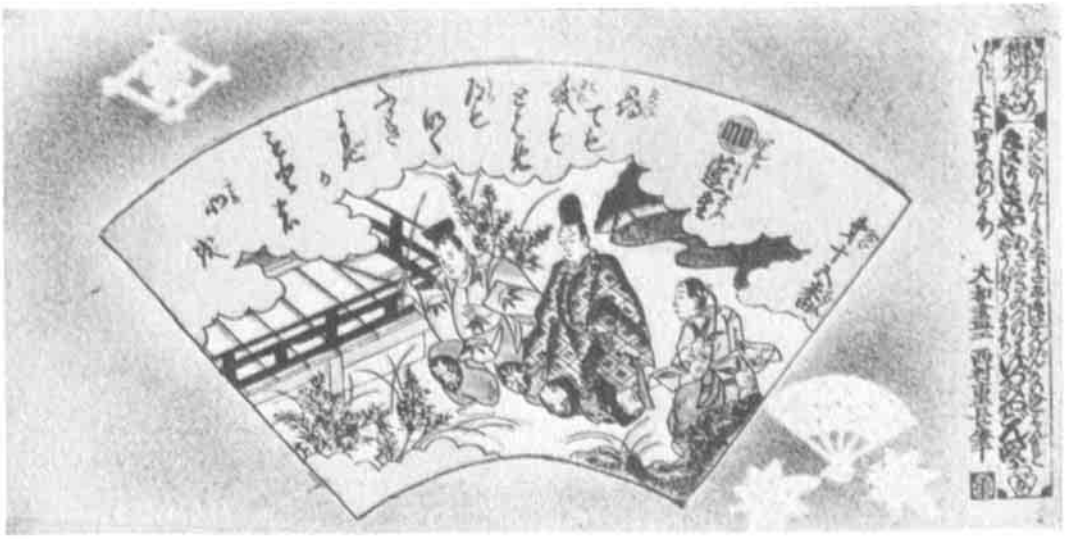
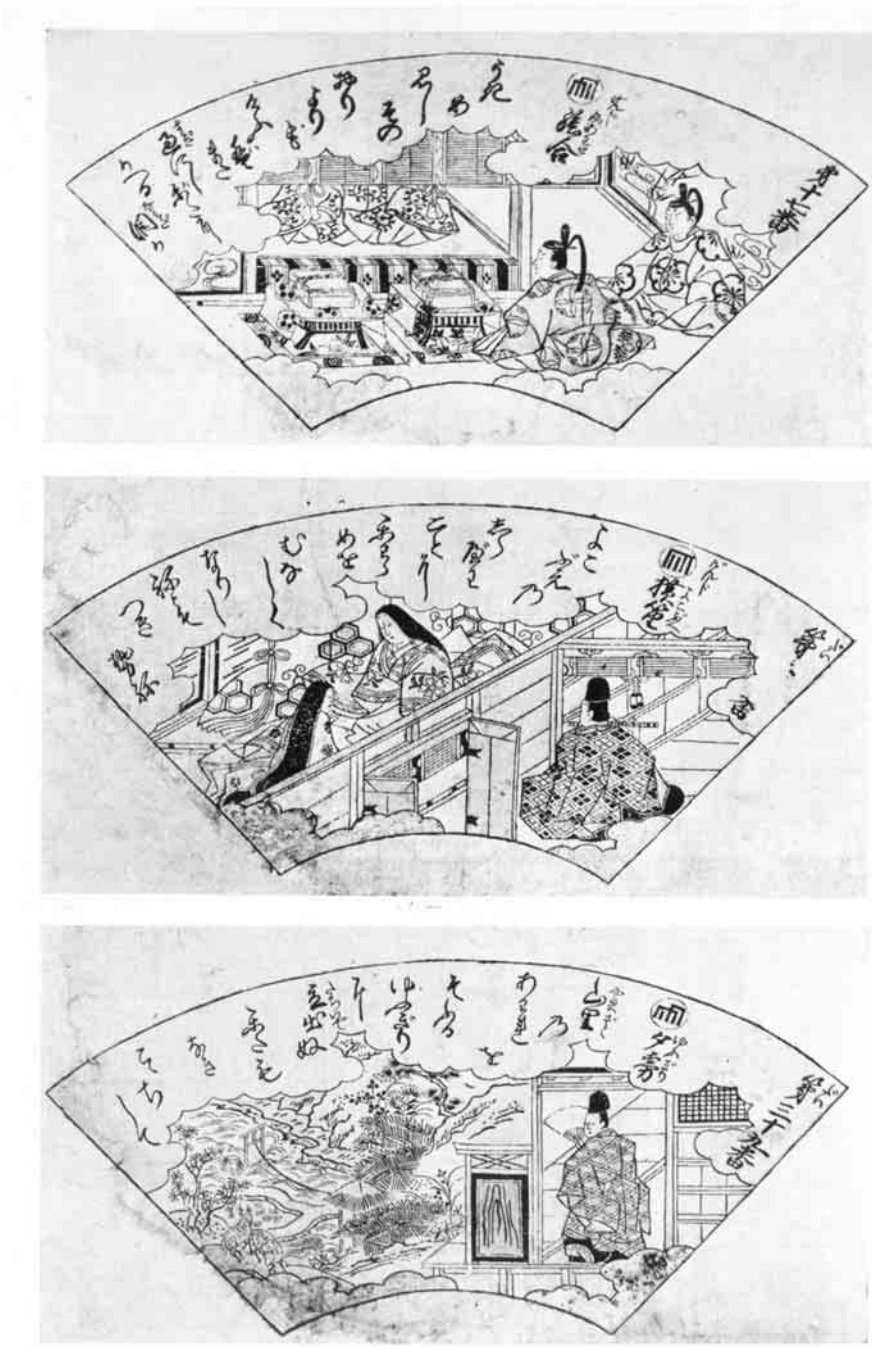
Dated c. 1710
Sumizuri-e on paper
Collection of the Art Institute of Chicago
Hillier, 1987, fig. 97, p. 147

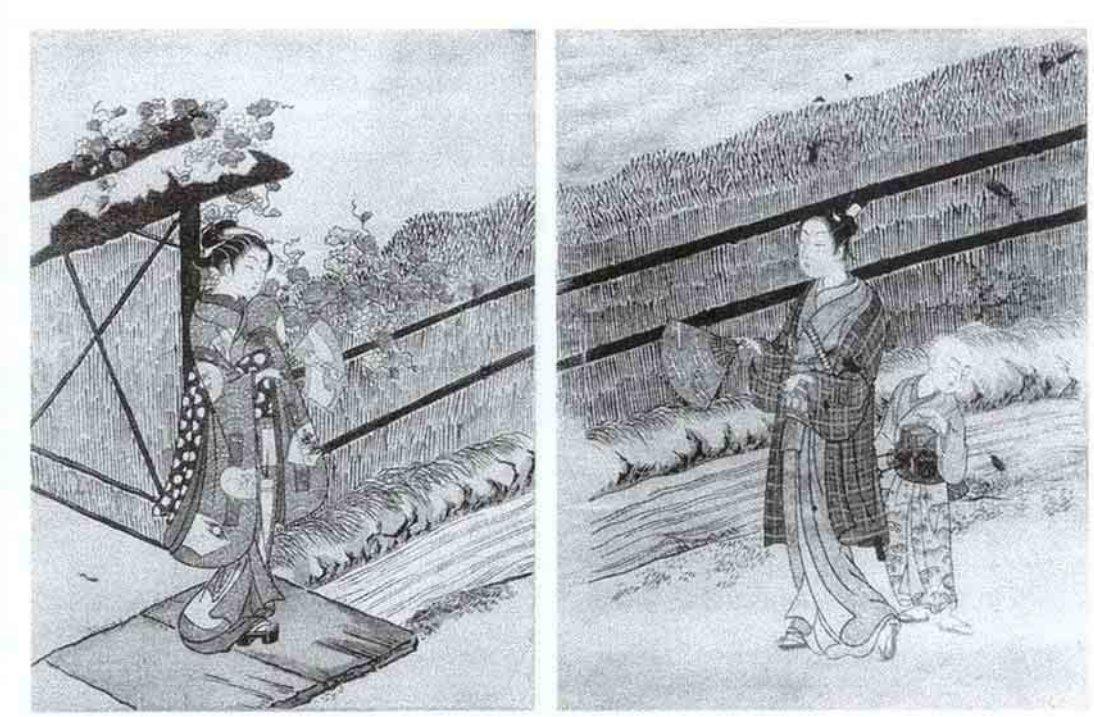


Nihsimura Shigenaga
Illustration of the *Yomogiu* (“The Wormwood Patch”) chapter
From *Genji gojūyomai no uchi* (“Series of Fifty Scenes from the *Genji Monogatari*”)
Urushi-e, 16.2 x 33.9
Art Institute of Chicago collection
Jenkins, 1971, fig. 179



Nishimura Shigenaga
Scenes from *E-awase* (“The Picture Contest”) chapter, *Yokobue* (“The Flute”) chapter, and *Yūgao* (“Evening Faces”) chapter
Sumizuri-e on paper
Kyoto National Museum collection
Kyoto National Museum, 1975, fig. 50

Nishimura Shigenaga
"*Tamakatsura* congratulates *Genji* on his Fortieth Year"
Scene from *Wakana* I ("New Herbs I") chapter
Sumizuri-e on paper
Kanagawa Prefectural Museum collection
Kyoto National Museum, 1975, fig. 49



Suzuki Harunobu
"An analogue of *Evening Faces*"
1776
Diptych, multi-colored woodblock print
Tokyo National Museum collection
Screech, 1999, fig. 118

Isoda Koryūsai (1760-1738)
Scene from the *Suetsumuhana* (“The Safflower”) chapter
From *Fūryū ryaku Genji* series
Tokyo National Museum collection
Tokyo National Museum, vol. 1, 1974, fig. 668

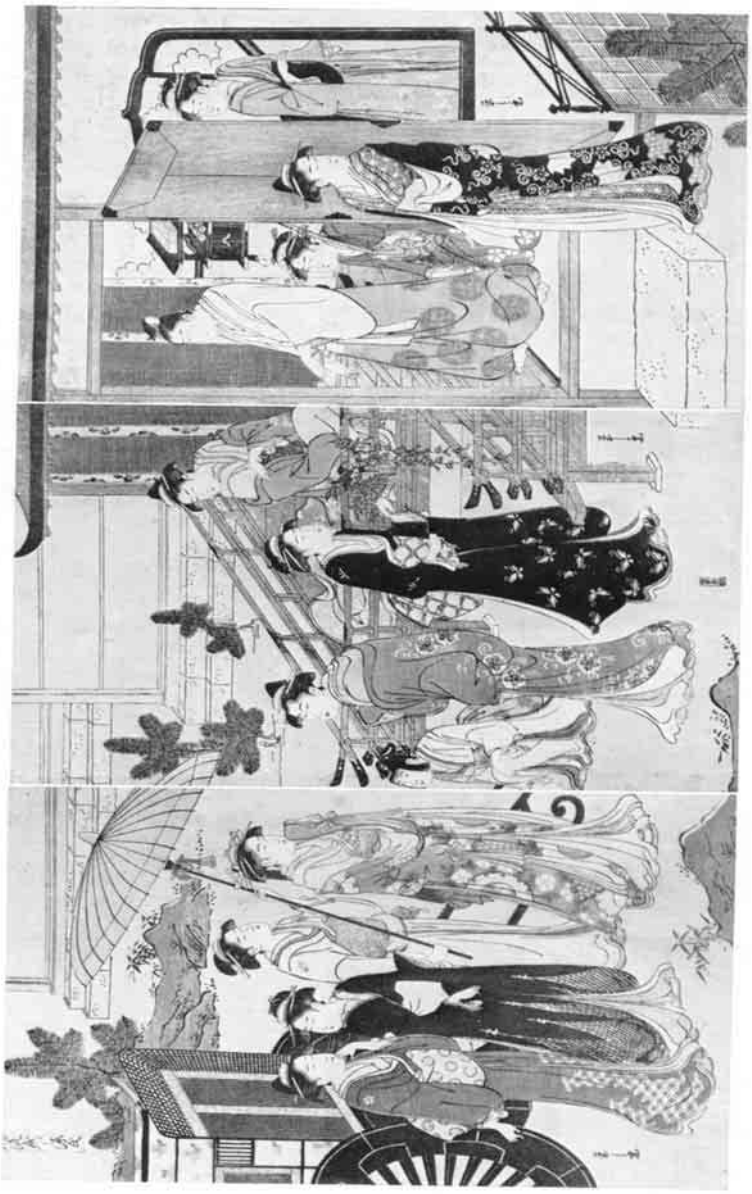
Isoda Koryūsai
Scene from *Hanachirusato* ("The Orange Blossoms") chapter
from *Fūryū ryaku Genji* series
Tokyo National Museum collection
Tokyo National Museum, vol. 1, 1974, fig. 666

Isoda Koryūsai
Scene from *Momiji no Ga* ("An Autumn Excursion") chapter
From *Fūryū ryaku Genji* series
Tokyo National Museum collection
Tokyo National Museum, vol. 1, 1974, fig. 667

Torii Kiyonaga
Princess San-no-miya, A heroine from the *Genji Monogatari*
Tokyo National Museum collection
Tokyo National Museum, vol. 1, 1974, fig. 1493

Chōbunsai Eishi
Scene from *Suzumushi* ("Bell Cricket") chapter
Fashionable adaptation of the *Tale of Genji*
Kyoto National Museum collection
Kyoto National Museum, 1975, fig. 54

Chōbunsai Eishi
Scene from *Suma* ("Exile at Suma") chapter
Fashionable adaptation
Tokyo National Museum collection
Kyoto National Museum, 1975, fig. 53

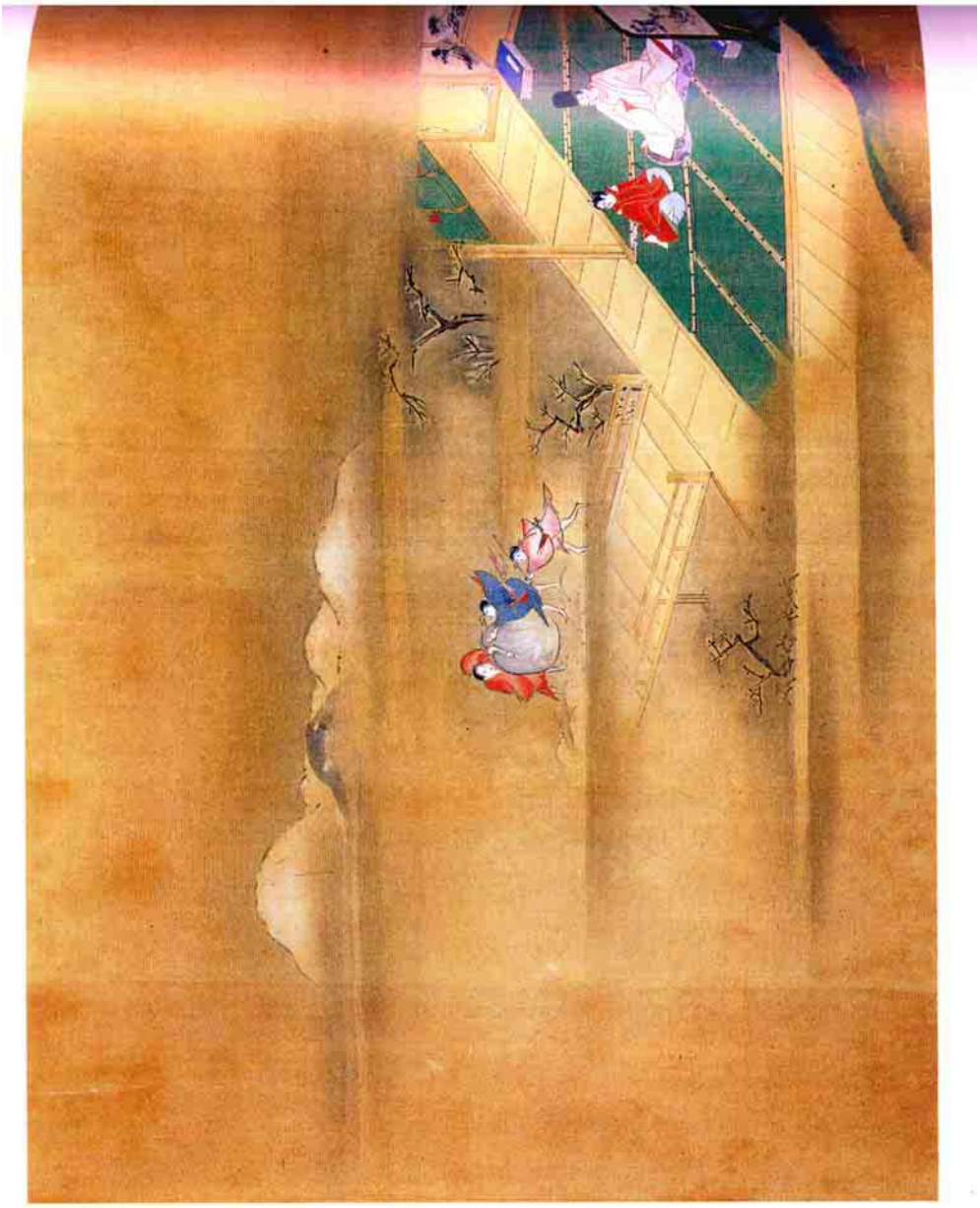


Chōbunsai Eishi
Scene from *Hana no en* ("The Festival of the Cherry Blossoms") chapter
Fashionable adaptation
Tokyo National Museum collection
Kyoto National Museum, 1975, fig. 52

Chōbunsai Eishi
Scene from *Waka Murasaki* ("Young Murasaki") chapter
Fashionable adaptation
Tokyo National Museum collection
Kyoto National Museum, 1975, fig. 51

Chōbunsai (Hosoda) Eishi
Scene from *Matsukaze* ("Wind in the Pines") chapter
From the series *Fashionably Disguised Genji*
Ca. 1790; Left panel of an *ōban* triptych.
Collection of the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art
Thompson, 1991, fig. 18

Ishiyama Moroka (1669-1734)
Genji monogatari hakkei ("The Eight Views from the Tale of Genji")
Edo period
Handscroll; ink, color, and gold on silk
Metropolitan Museum of Art collection
Murase, 2000, fig. 110a



Ishiyama Moroka
Genji monogatari hakkei ("The Eight Views from the Tale of Genji")
Edo period
Handscroll; ink, color, and gold on silk
Metropolitan Museum of Art collection
Murase, 2000, fig. 110g

Chōkōsai Eishō (fl. 1794-1799)
One of the “Eight sights from Genji Monogatari”
Nishiki-e, chūban
Tokyo National Museum Collection.
Tokyo National Museum, 1974, fig. 2303