

# Telling Secrets: *Mumyōzōshi*, Abutsu, and the Transmission of Literary Expertise by Women

Christian Ratcliff

## 【概要】

鎌倉時代の男性歌人は和歌の知識、あるいはそれに関連した知識を保存し伝えるために、歌論・歌学書・註釈書などの書物に書き下ろした。こういう知識は宮廷で奉仕する女性も無論もっていて、保存して伝える必要もあったが、書き下ろした例は少ない。『無名草子』や飛鳥井雅有の『嵯峨の通ひ路』などを参考にしながら、阿仏尼をその例として女性の口頭伝達の伝統をたどって考察する。

How did women preserve and transmit literary knowledge in late-Heian and Kamakura Period Japan?

We have a good idea of how men did it. In poetics, they wrote texts that are most often called treatises in Western scholarship, works in a wide variety of formats that are referred to in modern Japanese scholarship as *karon* 歌論, or *kagakusho* 歌学書. These usually describe both desirable and undesirable features of composition, and present examples of good and poor poems.

In addition to *karon* and *kagakusho*, a poet might write out his or her efforts and send them to some influential person (most often a senior poet), to have them judged and the good poems marked, the marks in this case being known as *gatten* 合点. We can think of the texts that preserve these marks, or those that present collections of poems approved in this way, as *kagakusho* of a kind, inasmuch as they record and transmit ideas about correct practice.

Similarly, in texts that record poetry competitions, or *utaawase* 歌合, we often find written judgments of individual poems, known

as *hanshi* 判詞. Many of these are of considerable length, with precise explanations of both the positive and negative qualities of the poems under review, and are thus important to our understanding of the criteria used to judge poetic excellence at the time the poetry contest was convened<sup>1</sup>. These then join the relatively large and varied corpus of texts produced by men that in some way indicate which poems were thought good, which were not, and to a more limited degree describe why<sup>2</sup>.

In addition to these examples of overt judgments of poetry, there are also the imperially commissioned anthologies, or *chokusenshū* 勅撰集, which should be recognized as *kagakusho* of a sort, inasmuch as they served as massive sanctioned compendiums of exemplary poems. Certainly they were utilized in this way by poets. The men asked to compile these anthologies are also, then, producers of *kagakusho*, invited to codify their poetic knowledge — their recognized ability to select worthy

- 
- 1 Often a single senior poet, regarded as particularly capable, would be responsible for providing these judgments, either at the time of the event or at some later date. It was also common for the assembled poets to as a group criticize the poems (*shūgihan* 衆議判), in which case what was written down was a distillation of the discussion that had taken place.
  - 2 It was not the case, however, that any reasonably talented male poet could write up a treatise on poetry, or provide *gatten* or *hanshi*. Rather, such adjudications were solicited from or independently produced by a limited number of men (usually senior poets) who were recognized as arbiters of poetic production, through combinations of personal achievement, literary lineage or familial prestige. On this point, please see Ratcliff 2007, Chapter 2. A noteworthy exception here is the case of *gatten*, which might be solicited from a particularly prestigious person, such as a sitting or retired emperor, despite the fact that they might be quite young or inexperienced in poetic composition. An example here is Emperor Fushimi 伏見天皇 (1265–1317), who was often asked for *gatten* even when he was quite young. We see this in Asukai Masaari's 飛鳥井雅有 (1241–1301) personal anthology *Rinjo wakashū* 隣女和歌集: it contains 63 poems marked in red with *gatten* by Fushimi sometime at the end of 1293 (18 verses selected from the 186 verses contained in the first book of the anthology, 45 from the 703 in the second book). See Nakagawa 2001, p. 798 for these details. At this time Fushimi would have been twenty-three, and Masaari's distant junior in terms both of age and of poetic experience.

examples from among a mass of poetry that represented the accumulated efforts of generations of poets — in textual form.

Men's poetic knowledge, transformed into text in these ways, circulated in more or less restricted fashion<sup>3</sup>. Women, we know, were by no means excluded from this textual economy of poetic knowledge, but, barring a few interesting exceptions, they took part only in the solicitation and the reception of men's poetic expertise, not in the production of the sorts of texts under discussion here. Women's poetry anthologies, or their poem sequences, could be submitted for judgment and receive *gatten*, but we have no examples of women providing such marks<sup>4</sup>. Women who participated in adjudicated *utaawase* would receive the same sorts of judgments as their male counterparts, but women did not serve as judges themselves<sup>5</sup>. Women's poems were of course eligible for inclusion in imperially commissioned anthologies, but no woman ever served as compiler<sup>6</sup>. Women's

---

3 Texts concerned with proper poetic composition were often kept secret by individuals and families whose success within courtly structures of advancement depended in part upon recognition of poetic mastery. On this point, please see Ratcliff 2007, especially Chapters 2 and 3.

4 The provision and reception of *gatten* is difficult to trace, and there may be examples of such judgments being requested of women about which I am not aware. If they exist, they are very rare. Searches can sometimes produce tantalizing results, such as several headnotes (*kotobagaki* 詞書) in Anegakōji Mototsuna's 姉小路基綱 (1441–1504) two poetry anthologies, *Hikaishū* 卑壤集 and *Mototsuna shū* 基綱集, that refer to *gatten* received from someone referred to as “*jugō*” 准后. While at first this may seem to refer to a woman, it is in fact a court rank usually given as a sinecure to prominent men, and the person in question is likely either Konoe Masaie 近衛政家 (1444–1505) or Kujō Masamoto 九条政基 (1445–1516).

5 For example, among the 466 *utaawase* treated in Hagitani Boku's massive *Heianchō utaawase taisei* (Hagitani 1995–1996) there is not a single example of a woman providing *han* of any kind, even at the many events sponsored and attended solely by women. Later periods similarly provide no examples. However, it must also be noted that at events where poems were judged by the participants as a group (the *shūgihan* mentioned above in note 1), there is no reason to believe that women were excluded from the discussion, and so we can suggest that some degree of their expertise may be reflected in judgments of this kind.

poems were often chosen to illustrate points — both positive and negative — raised in *karon*, and women also made up a significant part of the readership of such texts, a fact we know from several sources<sup>7</sup>. But with only a few exceptions these were not the methods by which women of acknowledged poetic gifts preserved and transmitted their own poetic expertise<sup>8</sup>.

Once familiar with the surviving textual record, we come not to expect *karon* written by women. We do not expect to find *gatten* applied by women, nor *utaawase* judgments from them. They seem not to have participated in the transmission of literary expertise in these ways, ways that as a result have come to seem very male-specific. The reasons why they did not are unclear, but whether directly prohibited or culturally discouraged from doing so, it remains that the production of explicitly instructional poetic commentary as text was not something that women did.

As mentioned, there are exceptions to this rule, although none to my knowledge of *gatten* or *hanshi*. However, three texts recognized in modern scholarship as *karon* were written by women. The first is among the oldest of all: the mid- to late-ninth century *Waka shiki* 和歌式 (also *Hikohime shiki* 孫姫式), by an author identified only as Princess Hiko (Hiko hime 孫姫), whose precise identity was by the late-Heian Period unknown<sup>9</sup>. Although

---

6 If we can ascribe the sentiments found in *Mumyōzōshi* 無名草紙 (a text that will be taken up again below) to Shunzei-kyō no musume 俊成卿女 (ca. 1171–ca. 1252), its probable author, we can say that she at least regretted the fact that no woman had ever been asked to compile an imperially commissioned anthology, and wished that such glorious opportunities had been open to members of her sex. See Higuchi and Kuboki 1999, p. 262.

7 Just to give two examples pertinent to this paper, Abutsu 阿仏 (?–1283), who will be considered in detail below, discusses the importance of reading *karon* in two texts, *Yoru no tsuru* 夜の鶴 and *Niwa no oshie* 庭の訓.

8 However, it must be said that women did, as manuscript copyists, do a great deal to preserve and transmit poetic texts, including things like *karon* written by men.

9 By the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century she was thought perhaps to have been a Sugawara daughter (in the 1166 *Waka genzaisho mokuroku* 和歌現在書目録 there is a note [菅 歟] that suggests this). In the late-Kamakura Period she was con-

it is unclear just who she may have been, her gender has never been questioned, either in pre-modern sources or in modern scholarship.

The second example is in truth a letter, not a treatise as such. Written by Shunzei-kyō no musume 俊成卿女 (ca. 1171-?) and sent to Fujiwara no Tameie 藤原為家 (1198-1275), probably in 1252, the *Koshibe-no-zenni shōsoku* 越部禅尼消息 contains a detailed judgment of the merits of all imperially sponsored anthologies that had been compiled by that time. The letter was occasioned by Shunzei-kyō no musume's reading of the recently-completed *Shokugosen wakashū* 続後撰和歌集, a copy of which Tameie — its compiler — had sent<sup>10</sup>. We may assume, I think, that Tameie had in some form solicited Shunzei-kyō no musume's opinion, and that the letter was her response. Although a letter, and a brief one, this text is recognized as a *karon*, and in truth other *karon* take the form of correspondence, Fujiwara no Teika's 藤原定家 (1162-1241) *Maigetsushō* 毎月抄 being a well-known example.

The third exception, and the only women's *karon* that can be said to have both circulated widely and been truly influential, is *Yoru no tsuru* 夜の鶴, a work of considerable length written by Abutsu 阿仏 (?-1283) in 1280, when she was staying in Kamakura. Although later important as a vehicle for the communication of Abutsu's poetic knowledge to her own children, the work is thought to have been originally solicited by the young wife of the seventh Shogun, Prince Koreyasu 惟康親王 (1264-1326)<sup>11</sup>.

These are then the extant examples of women explicitly using

---

fused, probably willfully, with the much-earlier Princess Sotoori (Sotoori hime 衣通姫), often identified as one of the three patron gods of poetry (*waka sanshin* 和歌三神). See Sasaki 1956-1965, v. 1.

10 This letter is included in Morimoto 1966 and Sasaki 1956-1965, v. 3. Commentary on the work is included in both of these studies.

11 For the text of this work, as well as an introductory study, see Morimoto 1979.

textual forms for the transmission of their poetic expertise, or more, these are the examples discussed in such ways in modern scholarship<sup>12</sup>. There are other texts, however, which have served to transmit women's poetic knowledge, although this has not been thought of as their primary — or even secondary — function. Certainly *The Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari* 源氏物語) came to serve as a text important to poetic instruction from the late-Heian Period onwards. The reason for the exalted position of the work from this time was not primarily due to the entertainment it offered as a fictional tale, but rather because poets found in it invaluable examples of poetic composition and poetic sensibility. For Fujiwara no Shunzei 藤原俊成 (1114–1204) and his son Teika, Murasaki Shikibu's 紫式部 (dates unknown) work was a manual indispensable for poetic practice<sup>13</sup>. As Ichijō Kaneyoshi 一条兼良 (also Kanera; 1402–1481) bluntly put it in the late-15<sup>th</sup> century, “for the most part the only reason to take a look at something like *Genji* is so that one can use it in one's poetry<sup>14</sup>.”

Yet having noted that *The Tale of Genji* was treated as a kind of handbook or reference by medieval poets, it would all the same be untenable to suggest that the tale was intended to be read as a poetry manual. The case is similar for other works authored by women that contain passages expressing opinions about right poetic practice, and present examples of both good and bad compositions, just as do recognized *karon*. For it can be argued

12 Among the older *karon* there is also a text known as *Iwami no jo shiki* 石見女式, the title of which suggests Kakinomoto no Hitomaro's 柿本人麻呂 (dates unknown) daughter as author, but this attribution has long been dismissed. By the late-Heian and early-Kamakura Periods, authorship was attributed in such works as *Waka genzaisho moku roku* and *Yakumo mishō* 八雲御抄 to Abe no Kiyoyuki 安部清行 (825–900).

13 Perhaps the most succinct expression of Shunzei's sense of the importance of *The Tale of Genji* to poetry occurs in one of the *hanshi*, or poetic judgments, found in the *Roppyakuban utaawase* 六百番歌合: “A poet who has never looked at *The Tale of Genji* is much to be regretted” (「源氏見ざる歌詠みは遺恨事也」). See Kubota and Yamaguchi 1998, p. 187.

14 Kaneyoshi makes this comment in his 1472 *Genji* treatise *Kachō yojō* 花鳥余情. The original reads: 「大方源氏などを一見するは、歌などに詠まん為也」.

that almost all women's literary diaries (*kana nikki* 仮名日記) also serve in part to address, either directly or indirectly, the issue of how best to go about composing poetry. The clearest example here must be *Murasaki Shikibu nikki* 紫式部日記, which incorporates what seems to be a letter sent by Murasaki Shikibu to another lady-in-waiting, one that is (in part) among the most detailed examples to be found anywhere in the poetic corpus of what we might call *kajinden* 歌人伝, or the critical evaluation of individual poets<sup>15</sup>. That this diary, and others like it, came to be appreciated by poets in particular is clear from later sources<sup>16</sup>.

One thing we learn from a work like *Murasaki Shikibu nikki* is that proper poetic practice, and the ability to judge a well-made poem from a poor one, was much on the minds of those women in service among the great families of the Capital. Also, we come to understand that these women frequently communicated their opinions concerning poetic composition with one another, utilizing a textual form infinitely more ephemeral than a formal treatise: the personal letter.

We should of course not be surprised to find women of Capital society communicating poetic knowledge, despite their general inactivity in the production of such things as *karon*, *hanshi* and *gatten*, for we know without question that there were many women with such expertise. Women invited to participate in the highly-restricted literary circles of elite court society were genuinely respected for their abilities, although it would be going

15 For a text of this portion of *Murasaki Shikibu nikki*, see Fujioka et al. 1994, pp. 189–210.

16 In Asukai Masaari's 1269 diary *The Oft-traveled Path in Saga* (*Saga no kayo-iji* 嵯峨の通ひ路), we see that *Murasaki Shikibu nikki* was on the one hand among other diaries held by the Mikohidari house (御子左家) in their private library, and on the other a work that an ambitious poet like Masaari desired to borrow and copy for his own library (along with *Kagerō nikki* 蜻蛉日記, *Sarashina nikki* 更級日記 and others unnamed). For this passage, see Hamaguchi 1990, p. 34. The diary is also mentioned in Kamo no Chōmei's 鴨長明 (1155?–1216) *Mumyōshō* 無名抄 as one which poets should not fail to read. See Hisamatsu and Nishio 1961, p. 80 for this comment.

too far — just as in the case of male participants — to say that excellence in poetry was the only reason for acceptance into such circles. But certainly a high degree of poetic competence was a pre-requisite for participation, one that could not be overlooked<sup>17</sup>.

In that they by no means exclude or limit poems by women, such things as poetic treatises and imperially commissioned anthologies also testify to the fact that women poets were respected alongside men for their poetic abilities. While it is true that women poets seem always, from at least the mid-Heian Period, to have been recognized as a distinct subset, identified as “women poets,” or “poets in service as ladies-in-waiting,” this seems not to have been a comment on relative ability. Rather, it likely represents an acknowledgement of the fact that women’s position in courtly society was fundamentally different from that of men, and that the quasi-professional world within which they pursued position and advancement was ordered by rank and office structures that were distinct from those that prevailed in the sphere within which men at court operated. Most female participants at court-centered poetry events were, in a way, on loan from their own service sphere, which was that of the ‘inner chambers,’ the private spaces within palaces and mansions where the young women of elite, aristocratic society were raised, educated and all-but-confined. All the same, when the women poets of this world ventured forth to take part in composition, their ability to work within the tradition of established poetic practice to make a good poem, and to avoid making a bad one, was undisputed. If this is true, then what did they do with that ability, once mastered?

For poetry was every bit as essential to women in aristocratic Capital society as it was to men, whether they served at court or within the noble houses, or whether they themselves were among the great ladies of the nobility. Accordingly, there must surely

---

17 For a discussion of this issue, see Ratcliff 2007, Introduction and Chapter 1.



have been a ‘market,’ as it were, among the junior participants in this social economy for direction of all kinds, to be sought from the more senior, more veteran, already successful women. It is inconceivable that structures did not exist for this transfer of expertise. If nothing else, Abutsu’s *Yoru no tsuru* illustrates that the need was there to be filled: as mentioned, Abutsu’s poetic expertise was in this case being solicited by the Shogun’s young wife, one of the ladies of note within the extended sphere of courtly society for whom poetry was an essential accomplishment. Although such a person could have solicited an instructional text from one of several recognized male poets in residence in Kamakura, or have asked one of the male poets in the Capital to send something out to her, she instead seized the opportunity of Abutsu’s presence in the east to garner poetic instruction from an acknowledged poetic luminary — who was in this case a woman.

But as noted this is, in the surviving textual legacy, an exceptional case, and one might suggest that while there was a need for poetic knowledge among women, it did not necessarily have to be *met* by women. The knowledge of leading male poets could be transmitted textually via *karon*, *gatten* and *hanshi*, and circulated among women. As mentioned above, men’s texts were read by women, and considered of particular value. Yet finally it is untenable to suppose that women poets would not develop their own views on poetic composition, or that others would not value and solicit these views. Once again, our exceptional female-authored texts prove illustrative, for while it is true that Princess Hiko’s *Waka shiki*, Shunzei-kyō no musume’s letter and Abutsu’s longer treatise are closely related in form and content to certain male-produced *karon*, their authors all the same make original and even controversial observations on poetic composition and its products<sup>18</sup>. Women poets had their own ideas, and these were of

18 According to Sasaki Nobutsuna’s introduction to the work, *Waka shiki* is the first treatise to truly adapt elements of Chinese poetics to Japanese poetry,

interest to others. Judging from the lack of instructional materials authored by women, these ideas seem however to have been communicated primarily in non-textual form.

Which of course suggests that women participating in the relatively intimate space of the female service establishment *spoke* to one another about poetry, or carried on exchanges of knowledge utilizing ephemeral textual forms such as the note and the casual letter. And when we come to it, we are not short of examples, especially in women's diaries. *Murasaki Shikibu nikki* has already illustrated the importance of letters in the communication of information between women in aristocratic service, and has shown not only that poetic expertise was a topic energetically pursued in such letters, but also that these letters could serve the same function as male-produced *karon*: to transmit the author's understanding of important aspects of poetic practice.

This same diary also provides several examples of women talking to one another about how best to go about composing poetry. To give just one, during the course of a banquet held by Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長 (966–1027) for a group of men that includes Fujiwara no Kintō 藤原公任 (966–1041), the time comes for the composition of laudatory poems to commemorate the generosity of the host. The ladies-in-waiting, who are recognized as potential participants in such a situation, are invited to offer a verse. While this would not ordinarily be a particularly taxing request, because the awe-inspiring literary

---

something that Fujiwara no Hamanari's 藤原浜成 (724–790) *Kakyō hyōshiki* 歌経標式 and Kisen's 喜撰 (810–824) *Waka sakushiki* 倭歌作式 do not do (see Sasaki 1956–1965, v. 1). Shunzei-kyō no musume's analyses of the various imperial anthologies — especially her reaction to Teika's *Shinchokusenshū* 新勅撰集 — are original and combative. Abutsu's work, intended for a beginner, is for the most part very conservative, but her direction that one must “compose while carefully drawing on reality just as it is” (「ありのままのことをやさしくとりなしてよむべし」) is not something usually emphasized, and her disapproval of the *Shinkokinshū* is also quite fresh. See Morimoto 1979, p. 205 and p. 215.

figure Kintō is present, Murasaki Shikibu and the other ladies somewhat frantically talk among themselves about what sort of poem would do, and having come up with one, discuss how best it should be read out<sup>19</sup>. Among the things being described in this simple episode is a process by which women in possession of a certain kind of poetic experience and expertise share with other, less experienced women information of value to ladies in service: what to do in specific situations such as when one is called upon at a banquet to provide a poem, a poem that really must be an excellent example of its type if the host and his household are to avoid some degree of embarrassment, and if the reputation of the ladies-in-waiting is to be maintained.

The text that illustrates most clearly the process by which women communicated poetic knowledge orally among themselves, however, must be the *Mumyōzōshi* 無名草紙, a work believed to have been written sometime between the year 1200 and 1201 by Shunzei-kyō no musume, whom we have already discussed as the author of the *karon*-like letter sent to Tameie in 1252.

*Mumyōzōshi*, however, is by no means a work that is predominantly about poetry. Although a good portion of the text is concerned with such things as poetic practice, famous poets and poetry anthologies, much more space is devoted to a discussion of tale literature. This then is a good opportunity to note that poetry was not the only form of literary production valued by both women and men in aristocratic society: tales were important too. And if, as was discussed above, many men were primarily interested in *The Tale of Genji* only inasmuch as it informed poetic composition, many of the women active in courtly circles had no such reservations<sup>20</sup>. Such tales were a central

19 For this scene, see Fujioka et al. 1994, pp. 145–146.

20 It is generally understood that Murasaki Shikibu's reputation in court circles as a woman with a talent for writing tales directly led to her employment in Fujiwara no Michinaga's household (along with a number of other women

feature of life in the ‘inner chambers’ described earlier, and the reading aloud of such narratives as *The Tale of Genji* was one of the functions of the lady-in-waiting<sup>21</sup>. And since by the 13<sup>th</sup> century reading a work like *The Tale of Genji* aloud meant reading aloud a text already between two and three hundred years old, the job of an accomplished lady would in this regard involve *explaining*, not simply reading.

To take *The Tale of Genji* as the most important example, we know beyond any doubt that it had become a somewhat inaccessible text by the late-Heian Period, because it is from this point that we witness the development of annotated editions of the work and treatises that take up points that had become unclear to readers. Yet, for as important as *Genji* was to women, we find when looking over the surviving works of these types that — as in the case of *karon* — women did not seem to utilize such textual modes for preserving their own expertise with and understanding of the tale<sup>22</sup>.

---

known to be skilled at literary pursuits), in order to educate and provide entertainment and companionship to Michinaga’s daughter Shōshi 彰子 (988–1074). It has further been suggested that interest specifically in the first chapters of *The Tale of Genji*, which Murasaki Shikibu seems to have begun shortly before entering into Shōshi’s service, may have led to the offer of a position (see Abe et al. 1994, pp. 382–383 on this point). This indicates just how sharp was the demand for literary narrative in female aristocratic circles in the mid-Heian Period, and the great number of narrative tales listed in such sources as *Mumyōzōshi* and the *Fūyōwakashū* 風葉和歌集 confirms that this demand remained extremely strong.

21 We can see this in such materials as the illustration of the *Azumaya* 東屋 chapter in the *Genji monogatari emaki* 源氏物語絵巻, in which a lady-in-waiting is depicted reading aloud the text of a tale to other women, including her mistress, who listen and look at associated pictures. See, for example, Okudaira 1973, p. 26.

22 Those works recognized today as early annotated editions of *Genji*—the *kochūshaku* 古注釈—and the *karon*-like *Genji* treatises are written by men. In some cases the authors were poets (Fujiwara no Teika’s *Okui* 奥入 is the clearest example) and they were motivated less by an appreciation of the work as fictional narrative than they were by the need for a complete understanding of a work that had, as mentioned before, come to be seen as central to accomplished poetic composition. But not all authors of *Genji* an-

But if women do not seem to have produced annotated editions of *Genji*, or examples of the kinds of works recognized today as *Genji* treatises, there can still be no question that — as with poetic knowledge — certain women active in aristocratic society did possess their own expertise in this and other valued works of tale literature, that this expertise was considered desirable, and that women communicated their knowledge between one another both orally and in correspondence.

If *Murasaki Shikibu nikki* provided us with an example of women talking about proper poetic practice, then Sei Shōnagon's 清少納言 (dates unknown) early-11<sup>th</sup> century *Makura no sōshi* 枕草子 gives us one of women actively discussing the merits of tale literature. Here we find a description of a group of ladies-in-waiting gathered around their mistress, Fujiwara no Teishi 藤原定子 (976–1000), heatedly arguing the good and bad points to be found in another venerated narrative tale, *Utsuho monogatari* 宇津保物語<sup>23</sup>. This is then a setting that provides an opportunity for those ladies with a detailed understanding of the work to orally present this knowledge, before an audience that consists not only of a young Empress who herself benefits from a greater awareness of the tale, but also of younger, less-experienced ladies-

---

notations and treatises were poets, in the same quasi-professional way that we can say Teika was a poet, and not all of these works can be identified as developments of *karon* production. Rather, by the 13<sup>th</sup> century *The Tale of Genji* was appreciated by some for the examples of correct ceremonial behavior and protocol to be gleaned from the work. Concern for precedent in such matters had always been strong at court, but was especially so from the 13<sup>th</sup> century on. Works such as Fujiwara no Koreyuki's 藤原伊行 (1138?–1175?) *Genji shaku* 源氏釈, the earliest of all *Genji* treatises (which derives from what originally was an annotated text), are thus developments, finally, of such manuals of precedent as Ōe no Masafusa's 大江匡房 (1041–1111) late-11<sup>th</sup> century *Gōke shidai* 江家次第. And as was the case with poets, the concern here was less with *Genji* as narrative fiction, and more with it as an encapsulation of important practices of the past.

23 In the passage that begins “On the 25<sup>th</sup> of the Second Month of last year” (返る年の二月二十五日に), section 87 in Matsuo and Nagai 1974, section 83 in Ikeda 1962.

in-waiting, whose long-term success as members of the female service establishment depends on mastery of just such things as the tale under discussion.

We have evidence too that letters played their role in transmitting such literary knowledge between women in courtly society, as in the text known variously as *Niwa no oshie* 庭の訓 and *Menoto no fumi* 乳母の文<sup>24</sup>. This is believed to have been written by Abutsu late in her life as a means to transmit to her daughter a detailed explanation of the sorts of things that Abutsu's long experience had proven to be necessary for a successful career as a lady-in-waiting. In reference to poetry, the recipient is admonished to pay special attention to poetic treatises. Discussed in greater detail is the need for a lady-in-waiting to be thoroughly familiar with tale literature, and the ways in which she must prepare herself in this regard<sup>25</sup>. *Genji*, unsurprisingly, the literary narrative most important to a lady in service, and the recipient of *Niwa no oshie* is directed not simply to know it well, but to gain a true critical mastery of the work. Abutsu states that nothing could be worse for a lady-in-waiting than not gaining an in-depth understanding of *Genji*, and to help her daughter avoid this disaster, she offers her particular aid and advice: "After I have gathered together and made copies [of various tales]" she writes, "I will send them to you, and you must

---

24 The text exists in two significantly different variants, the *kō-hon* 広本 or extended text, and the *ryaku-hon* 略本 or abridged text. The discussion here is based on both texts, which are included in Yanase 1958.

25 Abutsu comments that a lady in service should, for example, have some ability to herself make illustrations that reproduce scenes in *monogatari*, and she should keep such illustrations on hand, so that they may be employed when necessary. If a lady in service should find herself with an idle moment, looking over *monogatari* illustrations is a good use of time, becoming ever more familiar with tale literature in the process. As for the text of tales, Abutsu says that a lady-in-waiting should certainly not fail to read *Genji monogatari* and *Yotsugi monogatari* 世継物語 in their entirety. (*Yotsugi monogatari* may here be referring to *Eiga monogatari* 栄花物語, *Ōkagami* 大鏡, the *setsuwa* anthology often called *Koyotsugi monogatari* 小世継物語 — although this is less likely — or perhaps to the entire genre of historical tales.)

treasure them above all things, as a memento of me. Read them very very carefully. When it comes to *Genji*, you must even go so far as to [study] such [treatises] as the *Nangi mokuroku* [難儀目録], reading them through until not a single thing [in *Genji*] remains unclear<sup>26</sup>.” Here it is believed that *Nangi mokuroku* refers specifically to Fujiwara no Teika’s *Genji* treatise *Okui* 奥入.

*Niwa no oshie* provides us with some understanding of how important tale literature, and *The Tale of Genji* in particular, was to ladies in aristocratic service, and demonstrates how correspondence was used to communicate both the need to master these materials as well as directions for doing so. Two other texts further underscore the importance of tale literature, while illustrating in compelling fashion just how great a role was played by oral transmission in the dissemination of literary expertise by women. One is *Mumyōzōshi*, already mentioned briefly above; the other is *The Oft-traveled Path in Saga* (*Saga no kayoiji* 嵯峨の通ひ路), a diary written in 1269 by Asukai Masaari 飛鳥井雅有 (1241–1301), a literary figure and aristocratic servant both of the court and the Bakufu.

First let us return to the *Mumyōzōshi*. This is a curious text that comes, I think, as close as a text has come in the pre-modern Japanese literary tradition to being ‘oral,’ although the idea of an ‘oral text’ may be too oxymoronic to accept. The work opens with a description of a former lady-in-waiting, now eighty-three years old and become a nun, who while wandering near a temple passes a rundown, overgrown house. There she meets a group of women, ladies-in-waiting of various ages who are all her distant juniors in aristocratic service. Motivated by the presence of a lady-in-waiting who is retired, and who is near the end of her life, the ladies’ talk turns to all those elements of life at court that are of particular value, which will be especially hard to let go of when retirement and death come. Their talk is famously dominated by

26 This passage appears in Part 12 of the *kō-hon* text, as presented in Yanase 1958.

a discussion of tale literature, *The Tale of Genji* in particular, although they also address poetry at some length<sup>27</sup>.

The structure of the work is important, following as it does the pattern of the *mondō* 問答, or query-and-response. Not uncommon in pre-modern treatise literature, this *mondō* has the younger ladies — one in particular — asking their elders to explain for them aspects of the works and processes under discussion. What we have, then, is the textual representation of an interactive oral exchange of literary knowledge between women in service, with the junior ladies actively seeking to benefit from the greater experience of their seniors. To my mind this must be an only slightly dramatized and fictionalized depiction of precisely the ways in which women in aristocratic society transmitted their literary knowledge, and through such transmission, preserved it.

In both Japanese and Western scholarship on *Mumyōzōshi*, however, the setting and structure of the work have almost universally been regarded purely as narrative devices, usually discussed as borrowed from the so-called *kagamimono* 鏡物, works of historical focus that by the time of *Mumyōzōshi*'s completion included the *Ōkagami* 大鏡, *Imakagami* 今鏡 and *Mizukagami* 水鏡<sup>28</sup>. While there are some important parallels, mostly having to do with the establishment of a setting that allows the kind of discussions that we find in the work to take place, I see more differences than similarities. For one thing, our

27 *Mumyōzōshi* is available in many editions; in this study I have referred to both Higuchi and Kuboki 1999 and Kuwabara 1976.

28 An example of Western scholarship is Michele Marra's three-part study and translation (Marra 1984a, 1984b, 1984c). In Japanese scholarship, introductory studies by Kuwabara Hiroshi (in Kuwabara 1976) and Kuboki Tetsuo (in Higuchi and Kuboki 1999) provide useful summaries of trends in *Mumyōzōshi* scholarship. One of these trends, taken up in a sensitive study by Thomas Rohlich (Rohlich 1997), is to read the structure and narrative of *Mumyōzōshi* not as borrowed from the *kagamimono*, but rather from the *Ha-hakigi* 帚木 chapter of *The Tale of Genji*. To me this seems more compelling, but as it would not affect my sense that *Mumyōzōshi* could at the same time be a fairly realistic description of the ways women actually transferred information among themselves, I won't address this idea here.



nun, while elderly at eighty-three, is not especially ancient. In contrast we have the two narrators of *Ōkagami*, who are 190 and 180 years old, and the 150-plus-year-old speaker in *Imakagami*. The narrator of *Mizukagami* is a reasonable seventy-three, but she acts merely to present information about the distant past that she hears from a young priest, who in turn has heard it from a hermit that the text requires to be at least 1,850 years old. The reason the nun in *Mumyōzōshi* is not presented as being impossibly long-lived is because there is no need for her to be, as there is in the *kagamimono*: the narrative in no way revolves around the conceit that what we are hearing about often ancient works of literature are the personally-experienced memories of the narrator. This is due to the fact that *texts*, and their contents, are overtly the subject of discussion in much of *Mumyōzōshi*, and texts travel quite well through time.

It is also perhaps misleading to discuss the age of our nun in relation to the ages of the *kagamimono* narrators, since in *Mumyōzōshi* this most elderly participant, while providing the narrating perspective, by no means serves to present the primary content of the work. That task falls to the more experienced of the ladies-in-waiting, who — having read and mastered such works — have no difficulty sharing with their younger colleagues what they've learned about the 300-year-old *Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集, or the 200-year-old *Tale of Genji*. The nun's role is not to serve as a personification of historical memory, but rather — as a former lady-in-waiting who has come to the end of both her worldly career and her life — to prompt the younger ladies to wax somewhat philosophical on what it means to *be* a lady in aristocratic service.

The dialogue in *Mumyōzōshi* begins when the youngest lady present sees the old nun and recognizes that despite the great physical difference in their appearance, the only thing that truly separates them is experience, and that it is precisely this greater experience that is interesting and valuable. What is established at

the outset, then, and what carries on through to the end of the work, is an awareness that the hierarchy that governs women in service is the hierarchy of experience, and that the younger ladies must turn to their elders precisely to request and receive the fruits of that greater experience, which at least in this case are transferred to them not through written treatises or manuals, but rather orally.

But it would not be possible to suggest that what we find in the fictional *Mumyōzōshi* is likely a realistic depiction of at least one way women actually exchanged things like literary expertise if we did not find other examples of women orally transmitting literary knowledge, such as those to be found in *Murasaki Shikibu nikki* and *Makura no sōshi*. Asukai Masaari's 1269 diary *The Oft-traveled Path in Saga* is of particular value in this respect, in that it presents at great length just such a case of a literarily accomplished woman, Abutsu, exhibiting orally her particular mastery of *The Tale of Genji*. In an especially interesting twist, what we see in Masaari's diary is an experienced lady-in-waiting presenting her literary knowledge not to a woman, but rather to a man (Masaari himself), who is all the same in this case junior to her in terms of the hierarchy of literary experience.

Like the nun in *Mumyōzōshi*, Abutsu was herself a woman retired from long service as a lady-in-waiting, living in the hills around the Capital. In fact, Abutsu's residence in 1269, the Mikohidari 御子左 family's retreat in the Saga area known as the Nakanoin 中院, had been until only fifteen-or-so years earlier the home of none other than Shunzei-kyō no musume<sup>29</sup>. Whereas Shunzei's daughter had herself been a member of the Mikohidari family that owned the house (she was, despite her moniker,

---

29 After taking vows in 1213 and leaving service life, Shunzei-kyō no musume lived for a time at the Tennōji 天王子, in what is now Ōsaka, but moved to Saga in 1228. She seems to have stayed until her death (likely in 1252 or 1253), becoming so settled there that she came to be referred to as "the nun of Saga" 嵯峨の禪尼 and "the Nakanoin nun" 中院の尼 by members of the Mikohidari family. See Kuwabara 1976, pp. 150–151 for these details.

Shunzei's granddaughter), Abutsu lived there in relative isolation as the companion or second wife of Fujiwara no Tameie, Teika's son and heir<sup>30</sup>. Asukai Masaari, for his part, was between the Ninth and Eleventh Months of 1269 staying at his mother's nearby Saga retreat, where he was recovering from a chronic illness<sup>31</sup>. The Mikohidari and Asukai houses were very closely linked: Masaari's older sister was wife to Tameie's heir Tameuji 為氏 (1222–1286), and mother to Tameuji's heir Tameyo 為世 (1250–1338). Naturally, Masaari called on Tameie and Abutsu, and as they enjoyed each other's company very well, Masaari came to spend almost every day for three months at the Nakanoin residence.

For Masaari, this period was of almost measureless value, as he was granted access to Tameie's library, and thus to secret texts inherited from Fujiwara no Shunzei and Teika<sup>32</sup>. Additionally, Tameie suggested that they read through another work vital to an ambitious court poet like Masaari, *The Tale of Genji*. When it came to this particular work, however, it is important to note that the readings would be conducted not by Tameie, despite his position as the period's primary arbiter of poetic expertise, but rather Abutsu.<sup>33</sup>

---

30 Abutsu became acquainted with Tameie, via his daughter, sometime in 1252, and came to live with him at the Nakanoin shortly after (a point that will be taken up again below). Her residency there likely began directly after Shunzei-kyō no musume's death (see note 29 above), although it is possible that the two women lived there together for a brief time. Much of the information we have about the early period of Abutsu and Tameie's association comes from section 10 of *Genshō waka kuden* 源承和歌口伝, a poetry treatise written by Tameie's second son Genshō (1224–1303). See Sasaki 1956–1965, v. 4 for this text. This period is also addressed in Morimoto 1979 and Yanase 1958.

31 Masaari relates his reasons for being in Saga in the opening entry of his diary; see Hamaguchi 1990, p. 32.

32 Under Tameie's direct guidance Masaari brought his own family's copies of such works as *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語 and the *Kokinshū* into conformity with the secret, annotated texts of the Mikohidari, the most prestigious poetry house of the time. On this exchange of literary knowledge, see Ratcliff 2007, pp. 263–281.

She must have been the clear choice here, for we know from at least three sources that Abutsu was expert in the *Genji*. In *Genshō waka kuden* 源承和歌口伝, a late-13<sup>th</sup> century *karon* written by Tameie's second son, we learn that Abutsu's very presence in the Nakanoin as Tameie's wife was indirectly due to her position as a lady-in-waiting with a command of the work: Genshō (1224–1303) tells us that Abutsu first came to know Tameie, likely in 1252, through her acquaintance with his daughter Tameko 為子 (also known as Go-Saga-In no dainagon no suke 後嵯峨院大納言典侍; 1233–1263?). This acquaintance began when Tameko, who had been looking for a person capable of copying out *The Tale of Genji* for her, was encouraged to apply to Abutsu as someone ideal for the task.

That Abutsu's competency in the work went beyond being able to write it out nicely we gather from *Niwa no oshie*, the instructional letter discussed earlier as likely having been sent by Abutsu to her daughter. In this Abutsu so energetically expresses the need for a detailed, critical mastery of every aspect of the tale that it is difficult to imagine that she herself did not have the same kind of expertise.

Finally, and most compelling, I think, is Masaari's reaction in *The Oft-traveled Path in Saga* when he first hears Abutsu actually read *Genji* aloud. He says: "She read from behind reed screens. It was truly enthralling. [Her style] was nothing like that with which the ordinary run of people at court read [*Genji*]: she must surely have learned [to do it in this way]<sup>34</sup>." We see

---

33 We see Abutsu called upon to fill this role in Masaari's entry for the 17<sup>th</sup> day of the Ninth Month; see Hamaguchi 1990, p. 48.

34 In the original this reads: 「簾のうちにて読まる。まことにおもしろし。世の常の人の読むには似ず、習ひあべかめり。」 See Hamaguchi 1990, p. 48. Masaari's description of Abutsu's unique style, coupled with the information in *Niwa no oshie* that suggests Abutsu had access to such things as *Genji* treatises, has led at least two scholars to believe that she must have received formal instruction in how to present the work, and to suggest the possibility of formal lineages of transmission having to do with *Genji* oratory. See Hamaguchi 1990, pp. 49–50, and Mizukawa 1985, p. 63.

here that Abutsu was unusually skilled in the oration of *Genji*, and can surmise that when it came time to read the text she was the obvious candidate, despite the fact that Tameie would necessarily have been expert in the work himself.

The actual reading of the tale takes place over twenty-three non-consecutive days, a long episode in *The Oft-traveled Path in Saga* that is of interest for several reasons. One is its description of Abutsu as not simply serving to read out the work, but also to discuss it, and to comment on passages of interest. She is referred to as the *kōji* 講師, or lector, a term borrowed here either from Buddhist or poetic practice but which in both cases implies that Abutsu had mastery over the material and was able to expound upon its meaning<sup>35</sup>. Further, on the 14<sup>th</sup> day of the Eleventh Month, the party is explicitly described as taking part in such a discussion, and we can assume that Abutsu took a leading role in the exchange<sup>36</sup>.

Another important feature of the episode is the apparent *secrecy* in which it takes place. The text being utilized must itself have demanded this, as it came from Tameie's secret storehouse, and very likely was the famous annotated *Aobyōshi-bon* 青表紙本, a text compiled and copied by Teika that was kept reserved for Mikohidari insiders as late as the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>37</sup>. But it is also Abutsu's oration which is to be made available only to a very select few. Masaari, despite being so closely linked to the Mikohidari through marriage and cultural practice, is being granted a special privilege. Later in the diary, at a point when he is granting Masaari access to a different store of carefully-controlled Mikohidari literary knowledge (concerning the *Kokinshū*), Tameie comments: "I have sworn in a sacred, written

---

35 See Hamaguchi 1990, p. 48.

36 In the original the term used for this exchange is *dangi* 談義. See Hamaguchi 1990, p. 90.

37 At this point the *Aobyōshi-bon* was circulated by Sanjōnishi Sanetaka 三条西実隆 (1455–1537).

vow not to show [this] to anyone. However, as your desire to learn is so extraordinarily great, I will teach you [...]”<sup>38</sup> At one point during their reading of *Genji*, Abutsu herself calls Masaari close to her screens and says, “From times long past, generations of poets have taken up residence in famous dwellings here on Mt. Ogura, and have spoken praise for tales like this one, taking respite from their cares in a way that was extraordinary. Though I had thought that the worldly people of this present age were no longer likely to be like that, I feel that you are as a person of old.”<sup>39</sup> Tameie and Abutsu are thus breaking the rules for Masaari not because of familial ties, but rather because they like him, and appreciate both his devotion to them and his scholarly interest. Abutsu’s special knowledge of *Genji* is among the many literary treasures housed at the Nakanoin, to be shared only with those considered particularly close.

Abutsu’s expertise would have been similarly valued and similarly husbanded earlier in her life as well, when she was known as Ankamon’in no shijō 安嘉門院四条, and her special knowledge would have been just the kind of legacy she could pass on to others of her choosing, ladies in service like herself making their own way in their careers, or to those great ladies who had the position to command it. And one of the venues for its transmission must have been somewhat like that we see in *The Oft-traveled Path in Saga*, or with the junior and senior ladies in *Mumyōzōshi*: individuals or groups gathering to gain what insight they could into cultural properties valued in aristocratic society from those whose mastery was recognized. For despite the existence of a very few exceptional texts, we find the formal or semi-formal genres of textual literary instruction that we have discussed — *karon*, *gatten*, *hanshi*, the imperially commissioned anthology, *kochūshaku* and *Genji* treatises — to have been the purview of a handful of variously sanctioned men. But if we come

38 For this episode, see Hamaguchi 1990, pp. 101–102.

39 See Hamaguchi 1990, p. 49.

to expect, then, that women were not generally concerned with the critical appreciation of literature, as were men, we make a mistake: women spoke to one another about literature, or communicated by means of the letter, that textual form which is, in its ephemerality, closest to speech.

Which is not to suggest that such communication was a purely female phenomenon. Men too exchanged literary expertise in this way, the oral transmission of knowledge about the *Kokinshū* known as *kokin denju* 古今伝授 being perhaps the most well-known example. Tameie's instruction of Masaari in the anthology, mentioned above, is an early instance of this, although *kokin denju* is usually thought to be a later development. To give just a few other contemporary examples from my own research, in Asukai Masaari's later 1280 diary *Spring Paths in Deep Mountains* (*Haru no miyamaji* 春の深山路), we see Masaari as both the disseminator and the recipient of orally transmitted literary expertise: he lectures on the *Kokinshū* to the Crown Prince (later Emperor Fushimi 伏見天皇; 1265–1317) and two other courtiers on three separate occasions, and also is called upon to lecture on the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀. On the 29<sup>th</sup> day of the Seventh Month, however, it is he who goes to the home of Nijō Sukesue 二条資季 (1206–1289) to receive instruction, in both *The Tale of Genji* and the *Nihon shoki*<sup>40</sup>. More examples could be cited. The point, then, is not that oral transmission was in the late-Heian and Kamakura Periods a particularly feminine mode, but rather that it was the primary mode utilized — and perhaps the only practically available — to women.

On a final note, it is of interest I think that by 1280, at least, Masaari had come to be considered expert in *The Tale of Genji* himself. Some of this expertise seems to have come to him through his own lineage and some from other male sources<sup>41</sup>. A

40 All of these exchanges are presented and discussed in Ratcliff 2007, Chapter 3. For the text of *Spring Paths in Deep Mountains*, see Nagasaki et al. 1994.

41 Such as Nijō Sukesue, mentioned above. Masaari was also an acquaintance of

large portion of his knowledge of the work, however, clearly came from his contact with Abutsu, and with an oral, feminine lineage of expertise. This was understood by later descendents of the Asukai house: in a note written into a manuscript that contains four of Masaari's diaries, including *The Oft-traveled Path in Saga*, Asukai Masatake 飛鳥井雅威 (1758–1810) inserts a quote from a different text, the *Kōan Genji rongi* 弘安源氏論議 of 1280, that identifies Masaari as someone universally recognized as a “Sage of the *Genji*.”<sup>42</sup> This *Kōan Genji rongi* is of interest not only because it is one of the earliest of all textual exegesis of *The Tale of Genji*, but also because it records an event that we might call a ‘*Genji-ron awase*’ (源氏論合): conceived and directed by Masaari, it borrowed the structure of the *utaawase* to allow two teams of courtiers to match the depth of their *Genji* knowledge<sup>43</sup>. For one of Masaari's descendents to invoke this event, the record of which can be thought of as the textual expression of Masaari's mastery of the tale, in a note that so closely follows a copy of *The Oft-traveled Path in Saga*, is for him to suggest a direct correlation between that mastery and Abutsu's reading.

If in fact much of Masaari's expert knowledge of *The Tale of Genji* derived from Abutsu's instruction, then it is possible that some elements of *Kōan Genji rongi* reflect this instruction. If so, then it may be that some small part of the literary expertise transmitted orally by women found its way into the body of textual, male-produced works preserving knowledge about this central monument of the Japanese cultural landscape.

---

Minamoto no Chikayuki 源親行 (dates unknown), who with his father Mitusuyuki 光行 (1163–1244) produced the annotated copy of *The Tale of Genji* known as the *Kawachi-bon* 河内本. For details about Masaari's relationship with Chikayuki, see Ratcliff 2007, p. 388.

42 The original reads: 「いまの世には、三のくらゐ藤原雅有なん、源氏のひじりなりける。是は、君も臣もみな、ゆるせるなるべし。」 See Hamaguchi 1990, p. 116.

43 For a text of this work, see Takada 2008. The passage referring to Masaari as “Sage of the *Genji*” can be found here on p. 395.



## Bibliography

- Abe Akio et al., eds. 1994. *Genji monogatari*, Vol. 1. Vol. 20 of *Shinpen nihon koten bungaku zenshū*. Tokyo: Shōgakkan.
- Fujioka Tadaharu et al., eds. 1994. *Izumi Shikibu nikki, Murasaki Shikibu nikki, Sarashina nikki, Sanuki-no-suke nikki*. Vol. 26 of *Shinpen nihon koten bungaku zenshū*. Tokyo: Shōgakkan.
- Hagitani Boku. 1995–1996. *Heianchō utaawase taisei: zōho shintei*. Tokyo: Dōhōsha.
- Hamaguchi Hiroaki. 1990. *Asukai Masaari nikki chūshaku*. Tokyo: Ōfūsha.
- Higuchi Yoshimaro and Kuboki Tetsuo, eds. 1999. *Matsuura no miya monogatari, Mumyōzōshi*. Vol. 40 of *Shinpen nihon koten bungaku zenshū*. Tokyo: Shōgakkan.
- Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Nishio Minoru, eds. 1961. *Karonshū, Nōgakushū*. Vol. 65 of *Nihon koten bungaku taikei*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- Ikedo Kikan, ed. 1962. *Makura no sōshi*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten (Iwanami Bunko).
- Kubota Jun and Yamaguchi Akiho. 1998. *Roppyakuban utaawase*. Vol. 38 of *Shin nihon koten bungaku taikei*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- Kuwabara Hiroshi. 1976. *Mumyōzōshi*. Tokyo: Shinchōsha.
- Matsuo Satoshi and Nagai Kazuko, eds. 1974. *Makura no sōshi*. Vol. 11 of *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū*. Tokyo: Shōgakkan.
- Marra, Michele. 1984a. "Mumyōzōshi: Introduction and Translation." *Monumenta Nipponica* 39: 2.
- Marra, Michele. 1984b. "Mumyōzōshi, Part 2." *Monumenta Nipponica* 39: 3.
- Marra, Michele. 1984c. "Mumyōzōshi, Part 3." *Monumenta Nipponica* 39: 4.
- Mizukawa Yoshio. 1985. *Asukai Masaari nikki zenshaku*. Tokyo: Kazama Shobō.
- Morimoto Motoko. 1966. *Shunzei-kyō no musume zenkashū*. Tokyo: Musashino Shoin.
- Morimoto Motoko. 1979. *Izayoi nikki, Yoru no tsuru zenchūshaku*. Tokyo: Kōdansha (Kōdansha Gakujutsu Bunko).
- Nagasaki Ken et al., eds. 1994. *Chūsei nikki kikōshū*. Vol. 48 of *Shinpen nihon koten bungaku zenshū*. Tokyo: Shōgakkan.
- Nakagawa Hirō. 2001. "Kaidai," in *Shikashū 4* (Vol. 10 of *Kichō tenseki sōsho*), edited by Kokuritsu rekishi minzoku hakubutsukan kanzō shiryō henshūkai. Tokyo: Rinsen Shoten.
- Okudaira Hideo. 1973. *Narrative Picture Scrolls*. Vol. 5 of *Arts of Japan*. New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill and Shibundō.
- Ratcliff, Christian. 2007. *The Cultural Arts in Service: The Careers of Asukai Masaari and his Lineage*. Phd dissertation, Yale University.
- Rohlich, Thomas H. 1997. "In Search of Critical Space: The Path to *Monogatari* Criticism in the *Mumyōzōshi*." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic*

*Studies* 57: 1.

Sasaki Nobutsuna, ed. 1956–1965. *Nihon kagaku taikei*. 10 vols. Tokyo: Kazama Shobō.

Takada Nobutaka. 2008. “*Kōan genji rōgi* (kanken, kankō).” In *Genji monogatari to bungaku shisō*, edited by Murasaki Shikibu gakkai. Tokyo: Musashino Shoin.

Yanase Kazuo. 1958. *Kōchū Abutsu Ni zenshū*. Tokyo: Kazama Shobō.