University of Cincinnati

Date: 8/1/2011

I, Bryan Fijalkovich, hereby submit this original work as part of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Art History.

It is entitled:
The Rise of Rustic Genji in Edo and Its Intertextuality

Student's name: Bryan Fijalkovich

This work and its defense approved by:

Committee chair: Mikiko Hirayama, PhD
Committee member: Betsy Sato, PhD
Committee member: Theresa Leininger-Miller, PhD

1960
The Rise of *Rustic Genji* in Edo and Its Intertextuality

A thesis submitted to
The Art History Faculty
of the College of Design, Architecture, Art, and Planning
University of Cincinnati
in candidacy for the degree of
Master of Arts in Art History

Bryan Fijalkovich
August 2011

Committee Chair: Dr. Mikiko Hirayama
Abstract

During the Edo Period (1600-1867), a fresh conception of the *Tale of Genji*, a novel by Lady Murasaki (c. 1000), arose in the realm of woodblock prints or *ukiyo-e* (prints of the floating world). This new conception represented the romantic escapades of the shining prince Genji, the epitome of courtly elegance, as the quintessential playboy. By tracing the transposition of Genji from high court culture to the floating world of Edo, I illuminate how Edoites preferred him as a philanderer in the pleasure quarters. This contemporary Genji peaked with *An Imposter Murasaki and a Rustic Genji* (*Nise Murasaki Inaka Genji*, 1829–1842) authored by Ryūtei Tanehiko (1783 – 1842) and illustrated by Utagawa Kunisada (1786–1864). The wide distribution of Kunisada’s *Rustic Genji* prints bolstered the new conception of Genji to iconic proportions. Through the concept of intertextuality, I contextualize *Rustic Genji* media, explaining its allure in nineteenth-century Edo. By analyzing *Rustic Genji*’s images and story, I contribute to the rectification of a marginalized area of scholarship.
I would like to thank my advisor Dr. Mikiko Hirayama for her infinite patience, insight, and uncanny ability to return emails quickly. I am also very fortunate to have the support of committee members, Dr. Theresa Leininger-Miller and Dr. Betsy Sato. Special thanks go to all of my family members, especially my mother, who always knew the value of an education better than anyone else. And a big thank you to my fiancé Mary McGrath, who has kept me sane and well fed, and helped me to become a better person than I was when I began this thesis. Thank you to Mr. and Mrs. Donald M. Richardson for helping out a poor graduate student with the gracious gift of the hard-to-find English translation of *Rustic Genji*, *The Rustic Genji of a Bogus Murasaki*, translated by Donald M. Richardson and Teruo Tanonaka (1985). One more thank you to my cat, Rutabaga, for keeping my thesis warm and helping to organize pens, pencils, highlighters, and flash drives.
Author’s Notes

**Japanese names** are listed following the Japanese custom: family name followed by given name. After the name is mentioned, the individual is referred to by his/her given name.

**Japanese terms** are generally listed in parentheses following the English translation. I have made exception for the terms *yamato-e, mitate and mitate-e, as well as ukiyo and ukiyo-e*, for these terms do not translate easily into English.
Table of Contents

List of Illustrations i

Introduction 1

Chapter 1: The Iconography of the *Tale of Genji* (c.1000) 9

Chapter 2: The Rejuvenation of Genji in the Edo Period (1600-1867) 18

Chapter 3: The Intertextuality of *Rustic Genji* (1829-1842) 40

Conclusion 56

Illustrations 58

Bibliography 84
List of Illustrations

Figure 1
Artist unknown, “The Eastern Cottage” (Azumaya) from the “Illustrated Picture Scrolls of the Tale of Genji” (Genji monogatari emaki), early twelfth century. Paint, ink, gold, and silver on paper. 8” x 1’ 3”. Tokugawa Art Museum, Nagoya, Aichi Prefecture, Japan.

Figure 1a
Artist unknown, detail of Genji from “The Oak Tree” (Kashiwagi) chapter of “Illustrated Picture Scrolls of the Tale of Genji” (Genji monogatari emaki), early twelfth century. Paint, ink, gold and silver on paper. 8” x 1’ 3”. Tokugawa Art Museum, Nagoya, Aichi prefecture, Japan.

Figure 1b
Artist unknown, detail of Ukon from “The Eastern Cottage” (Azumaya) chapter of “Illustrated Picture Scrolls of the Tale of Genji” (Genji monogatari emaki), early twelfth century. Paint, ink, gold, and silver on paper. 8” x 1’ 3”. Tokugawa Art Museum, Nagoya, Aichi prefecture, Japan.

Figure 2
Tosa School, possibly Tosa Mitsuoki (1617-1691), “Lavendar” (Wakamurasaki), seventeenth century. Paint, ink and gold, on paper. Shikishi, 6” x 5”. The Mary Griggs Burke Collection.

Figure 3

Figure 4
Hishikawa Moronobu (d. 1694), “Lavendar” (Wakamurasaki) and “The Safflower” (Suetsumuhana) from Picture Book of the Tale of Genji (Genji Yamato-e kagami), 1685. Woodblock printed book, ink on paper. Hanshibon, about 8” x 6”. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Figure 5
Tosa School, possibly Tosa Mitsuoki, “The Safflower” (Suetsumuhana), seventeenth century. Paint, ink, and gold on paper. Shikishi, 6” x 5”. The Mary Griggs Burke Collection.

Figure 6
Hishikawa Moronobu, New Herbs, Part One” (Wakana jō) from Beautiful Women Picture Collection (bijin-e tsukushi), 1683. Woodblock printed book. Dimensions unknown. Image is
reproduced on page 179 of *Envisioning the Tale of Genji: Media, Gender and Cultural Production* / Haruo Shirane, editor.

Figure 7


Figure 8


Figure 9


Figure 10


Figure 11


Figure 12


Figure 13

Utagawa Kunisada (1786-1864), *Kobikichō Moritaza Kaomise Gakuya No Zu* (translation unknown), 1812. Woodblock print (*nishiki-e*), ink and color on paper. Ōban triptych (dimensions unknown). Private Collection.
Figure 14
Utagawa Kunisada, “Ichikawa Danjūrō VII as Sugawara Michizane,” 1814. Woodblock print (nishiki-e), ink and color on paper. Dimensions unknown. Private Collection.

Figure 15
Utagawa Kunisada and Ryūtei Tanehiko (1783-1842), Scene of Muraogi and Karaginu Playing Go from chapter four of An Imposter Murasaki and a Rustic Genji (Nise Murasaki Inaka Genji), published by Senkakudō, 1829-1841. Woodblock printed book, ink on paper. Roughly 7” x 5”. Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan.

Figure 16

Figure 17
Utagawa Kunisada, “Aoi” from The Color Print Contest of a Modern Genji (Ima Genji nishiki-e awase), 1852. Woodblock print, nishiki-e, ink and color on paper. Vertical chūban, 10” x 7”. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Figure 18

Figure 19

Figure 20
Utagawa Kunisada, “Lavendar” (Wakamurasaki) from the series Genji Incense Pictures (Genji kō no zu), 1843-1847. Ink and color on paper. Vertical chūban, 7” x 10”. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Figure 21
Utagawa Kunisada, “Spring Scene: Parody of the Tale of Genji” (Nise murasaki inaka genji zu), 1839. Hanging scroll, ink, and color on silk. 27.5” x 17”. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
Figure 22


Figure 23


Figure 24


Figure 25


Figure 26

Kitao Shigemasa (1739-1820), *Actors Segawa Kikunojō as Tenmaya Ohatsu and Ichikawa Yaozō as Hiranoya Tokubei*, mid-late eighteenth century. Ink and limited color on paper (*benizuri-e*). *Hosobon*, 12” x 5.5”. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
Introduction

After evaluating representations of the *Tale of Genji*\(^2\) in Western scholarship throughout history, a large incongruity presents itself. Scholars speak little of textual adaptations of the *Tale* produced during the Edo Period (1600 – 1867), and they say even less about their respective illustrations. Most of these Edo-Period adaptations, in both image and text, have received little more than an enumeration in a cursory history of the Japanese publishing industry. Whether this bias is the result of the notion that the “finest” art, according to western aesthetics, is the only art worth scrutinizing or the bias was already present in the ethos of nineteenth-century Japan, it merits discussion. In fact, a great variety of these adaptations blossomed and thrived in the Edo Period in both literary and visual formats, often simultaneously. These woodblock printed books and images constituted a large portion of the Edo Period print market and gained an unprecedented number of readers. Why have these so-called “adaptations” to the *Tale* received so little attention?

The most successful of these was *An Imposter Murasaki and a Rustic Genji* (*Nise Murasaki Inaka Genji*, 1828-1842), written by Ryūtei Tanehiko (1783-1842) and illustrated by Utagawa Kunisada (1786-1865).\(^2\) *Rustic Genji* was a serial work of fiction that achieved extreme success with its readers demanding two to four new chapters each year.\(^3\) *Rustic Genji’s* appeal to readers was because of its unprecedented, market-driven intertextuality.\(^4\) In its heyday

---

1 Hereafter, I will refer to the *Tale of Genji* as the *Tale*.
4 I will discuss intertextuality in chapter 3.
Tanehiko and Kunisada’s *Rustic Genji* was loved, and its protagonist, Mitsuuji, achieved celebrity status. However, *Rustic Genji* may never receive the same amount of fanfare again. The disparity between its extreme popularity in the nineteenth century and its lack of scholarship in recent years is striking.

This disparity in scholarship is likely an outgrowth of two phenomena: first, *Rustic Genji* media were produced in a low-cost medium commonly used to depict mundane subjects of Edo; second, *Rustic Genji* images do not fit the traditional iconographic mode of portraying Genji. After reviewing much twentieth-century scholarship on the subject, it seems that many scholars in Japan and the West have a general distaste for late Edo-Period prints. Perhaps this is because of their worldly subject matter and their occasional low-quality production. These images displeased not only critics of Edo-Period prints from nearly a century ago, but also scholars of recent years. While reading almost any early twentieth-century book on Japanese prints published in Britain or the U.S., one can often find the author is biased and derides the art of Kunisada as well as many of his contemporaries. Even in later twentieth-century books, one can find a faint echo of this bias in the written opinions of established living scholars.

One enlightening thought as to why such an attitude toward Edo-Period prints has occurred is that intellectuals of the latter half of the Edo Period probably paid little attention to woodblock prints of *Rustic Genji*. Because of its medium, the *Rustic Genji* series had not been taken seriously. The primary mode of the production of *ukiyo-e*, or “pictures of the floating world,” is woodblock prints, which were relatively inexpensive and accessible to the masses. *Ukiyo-e* woodblock printed media can be likened to magazine covers of today. During the Edo

---

5 I will discuss the iconography of the *Tale of Genji* in chapter 1.
6 I will discuss *ukiyo-e* in further detail in chapter 2.
Period in Japan, people would paste many woodblock prints of beautiful women and actors to their sliding screens just like a teen or college student might affix a magazine cover to a wall in his/her room today. Therefore, to some, *ukiyo-e* can be written off easily as ephemera of the day. Kunisada was known in his time and is recognized as an influential and prolific *ukiyo-e* artist, and *Rustic Genji* is a work of *ukiyo-e*, depicting the latest fashions and setting new trends. The floating world especially identifies with temporary pleasures. No intellectual or scholar of samurai stock of this era would squander his time to consider prints geared for city folk who floated about in the pleasure quarters – at least not in public or amongst peers. Such an attitude toward the consideration of early nineteenth-century woodblock prints has changed, but there is still much room for progress.

Another reason for the lack of scholarship on Edo-Period Genji adaptations is that they do not fit the traditional iconographic mode\(^7\) for illustrating the *Tale* that had been in place since the eleventh century. “Genji pictures” (*genji-e*)\(^8\) refers to any imagery related to the *Tale*; and the foremost proponent of proper iconography in Genji pictures in the West is, arguably, Miyeko Murase. In *The Iconography of the Tale of Genji: Genji Monogatari Ekotoba*, she indicates how the original iconography of the *Tale* was upheld by courtly painters, especially those of the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Tosa school. Murase mentions that the nineteenth century played a peculiar role in the evolution of Genji iconography in that artists dared to modify the 700-year-old pictorial method as well as the novel’s plot. Murase gives an example of a print by Utagawa Kunisada in which six women are depicted giggling over

---

7. I will examine the iconography of the *Tale* in further detail in chapter 1.

8. For my purposes, *Genji pictures* refers to all imagery of the *Tale of Genji*, regardless of era. Some scholars refer to *genji-e* as an Edo Period phenomenon enacted by Utagawa Kunisada, who invented a new form of Genji pictures, but I use the term as it is understood from its literal translation.
letters probably from suitors. Murase indicates that this is a parody of a scene from chapter two of the *Tale of Genji*, the Broom Tree.\(^9\) Although she provides a summary of nineteenth-century adaptations to the *Tale* in the form of Genji pictures, this is done with an air of disapproval. Note that no image data was provided for Kuniwada’s example besides the visual description in the text. The reader can only glean that this is a cheap knock-off of the *Tale*. This is quite unfortunate when, in fact, this image is a testament to the cultural phenomenon of *Rustic Genji*, and has its own unique visual language and playful appeal, especially to the people of nineteenth-century Edo.

A quote from the book aptly reveals Murase’s position on Genji pictures in printed form during the Edo Period: “That episodes from this classic tale should be depicted at all in *ukiyo-e* is somewhat unexpected since this art represents the antithesis of the courtly taste that the novel championed.”\(^10\) There is no discredit meant to Murase’s numerous contributions to the field of Genji scholarship. *The Iconography of the Tale of Genji* is an indispensable resource in the research of Genji pictures, but the previous quote does indicate a tone of disapproval toward many *ukiyo-e* prints. Unfortunately, this is the kind of attitude that has aided in the marginalization of *Rustic Genji* media. And Murase, having taught in Columbia University’s Department of Art History for over forty years, has helped shape the canon of Japanese art in U.S. scholarship.

This dark cloud that looms over *ukiyo-e*, especially of the late Edo Period, is artificial and has been in place for over a century. *A Guide to Japanese Prints and Their Subject Matter* by British author Basil Stewart, first published in 1922 and reissued in 1979, just four years prior to

---


\(^10\) Ibid.
the publication of *Iconography of the Tale of Genji*, exemplifies some of the negative attitudes toward mid- to late nineteenth-century Japanese prints by artists besides Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849) and Utagawa Hiroshige (1797-1858). The fact that it was reissued unabridged in 1979 says much about its popularity. In *A Guide to Japanese Prints*, Stewart calls the time period of 1825 to 1860, a time of great activity in Kunisada’s career, is referred to as “the decline,” and derides artists as “decadent.” With such uninviting labels, it may seem unnecessary to probe deeply into the art of any *ukiyo-e* artist of this era. And *ukiyo-e* art after 1860 is disparaged even further: “A fifth period, known as the downfall ... might be added; but the work of this period is so inferior that it hardly merits any attention except, perhaps, from the historical point of view.”

Accordingly, Hokusai and Hiroshige “halted the decline briefly, but mainly brought to light the inferiority of most of their contemporaries.” Another quote from Stewart’s *Guide to Japanese Prints* typifies Kunisada’s work corresponding to the period when he signed his works Toyokuni (1844-1865), the time when he created most of his *Rustic Genji* illustrations:

> The result is seen in a complexity of design, meaningless elaboration of detail, crudeness of coloring, and often bad register in printing, which is so characteristic of a large number of prints bearing his signature, particularly those signed with his later name of Toyokuni.

This quote is true for many prints bearing Kunisada’s signature. The artist, like many of his contemporaries, did take on many jobs designing prints simultaneously, often getting in over his head. As a result, one finds many poor quality prints by Kunisada, whether he was...

---

12 Ibid.
13 Ibid., 53.
rushed by the publisher and/or relegated the work to his studio assistants. But the previous quote says nothing of Kunisada’s great quality prints, which are legion, and overshadows even the thought of him producing beautiful images. Stewart, along with many other authors discussing Japanese prints, has disparaged Kunisada’s reputation as a woodblock print designer with an indelible mark. The negative attitude toward late-Edo ukiyo-e held by twentieth-century scholars has made this area of scholarship seem to have little to no importance.

Fortunately, progress has started towards a more balanced outlook on Kunisada’s oeuvre, taking note of his many outstanding achievements. In 1993, Sebastian Izzard curated an exhibition dedicated to Kunisada’s work in New York City for the Ukiyo-e Society of America and the Japan Society. The exhibition’s catalogue, *Kunisada’s World*, edited by Izzard (1993), goes into depth about Kunisada’s finest woodblock prints and several paintings. It provides not only images, titles, and dates, but also intriguing insights and summaries for each image. By compiling a full example of Kunisada’s work, Izzard bolsters his truthful proclamation that Kunisada was the most popular and successful ukiyo-e artist of his time.

In regards to *Rustic Genji*, scholarly progress has proceeded as well. Andrew Lawrence Markus wrote a remarkable monograph *The Willow in Autumn, Ryūtei Tanehiko* (1992), which pays special attention to Tanehiko’s most successful venture, *Rustic Genji*. Markus notes that *Rustic Genji* is a transposition of the Tale into a fifteenth-century “world” (*sekai*), a typical device of Kabuki Theater in which a common story is recast in a surprising fashion. The term “world” refers to a new, usually anachronistic, setting of the story. In the case of *Rustic Genji*,

---

the well-known *Tale of Genji* is the narrative and the world is the fifteenth-century palace of Ashikaga shoguns in the Muromachi district known as Higashiyama.\(^{16}\) Markus also points out *Rustic Genji*’s appeal to readers for its eclecticism, in that it successfully blended elements from the early Edo Period, and the late middle ages, with the contemporary nineteenth century.\(^{17}\) Micheal Emmerich’s chapter “The Splendor of Hybridity: Image and Text in Ryūtei Tanehiko’s *Inaka Genji*” from *Envisioning the Tale of Genji: Media, Gender, and Cultural Production* (2008) makes significant progress in amending the notion of *Rustic Genji* as an adaptation. Emmerich furthers Markus’ findings by positing *Rustic Genji*’s identity as two halves: one half being the *Tale of Genji* and the other being a fifteenth-century “world.”\(^{18}\) Emmerich also credits *Rustic Genji* as a work that not only takes value from the *Tale*, but also adds value to it.\(^{19}\) Emmerich then states, “*Inaka Genji* (*Rustic Genji*) was a particularly important milestone in the history of the canonization of the *Genji* (the *Tale*) precisely because it was the first mass-market fictional publication to exploit this cyclical relationship.”\(^{20}\) Both of these authors have done much to put *Rustic Genji* on the market for scholarly research, but neither has satisfactorily explored *Rustic Genji* as being even more complex than having the appearance of half *Tale of Genji* and half Kabuki world. And neither has focused on its images. *Rustic Genji* merits investigation for its intertextuality as realized through its images and text.

After examining some potential reasons why such an incongruity in *Rustic Genji* scholarship has occurred, one can begin to fathom how easy it is for a scholar to overlook Edo

\(^{16}\) Markus, *The Willow in Autumn*, 128.
\(^{17}\) Ibid.
\(^{19}\) Ibid.
\(^{20}\) Ibid.
Period prints of anything vaguely related to *The Tale of Genji* despite their likely popularity among contemporary readers and print buyers. Now that the problem has been identified, the following chapters will serve to demonstrate the pivotal role the *Tale* had played in the production of *ukiyo-e*. These chapters will also suggest a different mindset toward these illustrations, not so much as representative of a decline or an imitation, but rather representing an entertaining new form of illustrated fiction. Chapter one defines the iconography of *The Tale of Genji* and its importance in representing the *Tale* up to the Edo Period. Chapter two demonstrates how the *Tale*, in text and image, was transformed and abridged in woodblock prints, reaching an unprecedented number of readers during the Edo Period. Chapter three contextualizes *An Imposter Murasaki and a Rustic Genji* through the lens of intertextuality to demonstrate its allure, popularity, and independence from the *Tale*. *Rustic Genji* was not a mere knock-off of the *Tale of Genji*, but its own franchise that garnered tens of thousands of readers who came to know Genji via Mitsuji, the hero of *Rustic Genji*. 
Chapter 1: The Iconography of the Tale of Genji

Lady Murasaki, a court noble during the Heian Period (794-1185), wrote the Tale of Genji around the year 1000 when she was about thirty years old. The novel is one of the world’s earliest. It contains fifty-four chapters and ninety-five waka, which are thirty-one-syllable poems. The Tale of Genji is essentially the literary embodiment of the peculiar hyper-aestheticism of the Heian court. In this world of courtiers and ladies-in-waiting, where the tears of a man designated sensitivity and refinement, it was normal to mix one’s own perfumes, and compose and exchange waka several times a day. Arguably, no other work in the history of Japanese literature has been illustrated more frequently. The first forty-two chapters of the story center on the romantic escapades and remarkable achievements of the shining prince, Genji. The remaining chapters shift focus to the lives of Kaoru, a man born of an illicit affair involving one of Genji’s wives and another man, and Niou, Genji’s grandson. Both Kaoru and Niou tragically seek to seduce the same woman, Ukifune.

The Illustrated Picture Scrolls of the Tale of Genji

The most authentic, extant visual embodiment of the Tale is the twelfth-century “Illustrated Picture Scrolls of the Tale of Genji” (Genji monogatari emaki), hereafter referred to as “Genji Scroll.” The Genji Scroll employs a system of pictorial devices that would be followed by later illustrators of the Tale, though never to the same extent as the originals. The
illustrations that maintain the centuries-old pictorial and thematic scheme, or iconography,\textsuperscript{21} best exemplified in the Genji Scroll, came to be the subject of much scholarly inquiry in the West from the mid-twentieth century to the present. Only twenty-eight sections of text and twenty sections of painting remain. Originally, these were bound together in a long horizontal scroll. The remaining sections of text vary in their number of line from three to 109 while the paintings vary in size from 21.8 x 39.5 cm. to 22.0 x 48.9 cm.\textsuperscript{22} One can presume that these were originally produced in a larger, uniform size. Executed nearly one hundred years after the novel was written, these picture scrolls are the oldest of all extant Genji pictures. Originally, the Genji Scroll was mounted in a paper handscroll decorated with trimmed sheets of gold and silver. To view these, one would unroll the scroll, which visually alternates between illustration and text.\textsuperscript{23} Without a doubt the writers of the text were calligraphers of sophisticated training. These textual portions were composed fluidly in the native Japanese syllabary (\textit{kana}),\textsuperscript{24} which was rendered antiquated and difficult for educated readers after only a few centuries.\textsuperscript{25} The Genji Scroll is considered to be the epitome of the secular and decorative style of \textit{yamato-e} (Japanese painting).

\textsuperscript{21} The term iconography is usually associated with symbolism in Christian art. However, Genji scholars have adopted it in reference to Japanese art. Because of its currency, I will continue to use the term.
\textsuperscript{22} Murase, \textit{Iconography}, 318-319.
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., 11.
**Yamato-e**

*Yamato-e* has deep roots, dating back to the ninth century. It is defined as “representing a thoroughly Japanese artistic vision of the world”\(^{26}\) as well as “the Japanese reaction to nature, including human nature.”\(^{27}\) Typically Japanese painting contains scenes of classical Japanese literature, often accompanied by low-lying hills, opaque, abstract clouds and portrayals of flora, indigenous to Japan. Compositions are relatively flat in dimension and highly decorative. Oftentimes, a single composition includes more than one episode from a classic story simultaneously.\(^{28}\) The Genji Scroll is one of the finest examples of *yamato-e*.

The episodic nature of the *Tale* lends itself to diverse representations. In the Genji Scroll, each illustrated scene represents an episode from the novel, but from set to set of Genji pictures one finds variance in the number of scenes depicted per chapter and also the choice of scenes for illustration. Other versions of Genji pictures may consist of a single painting or woodblock print composed of only one scene.

Two pictorial schema lay the foundation for the iconography of the *Tale*. Several terms refer to these devices, the first being “dashes for eyes, a hook for a nose” (*hikime-kagihana*).\(^{29}\) In most traditional depictions, especially the twelfth-century Genji Scroll, the characters’ faces and cheeks are a bit plump and round, having thick eyebrows and tiny rosebud lips (Figures 1, 1a and 1b). Both male and especially female characters are shown wearing many layers of clothing that oftentimes eclipse any notion of figural form. All the women depicted have long,  

\(^{26}\) Pamela Boles and Stephen Adiss, “Hiroshige’s Tōkaidō Prints in the Context of *Yamato-e*, the Traditional Painting of Japan,” *Tokaido: Adventures on the Road in Old Japan* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas, Spencer Museum of Art, 1980), 75.  
\(^{27}\) Ibid.  
\(^{28}\) Ibid., 76.  
\(^{29}\) Murase, *Iconography*, 12.
lustrous black hair that streams nearly to the floor. The costume of women of the Heian Period is literally called “twelve layers” (jūni-hitoe). However, it was customary to wear over twenty layers of kimono.\(^{30}\)

As a result of the “dashes for eyes” technique, the anonymity of characters allows for the reader to place himself/herself into the story. During the Heian period men and women of the nobility read romantic novels while observing images coupled with the novels. The nobility consisted of ten court ranks with First Rank being the highest. Members of the top three ranks, also known as “High Court Nobles” (kugyō), were enlisted from junior branches of the imperial family. Those with court rank composed an infinitesimal portion of society as a whole.\(^{31}\) They read these novels and images with great interest and emotion, becoming quite familiar with the plot. In the following centuries, people tended to avoid reading the entire fifty-four chapters of the novel and relied more heavily on commentaries and abridged versions of the original. The Tale of Genji became too long-winded for many, especially those who were not of scholarly, high samurai, or court background. This case is all the more poignant during the Edo Period, in which many abridged versions and recensions of the Tale were produced. These recensions, much like Kabuki Theater, were updated and infused with drama and action. Unlike many chapters of the Tale, plots move quickly. The Tale contains a description of the Heian courtiers reading a novel while viewing the illustrations in chapter fifty, titled “The Eastern Cottage” (Azumaya). The twelfth-century Genji Scroll (Figure 1) depicts this chapter. It shows a lady-in-waiting reading a tale aloud while Ukifune and her stepsisters look upon the respective


illustrations. The generalized features of male and female characters depicted in the Genji Scroll allow viewers a special bond with novel for they could imagine themselves in the role of any of the characters of the *Tale*.

The second pictorial device, “stage with the roof blown away” (*fukinuki-yatai*),\(^\text{32}\) allows for an unobstructed view of human interaction by showing an interior domestic space from above by visually omitting the roof. Strangely, the first indicator of mood is not the characters themselves but the domestic interior, especially its geometric lines and the placement of the characters in relation to one another. Screens, sliding doors, and walls divide the scene and reveal or hide certain characters while the angled lines these interior structures create can provide clues into the psychological complexities of a particular scene. Murase has stated in her book, “Horizontal lines achieve an effect of serenity; diagonal lines of disturbance and agitation.”\(^\text{33}\) Alexander C. Soper (1904-1993), a principal scholar of the Genji Scroll, had a similar view. He inferred that the higher the angle of principle lines, the more agitated the scene is represented.\(^\text{34}\) In other words, the more vertical the slant indicated by architectural lines, the more heightened is the sense of emotion in a particular scene. Since some familiarity with the Azumaya scene has already been established, this chapter will serve as our example in applying these two pictorial devices.

In Figure 1 the viewer peers down on the scene from a slight height observing four figures on the left and two figures on the right with a standing screen in the center dividing the two sets of figures. In the upper left corner is the figure of Ukifune. Below her to the left, having

\(^{32}\) Murase, *Iconography*, 12.

\(^{33}\) Ibid.

her hair combed by a lesser lady-in-waiting, is Nakanokimi. To their right is Nakanokimi’s primary lady-in-waiting Ukon. The figures on the right side of the standing screen are both lesser ladies-in-waiting. The oblique angle of the standing screen not only draws the eye to the set of figures on the left, but it suggests an air of strain or awkwardness among some of those figures. Nakanokimi’s husband Prince Niou has taken an interest in her step-sister Ukifune, and he has been pursuing her with unexpected persistence. Nakanokimi has invited Ukifune into her chamber to offer her comfort from Niou’s recent pursuits, but as her mind stirs, she feels threatened by Ukifune. Although Niou’s intrusion into Ukifune’s chamber is not depicted in this scene, the half-opened sliding door adjacent to Ukifune suggests his presence. Earlier, while Nakanokimi was washing her hair because of a ritual taboo, Niou caught a glimpse of Ukifune through a gap of an open door and could not resist approaching her.

Familiarity with the novel is of utmost importance in understanding such subtle iconographic modes as the “dashes for eyes” and “blown-off roof” techniques. The Genji Scroll is the most authentic expression of the *Tale of Genji*, but as mentioned earlier, it is incomplete. The greatest examples of complete series of Genji paintings occurred several centuries after the completion of the Genji Scroll.

The Tosa School, a lineage of official painters to the imperial court, patronized since at least the fifteenth century through the nineteenth century, played a prominent role as a forerunner of Genji pictures. One can easily perceive the Tosa artists’ adherence to iconographical devices such as the “dashes for eyes” and “blown off roof” in a seventeenth-century painting of chapter five, “Lavender” (*Wakamurasaki*) (Figure 2). Artists in this school

---

35 Superstition dictated much of the daily activities of Heian nobility. They would perform presumably routine activities such as washing hair and bathing on the most auspicious days, according to a calendar determined by the Bureau of Divination. See Morris, 137-141.

excelled in yamato-e, using delicate brushwork and bright colors. The Tale of Genji was choice subject for yamato-e as employed by the Tosa School. Not only is the earliest complete album of Genji pictures (1510) attributed to Tosa Mitsunobu (active ca. 1462-1521), but the Tosa style of Genji pictures is praised as showing the closest adherence to the iconographic formula of the twelfth-century Genji Scroll.

The Importance of Proper Iconography in the Depiction of Genji

Heian-Period Genji pictures have received critical commentary throughout the centuries. A thirteenth-century document, the “Notes on a Confidential Conference on the Genji” (Genji Higisho), records a dispute that took place over certain Genji paintings. The document terminates with a memorandum, the “Petition on Genji Paintings” (Genji-e Chinjō). This petition calls for shogunal judgment as to the correct iconography of a series of Genji paintings. Unfortunately, these works no longer exist. A shogun, probably Ashikaga Munetaka (r. 1252-1266), commissioned a set of Genji paintings to be pasted onto a folding screen. The painters in question are the otherwise unknown court ladies Ben no Tsubone and Nakado no Tsubone. The one who called the compositions into question was Kosaishō no Tsubone, an accomplished elderly poetess who served three generations of the royal family, Jōmeimon-in (1171-1257), Tsuchimikado-in (1195-1231), and Go-Saga-in (1220-1272). One of the paintings in the dispute illustrates an episode that occurs in chapter eight, in which Prince Genji meets and becomes charmed by the Sixth Princess. Apparently he and the Sixth Princess are shown

---

37 McCormick, 54.
39 Murase, Iconography, 13.
behind screens. The critics of the painting found that this scene was not faithful to the text in that Genji should be depicted outside of the screens. According to a line from Edward G. Seidensticker’s translation of the *Tale* from the same chapter, “Quickly and lightly he lifted her down to the gallery and slid the door closed.” One would assume that the two should be depicted inside a room. The artists then asked for shogunal arbitration as to the correct portrayal for this episode in chapter eight as well as another scene from chapter fifty-one. In the latter scene, the dispute centers on a seemingly insignificant detail, a shinguard. Here Niou, frustrated by his failed attempts to seduce Ukifune, meets secretly with her maid Jijū on the outskirts of Uji. Niou has dismounted his horse and sits with Jijū near a woodcutter’s fence. The painters depicted the two on shinguards (*mukahaki*) wearing informal outer robes (*karaginu*). According to the text cited by Kosaishō, Niou should be seated on a mudguard (*aori*) while wearing an outer robe (*nōshi*) with a high rounded black silk cap (*eboshi*). In their defense, the painters claimed to have followed a highly esteemed mid-twelfth-century illustrated series of Genji paintings (no longer extant, artist unknown), which was preserved in the shogun’s collection. Such scrutiny of seemingly insignificant details testifies to importance the *Tale* had reached in court circles of the Ashikaga shogunate.

Countless commentaries and synopses of the *Tale of Genji* were produced in Japan starting with the “Notes on a Confidential Conference on the Genji.” One can infer that much has been written about Genji pictures as well. Throughout the fourteenth to sixteenth

---

43 Meech-Pekarik, 182.
44 Ibid.
45 Ibid.
centuries, in addition to many paintings by Tosa artists, Genji pictures also appeared in the form of “white drawing” (hakubyō), which is monochromatic ink drawing on plain white paper. In the early seventeenth century, the Genji theme was taken up by Tawaraya Sōtatsu (active early seventeenth century), appearing in his six-panel folding screens. As I will show in the next chapter, Genji figured in the print designs and paintings of an unprecedented number of artists during the Edo Period (1600-1867).


Chapter 2: The Rejuvenation of Genji in the Edo Period (1600-1867)

The Edo Period can be understood as a time of isolation and relative peace. After the efforts of two previous unifiers of rival territories, Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598), Tokugawa Ieyasu (1534-1616) fulfilled their intentions by installing hegemony over the nation. Ieyasu became shogun in 1603 and moved the seat of political power from Kyoto to Edo. The emperor still remained in Kyoto while the shogun held political power. The Tokugawa family ruled from this new capital for another two and one half centuries.

The population of Edo eventually swelled to about one million by the middle of the seventeenth century, becoming the most populated city in the world. This is largely because of Ieyasu’s implementation of an alternate attendance policy, which required that feudal lords (daimyo) spend every other year in attendance at the shogunate court in Edo. It also stipulated that when a feudal lord returned to his domain, he must leave his wife and children in Edo. This prevented the rise of rival clans against the Tokugawa, for all the wives and children could be potential hostages at any time. Because of the alternate attendance policy, Edo became highly populated with feudal lords, leading to an influx of people – warriors, families and servants, artisans and merchants. Therefore, Edo gradually became the center of Japan, the

48 The shogun is the head of samurai government.
49 Paul Varley, Japanese Culture (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2000), 167.
50 Ibid., 168.
veritable standard of culture, language, and fashion. It was from Edo that this lively culture streamed into the rest of the nation.  

Not only did Edo witness a swell in population, but also a rise in literacy rates. Through the sixteenth century, most samurai were illiterate, active duty warriors. Soon after 1600, the samurai had no national wars to fight, so they became bureaucrats, politicians, and social elite. Two relative factors of the new Tokugawa rulers required nationwide education: the implementation of a policy of law and Confucian morality, as well as the introduction of a currency-based economy. By the mid-seventeenth century almost all samurai, the middle to upper levels of farmer, artisan, and merchant classes were literate. Literacy levels of women appear to have been significantly lower than that of men. However, it is likely that the daughters of wealthy merchants and samurai were literate. Many didactic books and tales in the eighteenth century, such as Women’s Genji, Lessons for Life (Onna Genji kyōkun kagami, 1713) and Women’s Great Learning (Onna daigaku, undated), indicate that there was a market of female readers.

Ukiyo-e

One ceaseless inspiration for artists during the Edo Period was ukiyo, or “the floating world.” This special place refers to two areas of Edo in which its patrons flocked to immerse themselves in sensations of the immediate present: the licensed pleasure quarters, called Yoshiwara, and the Kabuki Theater. The biggest draw for men to come to Yoshiwara was to pass

51 Ibid.
53 Ibid., 11-13.
time with a beautiful courtesan of their choice. Arrangements to meet with a courtesan were
made at teahouses. The higher ranked courtesans were not simple harlots, but rather
cultivated artists and entertainers who reserved the right to refuse any client. Their clients also
had to be familiar with the unique dialect, style, and culture of Yoshiwara. Certainly, an
outlandish or provincial man would have been refused on the first visit. Artists made designs
illustrating the beauties of the Yoshiwara and the stars of Kabuki Theater. Eager fans and clients
bought these prints quickly. Prints and paintings having the subject of ukiyo are called ukiyo-e,
or “pictures of the floating world.” Ukiyo-e is not strictly limited to the subjects of beauties and
actors; it later came to encompass all subjects that were up-to-date and fashionable.

Artists and publishers of ukiyo-e marketed their prints mainly to the “townsmen” class
(chônin), which was the bottom rung of the social ladder.54 The townsmen comprised
merchants, shopkeepers, and traders. The next two layers of social strata, speaking in
ascending order, were those of artists, and artisans, and peasants. The highest social class was
the samurai, whose duties involved managing and protecting society. The townsmen busied
themselves with trade and did not actually produce anything, except their own profits. Under
the Confucian system, this social class was considered to produce nothing of value. According
to Paul Varley, author of Japanese Culture (2000), the townsmen were “socially despised.”55
One would presume that elite samurai would not be concerned with ukiyo-e for its association
with the lowly townsmen and also because it was understood to rouse rakish behavior of those
who visited the Yoshiwara.

55 Varley, 169.
The primary medium of ukiyo-e was the woodblock print, produced in publishing houses. This process involved four different parties: the publisher, artist, carver, and printer. The publisher provided all the necessary materials, took care of all the finances and oversaw the project. The artist created a design drawing and provided instructions for coloring. Then, the carver cut wooden blocks based on the artist’s drawing. Next, the printer took the blocks, colored them appropriately, and pressed them onto mulberry paper (kōzo). Finally, the prints were trimmed and packed, then taken to the publisher who put them out for sale in specialty shops or through street peddlers. Publishing houses did not limit their business only to single-sheet prints, but also printed books. In Edo, publishing houses thrived.

Commercial publishing first emerged in Kyoto in the early sixteenth century with the sponsorship of elite townsmen. By the mid-eighteenth century, Edo surpassed Kyoto as a publishing center and continued its growth. Exact figures are rare; however, an Edo bookseller’s catalogue of 1692 lists 7,200 titles. Artists had a ceaseless supply of marketable subjects to depict: the Yoshiwara pleasure houses had a high turnover rate and the Kabuki Theater constantly staged new plays. Many writers in Edo specialized in popular fiction that drew on elements of the pleasure quarters and Kabuki. The world of ukiyo provided a seemingly insatiable market for artists and writers.

---

59 Ibid.
Genji in Edo: A Genji for the Commoners

The Edo Period played a unique role in the representation of Genji in both image and text. During its inception during the Edo Period, representations of the *Tale* were only painted by sophisticated court nobility. Half a century later, however, the Genji theme became the domain of the townsmen class, which included the artisanal classes. The artistic hierarchy during the Edo period is as follows in descending order: The Kanō School, a lineage of artists patronized by the shogunate from the fifteenth century to the nineteenth century,\(^{60}\) the Tosa School, mentioned previously; other artists of hereditary nobility – samurai, Buddhist monks, and Shinto priests.\(^{61}\) However, the vast majority of artists in Edo were of the artisanal class.\(^{62}\)

The Tosa School upheld the traditional iconographic method of illustration, which subsequently manifested to a certain degree in woodblock prints by non-Tosa artists. On the other hand, *ukiyo-e* artists frequently intermingled the *Tale of Genji* with images relating to amatory ventures in the pleasure quarters. Few full-length texts of the *Tale* were produced while many abridged versions and commentaries reached the hands of Edoites. The phenomena of transposition also occurred in the realm of popular fiction, which conjoined with *ukiyo-e*.

*Genji for Young People* (*Osana Genji*, 1666) by Nonoguchi Ryūho (1595-1669) was one of the earliest forms of illustrated and abbreviated Genji books having a considerable impact on readers and artists in Edo. According to Andrew Lawrence Markus, *Genji for Young People* “does in fact read like a work for bright children or adolescents.”\(^{63}\) And in the preface, Ryūho

---

\(^{60}\) Varley, 153.
\(^{62}\) Ibid., 43.
indicates that it will prepare children or adolescents for the original text of the *Tale* at a later age.  

It is a “synopsis book” (*kōgaisho*) in that it simplifies the language and principal events of each chapter of the *Tale of Genji*.  

*Genji for Young People*, because of its format, the woodblock print, was relatively inexpensive and accessible compared to the earlier movable type texts (*kokatsuji-bon*) and hand-copied versions of Genji synopsis books. The fact that four editions of *Genji for Young People* were published in the fifteen years following its initial publication speaks to its marketability and readership. The illustrative style of the images in *Genji for Young People* is similar to the iconographic methods of the Tosa school (Figure 3), with elements of the techniques of “dashes for eyes” and “blown-off roof” and flattened, abstract clouds framing the scenes.

By the end of the seventeenth century the *Tale of Genji* was judged under two distinctly different viewpoints. On the one hand the *Tale* was considered to be the epitome of courtly elegance, a model of decorum and an encyclopedic poetry guide while on the other hand it was condemned as an immoral book conducive to lusty adventures, a sort of guide for the visitors of *ukiyo*. Many artists catered to both of these mindsets by creating Genji pictures of more traditional format as well as *ukiyo-e* versions while literary intellectuals wrote scholastic commentaries on the *Tale*. Because of Genji’s impulsive romantic escapades, many Edoites understood the *Tale* as the prototype for *ukiyo*.

---

64 Ibid.
65 Ibid., 7.
66 Ibid., 3.
67 Ibid., 9.
69 These two pictorial techniques are discussed in chapter 1.
70 Markus, “Representations,” 11.
The best known and most influential printed commentary on the *Tale* was the *Lake Moon Commentary (Kogetsushō, 1675)* by Kitamura Kigin (1624-1705). In this extensive commentary, the text of the *Tale* was not only reproduced, but difficult passages and words were explained in common language alongside the text in question. Kigin took great pains to distinguish the source of each comment, to an extent that was previously uncommon. Kigin’s work circulated the scholarly tradition of *Genji* commentary to an unprecedented number of readers. However, it was very expensive at three sheets of silver (three *mai*, over $1200). Therefore, the average print buyer probably would not buy a copy of *Lake Moon Commentary*, but a feudal lord, other high ranking samurai, or perhaps townsmen with above average buying power were more likely to own one. Michael Emmerich provides substantial evidence that Tanehiko, the author of *Rustic Genji*, owned or had access to the *Lake Moon Commentary*, and that it was the main source of his knowledge of the *Tale*.

Hishikawa Moronobu (d. 1694), often credited as the originator of *ukiyo-e*, was perhaps the earliest woodblock print artist producing *Genji* pictures in Edo. Moronobu produced a fourteen-page woodblock printed book, titled *Picture Book of the Tale of Genji (Genji Yamato-e kagami, 1685)* (Figure 4) which shows many similarities to the Tosa style of *Genji* painting. Moronobu employed the “dashes for eyes” technique in the depiction of his figures and the “blown-off roof” vantage point. With the term *yamato-e* in the title, one would presume that Moronobu was quite familiar with these iconographic conventions. In the pages depicting the chapters five and six (Figure 4), one notices quite similar compositions and figural placement to

---

71 Ibid., 5.
72 Ibid., 6.
73 Emmerich, 231-232.
a complete series of seventeenth-century Genji paintings by the Tosa School (Figures 2 and 5).

In both of Moronobu’s images in Figure 4, the position of the foreground figures, the fences, and the verandas, as well as the position of the figures on the verandas, are nearly identical as those of the Tosa paintings. Even elements like the waterfall in Figure 2, and the river in Figure 5 occur in the same compositional location in Moronobu’s work.

Moronobu produced other series that focused on the more amorous aspects of the Tale of Genji, such as when Kashiwagi, while playing kickball, accidentally catches a glimpse of the Third Princess. In his New Herbs, Part One (Wakana jō)⁷⁴ from Beautiful Women Picture Collection (Bijin-e tsukushi, 1683) (Figure 6), one sees that Moronobu did retain the “stage with the roof blown away” technique to a certain degree, although the abstract clouds are absent. Moronobu took a closer viewpoint than the more traditional iconographic method of Genji for Young People, allowing for greater expression in larger, more realistic figures.⁷⁵ Note that this is the same viewpoint he employed in designing his erotic prints (Figure 7). Moronobu’s New Herbs, part one scene parallels those of young men and courtesans meeting in the pleasure quarters.⁷⁶ Here the figures are portrayed in garments of the Heian period, but apparently Moronobu produced other scenes in which the characters of the Tale wear contemporary clothing. According to Keiko Nakamachi, author of “Genji Pictures from Momoyama Painting to Edo Ukiyo-e: Cultural Authority and New Horizons,” Moronobu borrowed compositional elements from his “prints of young men and women dressed in provocative fashions of the

---

⁷⁴ This event in the Tale of Genji occurs in chapter thirty-five, Wakana ge (New Herbs, part two). Therefore, Moronobu’s title Wakana jō seems misplaced. Perhaps the artist made a mistake or referred to a flawed kōgaisho.

⁷⁵ Nakamachi, 181.

⁷⁶ Ibid.
age”\textsuperscript{77} (kabuki-mono), and used them in his Genji pictures.\textsuperscript{78} In fact, in the introduction to his illustrated book, \textit{The Floating World Continued} (Ukiyo tsuzuki, 1682) Moronobu indicated, “Yamato-style ukiyo-e take as their subjects the random events of the world and let the brush run.”\textsuperscript{79} Clearly, the artist was well aware of his role in creating an ukiyo Genji.

The early eighteenth century witnessed the appearance of Genji prints by Okumura Masanobu (1686-1764). Not only was Masanobu an ukiyo-e artist, but he also owned his own publishing firm.\textsuperscript{80} Perhaps this allowed him more creative control, innovating in the realms of perspective pictures (uki-e) (Figure 8) and Genji pictures. In his perspective pictures, he created a foreground, middleground, and background in the compositions, highlighted by a spacial recession of the picture plane into an interior. Japanese artists did not portray a logical recession of space in their compositions prior to the mid-eighteenth century. Therefore, Masanobu was at the forefront of innovation in woodblock print design. He illustrated many Genji pictures, such as serial prose translations of several chapters from the \textit{Tale of Genji} by Suigetsudō Baiō (dates unknown) between 1707 and 1710.\textsuperscript{81} Masanobu had used the sobriquet “Baiō” (elderly plum gentleman) and is likely to be the author.\textsuperscript{82} The artist also produced Genji pictures besides book illustrations. Masanobu employed the traditional iconographic style, using the “dashes for eyes” and “blown off roof” techniques, and also produced ukiyo-e

\begin{thebibliography}{8}
\bibitem{77} Nakamachi, 179.
\bibitem{78} Unfortunately, Nakamachi did not provide an image of a Moronobu print that openly borrows compositional elements from his kabuki-mono. See Nakamachi, 179.
\bibitem{79} Nakamachi, 207.
\bibitem{80} Markus, “Representations,” 21.
\bibitem{81} Baiō produced \textit{Red and White Tale of Genji} (Kōhaku Genji Monogatari, 1707). Soon after its publication the title was altered to \textit{Young Grasses Tale of Genji} (Wakakusa Genji monogatari, reprinted in 1721 and 1738). He also produced \textit{Fledgling Crane Genji} (Hinazuru Genji, 1708, reprinted in 1720, 1721 and 1727), another \textit{Red and White Tale of Genji} (1709), and \textit{The Tale of Genji in Vernacular Interpretation} (Zokkai Genji monogatari, 1710). See Markus, “Representations,” 20-21, and Nakamachi, 184.
\bibitem{82} Markus, “Representations,” 21.
\end{thebibliography}
versions of the *Tale* in several single-sheet print series. His more traditional Genji pictures resemble the style of illustration in *Genji for Young People*, whereas in his *ukiyo-e* versions he updated the attire of his Genji subjects. Although not all are extant, scholars believe that Masanobu created two series illustrating all fifty-four chapters of the *Tale of Genji* with one print per chapter. One series employs the traditional iconographic format, produced between 1716 and 1736 (title unknown), while the other casts his subjects as contemporary men and women in *ukiyo, One Hundred Poets, One Poem Each of Genji Characters in Formal Dress* (*Kanmuri nōshi Genji sugata hyakunin isshu*, 1716-1736). I have found that Masanobu’s work is pivotal in that he may be the first artist to successfully use both representations of Genji in the iconographic mode as well as contemporary figures in the floating world.

_Mitate-e_, generally translated as “parody pictures,” denotes a commonplace trend in *ukiyo-e* of recasting classical Japanese and Chinese subjects in contemporary settings, often with light humor. In the following chapter I will scrutinize the terms _mitate_ and _mitate-e_ as applied to *Rustic Genji* media. I suggest an alternate approach to define *Rustic Genji* and its images as being more complex than just _mitate or mitate-e_.

None of Masanobu’s Genji _mitate-e_ are more poignant than his *Genji Ukifune* (1740) (Figure 9). Here Masanobu illustrated a scene from chapter 51 in the *Tale of Genji*. In chapters 50 and 51 both Kaoru and Niou had become enchanted with Ukifune, eagerly seeking her. After

---

83 Nakamachi, 185.
85 I will discuss _mitate_ in further detail in chapter 3. I am using the general translation of _mitate-e_ here for convenience. This is a broad term that has been associated with many *ukiyo-e* by art historians while many of these do not have the term _mitate_ in their titles. As Timothy Clark has pointed out in his sampling of 6,806 Japanese prints from the British Museum’s collection, more often than the word _mitate_, one finds _fūryū_ (“up-to-date” or “elegant”), _yatsushi_ (“reworking”), and _fūzoku_ (“affiliated”). See Timothy Clark, “_Mitate-e_: Some Thoughts, and a Summary of Recent Writings,” *Impressions: The Journal of the Ukiyo-e Society of America* 19 (1997): 8, 12.

27
Ukifune was hidden away at the Eastern Cottage by her mother, Kaoru discovered her and hid her at Uji, the suburb of Kyoto. Next, the impulsive Niou slipped into Uji, gaining entrance by feigning Kaoru’s voice, then spirited Ukifune away to the Islet of Oranges. In this episode of the Tale, Niou referred to the permanence of his love, comparing it to the enduring green of pines on the Islet of Oranges. Ukifune’s skepticism is best expressed in her famous expression in classical Heian poetry (waka): “The colors remain, here on the Islet of Oranges, but where go I, a boat upon the waters?” Ukifune’s statement seems to begin a centuries-long tradition of punning on her name, which means “a boat upon the waters.”

In Masanobu’s Genji Ukifune he depicted a fashionable young man beating a hand drum as the impetuous Niou and a young woman seductively reclining as Ukifune. Both figures appear inebriated, drifting along a river. The man playing the role of Niou, identified by the crest on his garment, is the actor Sanokawa Ichimatsu (1722-1762), who was depicted frequently in ukiyo-e because of his physical beauty. Masanobu as well as other artists, such as Ishikawa Toyonobu (1711-1785), Torii Kiyoshige (c.1724-1763), and Torii Kiyomasu II (c. 1720-1750), portrayed Ichimatsu in their designs. Contemporary viewers must have recognized Ichimatsu as the player of Niou. Scraps of food on a tray, a pitcher of sake, and an empty cup do not suggest an episode from the Tale of Genji as much as a typical meeting in the pleasure quarters. The tipsy young lady’s words are inscribed not in classical Heian poetry, but in contemporary seventeen-syllable poetry (haiku) just above her:

Heavy snow

---

87 Murase, Legends and Paintings, 124.
88 Meech-Pekarik, 207.
89 Meech-Pekarik, 208.
90 Shirane, 170.
Settling in a drifting boat
My heart is filled with longing

Yuki ya
Yuki ya
Mi wa ukifune ni
Tsumoru koi\textsuperscript{91}

This is not the hesitant Ukifune from the novel, but a willing \textit{ukiyo} beauty.

Suzuki Harunobu (active c. 1765-1770), the innovator of multicolor prints (\textit{nishiki-e}), designed many prints with subject matter pertaining to the \textit{Tale of Genji}. His best direct derivation from the \textit{Tale} is another \textit{mitate-e}, \textit{Visual Transposition: Evening Faces} (\textit{Mitate Yūgao zu}, 1766) (Figure 10). In chapter four Genji goes to visit his old wet nurse, who had become ill. Meanwhile in his carriage, he becomes intrigued with the shabby house next door. He asks one of his attendants to pick one of the “hapless”\textsuperscript{92} white flowers, called “evening faces” (\textit{yūgao}), growing from intertwined green vines on the house wall for him. As the attendant goes to do so, a pretty young girl emerges from a sliding door and offers the attendant a scented white fan on which to present the flower. An attendant then passes the fan with flower to Genji. In Harunobu’s \textit{Visual Transposition} he included some of the telling elements of this famous scene from chapter four of the \textit{Tale}: a young maiden presenting a fan, vines with the blossoms of evening faces, Genji accompanied by an attendant or two, and a carriage, but in the form of an insect cage.\textsuperscript{93} Like Masanobu did before him, Harunobu gives the episode an \textit{ukiyo} twist. Here, the fan holds a love letter instead of the evening faces flower. Its greeting, “my dear one arrives” (\textit{kata sama mairu}), was a phrase often used by courtesans in written correspondence.

\textsuperscript{91} Meech-Pekarik, 208.
\textsuperscript{92} Seidensticker, 58.
\textsuperscript{93} Nakamachi, 191
with clients. In lieu of depicting Genji’s intrigue for the woman of this shabby abode, Harunobu transformed the scene into one of two young lovers making arrangements as if they were in Yoshiwara.

Certainly, the Prince Genji, as known by readers in the Edo Period, was not the same Prince Genji known by Heian nobility. Most readers of the Edo Period knew Genji through abbreviated, vernacular versions of the *Tale* or updated recensions. Surely, many became familiar with Genji via images, which had been vital in the enjoyment of the *Tale of Genji* for at least 700 years. Therefore, the illiterate have come to know Genji to a certain degree. In these versions, both visually and textually, Genji is transposed to fit the tastes of the day. Characters from the *Tale* made many different appearances in *ukiyo-e*: the robust figural style of Hishikawa Moronobu, the same style the artist used in his erotic prints; Okumura Masanobu’s playfully irreverent depiction of the handsome Sanokawa Ichimatsu as Niou; and Suzuki Harunobu’s *mitate-e* of chapter four of the *Tale*, in which his delicate figures create an explicit connection between the *Tale* and the daily functions of the Yoshiwara. With the onset of woodblock printing, the *Tale of Genji* in updated form reached an unprecedented number of readers and viewers.

**Popular Fiction and the Rise of Rustic Genji**

Popular fiction during the Edo Period is called “grass books” (*kusazōshi*), and its final and most intricate phase of development is called “bound books” (*gōkan*). Appearing in the first half of the seventeenth century, grass books, a distinct product of Edo, developed over the next

---

94 Ibid.
two centuries from crudely produced children’s books to “sophisticated protracted serial productions.” All grass books use small paper sizes, about nine by six inches; have large black and white illustrations on each page; and have text composed mainly of the native kana script (Figure 11), which runs alongside and around the illustrations. Kana script was easily accessible to nineteenth-century adult readers. Bound books are called so for their physical form, the result of binding together several sections of pages to form larger volumes. Around 1810, publishers of bound books arrived at a standard length of thirty double-leaf pages, often in two volumes of fifteen pages. This type of popular fiction, which often had themes of injustice and revenge as well as adaptations of elements of Kabuki and puppet plays (bunraku), was extremely popular during the nineteenth century. About 2,900 works of bound books were produced from 1807 to 1867, about forty to fifty new titles each year. In an effort to meet the interests of readers, authors often reinterpreted Japanese classics such as of the Tale of Genji. Arguably, bound books were the most dominant form of fiction in the nineteenth century. Almost all authors of fiction before 1875 made bound books a staple of their life’s work.

One of the most successful publications during the Edo Period is the bound book, An Imposter Murasaki and a Rustic Genji (Nise Murasaki Inaka Genji, 1829-1842), by Ryūtei Markus divides grass books into four categories of evolution: kōzei books (kōzei-bon) and red books (akahon), green-covered books (aobon) and black-covered books (kurobon), yellow-covered books (kibyōshi), and bound books. The following is a brief outline of Markus’ types of grass books. Kōzei books and red books were children’s books that appeared in the mid-seventeenth century, containing nursery tales and animal fables with brief captions for low-quality illustrations. In the 1740s, green-covered books and black-covered books are also mainly picture booklets, but the stories involve ghosts, murder, and vendettas, intended for adolescents and some adults. Appearing in 1775 and peaking in the 1780s, yellow-covered books have urbane narratives with fantasy aspects for adults. Many contain social satire while few have light political satire. During the Kansei Reforms of the 1790s, fearing reprisals, yellow-covered book writers took on vendetta themes that fit the Confucian morality of society. See Markus, Willow in Autumn, 62.

96 Markus, Willow in Autumn, 62.
97 Ibid., 66.
98 Ibid., 68.
99 Ibid., 61.
100 Ibid., 61.
Tanehiko (1783-1842). The first chapter of Rustic Genji was published in Edo in 1829 by Tsuruya Kiemon of the Senkakudō publishing house, and its success was met by an additional two to three chapters each year until Tanehiko’s sudden passing in 1842. This high demand for publication indicates the popularity of this serial novel. Scholars have estimated a range of copies sold from over 10,000 to over 15,000. Such an achievement was not only because of the subject matter of Rustic Genji or the public’s familiarity with the Tale, but also because of the bright multicolored cover illustrations and the black and white illustrations within the text, all woodblock prints by Utagawa Kunisada (1786-1864). Tanehiko provided brief sketches and instructions to aid Kunisada in the illustrations. Nineteenth-century artists emulated Kunisada’s Rustic Genji prints and paintings to a great extent.

Rustic Genji, unlike the Tale of Genji, is set in the fifteenth-century Higashiyama palace of the Ashikaga shoguns. As mentioned earlier, this device of employing a familiar tale in an oftentimes anachronistic world, is commonplace in Kabuki. Rustic Genji focuses on the life of Mitsuuiji, who parallels the shining prince Genji. Mitsuuiji, known as Jirō in his childhood, was born of a lower consort of Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1435-1490), Hanagiri, and shows great beauty and martial prowess. Yoshimasa was so pleased with him that he considered passing over the heir apparent, Yoshihisa, to hand the Ashikaga succession to Mitsuuiji as a more desirable heir.

101 Ibid., 119.
102 Konta Yōzō, author of Edo no hon’ya-san -- kinsei bunka-shi no sokumen (The Neighborhood Book Dealer in the Edo Period, 1977) has estimated sales of over 10,000 copies; Suwa Haruo, author of Shuppan kotohajime -- Edo no hon (The Beginnings of the Printing Industry – Edo Period Books, 1978), has estimated sales of over 15,000 copies and Aeba Kōson, author of Bunka Bunsei-do no shōsetsuka (Novelists of the Bunka and Bunsei Periods, 1892), has estimated sales of 14,000 to 15,000. See Markus, Willow in Autumn, 145. Sebastian Izzard estimates sales of over 10,000 copies. See Sebastian Izzard, Kunisada’s World (London: Japan Society, 1993), 31.
104 Markus, Willow in Autumn, 128.
105 Ibid.
This caused great displeasure to Lady Toyoshi, official wife of Yoshihisa. All of these plotlines are direct parallels to the Tale and generally they follow the same format of the Tale. However, Tanehiko changed the setting and added many plot twists, sudden intrigues and revelations, often involving assassins. Although it is set during the fifteenth century, it has seemingly anachronistic Edo Period elements, such as pleasure districts. In addition, both Tanehiko and Kunisada incorporated elements of Kabuki and puppet plays.

In *Rustic Genji*, heirlooms of the Ashikaga are suddenly stolen, and Mitsuuji embarks upon a quest to retrieve them, often posing as a playboy in the pleasure quarters to seek information. In doing so, Mitsuuji aims to ensure the stability of the Ashikaga shogunate by hiding his true intentions, which causes his brother, Yoshihisa, to be the more desirable pick as successor. He does this with the noble intention of retrieving the stolen heirlooms, without which the Ashikaga succession cannot take place. In *Rustic Genji*, Mitsuuji parallels Genji. However, the premise of graciously venturing into the pleasure quarters to ultimately uphold societal order was a brilliant departure that undoubtedly captivated readers.

**Utagawa Kunisada: Preeminent *Rustic Genji* Artist**

Utagawa Kunisada has over the past twenty years acquired critical acclaim, meriting such praise as “the supreme technician of his age,” ¹⁰⁶ “the most popular and influential artist of his day,” ¹⁰⁷ and “outdistancing his now more famous contemporaries [Utagawa] Hiroshige

---

(1797-1858) and [Utagawa] Kuniyoshi (1797-1861).” These laudatory remarks come from, respectively, Shigeru Shindō, who compiled the most extensive catalogue of Kunisada’s actor portraits; Andreas Marks, who outlined the artist’s production of Rustic Genji prints; and Sebastian Izzard, who wrote the most extensive and informative monograph on Kunisada to date. Certainly, the meteoric success of Rustic Genji and its alluring images solidified Kunisada’s position as the leading artist of the late Edo Period.

Kunisada’s career began its ascent c. 1800 with an apprenticeship to Utagawa Toyokuni (1769-1825), who headed the leading school of actor portraits. Kunisada enjoyed immediate success soon after completing his six- or seven-year apprenticeship, designing a successful brochure for perfumed oil in 1808. Soon Toyokuni granted him connections to shrewd publishers and popular authors, which complemented his own links to wealthy merchants through his family ferryboat business, Kamedaya, as well as associations with an amateur literary circle, Edoza. Kunisada also had a close relationship with Ichikawa Danjūrō VII (1791-1851), a highly successful Kabuki actor, renowned for his exceptionally large eyes. Fans had an insatiable lust for his portraits, which the artist frequently illustrated. As early as the 1810s, Kunisada solidified his role as one of the leading artists of his age. Katsukawa Shunshō (1726-1792) introduced a new type of actor print, depicting actors backstage preparing for performance (Figure 12). These prints offered an intimate view of the actor, in a single room,

108 Izzard, 19.
109 Ibid.
110 Kunisada’s literary circle was an amateur poetry and haikai circle. According to Shirane haikai is essentially the transformation, parody, and translation of classical language into contemporary vernacular. Primarily, haikai was expressed in haiku, prose, and haikai painting (haiga). See Shirane, 170.
111 Izzard, 21.
112 Ibid., 23.
usually conversing with one or two other figures while perusing a script or applying makeup.\textsuperscript{113} These were highly appealing to fans, especially women, who were strictly forbidden from backstage areas.\textsuperscript{114} Kunisada, taking a cue from Shunshō, also innovated in the realm of actor prints with a series of triptychs showing busy, multileveled backstage areas of Kabuki Theaters in 1812 (Figure 13). Kunisada’s prints show groups of actors reading libretti, rehearsing, talking, and preparing souvenirs for fans among two floors consisting of seven or more rooms. The artist also pioneered the retrospective portrait (Figure 14), which depicted actors in past performances.\textsuperscript{115} Prior to the appearance of Kunisada’s prints, Edo had not witnessed these panoramic backstage scenes or these “greatest hits” of actor portraits. The retrospective print was rather unusual for a market that rallied on the pleasures of the immediate present. The success of his backstage triptychs inspired the publisher Nishimuraya to commission \textit{Stories in Promptbook Form} (\textit{Shōhon-jitate}, 1815-1831). This bound book was written by Ryūtei Tanehiko and illustrated by Kunisada, the same duo that collaborated on \textit{Rustic Genji}.

Kunisada not only designed the dazzling illustrations for \textit{Rustic Genji}, he also created thousands of print designs based on it. He was head of a large studio, and with the aid of his pupils, he produced at least thirty-seven \textit{Rustic Genji} print series between 1835 and 1866, one fan print series, fourteen single-sheet and diptych series, and twenty triptych series, with a grand total of \textit{Rustic Genji} designs ranging in the 700s.\textsuperscript{116} As each print design had an initial run of 1,000 and that \textit{Rustic Genji} was highly successful, Kunisada could easily have designed over one million \textit{Rustic Genji} prints bearing his signature.

\textsuperscript{113} Timothy Clark, and Osamu Ueda, \textit{The Actor’s Image: Print Makers of the Katsukawa School}, (Chicago, IL: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1994), 262.
\textsuperscript{114} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{115} Izzard, 24.
\textsuperscript{116} Marks, 61.
The vast majority of Kunisada’s *Rustic Genji* prints, which I refer to as *Rustic Genji* pictures, were drawn directly, compositionally and figuratively, from images in the bound book itself (Figure 15 and Figure 16). Keep in mind that this was common practice to recycle previous figures, compositions, and motifs in one’s own designs during the late Edo period. No artist would think twice about doing so in a market driven by sales, which often involved the emulation of successful precedents. Plagiarism was not a word in the *ukiyo-e* artist’s or publisher’s vocabulary. To Kunisada’s credit, the artist did add architectural detail, furnishing and tranquil landscape backgrounds, all in vibrant colors, to many of the monochromatic, purely figural compositions from *Rustic Genji*.

One example is *Aoi* (Figure 17) from the series *The Color Print Contest of a Modern Genji* (*Ima Genji nishiki-e awase*, 1852). *Aoi* corresponds with chapter eight in the *Tale of Genji*, in which the famous carriage debacle occurs. In this scene several carriages and their entourages arrive to see the installation ceremonies of the new high priestess of Kamo, and especially the hand-picked, handsome men of court rank chosen to attend the event. Two women, *Aoi*, *Genji’s* pregnant wife, and the *Rokujō Lady*, a woman neglected by *Genji*, vie for position in their carriages to catch a glimpse of the lavishly dressed shining prince. The *Rokujō Lady* obtained a lesser view, and her outraged spirit later attacked *Aoi*. This episode of *Rustic Genji* has a similar plotline, except the drama is heightened. Not only does the equivalent of the *Rokujō Lady*, *Akogi*, lose a decent view of the handsome *Mitsuuiji*, but her carriage is pushed into the forest by the attendants of *Futaba*, his wife and parallel of *Aoi*. Unfortunate *Akogi* breaks decorum by exiting her carriage in hopes of catching a glimpse of the procession.
However, her view is again obstructed by the thick of the trees and throngs of people, and her skirt is soiled in the dirt.

In Kunisada’s Aoi scene one sees Akogi standing in front of a carriage that contains another beauty, Futaba. In the background there is a forest beyond Akogi and Futaba’s carriage, amongst gathering people. Kunisada’s figures and objects diminish in size toward the back of the picture plane. Therefore, he was familiar with Western perspective to a certain degree. Likely, he learned this technique from Toyokuni or from landscape prints of Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849), who completed Western-style landscapes as early as 1800-1805 (Figure 18). Because Akogi is shown in multilayered lavish dress with over a dozen golden pins securing her hair, and wearing high clogs, she is easily identified as a courtesan (Figure 19). This portrayal, a transposition of a lady of the Heian court to a beauty of the pleasure quarters without a doubt is scandalous in the eyes of many scholars of the Tale of Genji and Genji pictures today. However, in the Edo Period, such a depiction would not cause a ruckus among the commoner classes. As I have shown above, in the 1850s classical themes had already been adopted wholesale by the ukiyo-e print market. And in the story of Rustic Genji, Akogi is in fact a courtesan.

Kunisada also produced two series derived directly from the Tale of Genji. One was a series of triptychs produced ca. 1840 to 1844. The other series, Genji Incense Pictures (Genji-kō no zu) (Figure 20), was published from 1844 to 1845. These prints adhere to the iconographic devices of the “dashes for eyes” and “blown-off roof” techniques. Architectural lines and flat, opaque clouds dominate the majority of the scenes. In outdoor or veering-off-

---

117 Ibid.
118 Ibid.
the-veranda type scenes one finds low-lying-hills in addition to indigenous flora. A poem from the corresponding chapter of the *Tale* is written in each print\textsuperscript{119} inside the upper cloud. Characters, cloaked in Heian court attire, are shown in an anonymous manner, but the plain features of attendants are easily distinguishable from that of high-ranked individuals. Although the materials used are not nearly as luxurious, these compositions are similar to those of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Tosa School oeuvre. Kunisada’s series, *Genji Incense Pictures*, thus emulates the iconography of the *Tale of Genji*.

The period of the production of both the *Genji Incense Pictures* and the series of triptychs coincides with the close of the Tenpō Reforms (1830-1844), which explains the choice of a traditional Japanese theme. The Tenpō Reforms were sumptuary laws condemning extravagance. These reforms fixed the maximum price of a print to sixteen *mon* and restricted the maximum number of colors to be used to eight,\textsuperscript{120} when at the time most prints used twelve or more colors. One principal edict of 1842 stipulated that all publications must not contain “heterodox teachings and delusive theories.”\textsuperscript{121} Casting characters of the *Tale* as courtesans was certainly heterodox and delusive to the civic magistrate of the late 1830s and early 1840s, Mizuno Tadakuni (1794-1851). However, because these were the only two series drawn directly from the *Tale* and that Kunisada soon reverted to *Rustic Genji* series, one can conclude that these were not a commercial success.\textsuperscript{122} Thus Kunisada’s market preferred *Rustic Genji* pictures as opposed to the centuries-old iconographic mode. The fact that the artist

\textsuperscript{119} Ibid., 62.
\textsuperscript{120} Markus, *Willow in Autumn*, 183.
\textsuperscript{121} Ibid., 182.
\textsuperscript{122} Marks, 62.
created a series of luxurious hanging scroll paintings\textsuperscript{123} c. 1838-1840 (Figure 21) with striking compositions, shimmering gold, backgrounds and elaborate borders attests to the demand and allure of Kunisada’s *Rustic Genji* pictures during the Tenpō famines and crisis of the mid-1830s. No one skillfully exploited the *Rustic Genji* theme as well as Kunisada.

\[\textsuperscript{123} \text{All reputable ukiyo-e artists also made paintings, which were much more expensive and exclusive than woodblock prints.}\]
Chapter 3: The Intertextuality of *Rustic Genji*

Intertextuality, despite being a twentieth-century term conceived in Europe, anachronistic and alien as it might seem, lends a greatly beneficial device in contextualizing *An Imposter Murasaki and a Rustic Genji* and its images. Julia Kristeva coined the term intertextuality in her groundbreaking work, “Word, Dialogue and Novel” (1986). The notion of intertextuality posits that a text cannot exist as its own hermeneutic entity; therefore it functions not within a closed system. A writer is a reader prior to his or her act of writing, so a work is inevitably shot through with references, quotations, and other influences.

Previous scholars have yet to view *Rustic Genji* media through the concept of intertextuality. *Mitate* is the most convenient and common category under which *Rustic Genji* is placed in western scholarship. *Mitate*, a word that eludes simple translation into English, has been translated as “parody and visual comparisons,” “allusion,” or “metonymic metaphor.” In essence, *mitate* updates a classic theme or story to contemporary fashion, both in image and written text, often with humor. Regardless of definition, through the lens of *mitate*, *Rustic Genji* is easily misconstrued as an updated version of the *Tale of Genji* or a nineteenth-century version of an eleventh-century classic. The term “parody” is defined as a “burlesque” or “poor imitation” that “ridicules a serious work.” Therefore parody asserts that

125 Still and Worton, 4.
126 Shirane, 175.
there are only two entities of discussion, an earlier “serious work,” and a later imitation that pales in quality against the original. Unfortunately, when translating *mitate* from Japanese to English, one can easily make the same assertion that *mitate* too concerns itself with an earlier “serious work,” and a later, lesser quality imitation. Although *mitate* is an effective conceptual tool, in this case, it is not necessarily adequate when applied to *Rustic Genji*. *Rustic Genji* is much more than a mere burlesque of a classic. It is in fact very complex and has an authenticity all its own. I have found that this approach is not open enough to perceive the myriad of influences from various timeframes in any given Edo-Period image or work of fiction. As I will demonstrate below, Ryūtei Tanehiko meant for such influences to be deciphered by contemporary readers of *Rustic Genji*, adding multiple layers of entertainment value through an intertextual web.

In my discussion of intertextuality, I interpret the meaning of “text” as something more comprehensive and dynamic than an authentic piece of writing. For the purposes of this chapter, a text constitutes “anything perceived as a signifying system.”\(^{129}\) A text can be a variety of creations, an image, written text, a performance, or a socio-political context, among other possibilities. In order for intertextual analysis to arise, there must also be the reader and the act of reading. At this moment occurs the “cross fertilization of the packaged textual material,”\(^{130}\) in which the reader brings his or her own interpretations and realizations from having read previous texts, coloring the experience of reading a new text.

---


\(^{130}\) Ibid., 4.
Rustic Genji is rife with overt quotations, references, and influences of previous textual sources, such as the Tale of Genji, the written texts of playwright Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653-1725), the Nō Theater, and the Kabuki Theater. In the preface to chapter two, Tanehiko states: “I took up the cart of the ‘Aoi’ chapter. A picture book, combining kabuki, puppet plays, and monogatari romance – all three together in one.” By monogatari, Tanehiko is referring to the Tale of Genji (Genji monogatari). Therefore, the author unabashedly touts three of his main sources in creating Rustic Genji.

One familiar with ukiyo during the nineteenth century would have a dynamic, intertextual experience upon reading Rustic Genji while perusing its illustrations. This chapter will explore the potentialities of such an intertextual experience by identifying and defining the most prominent “intertexts” in Rustic Genji. My discussion will focus on chapter five, because it boldly demonstrates some of the most poignant intertexts in the entire story, the Tale of Genji, playwright Chikamatsu Monzaemon’s devices of the travel scene (michiyuki) and double love suicide (shinjū), Nō Theater, and Kabuki Theater.

The main readership of Rustic Genji probably consisted of the chōnin, who frequented the two poles of ukiyo, the Kabuki Theater and the Yoshiwara. Surely, the townsmen had familiarity with all of the main sources of inspiration for Rustic Genji and its imagery because of their familiarity with ukiyo and the widespread distribution of the Tale of Genji. Chikamatsu’s plays, although written mostly for the puppet theater, were also adopted in the realm of Kabuki. Theater attendees during the first half of the nineteenth century knew actor portraits

---

131 Markus, Willow in Autumn, 135.
by Utagawa Kuniyoshi, for he was the most prominent print designer of actor prints at the time. The earlier collaboration of Tanehiko and Kuniyoshi on Stories in Promptbook Form (Shōhon-jitate), which centered on the kabuki audience’s experience, was a successful venture, captivating readers for over a decade.\footnote{133} Edo culture had already been fully infiltrated by the Tale of Genji in both written word and image.\footnote{134} The townspeople of early nineteenth-century Edo must have truly reveled in experiencing Rustic Genji.

I examine chapter five of Rustic Genji because no scholar has emphasized all of its intertextual complexities or its overt reference to Nō Theater. All forty-two chapters of Rustic Genji contain explicit references to Kabuki, Chikamatsu’s written plays, and the Tale of Genji, as well as the pleasure quarters. However, the early chapters solidified the reader’s fanfare with its emphasis on high-action Kabuki drama. Mitsuuj’s adventure in chapter five draws from and adds to chapter four of the Tale, Yūgao. In Yūgao, Genji becomes enchanted with a delicate lady far below his rank, but cannot resist calling on her. This illicit affair ends tragically. Genji steals away Yūgao to an isolated abode in the countryside. She becomes possessed by an evil spirit, which, despite incantations and attempts to draw the spirit into a medium, takes her life. It seems the evil spirit was that of the jealous Rokujō Lady, a woman of high rank left neglected by the shining prince. Genji, who became so infatuated with Yūgao, struggles to let her go. He becomes emaciated and ill.

In Rustic Genji, one finds many immediate parallels of the Yūgao chapter as well as distinct differences. Mitsuuj’s clues as to the theft of a family heirloom, the treasure sword Kogarasumaru, lead him to the home of Shinonome and her daughter Tasogare, who serves as

\footnote{133} Mentioned in chapter 2. See Markus, Willow in Autumn, 72.  
\footnote{134} See chapter 2.
an analogue of Yūgao. In this case, Mitsuuji’s wife, Futaba, parallels the Rokujō Lady. Mitsuuji and Tasogare escape the pursuit of Shinonome in a romantic flight to an abandoned temple. Therein, an apparition of a woman, the jealous spirit of Mitsuuji’s wife, Futaba, appears before Tasogare, who becomes terrified and collapses. This is quite similar to how the episode occurs in the *Tale*. However, Mitsuuji makes light work of this life-threatening situation by sprinkling some tea leaves over Tasogare’s face. Tasogare gradually wakes up, seemingly unharmed by this brief threat. Yet another demoness appears and attacks Mitsuuji, Shinonome in disguise. After Tasogare defends Mitsuuji from her mother’s attacks, Mitsuuji and his retainer Nikki Kiyonosuke subdue Shinonome. In the end, after criminal motives are divulged and additional clues revealed, the guilt-stricken duo of Shinonome and Tasogare die committing suicide.

**The Nō Theater**

Chapter five of *Rustic Genji* makes overt reference to the stately *Nō* Theater. The *Nō* is attended heavily by the shogun, feudal lords, and other high ranking samurai. Onstage, actors usually wear wooden masks and move in slow, deliberate steps. These main players are accompanied by a chanter, a chorus, percussionists and a flute player. Performances of *Lady Aoi* (*Aoi no ue*) date back to the age of the Zeami Motokiyo (1363-1443), the master playwright and founding father of the *Nō*. In any given play, the only main player is the *shite*, who is usually the personification of an intense emotion, such as the bitter jealousy of Lady Rokujō.

---

The shite is always accompanied by a waki, or “person at side,”\textsuperscript{137} who is usually an itinerant monk en route to visit a shrine. The waki serves a subordinate role to the shite, often posing questions of which the audience would like answered.\textsuperscript{138}

In chapter five of \textit{Rustic Genji} I have found a clear connection to the Nō Theater, specifically, the play \textit{Lady Aoi}. Shinonome actively plays the role of Lady Rokujo’s malign spirit, going as far as wearing a wooden mask and tossing her hair into total disarray (Figure 22). However, the villain Shinonome is not the only “Nō” actor in this case. Mitsuuiji’s retainer Nikki Kiyonosuke arrives soon after Shinonome’s act, and he happens to be disguised as an itinerant monk as he carries a wooden rosary. The connection is clear; Shinonome and Nikki Kiyonosuke are the shite and waki of this stage. Shinonome makes Buddhist references that sound as if paraphrased directly from the play \textit{Aoi no ue}, such as: “Retribution in this world is like the revolving wheel of the small oxcart.”\textsuperscript{139} The script of the play \textit{Aoi no ue} contains similar statements: “Like the wheels of an ox-drawn carriage the wretched world goes round and round in retribution.”\textsuperscript{140} Both refer to the Buddhist cycle of rebirth. The statements above are echoed by the depiction of a carriage wheel on the screen behind Mitsuuiji and Shinonome. In \textit{Aoi no ue} the malign spirit is defeated by the efforts of the waki, which involve incantations and the rubbing of wooden beads. In \textit{Rustic Genji} both the evil spirit and Shinonome as evil spirit are defeated by Mitsuuiji’s cunning strategies and quick wit along with the physical aid of Nikki Kiyonosuke.

\textsuperscript{137} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{138} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{139} Donald M. Richardson and Teruo Tanaka, \textit{The Rustic Genji of a Bogus Murasaki by Ryūtei Tanehiko Illustrated by Utagawa Kunisada} (Winchester, VA: Donald M. Richardson, 1985), 157.
\textsuperscript{140} Goff, 134.
Tanehiko has clearly borrowed aspects from the *Nō* Theater’s *Lady Aoi* and transformed them, going from slow-moving, deliberate and stately to fast-paced Kabuki drama. It is likely that Tanehiko and Kunisada had familiarity with the *Nō* plays either through their adaptation in Kabuki, learning the *Nō* chant, written libretti, which were reproduced and available, or through *Nō* performances in Edo. Two major *Nō* benefit performances (1816 and 1831) took place in the first half of the nineteenth century, and each lasted fifteen days. Both Kunisada and Tanehiko could have attended these benefit *Nō*, which had become commercial ventures in that their producers and performers profited. Tanehiko may have poked a satirical finger at these benefit *Nō* via Shinonome’s role as the villainous *Nō* player and profiteer in *Rustic Genji*.

**Playwright Chikamatsu Monzaemon’s Written Texts**

One of Tanehiko’s greatest intertexts was the written plays of Chikamatsu Monzaemon. It is likely that Tanehiko felt Chikamatsu’s influence through its adoption in Kabuki or by reading reproduced libretti. Tanehiko probably never witnessed a staged puppet play, for these primarily took place in Osaka in Western Japan. Nonetheless, many of the typical devices of Chikamatsu’s libretti are easily discernible in *Rustic Genji*; and Kunisada gave them a fresh appearance in his illustrations. The most poignant example is the *michiyuki*, a travel scene or dance of two tragic lovers en route to their fate, which in Chikamatsu’s libretti leads to a double love suicide.  

---

142 Ibid., 232.
143 Ibid.
144 Gerstle, 242.
One of the most moving and enduring of Chikamatsu’s plays is *The Love Suicides at Sonezaki* (*Sonezaki shinjū*), first performed in 1703. The story centers on a shopkeeper, Tokubei, and his lover, Ohatsu, a prostitute of the Shimabara pleasure quarters in Kyoto. Chikamatsu, like Tanehiko, was of samurai lineage. It is no surprise, therefore, that one finds emphases of values such as loyalty, devotion, self-sacrifice, and honor in his work. However, another set of values finds preeminence in Chikamatsu’s plays: responsibility and prudence (*giri*), and human desire (*ninjō*). 145

Ill-fated Tokubei, after refusing a marriage arranged by his master, is duped out of the dowry money which he was in the process of returning. The two lovers resolve to travel to the Sonezaki Shrine to take their own lives. This scene is the travel scene (*michiyuki*). This solution, although unfortunate, is the only one that upholds both prudence and human desire. The travel scene was always the highlight of Chikamatsu’s many double love suicide plays. His plays of this type were so numerous and popular that they constituted a genre (*shinjūmono*). The travel scene is the peak of anticipation between the two tragic lovers represented in a dance. It was also a tour de force of its star players – the puppeteer, chanter, and playwright in the puppet theater as well as the main actors of a Kabuki performance. The talents of these star players were used to lessen the heartrending feel of the double love suicide by making it, via the travel scene, as beautiful as possible.

In the travel scene of *The Love Suicides at Sonezaki*, Tokubei and Ohatsu walk a weathered, frost-bitten road amidst grasses, thick woods, a cloud-veiled moon, and waters, sharing eternal vows of love. Yet the promise of love persists in their current life and those to

145 Ibid.
follow. Eager to meet again in a new life, free of social boundaries and worldly obligations, Buddhist overtones predominate. Ohatsu remarks:

To the gods and to the Buddha, I here and now
Direct to the future: in the world to come
May we be reborn on the same lotus!  

In flashes of light the tragic lovers witness the ghosts of other lovers who have preceded them in love suicide. The lovers bind themselves to a tree trunk, and despite tear-clouded eyes, utter anguish, and shaking hands, they find their unfortunate resolution together. Tokubei averted the shame of not remunerating his debt, which was due the next day. Rather than accepting a proposed marriage to one he does not love, Tokubei stayed true to Ohatsu. Tragic and beautiful, both responsibility and human desire have been kept.

Mitsuuji and Tasogare’s flight in Rustic Genji contains explicit reference to the travel scene with much similarity to that in The Love Suicides at Sonezaki. Mitsuuji had broken through a rear wall of Tasogare’s hapless residence and wrapped themselves together in a slatted screen. Then they traveled a solitary path across rice fields, treading on pine twigs to an ancient temple in the moors beneath a cloud-veiled moon (Figure 23). A sudden shower falls while the two walk past a statue of a bodhisattva. Mitsuuji removes a basket hat from the statue’s head and uses it as an umbrella for himself and Tasogare. On the hat is written: “marital tranquility, two traveling companions,” an unmistakable reference to the plot device of the travel scene. Mitsuuji and Tasogare not only play their role of traveling lovers, they also shelter themselves under its hat. Tanehiko has unabashedly paraphrased Chikamatsu, and he does not hesitate to take it a step further. Upon their arrival, Mitsuuji, while calling to see if

146 Shirane, 256.
147 Richardson and Tanonaka, 149.
anyone is present, exclaims: “I am a townsman from Muromachi. I am being sought for debt and left home this evening.” Such claims are the common plight of the male protagonists of Chikamatsu’s double love suicide plays.

Tanehiko adds his own twist to the travel scene, however. Of course, Mitsuuji, the hero of *Rustic Genji*, cannot part as early as chapter five. During the final confrontation with the villainous Shinonome in the ancient temple, Tasogare defends Mitsuuji with the basket hat of “traveling companions” (Figure 24). Once subdued, Shinonome cuts her own throat, but before passing she divulges that her lineage pitted her against Mitsuuji and the Ashikaga shogunate and that she stole the treasure sword in exchange for gold from Ashikaga arch rival, Yamana Sozen. Confronted with loyalty to her mother and love of Mitsuuji, Tasogare also commits suicide. Therefore, instead of the tragic lover’s suicide, Tanehiko inserts the double suicide of mother and daughter. Yet Mitsuuji adds vows of marital tranquility and assurance of his loving companionship to Tasogare in future lives. Mitsuuji stayed true to his motive of finding clues to the lost treasure sword while Tasogare’s suicide kept her honor. However, the two could not overcome their desire for each other. Much like *The Love Suicides at Sonezaki*, both Mitsuuji and Tasogare uphold the principles of responsibility and human desire.

**The Kabuki Theater**

*Rustic Genji* also finds direct influence from Kabuki Theater. From its early seventeenth-century inception in Japan, Kabuki has always been partnered with sexuality, whether by showcasing beautiful actors or being the counterpart of licensed pleasure quarters. Kabuki was

---

148 Ibid., 150.
attended heavily by the townsmen and, in moderate disguise, the samurai. It drew flocks of patrons with its skilled and attractive actors who honed a particular acting style through family lineage. In the early nineteenth century, the playwright Tsuruya Nanboku IV (1755-1829) introduced a new style of Kabuki, focusing on the vulgar side of life. Common elements of Nanboku’s plays are theft, murder, extortion, and corrupt samurai, many of the same elements Tanehiko employed in *Rustic Genji*.

On many levels *Rustic Genji* acts like a Kabuki picture book. In *Rustic Genji*, Mitsuuiji’s goal is to ensure the succession of the Ashikaga shogunate. Indirectly, this goal ensures the maintenance of order, echoing Confucian ideals. The insurance of societal order in a Confucian world is also the goal of the protagonists in many popular Kabuki plays, such as those of *Soga Brother’s Revenge (Sukeroku)*, which was first staged 1713. Both *Rustic Genji* and *Soga Brother’s Revenge*, along with many other Kabuki plays, share the common plot device of retrieving a lost family heirloom, a treasure sword. It is no surprise that similar motivations and plot devices of Kabuki occur in *Rustic Genji*.

I have found that one of the two distinct Kabuki acting styles, which came to fruition during the early eighteenth century, is clearly noticeable in Mitsuuiji’s role of philanderer and lover. This style is called “soft style” (*wagoto*) and is described as romantic, gentle, and utterly endearing. The situation of the soft style character has been described by Haruo Shirane as “a townsman falls in love with a courtesan or prostitute, is disowned, and falls into difficult

---

149 Shively, 196.
straits.” This is certainly the case with Chikamatsu’s Love Suicides at Sonezaki, and its adaptation in Rustic Genji. In his romantic pursuits and sharing of sentiments, as evident in his episode with Tasogare, Mitsuji falls into a soft-style role. Utagawa Kuniyada’s Rustic Genji pictures depicting Mitsuji showcase his elegant stature and relaxed pose (Figures 16, 24, and 25). Mitsuji’s soft-style pose is similar to the depiction of an earlier soft-style actor, Ichikawa Yaozō (active mid-eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries) in the role of our ill-fated shopkeeper, Tokubei, from Love Suicides at Sonezaki (Figure 26). Not only does one find the typical plot devices of Kabuki plays in Rustic Genji; here, one also sees Mitsuji portrayed in a specific Kabuki acting style. Kabuki Theater, specifically the soft style, plays a prominent role in Rustic Genji.

Furthermore, Ryūtei Tanehiko clearly indicates the tone of the early chapters of Rustic Genji: playful Kabuki drama. In the preface to chapter two, Tanehiko states: “So now, after the opening act comes the new play and main attraction. ‘Tis the pantomime play, in silence, in silence!” Here, he refers to a pantomime scene in which two maidservants, Sugibae and Shiraito, tussle back and forth over an item to give as a gift to their lord, Yoshimasa. Pantomime scenes in which two characters vie back and forth for possession of an item took place in many Kabuki plays.

Tanehiko repeats statements having to do with stage performances, such as the “opening act,” “new play,” “main attraction,” and “what goes on backstage,” in his early chapter prefaces. Such items are reminiscent of Tanehiko and Kunisada’s collaboration on

---

151 Shirane, 236.
152 Markus, Willow in Autumn, 135.
153 Arendie and Henk Herwig, 49.
Stories in Promptbook Form and possibly Kunisada’s triptychs of backstage areas. Tanehiko clearly communicates that in the early chapters of Rustic Genji that he is not so much interested in the courtly aesthetics of the Tale; rather, he aimed to provide spectacular entertainment by employing Kabuki dramatics.

The Tale of Genji

The most obvious intertext of Rustic Genji is of course the familiar Heian classic, the Tale of Genji. Tanehiko transposed the words, poems, and characters of the Tale for the thousands who constantly read bound books. The transference of the Tale, the peak of courtly elegance, into a medium of popular fiction posed a great challenge for Tanehiko. Should he try to edify the reader by precise transposition of the story and mood of Tale? Should he strive to entertain the reader with catchphrases of the Yoshiwara and theatrical entertainment? Tanehiko decided to bisect these two stylistic antipodes in an effort to captivate a broader audience. The pace of the Heian classic was far too slow for a market that was accustomed to the action-filled plots and swift consequences of Kabuki. Therefore, Tanehiko strategically abridged or left out certain sections of the Tale and inserted theft, assassination attempts, plots against the Ashikaga, abductions, and suicides, the stuff of Kabuki, while being faithful to the basic storyline and mood. In the preface to chapter ten, Tanehiko made explicit reference to mixing theatrical devices of Kabuki with the original storyline and mood of the Tale. In an anecdote, he mentioned two bathhouse attendants: one prefers “hot bath water,” while the other prefers

154 Markus, Willow in Autumn, 139.
“lukewarm bath water.”\textsuperscript{155} Metaphorically, the attendant who prefers “hot bath water” prefers that Tanehiko stay faithful to the original text and plotline of the \textit{Tale} while the latter prefers the infusion of “cold water” elements of Kabuki, resulting in “lukewarm bath water.”\textsuperscript{156} Tanehiko did not clarify exactly why he uses the terms “hot water” and “cold water” to define the original story and text of the \textit{Tale} and elements of kabuki respectfully. However, he hinted that “hot water” elements may be a bit difficult or dry to read. Tanehiko also describes a publisher as similar to a bathhouse attendant, stating “the larger the clientele the better, no matter what means may be necessary to the end.”\textsuperscript{157} Moreover, Tanehiko’s goal was to captivate as many readers as possible, infusing “cold water” or “hot water” elements into the storyline as necessary. By doing so, he secured a large market of buyers for later chapters.

The \textit{Tale of Genji} portrays a sorrowful world in which Genji’s emotional prowess is best expressed in his ability to recognize beauty and its impermanence. The driving force of the \textit{Tale} can best be described by the phrase “the pathos of things” (\textit{mono no aware}), coined by Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801) in his many commentaries of the \textit{Tale}, such as \textit{The Essentials of the Tale of Genji} (\textit{Shibun yōryō}, 1763) and the \textit{Tale of Genji, A Jeweled Comb} (\textit{Genji monogatari tama no ogushi}, 1799).\textsuperscript{158} Norinaga had a large following and his writings were well received. Therefore, “the pathos of things” was probably a familiar concept among well-educated nineteenth-century readers in Edo. In line with Confucian morality, Tanehiko’s audience demanded a rigid separation of good and evil, which cannot coexist peacefully, just like the

\textsuperscript{155} Ibid., 142.
\textsuperscript{156} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{157} Ibid., 143.
audience of the Kabuki Theater.\textsuperscript{159} Instead of adopting Genji’s countless pursuits of cloistered women as bittersweet and impermanent in a melancholic world, Mitsuuji’s motivation is the perpetuation of the Ashikaga shogunate. It seems that the concept of “the pathos of things” has been replaced with Confucian ethics. Therefore, Mitsuuji’s goal is the maintenance of order and benevolence in an optimistic world, and his willingness to tarnish his reputation as a philanderer is commendable in the overall scheme of \textit{Rustic Genji}.\textsuperscript{160}

\textbf{An Intertextual Web}

In the context of the \textit{ukiyo-e} print market during the Tenpō Reforms (1830-1844), which enforced the fixation of print prices, artists and authors must have been under constant pressure from publishers to create new material for sale. It is likely that anything completely unfamiliar to readers and print buyers would take valuable time to become popular. Therefore, the best solution to these problems was to use familiar subject matter and emulate successful precedents. Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada did just that in their collaboration on \textit{Rustic Genji}, and Kunisada’s many dazzling prints based on the bound book furthered these premises of exploiting familiar, successful ventures – a market-driven, intertextual approach. The pages of \textit{Rustic Genji} abound with identifiable intertexts and most certainly contain many others. \textit{Rustic Genji} and \textit{Rustic Genji} pictures are not static, uncited quotations of the copyist, but vibrant creations that permitted the reader an exciting, intertextual experience.

The world of Edo entertainment was inextricably intertwined. Elements of the \textit{Nō} drama, along with those of Chikamatsu’s libretti found their way onto the Kabuki stage and the

\textsuperscript{159} Markus, \textit{Willow in Autumn}, 141.
\textsuperscript{160} Ibid., 205.
pages of bound books. Tanehiko freely added elements of Nō, Kabuki, and Chikamatsu’s libretti to the pages of *Rustic Genji* via his own writing and Kunisada’s images; fans could recall parts of the story and realize bold intertextual elements. It is no surprise that in 1851, two highly successful Kabuki plays based on *Rustic Genji, Bound Text of Cherry Blossoms at Higashiyama* (*Higashiyama sakura sōshi*) and *Samples of Kimono for Young Women with Genji Motifs* (*Genji moyō furisode hinagata*), occurred, adding another layer to the deep intertextual web of *Rustic Genji*.

---

161 Kondo, 78.
Conclusion

_The Tale of Genji_ is still maintained by painters employing the centuries-old iconographic mode; it was upheld by the courtly painters of the Tosa, and it was eagerly employed by woodblock print designers, authors, and publishers during the Edo Period. The first two chapters of this thesis addressed the crux of scholarly differences in regards to depicting _The Tale of Genji_: the same subject matter depicted in national treasures of Japan was, for the first time, depicted in the same format as _ukiyo-e_. And it went even farther than that, as characters from the _Tale_ were sometimes recast in erotic prints. Of course, many twentieth-century scholars were/are disturbed that the subject of _The Tale of Genji_ has been depicted in such formats. Nonetheless, contemporary buyers did not flinch when purchasing woodblock-printed synopses, recensions, and erotic prints having the Genji theme of the Edo Period.

I have demonstrated that _An Imposter Murasaki and a Rustic Genji_ and _Rustic Genji_ pictures are much more than mere _mitate_, or burlesques of _The Tale of Genji_. Because of its intricate intertextual appeal and unprecedented number of readers, _Rustic Genji_ truly stands alone. In its original context of nineteenth-century Edo, _Rustic Genji_ was its own culture, and Mitsuuiji its icon. Likely, if nineteenth-century readers knew about Genji, it was via Mitsuuiji’s various pursuits posing as a playboy in the pleasure quarters. The longstanding success of Mitsuuiji is comparable to that of any famed Kabuki actor of the Edo period, and surely, fanfare for the star was also comparable. Print buyers had an insatiable lust for his images just as they did for Ichikawa Danjūrō VII. However, Mitsuuiji came to publishers with no salary requirement and no copyright fees -- the ideal star for woodblock print publishers.
*Rustic Genji* and *Rustic Genji* pictures deserve their own place in scholarship aside from what can be best described as looming in the shadows of *The Tale of Genji* and Genji pictures.

No other author of fiction or print designer during the Edo period successfully capitalized on the public’s familiarity with various stories, images, and modes of performance to the extent that Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada did. When viewed in context, *Rustic Genji* and *Rustic Genji* pictures are truly entertaining and valuable cultural texts.
Figure 1

Artist unknown, “The Eastern Cottage” (Azumaya) from the “Illustrated Picture Scrolls of the Tale of Genji” (Genji monogatari emaki), early twelfth century. Paint, ink, gold and silver on paper. 8” x 1’ 3”. Tokugawa Art Museum, Nagoya, Aichi prefecture, Japan.
Artist unknown, detail of Genji from “The Oak Tree” (*Kashiwagi*) chapter of “Illustrated Picture Scrolls of the *Tale of Genji*” (*Genji monogatari emaki*), early twelfth century. Paint, ink, gold, and silver on paper. 8" x 1’ 3”. Tokugawa Art Museum, Nagoya, Aichi prefecture, Japan.

Figure 2

Tosa School, possibly Tosa Mitsuoki (1617-1691), “Lavender” (Wakamurasaki), seventeenth century. Paint, ink, and gold on paper. Shikishi, 6” x 5”. The Mary Griggs Burke Collection.
Figure 3

Figure 4

Hishikawa Moronobu (d.1694), “Lavender” (Wakamurasaki) and “The Safflower” (Suetsumuhana) from Picture Book of the Tale of Genji (Genji Yamato-e kagami), 1685.

Figure 5

Tosa School, possibly Tosa Mitsuoki, “The Safflower” (Suetsumuhana), seventeenth century. Paint, ink, and gold on paper. Shikishi, 6” x 5”. The Mary Griggs Burke Collection.
Hishikawa Moronobu, A Young Man Dallying with a Courtesan from an untitled series of 12 erotic prints, c. 1680. Woodblock print, sumizuri-e, ink on paper. Horizontal ōban, 10.25” x 14.5”. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
Okumura Masanobu (1686-1764), “A Parody of the Ukifune Chapter of the Tale of Genji” (Genji Ukifune), 1740. Woodblock print, beni-e, ink on paper with hand-applied color. Horizontal ōban, 13” x 18”. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
Figure 14

Utagawa Kuniyoshi, “Ichikawa Danjūrō VII as Sugawara Michizane,” 1814. Woodblock print (nishiki-e), ink and color on paper. Dimensions unknown. Private Collection.
Utagawa Kunisada and Ryūtei Tanehiko (1783-1842), *Scene of Muraogi and Karaginu Playing Go* from chapter four of *An Imposter Murasaki and a Rustic Genji (Nise Murasaki Inaka Genji)*, published by Senkakudō, 1829-1841. Woodblock printed book, ink on paper. Roughly 7” x 5”.

Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan.
Figure 17

Figure 20

Utagawa Kunisada, “Lavendar” (Wakumasasaki) from the series Genji Incense Pictures (Genji kō no zu), 1843-1847. Ink and color on paper. Vertical chūban, 7” x 10”. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
Utagawa Kunisada, “Spring Scene: Parody of the Tale of Genji” (Nise murasaki inaka genji zu), 1839. Hanging scroll, ink, and color on silk. 27.5” x 17”. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
Figure 22

Figure 23

Figure 25

Kitao Shigemasa (1739-1820), *Actors Segawa Kikunōjō as Tenmaya Ohatsu and Ichikawa Yaozō as Hiranoya Tokubei*, mid-late eighteenth century. Ink and limited color on paper (*benizuri-e*). *Hosobon*, 12” x 5.5”. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
Bibliography

Boles, Pamela and Stephen Adiss. “Hiroshige’s Tōkaidō Prints in the Context of Yamato-e, the Traditional Painting of Japan,” Tokaido: Adventures on the Road in Old Japan (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas, Spencer Museum of Art, 1980), 75.


