Of Modes and Manners in Japanese Ink Painting: Sesshū's "Splashed Ink Landscape" of 1495
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Of Modes and Manners in Japanese Ink Painting: Sesshū's *Splashed Ink Landscape* of 1495

Yukio Lippit

> This is ink from the heavens, with an evening glow.—Keijo Shūrin
>
> Endlessly fascinating are the landscapes that emanate from the tips of inebriated brushes.—Shōjū Ryūtō
>
> Painters, too, must pass on their robes and alms bowls.—Ten'in Ryūtaku
>
> —From the inscriptions on Sesshū's *Splashed Ink Landscape*, 1495

Few works of medieval Japanese ink painting have received the attention and admiration accorded *Splashed Ink Landscape*, painted in 1495 by the Zen Buddhist monk-painter Sesshū Tōyō (1420–1506?) (Fig. 1). Its widespread acclaim can be attributed in no small part to the way in which it showcases pictorial qualities unique to the medium of ink painting, particularly the loose virtuosity and wondrous economy with which it suggests an unlocatable and eremitic waterside vista. While scratchy traces of brush hairs convey a sense of swift execution, its ink is mostly applied in a planar rather than linear manner, prioritizing wash over stroke; only a token number of brushstrokes are mobilized to delineate figures in a boat, rooftops beyond a fence, a wine tavern banner, and tree branches. Varying gradations of ink layers are fused to conjure a naturescape whose ambiguous vastness is out of keeping with the painting's diminutive scale.[1] The resulting image appears half-birthed out of the enigmatic ether, captured in the midst of its own becoming.

The seemingly unconsummated, intuited nature of *Splashed Ink Landscape* has led many commentators to view Sesshū's painting as embodying or pictorializing the principles of Zen Buddhism. According to this understanding, its unrestrained inkwork is the index of an enlightened artistic subject and somehow illustrative of *satori*, or spiritual awakening, at the very moment of its happening. This soteriological reading is further emboldened by the presence of a reflective preface inscribed above the work by Sesshū himself, followed by admiring poetic inscriptions by the leading Zen monks of the period, including those by Keijo Shūrin, Shōjū Ryūtō, and Ten'in Ryūtaku quoted above as epigraphs. Authored for his disciple Josui Sōen, to whom the painting was given, this preface represents a highly unusual instance of a written testimonial by a medieval Japanese painter. There, Sesshū, seventy-six years old (by Japanese count), offers a précis of his life's achievements, most notably his journey to China and training with continental painting masters, while reaffirming his origins in the most renowned lineage of monk-painters in Japan based at the Kyoto monastery Shōkokuji. The text appears to frame the accompanying painting as a pictorial remembrance, an introspective and backward-looking artifact that, for its time and context, conveys an unusually powerful sense of selfhood. It is this combination of factors—virtuosic inking, the affect of spiritual awokenness, and a self-reflective preface—that has secured the status of *Splashed Ink Landscape* as a singular and surpassing artifact of its own time and beyond.

Not all of the literature on Sesshū's painting, however, has taken advantage of the unique opportunity it provides to explore the ways in which ink painting was practiced and conceptualized during the era in which it was created. Indeed, too many commentators have treated this work as something of a Rorschach test on which to project assumptions concerning the nature of Zen experience and Japanese art as a whole. An examination of the historical and conceptual conditions under which ink painting emerged as a vehicle for painterly subjectivity during the Muromachi period (1333–1573) reveals how *Splashed Ink Landscape* can be seen as a unique window onto the questions of how and what ink painting signified in medieval Japan. These conditions include the rising status of the monk-painter, the etiology of splashed ink in East Asia as well as the specific semantics of inkwork in Sesshū's networks, and the protocols of pictorial culture in Zen monastic culture. Only by pursuing these questions intensively does it become possible to understand how *Splashed Ink Landscape* emerged as a remarkable example of a kind of painting degree zero, in which ink painting appears to signify nothing more than its own genealogy, and its own mastery.

The reframing of *Splashed Ink Landscape* poses a challenge first and foremost because of the large commentarial literature it has accrued over the past century. During the modern era, Sesshū's scroll came to be interpreted in many quarters as a visualization of Zen philosophy, the painterly expression of a Zen master, that is to say, a spontaneous and intuitive outpouring in monochrome ink, utterly natural and lacking in intention. *Splashed Ink Landscape* was in fact written about as if it were a visual counterpart to Japanese Zen as it was retheorized from the 1930s onward by the Kyoto school of philosophy revolving around the thought of Nishida Kitarō (1870–1945). At the time, Nishida and his circle were developing an indigenous Japanese philosophical movement centered on the assertion that whereas the West had taken being as the ground of reality, the East had nothingness as its ground. Related to this was Nishida's idea that unmediated experience was the prime component of nothingness. As Robert H. Sharf writes, "this idea would eventually be mobilized towards a characterization of Japanese culture as a culture of 'pure feeling,' one that was more emotional, more aesthetic, and more communal than Occidental cultures." Accordingly, Zen was held to be "the ultimate embodiment of direct experience and pure feeling, the ahistorical, transcultural experience of pure subjectivity which utterly transcended discursive thought. Zen thus bore the paradoxical burden of reflecting both a national character and universal philosophy."[2]

Needless to say, the nationalistic and essentialist charge of

the discourse of transcendental Zen is highly problematic and has come for the most part to be recognized as such.[3] It is not necessary to belabor the point here. More germane to the present discussion is the residue such discourse has left on characterizations of *Splashed Ink Landscape* from the 1940s onward. Although it is unclear how close these commentaries are to the agendas of the Kyoto school, they nevertheless borrow from the lexicon of unmediated Zen experience in descriptions of the painting. Jon Carter Covell introduced Sesshū's painting in these terms:

> To attain the proper mood for this most spontaneous type of work, intentions and methods were an impediment, rationality a hindrance. But the proper amount of rice wine enabled an artist to attack his problem directly and intuitively, to paint swiftly and boldly without apparent effort. Enlightenment came when the mind was empty and the heart in direct tune with nature.[4]

Unmediated experience was also seen in the painting, as it was posited as an exemplary forerunner to such avant-garde movements as Tachisme, Informel, and Gutai that featured unpremeditated mark-making. The philosopher Haga Tōru prominently illustrated *Splashed Ink Landscape* in his essay "The Japanese Point of View" in *Avant-Garde Art in Japan* (1962), coauthored with Michel Tapié, and asked if such works could have been achieved had Sesshū and artists like him "not, at the extreme point of their subjectivity, arrived at another level of reality where 'a blade of grass, a tree, a stone, or even a speck of dust have the same infinite depth as our soul?' "[5]

In Japanese art historical discourse, meanwhile, *Splashed Ink Landscape* has served as one of the primary arenas in which two recent paradigms for the historical framing of Sesshū have played out, resulting in highly divergent interpretations.[6] The first of these emerged during the early 1990s, initiated by Shimao Arata's critical reevaluation of the primary source material related to the monk-painter.[7] Although scholarly commentary during the postwar years had generated a great deal of new knowledge about the painter, it had also reified a trope of Sesshū as the ultimate peripatetic Zen artist who was free of the institutional strictures of the time and transcended normative criteria for the evaluation of painting.[8] His robust and highly idiosyncratic variations on Chinese academic landscape idioms, most memorably captured in *Winter Landscape*, were often interpreted as the direct reflection of an untroubled and effervescent demeanor (Fig. 2). In this regard, the academic configuration of Sesshū differed little from the popular understanding of the artist as witnessed in the commentary on *Splashed Ink Landscape*. Adopting what might loosely be seen as a New Historicist approach to medieval Japanese culture, Shimao reframed Sesshū as a subject of art historical inquiry through a sophisticated understanding of "strategies of self-fashioning" (*imeeji senryaku*) and of how commentary about painters was generated in the circles of Zen monks. By systematically reassessing how elements of Sesshū's biography circulated in his own lifetime, Shimao called attention to the monk's agency in the composition of his outwardly projected persona.[9] Judicious redaction turns out to condition almost all of the major aspects of Sesshū's life assumed at the time, from his study under Shōkokuji's influential abbot Shunrin Shūtō to his training with the painting masters Josetsu and Shūbun at the

1 Sesshū Tōyō (1420–1506?), *Splashed Ink Landscape*, 1495, vertical hanging scroll, ink on paper, 58¼ × 12⅞ in. (147.9 × 32.7 cm). Tokyo National Museum, National Treasure (artwork in the public domain; photograph © TNM Image Archives, provided by DNP Archives)

2 Sesshū Tōyō, *Winter Landscape*, late 15th or early 16th century, one of a pair of vertical hanging scrolls, ink on paper, 18¼ × 11½ in. (46.3 × 29.3 cm). Tokyo National Museum, National Treasure (artwork in the public domain; photograph © TNM Image Archives, provided by DNP Archives)

same monastery, his choice of sobriquet (*gō*), his doings on the continent, and his assumption of the title "First Seat of the Meditation Assembly at Tiantong si," an honorific conferred on him in China that would be prominently featured in his late signatural inscriptions. As Shimao argues, Sesshū mobilized the multiple networks of literary monks with whom he interacted to disseminate the broad outlines of a carefully managed life narrative. Although the elements of this narrative may have a basis in reality—indeed, many of them appear rooted in actual circumstances—they nevertheless were aggrandized or favorably contextualized through the machinery of social versification among Zen monks, being repeated in essays, painting inscriptions, and verse eulogies, in many cases directly prompted by Sesshū himself.[10] According to Shimao, Sesshū was the self-fashioned artist par excellence, programming the reception of his own record of achievement as both a "man of Zen" and a master painter.

Shimao's Sesshū was no longer the peripatetic monk unbeholden to any tradition of painting, inspired by the grandeur of nature, and catalyzed by his own spiritual awakening. This persona was supplanted by a more anxious and aggrieved character structure based on the known events in Sesshū's life. This radically revised life narrative proposed that by the 1450s (when he was in his mid-thirties), Sesshū had realized that he could no longer achieve career advancement in the monasteries of Kyoto as either painter or ecclesiast and decided to test his fortune in the western city of Yamaguchi in Suō Province, under the control of the Ōuchi warlords. He surmised—correctly, it turns out—that the dynamic cultural sphere of the Ōuchi territories and possibilities for travel to China would open new opportunities for a monk-painter with few prospects otherwise. Throughout the remainder of his life, however, the monk-painter harbored an inferiority complex vis-à-vis the capital and used every occasion to let his achievements be known there through the literary encomia of fellow monks. It is in this context that the general view of the painter as an accomplished and awakened Zen painter, again primarily self-instigated, would sediment in historical consciousness. The shared image of Sesshū that has come down to the present, therefore, is largely an inheritance of the painter's own crafting.

Shimao's sustained repersonation of Sesshū constitutes the single most important intervention in the discourse on the painter in the modern era.[11] Despite its conceptual sophistication and widespread influence, Shimao's critical intervention has not been without its critics. Among a younger generation of specialists, Watada Minoru has been particularly vocal in countering Shimao's portrait of a medieval monk insistently congealing his own life narrative in the words of others. Watada takes a more literalist and intensely philological approach to primary sources, not seeking out agendas so much as attempting to extract the basic threshold of what is knowable.[12] The resulting profile of Sesshū shies away from any psychologizing and instead presents a more passive figure, almost an antihero. In this view, Sesshū is a product of circumstances beyond his control, simply a monk-painter on whom life-transforming events were thrust at certain moments in his career, most prominently the opportunity to study painting at the very heart of the Chinese imperium, unique among Japanese painters of any time or place.[13] Watada's portrait of the painter is in many ways diametrically opposed to that of Shimao. Whereas Shimao attributes a remarkable degree of subjectivity to Sesshū in the circumstances of his life and work, Watada concedes almost none, and while Shimao brings a poststructuralist sensibility to his subject, Watada appears to champion a kind of hyperempirical approach. The former provides a powerful and critical counternarrative to long-standing shibboleths concerning Sesshū's actions and artistry, but he overpsychologizes his subject. The latter, in his radical reduction of the painter to a kind of historical "ms. in a bottle," comes across as reactive and lacking an overarching methodological framework, but, in his thoroughgoing insistence on the neutrality of his subject, manages to highlight important areas of inquiry.

The importance of *Splashed Ink Landscape* to this debate is unsurprising, since both approaches are ultimately concerned with an *argumentum ad hominem* in which the work is understood to inform an overarching characterology. Ses-

shū's preface on *Splashed Ink Landscape* appears to constitute ideal fodder for a conception of his profile, whether it be that of a painter in exile redacting his reputation manqué from the provinces or that of an unpresumptuous, talented monk whose involuntary passage through a number of cultural milieus over time ended up greatly particularizing his pictorial production and circumstances. Thus, on the one hand, Shimao sees the preface to *Splashed Ink Landscape* as a message intended for the Five Mountains establishment in Kyoto, the five leading administrative Zen monasteries in that city. Anticipating that Sōen, his trainee and the recipient of the scroll, would transport the painting to the capital to gather inscriptions from senior monks, Sesshū used the opportunity to author a redemptive, valedictory address to his high-ranking contemporaries there. On the other hand, Watada interprets the same preface as a direct and matter-of-fact transaction between painter and disciple, one that takes seemingly unorthodox form because of the prominence Sesshū had achieved by this late stage in his career. According to this understanding, the painter's listing of his own achievements is meant as a model for an aspiring pupil in a classical, sermonizing (*kyōkunteki*) mode. Watada questions the degree to which Sesshū may have anticipated the later inscriptions and insists that we take the painter at his word. This is where *Splashed Ink Landscape* stands today, oscillating between these two paradigms, its preface finely scrutinized but still directed toward an auteur-driven framework for analysis.

Splashed Ink Landscape and the Ground of Subjectivity

While the commentaries described above offer a rich trove of insights on Sesshū's life and work, the full complexity of *Splashed Ink Landscape* is ultimately best captured outside the framework of a monographic argument. The goal is to explore as systematically as possible the conditions under which an ink painting in medieval Japan could express subjectivity in the first place. The artist's preface undoubtedly makes *Splashed Ink Landscape* an anomaly in the pictorial culture of the Muromachi period. As exceptional as this may be, attention to this prose passage has come at the expense of a sustained consideration of the totality of the pictorial artifact itself, inclusive of the painting and the poetic inscriptions that respond to it. When examined as an organic, combinatory whole, its three major components—landscape, preface, and poems—collectively enable new insights into the nature of meaning-making in Japanese ink painting. Mapping the inner mechanics of this process onto the specific production context of *Splashed Ink Landscape* results in an array of oblique and unexpected perspectives concerning how the status of monk-painters as discursive subjects could be mediated by the materiality of the ink-painting medium.

To pursue this effort, then, *Splashed Ink Landscape* will be considered in relation to three specific rubrics or frames of reference that correspond to the three distinct zones of the surface of the hanging scroll, that is to say (from bottom to top), the painting, Sesshū's preface, and the six poetic inscriptions by Zen monks that were added soon after it was painted. The first rubric is that of the origin of the splashed ink method within East Asian painting history and the pictorial culture of medieval Japan. The seemingly undisciplined facture of *Splashed Ink Landscape* can be traced back to one of the more mythic moments in the history of East Asian painting, the dynamic and Dionysian painting acts of the Chinese painter Wang Mo during the late eighth century. In medieval Japan this tradition was encountered through the evocative landscapes of the much later artist Yujian, a continental monk-painter whose works today constitute the earliest extant examples of the splashed-ink method. Yujian's oeuvre was embraced in the archipelago as one of the highest achievements of monochrome ink painting, and his works were avidly collected by the Ashikaga shoguns, who amassed the most notable assemblage of Chinese artworks in the Muromachi period. The Ashikaga collection became the basis for modal painting, a system for conceptualizing and commissioning paintings based on works and painters in the shogunal treasury. In its own time the pictorial idiom of *Splashed Ink Landscape* was thus understood as an exercise in the Yujian mode, of which Sesshū was one of the most accomplished practitioners, and an extension of the rarefied pictorial culture of the Ashikaga environment. And yet, as argued here, the specific circumstances of *Splashed Ink Landscape* inevitably placed pressure on mode-based painting via its displacement from the centers of political, religious, and cultural authority in Kyoto and from the new meanings with which it was animated by its textual enclosures.

The second context for Sesshū's painting is the manner in which *Splashed Ink Landscape*, in particular its preface, invokes but also provokes the pictorial culture of the Gozan, or Five Mountains and, by extension, the capital's Rinzai-sect Zen community as a whole.[14] Within the Five Mountains, pictorial artifacts were often used to authenticate interpersonal and institutional relationships, most notably the painting genres of the Zen master portrait (*chinsō*) and poem-picture scroll (*shigajiku*). Although the primary purpose of Zen portraiture was to serve as the focus of mortuary ritual, the likenesses of abbots could also be conferred to further legitimize master-disciple relationships and affiliations with specific dharma (sectarian) lineages. Poem-picture scrolls, by contrast, commemorated more horizontal and unofficial group bonds and were typically given to monks to mark noteworthy moments in their life cycle. Both genres were often inscribed with a preface by a venerable member of the ecclesiastical community. In inscribing *Splashed Ink Landscape* with a similar preface, Sesshū, who, like many monk-painters, was of low monastic rank, thus assumed the prerogatives of a Zen master, one who in this case was conferring his teaching on a disciple. As a consequence, *Splashed Ink Landscape* frames artistic transmission as religious transmission, underscoring the ambiguous status of the medieval monk-painter. The inscription of a Zen master's voice into a scroll transforms it from a mere modal painting to a work that proposes a master-disciple relationship in an unprecedented manner. An analysis of the cast of characters involved in the creation and circulation of *Splashed Ink Landscape*, however, underscores the fact that this commemorative function is ultimately realized not by Sesshū alone but by the interrelational dynamic between Sesshū, Sōen, and the Kyoto abbots who added verse inscriptions to its surface. The painting emerges from and mediates an intergenerational, transarchipelagic matrix of monks and, in so doing, stretches the protocols of Zen pictorial culture in new and unexpected ways.

The third frame of reference is that of the discursive reception of *Splashed Ink Landscape* insofar as this can be gleaned from its poetic inscriptions. As the poems suggest, splashed ink was understood to constitute a singular and effective method of staging the pictorial representation of a cultivated literatus. For centuries gentlemanly culture in China had nurtured a variety of ways of writing about individuals as exemplary of those ideals most cherished by scholar-officials: learning, poetic talent, amateurism, naturalness, modesty, and a reclusive tendency. In soliciting this kind of commentary from its inscribers, *Splashed Ink Landscape* elevates the otherwise artisanal monk-painter to the register of ideal lettered subject, a cultivated, noble recluse. In the context of the painting's transmissive function, moreover, this discursive framing articulates its subject not only as a participant in an artistic transmission but as part of a genealogy of cultivated interiority that extends throughout history.

When examined in terms of these three registers, *Splashed Ink Landscape* comes through as an extremely complex pictorial artifact situated at the intersection of Ashikaga modal painting and Zen pictorial culture. It represents a tension between the erosion of the modal painting system in the wake of declining shogunal authority and the inexorable rise of the monk-painter's status throughout the medieval period. By invoking the protocols of the Zen portrait and poem-picture scroll, it assumes a transmissive function itself, thus conceptualizing artistic transmission as dharma transmission. In doing so, *Splashed Ink Landscape* mediates the aspirations of a number of constituencies dispersed throughout the archipelago, from Sesshū in the west to Sōen in the east and high-ranking Zen monks in Kyoto. In addition, its poems demonstrate the ways in which ink painting could become an effective ground for the pictorial expression of subjectivity in medieval Japan. Ultimately, therein lies its art historical legacy: *Splashed Ink Landscape* offers an early and remarkable precedent for the way in which Japanese painters could become the subjects of discursive attention and for the conceptualization of artistic transmission in the archipelago for centuries afterward.

Explication de geste

A close visual analysis of Sesshū's painting indicates that, despite its title, *Splashed Ink Landscape* is composed in a manner both thoughtful and architectonic. Careful parsing helps to counter a misleading tendency in the literature that views the work as spontaneous and unfettered, with an uninhibitedly natural manner of execution. At a visual register, such characterizations merely illuminate the effects but not the mechanics of the work, which is therefore read only as it wants to be read.

The painting seems to oscillate perpetually between representation and abstraction (Fig. 3). Patience is required on the part of the viewer to allow the various brushstrokes and washes to cohere into an intelligible image. Once this happens, its basic features can be quickly enumerated. The lower portion approximates an embankment facing an expanse of water, suggested by the unpainted surface of the paper. On the embankment one finds several rooftops, including that of a wineshop or tavern, indicated as per custom by a banner and surrounding fence. To its right, on the water, drifts a boat with two seated figures. Above the embankment one finds a cluster of motifs floating as if suspended in air, a fusion of rock face, tree trunks, and foliage, with a few odd branches thrusting out. To the left a light wash evokes mist, and peaks rise in the distance, at the top of the painting, as if emerging from the blankness. The basic components of the image are thus kept to a minimum. As with much East Asian ink painting, the resulting landscape operates according to a principle of simultaneity; its individual components are always legible as both brushstrokes or washes and details of a larger representation at the same time. Each element suggests both means and end, process and result, the mark-in-itself as well as the thing depicted. Double vision is required to appreciate this coexistence of functions.

The visual interest of *Splashed Ink Landscape* lies primarily in the manner in which this simultaneity is induced. Outlines play only a limited role, and the image is made up of only a few brushstrokes. The strangely calm dynamism of the work—the rhythmic interplay of different tonalities, the sharp contrast in gradation, the syncopation of wet and dry textures, the varying degrees of liquidity expressed through bleeding, blotting, and dry, staccato strokes—all of this hinges on the painter's ability to execute the composition with controlled rapidity. The process by which the painting was executed is centered on the sequential application of different layers of ink wash, which are applied from lightest and most diluted to darkest and richest. While the initial and faintest layer was still moist, a second layer of medium gray ink was applied, at times bleeding into the previous layer to fuse into both a panoply of differing tones and bruised areas. Occasionally a drier brush was employed to create the scratchy traces of individual brush hairs that provide the impression of speed and acceleration. A final layer of jet black ink was applied, seen primarily in the tree trunks, branches, and certain parts of the foliage, the building with its surrounding fence and banner, and the two figures in the boat to the lower right. While the richly inked final layer bled here and there into the previous layers, dark ink also articulated details, such as the figures in the boat, that provide a sense of scale to the whole. These finishing touches are decisive in imbuing Sesshū's work with a sense of architectural structure.

Here we witness the painter as alchemist, blending and diluting his ink with water in different ratios to achieve a spectrum of grays and blacks with which to orchestrate his landscape; the magic of water solubility has never been on more eloquent display. Yet the execution of the painting is carefully measured, from the controlled rapidity with which layers of wash are applied to the architectonic composition. Unlike brushwork, however, inkwork leaves only ambiguous traces of an originating act and mostly renders opaque the corporeal movements that made it. The low profile of facture here cues the viewer to read the painting as the result of chance gestures. The effect of swiftness and the simulation of contingent brushwork are achieved through recourse to a specific mode of East Asian ink landscape painting, the examination of which is necessary to provide a context for the aesthetics of accident embodied in Sesshū's painting.

3 Detail of Fig. 1, showing the painting only (artwork in the public domain; photograph © TNM Image Archives, provided by DNP Archives)

Splashed Ink

The ultimate etiology of the inkwork witnessed here extends back to a practice recorded in early texts as "splashed ink" (Chinese: *pomo*, Japanese: *hatsuboku*) that emerged in China sometime during the eighth century. This is the term from which Sesshū's landscape takes its title here, but over the years, numerous variations have also been applied, including "splattered ink," "spattered ink," "flung ink," "broken ink," and so forth. Of these, the term "broken ink" (C. *pomo*, J. *haboku*) has been used the most frequently, and until recently in Japan it had been common to title Sesshū's work *Broken Ink Landscape* (*Haboku sansui zu*). This title, however, is based on a misunderstanding of a term Sesshū employed in his preface. There Sesshū speaks of traveling to the continent and acquiring "a mastery of color and ink painting." The character compound in this phrase, which literally means "broken ink," was in fact a generic term at the time that referred to ink painting in general, not a specific technique.[15] Yet the ink technique manifest in Sesshū's painting bears a close affinity with the splashed-ink tradition of China, which by then was

already well over half a millennium old. The term "splashed ink" (*pomo*) is first found in relation to the painter Wang Mo in *Record of Famous Painters throughout the Ages* (C. *Lidai minghua ji*) and *Celebrated Painters of the Tang Dynasty* (C. *Tangchao minghua lu*), both ninth-century compilations of artists' biographies.[16] There the term is used to designate Wang Mo's carefree and unorthodox process of producing ink landscapes. As described by Zhu Jingxuan, Wang Mo's performative painting would come to be regarded as the primal scene of the splashed ink tradition:

> Whenever he wanted to paint a picture, Wang Mo would first drink wine, and when he was sufficiently drunk, would splash the ink onto the painting surface. Then, laughing and singing all the while, he would stamp on it with his feet and smear it with his hands, besides swashing and sweeping it with the brush. The ink would be thin in some places, rich in others; he would follow the shapes which brush and ink had produced, making these into mountains, rocks, clouds and mists, wash in wind and rain, with the suddenness of Creation. It was exactly like the cunning of a deity; when one examined the painting after it was finished he could see no traces of the puddles of ink.[17]

This entry was located in the "untrammeled" (C. *yipin*) section of Zhu's compilation, reserved for painters who did not subscribe to the authoritative Six Laws of Painting articulated by Xie He in the fourth century.[18] By and large, it would be repeated in later treatises, including *Extensive Records from the Taiping Era* (978) and *Painting Manual of the Xuanhe Era* (1120). According to this account, the splashed ink process consisted of an initial ink blot, trace, or stain created not with a brush but a flamboyant corporeal gesture. This originary mark could be the result of a flung ink rag, ink splashed onto the painting surface, or, as *Record of Famous Painters throughout the Ages* describes, hair dipped in ink, enhanced by the smearing of hands and feet in the resulting puddles. In whatever effect was produced, the painter would seek out or free-associate a landscape scene, guided by his imagination and the accidental forms in front of him.

While the rise of this practice in the mid-Tang period (618–907) has been well rehearsed, few have taken note of the invented nature of the accounts of Wang Mo and other splashed ink practitioners. Usually taken at face value, for example, are descriptions of his inebriation during the act of creation. Yet alcohol was often invoked as a literary trope preparing the way for the transgression of boundaries; its presence in Tang poetry was legion and usually signaled the heightened sensorial experience of the authorial voice. Undoubtedly wine was ingested in great quantities in Tang China, and more than a few poems were authored under its influence. The extolling of spirits was a common way of establishing a fictional persona in poetic practice, alongside other personas such as the noble recluse or knight-errant, and its appearance here can be understood as an extension of literary practices into the brush arts.[19] Wine was a privileged motif in a medieval Chinese poetics of intoxication that one suspects was applied to accounts of Wang Mo. Accounts of his antics to a large extent simply follow a template for the description of eccentric behavior often attributed to recluses during this period, such as Wang Mo's contemporary Huai Su, the calligrapher to whom the invention of the highly abbreviated "crazy cursive" script is attributed. It is tempting to speculate that these reports were derived from the visual impressions of the images themselves. As will be discussed later, the association of splashed ink with drunken mark-making endured well beyond the Tang period and finds its way into the inscriptions on *Splashed Ink Landscape*.[20]

The subsequent development of splashed ink in Chinese painting is difficult to trace owing to a dearth of surviving works. Further complicating this task is its apparent absorption, as Ogawa Hiromitsu has argued, into monumental landscape painting of the following centuries.[21] Today, the landscapes of the thirteenth-century painter Ruofen Yujian best invoke the earliest stages of the splashed ink method. Little is known about Yujian other than that he was a Tiantai Buddhist monk active at Upper Tianru si monastery in Hangzhou during the late Southern Song period (1127–1279).[22] Although Yujian never enjoyed critical acclaim in China, in Japan he was considered among the greatest of continental painting masters and much sought after, as reflected in the number of his works that made their way into the famous Ashikaga treasury and notable tea master collections.[23] Texts describe Yujian's painting only as "simple" or "abbreviated" (*jian*); otherwise, no period commentary specifically connects it to the splashed ink tradition of Wang Mo. His surviving works, however, demonstrate the degree to which Yujian contrived an accidental mark as the origin of his landscapes. Although *Mount Lu*, which depicts a famed poetic and mythological site, avails itself of rough, abbreviated brushwork (Fig. 4), his other extant works, such as *Mountain Market, Clearing Mist*, are more indicative of his method, in particular his reliance on fused washes (Fig. 5).[24] As in *Splashed Ink Landscape*, no outlines are employed for the landscape elements themselves, and the viewer is forced to meet the image halfway in order to complete it. The fluid integration of distinct grades of ink tonality engenders a moist and ever-morphing effect; in some places the landscape bruises, in others it flames. Facture here is deceptive, for while *Mountain Market, Clearing Mist* seems to bear the traces of an originary gesture, it is skillfully engineered to stage the accident and manufacture a sense of speed. The splash is an affect, made to seem as if it were always already there.

In medieval Japan, splashed ink was closely associated with the example of Yujian. It is unclear exactly when his paintings began to enter the archipelago, but Japanese works in the inky shorthand associated with his method began to appear in the mid-fifteenth century.[25] A number of works attributed to Shūbun, Sesshū's painting master at Shōkokuji, invoke Yujian's method, including one bearing a poetic inscription by the monk Kōsei Ryūha (1374–1446) and datable to the 1440s.[26] A landscape bearing a Shūbun seal, rediscovered fairly recently in the British Museum, closely resembles the composition of the work inscribed by Kōsei (Fig. 6). Its reliance on planar wash to intimate landscape elements in combination with small, sharp details marks it as a mid-Muromachi adaptation of Yujian's compositions to a vertical orientation. Intriguingly, this work is now attributed to the young Sesshū, who came of age at a time when works in this vein became a regular feature of the Shōkokuji orbit.[27] Sev-

4 Ruofen Yujian, *Mount Lu*, Chinese, late 13th century, vertical hanging scroll, ink on silk, 14 × 24⅝ in. (35.5 × 62.7 cm). Okayama Prefectural Museum, Important Cultural Property (artwork in the public domain; photograph © Okayama Prefectural Museum)

5 Ruofen Yujian, *Mountain Market, Clearing Mist*, Chinese, late 13th century, vertical hanging scroll, ink on paper, 13 × 32⅝ in. (33.1 × 82.8 cm). Idemitsu Art Museum, Tokyo, Important Cultural Property (artwork in the public domain; photograph © Idemitsu Art Museum)

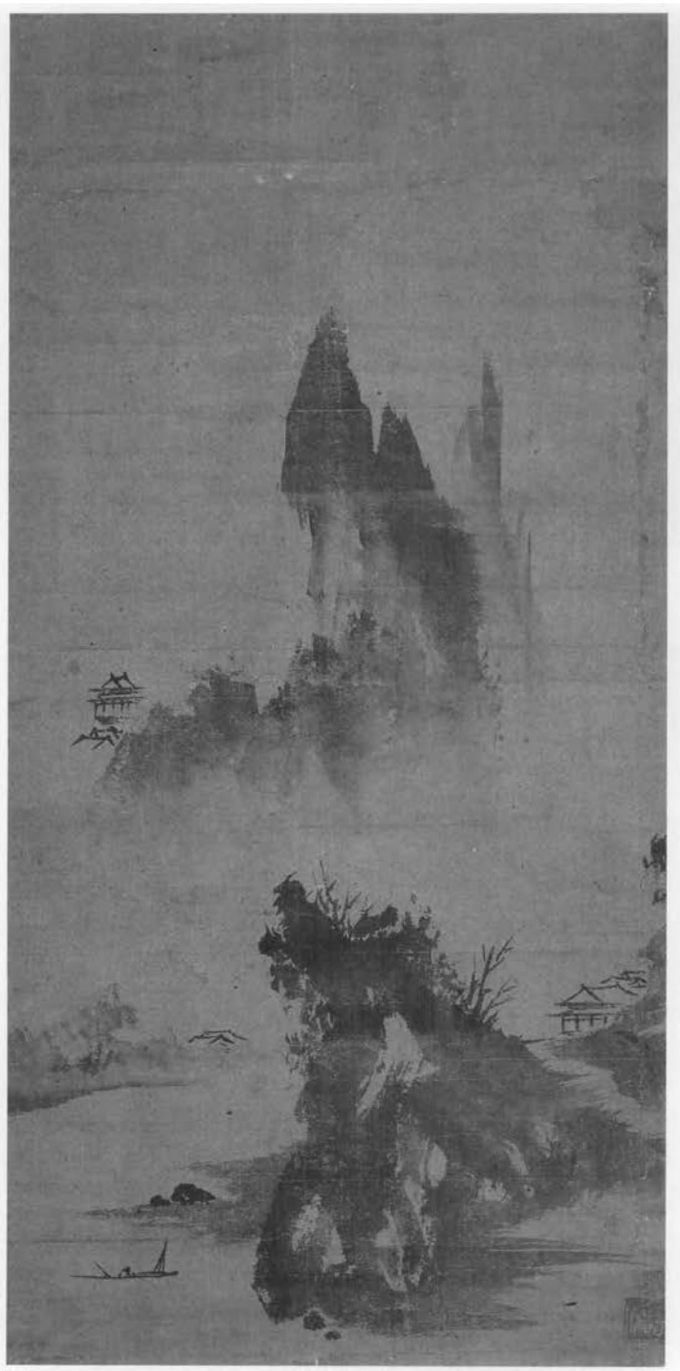
eral paintings believed to be by a young Sesshū when he went by the name "Sessō," all of which share the generic title *Splashed Ink Landscape*, demonstrate similar habits of ink-work.[28] A fan-shaped painting in the Nezu Museum relies on the implicative use of wash and shaggy brushstrokes to evoke the basic characteristics of a landscape scene (Fig. 7). In another example in the Masaki Art Museum (Fig. 8), all landscape elements are fused together, with only buildings, bare branches, and figures in boats subject to even minimal articulation. These works most likely were created during the mid-1450s, after Sesshū moved to Yamaguchi.[29] Already during these years, Sesshū was a leading practitioner of the splashed ink method associated with Yujian.

By the time fellow monk Baifu Ryōshin authored "Record of a Pavilion with a View Unfurled from Heaven" (*Tenkai togarō ki*), an account of Sesshū's studio in Bungo Province in 1476, Yujian was acknowledged as one of the major sources of the painter's pictorial menu.[30] Copies of three Sesshū splashed ink works by the painter Kano Tsunenobu (1636–1713), now preserved in the Tokyo National Museum, suggest that Sesshū painted a number of such scrolls in the vertical format during his late years (Figs. 9–11).[31] All three landscapes evoke the basic qualities of *Splashed Ink Landscape*, from their sequentially applied washes of differing tones to their compositions and motifs. The originals on which they were based were all inscribed by monk-acquaintances of the painter and can be dated to the last two decades of the fifteenth century.[32] As the poem by Ōsen Keisan on one of them demonstrates (Fig. 9), the aqueous effects of sliding gray tones are a pretext for reading atmospheric effects into the scenes and for understanding them as settings for solitary reflection in the vast wilderness:

> A secluded old hut, rays of light penetrate the clouds,
> Who is this who now returns to the mountains?
> A wandering boat carries a goat, an old man on a leisurely outing,
> With white hair and seasoned visage, he faces the solitude.

Modal Painting

Splashed Ink Landscape was clearly not an isolated work in Sesshū's oeuvre, which is unsurprising because the Yujian mode appears to have been closely associated with the painter throughout his career. Before considering this association further, however, the medieval Japanese taxonomy according to which this and other works were classified by specific Chinese brush modes merits further consideration, not least because it reflected a manner of differentiating monochrome pictorial idioms that thoroughly conditioned Sesshū's production. Modal painting emerged during the



6 Attributed to Sesshū Tōyō, *Landscape*, mid-15th century, vertical hanging scroll, ink on paper, 25 × 12½ in. (63.5 × 31.7 cm). British Museum, London (artwork in the public domain; photograph © The Trustees of the British Museum)

7 Sesshū Tōyō, *Splashed Ink Landscape*, 1450s, vertical hanging scroll, ink on paper, 11¼ × 12⅜ in. (28.5 × 31.3 cm). Nezu Museum, Tokyo (artwork in the public domain; photograph © Nezu Museum)

fifteenth century in the pictorial culture that developed at the intersection of the Ashikaga shogunate and the Five Mountains monastic community. It designates a manner of conceptualizing picture making and subject matter according to the conventions of Chinese painting masters represented in the Ashikaga collection.[33] To execute a work in the mode of a continental painter did not simply indicate the work was used as a model; rather, it involved the suturing together of different compositional templates, brushwork, techniques, and other mannerisms, drawn from many different examples into a new pictorial amalgamation. In the Ashikaga sphere, paintings came to be regularly commissioned and executed according to such modes.

Continental paintings were amassed by the Ashikaga shoguns in emulation of the cultural practices of the Chinese emperor, specifically Emperor Huizong (1082–1135), who served as a direct model for the third shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358–1408).[34] The accumulation of such Chinese luxury objects (*karamono*) gave the shogunate means to rival the material splendor and cultural standards of the Japanese imperial court. The concentration of works evoking a rival imperial treasury in Ashikaga storerooms was the primary precondition for the rise of this practice. It was only natural, then, that it originated with monk-painters affiliated with Shōkokuji, which was the administrative temple most closely linked to the shogunate, where the Office of the Registry of Monks (Sōrokushi) was located. Sesshū's two forerunners at the monastery, Josetsu and Shūbun, had already embraced this new tendency to make pictures in the modal manner. By the mid-fifteenth century, six modes in particular, those associated with the proper names Xia Gui, Muqi, Liang Kai, Yujian, Ma Yuan, and Sun Junze, were well established in the pictorial culture of the capital, yet there were many others as well. Among these, the Xia Gui mode was considered the most formal and legible register of picture making, and the Yujian mode was situated at the other end of illegibility and visual obscurity, but all to poetic effect.[35]

Having been formed in this milieu, Sesshū was the ultimate example of the medieval modal painter. His contemporaries

viewed him as such, and in Baifu Ryōshin's "Record of the Pavilion with a View Unfurled from Heaven" Sesshū's artistry is described entirely in modal terms. Sesshū's Buddhist and Daoist figures were in the Wu Daozi and Liang Kai modes; his West Lake paintings in the Yujian mode; his Western regions paintings in the Gao Kegong mode; his color bird-and-flower works in the Qian Xuan mode; his dragons, tigers, monkeys, and cranes in the Muqi mode; and, finally, his ink demons in the Gong Kai mode.[36] With the movement of painters to the provinces in the wake of the Ōnin War (1467–77), a civil war among competing warrior factions that devastated the capital, modal painting was disseminated to new centers for picture making around the archipelago during the final quarter of the fifteenth century. Accordingly, Sesshū was in a position to shape the terms under which a mode-based process of pictorial production would develop in the western provinces. In addition, his experience in China appears to have instilled in him a somewhat individuated horizon of reference different from the standard Ashikaga menu. This can be gleaned from the colophon he inscribed for his disciple Tōetsu in 1474 on a work that that is now preserved at the Yamaguchi Prefectural Museum.[37] There he tells Tōetsu,

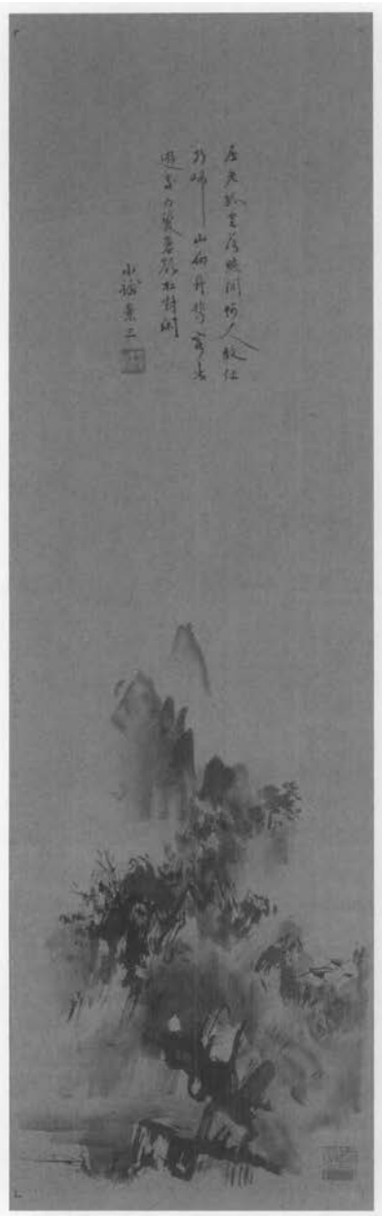
> In the past I traveled to China and viewed works by famous painters there. Many were those who claimed Yanjing [Gao Kegong] as their master. Since then, in keeping with current trends, whenever I paint a landscape for better or worse I follow Yanjing. My disciple Tōetsu seeks a painting model and therefore I have painted this for him. According to Xia Shilong [Wenyan] of Wuxing, there are few who can equal the brush concepts of Gao Yanjing. Tōetsu, continue to strive.

Although Yanjing, better known as Gao Kegong (1248–1310), was a notable painter in his time, his name was not widely known in Japan, making Sesshū's choice of this artist unusual in an archipelagic context.

The most revealing traces of Sesshū's formation as a modal painter are six paintings in fan-shaped frames created sometime during the latter decades of the fifteenth century (Fig. 12). Each painting depicts a different subject and includes a signature by Sesshū within the frame and the name of the pictorial mode invoked by the style of the picture on the outside: two each are in the mode of Xia Gui and Li Tang, one each in the mode of Liang Kai and Yujian. These works were originally part of a single handscroll, which, judging from a later copy by Kano Tsunenobu, once comprised at least twelve such works (Fig. 13).[38] The sequence likely served as a reference for patrons when discussing the range of modalities for a given commission.

Of the fan-shaped paintings, the "Yujian" example demonstrates beyond any doubt that *Splashed Ink Landscape* was painted in the mode that bears this particular name (Fig. 14). Sesshū's fan painting adopts an abbreviated composition, due in some measure to its function as a modal model. But even as a preliminary study, it demonstrates that Sesshū's Yujian mode had by this time incorporated the myriad visual effects that accompany the sequential layering of different tonal washes, achieving something closer to the essence of the tradition associated with Wang Mo, centered on the

8 Sesshū Tōyō, *Splashed Ink Landscape*, 1450s, vertical hanging scroll, ink on paper, 27½ × 13⅜ in. (70 × 34 cm). Masaki Art Museum, Osaka, Important Cultural Property (artwork in the public domain; photograph © Masaki Art Museum)



9 Kano Tsunenobu, *Copy of Sesshū's Splashed Ink Landscape*, late 17th or early 18th century, original inscribed by Ōsen Keisan ca. 1484–85, vertical hanging scroll, ink on paper, 42 × 12¾ in. (106.8 × 32.5 cm). Tokyo National Museum, Kano copy no. A-2291-4 (artwork in the public domain; photograph © TNM Image Archives, provided by DNP Archives)

10 Kano Tsunenobu, *Copy of Sesshū's Splashed Ink Landscape*, late 17th or early 18th century, original inscribed by Shōun Seisan ca. late 15th or early 16th century, vertical hanging scroll, ink on paper, 45⅛ × 16¼ in. (114.7 × 41.4 cm). Tokyo National Museum, Kano copy no. A-2291-5 (artwork in the public domain; photograph © TNM Archives, provided by DNP Archives)

11 Kano Tsunenobu, *Copy of Sesshū's Splashed Ink Landscape*, 1697, original inscribed by Isan Shūshō ca. late 15th or early 16th century, vertical hanging scroll, ink on paper, 42⅛ × 13⅜ in. (106.9 × 46.7 cm). Tokyo National Museum, Kano copy no. A-2291-7 (artwork in the public domain; photograph © TNM Archives, provided by DNP Archives)

simulation of a splash. The modal fan painting or a similar composition may even have been directly generative of *Splashed Ink Landscape*. For the latter, Sesshū flipped this composition from right to left and added the faintly inked peaks in the background, the better to accommodate the vertical format. In so doing, he had arrived at perhaps the most successful execution of the splashed ink mode yet by a Japanese painter, something that revealed a deeper understanding of the inner mechanics of Yujian's practice than anything essayed before.

The Preface

Splashed Ink Landscape, then, would seem to represent as unambiguous an example of modal painting as can be found in the Muromachi period. Ten'in Ryūtaku, one of the six inscribers of the painting, acknowledges as much when he asks rhetorically, "Who is this emulating the rivers and mountains of Yujian?" Any straightforward understanding of *Splashed Ink Landscape* as simply another iteration of the Yujian mode, however, is complicated by the addition of Sesshū's 191-character preface (Fig. 15). Nothing compara-

ble has been recorded by any other medieval monk-painter. It reads as follows:

> The Tripitaka Keeper Sōen from Sagami Province has spent several years studying painting with me. His skill with the brush has matured, and he has devoted his heart and mind to the Way of Painting. His inspired work ethic has been remarkable. This spring Sōen announced to me that he would be returning home, and asked that I brush a painting that he could take with him and bequeath to his descendants as an heirloom. He made this same request repeatedly over several days. Because my eyesight fails me and my vigor continues to wane, I do not know how I could have satisfied such a request. Nevertheless, moved by his determination, I took up my worn-out brush, spread ink over paper and created this image. Upon handing it to him I said as follows: "Once long ago I journeyed to China, crossed the great Yangtze River northward and arrived in Beijing. There I sought out a painting master, but those who could paint pure and excellent works turned out to be few and far between. At the time the two painters Zhang Yousheng and Li Zai were the most famous, and thus under them I studied and acquired a mastery of techniques of color application and ink painting. After several years I returned to Japan. Upon my return I noted that the two painting masters of my own lineage, Josetsu and Shūbun, never embellished or abbreviated the painting models that were transmitted to them. After traveling far and wide in both China and Japan, I finally came to the realization that the lofty spirit and learning of these two masters is to be greatly revered." Thus responding to the request of a disciple, I humbly brush this inscription.[39]

Commentary on the preface has traditionally focused on its relationship to Sesshū's biography, and in particular to his claim to having studied under the Chinese painters Zhang Yousheng and Li Zai (d. 1431). The former has yet to be identified, whereas the latter was a prominent landscape painter in the Imperial Painting Academy during the early Ming period (1368–1644). Because Li Zai died well before Sesshū's stay on the continent (1467–1469), there has been considerable debate concerning the latter's intentions in invoking the former's name in this context.[40] Whatever the case may be, it seems that Sesshū did study at the Imperial Painting Academy for approximately half a year during his stay in Beijing.[41] Otherwise, there is nothing in the preface that is not also suggested by other sources or circumstances.

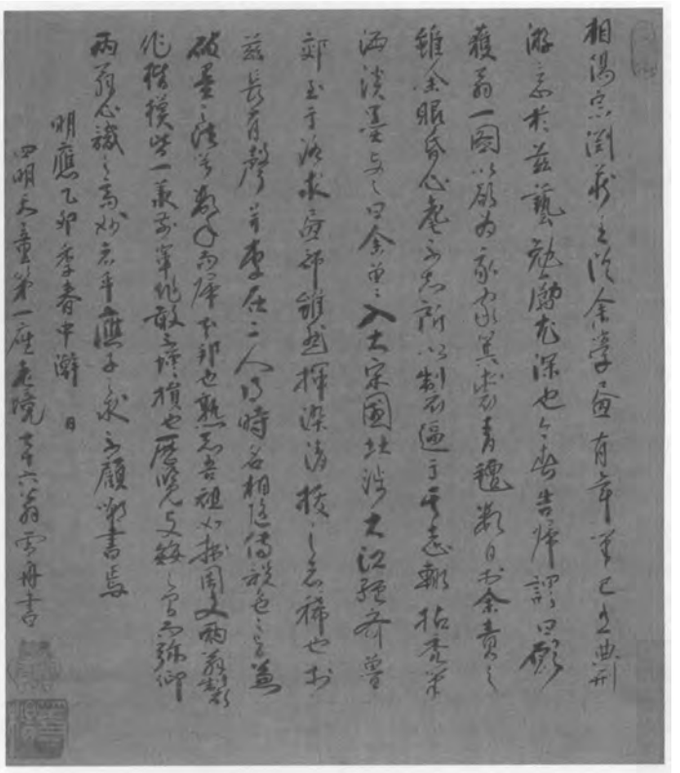
Two aspects of the textual passage merit close scrutiny. The first is the clear consciousness it evinces of a genealogy of monk-painters—consisting of Josetsu and Shūbun at Shōkokuji—to which Sesshū claims affiliation; the second is its reflective, knowing tone, which assumes the voice of a venerable and world-weary religious master. These two characteristics are not unrelated, as they point to the inherent tension between modal painting and the rising status of the Zen monk-painter. The landscape in the Yujian mode recalls what is both remarkable and mundane about the Zen monk-painter in Five Mountains culture. Its virtuosity points to the mastery of a highly rarefied set of pictorial techniques based on specialized training and exclusive access to models. At the same time, the accomplished inkwork demonstrates a skill that lies outside the purview of the ecclesiast proper; it is ultimately vocational and automatonic, the work of an acolyte-artisan. Yet the preface frames vocational skill in painting as being akin to the manner in which Zen Buddhism conceptualizes spiritual awakening, as something that can be transmitted intuitively from the mind of one practitioner to another. Here the nontextual, mind-to-mind transmission of the dharma becomes a master reference for the brush-to-brush transmission of artisanal secrets. Josetsu and Shūbun are exemplary because they were faithful to their modal models, and *Splashed Ink Landscape* testifies that Sesshū is a keeper of the flame as well, owing to his command of the Yujian mode. It is up to Sōen to pass this wisdom on to worthy others. Sesshū's painting is not only an artifact that acknowledges this transmission through its preface but a pictorial object that—as a painting model for Sōen—will ensure transmission to future generations.

12 Sesshū Tōyō, *The Daoist Immortal Huang Zhuping after Liang Kai*, late 15th century, vertical hanging scroll, ink on paper, 11⅞ × 12⅜ in. (30.3 × 31.4 cm). Kyoto National Museum, Important Cultural Property (artwork in the public domain; photograph © Kyoto National Museum, provided by Shimizu Kogeisha)

By thus presenting the conferral of a painting as an act of genealogization, the preface effectively conditions what is otherwise an exercise in modal painting to be experienced as the transmissive gesture of a Zen master. It does so, moreover, by invoking the protocols of two painting genres that were closely associated with the religious master in Gozan practice: those of the abbot's portrait (*chinsō*) and the poem-picture scroll (*shigajiku*), each of which were similarly ordained through the prefaces of senior monks. Although the function of portraiture in East Asian Chan (Chinese)/Zen (Japanese) communities was primarily for ritual use in mortuary observances, in Japanese Zen environments, the likenesses of religious masters often took on the added dimen-

13 Kano Tsunenobu, *Copies of Sesshū Modal Paintings*, late 17th or early 18th century, horizontal handscroll, ink and colors on paper, 1 ft. ⅝ in. × 12 ft. 10⅜ in. (32 × 392.5 cm). Tokyo National Museum (artwork in the public domain; photograph © TNM Archives, provided by DNP Archives)

14 Sesshū Tōyō, *Landscape after Yujian*, late 15th century, vertical hanging scroll, ink on paper, 11⅞ × 12⅜ in. (30.3 × 31.5 cm). Okayama Prefectural Museum, Important Cultural Property (artwork in the public domain; photograph © Okayama Prefectural Museum)



15 *Splashed Ink Landscape*, detail of Fig. 1 showing the preface (artwork in the public domain; photograph © TNM Image Archives, provided by DNP Archives)

sion of authenticating master-disciple relationships, not necessarily in any formal, ritual, or doctrinal sense but, rather, in an institutional and societal one.[42] In this regard, prose and verse inscriptions administered by the master directly on a portrait played a significant role by identifying the recipient and recording the circumstances of conferral.

Typically, portraiture conferral was the prerogative of a Zen abbot, but as monk-painters became more established during the fifteenth century, they began to appropriate the practice to formalize their own lineages. An early example of such emulation is the portrait of Shūbun reported to have been owned by Bokkei Saiyo, a monk-painter active at Daitokuji monastery.[43] Although the portrait itself no longer exists and where and why it was made are unclear, a lengthy encomium authored for the portrait by Kisei Reigen (1403–1488) has survived and now constitutes one of the most important sources of information on Shūbun's life and painting.[44] It is noteworthy that Shūbun did not inscribe the portrait, and furthermore that his disciple Bokkei was a member of the Daitokuji community, where he was a devotee of the Zen master Ikkyū Sōjun (1394–1481).[45] In this period monk-painters were free to train beyond the confines of their monasteries and dharma circles.

A contemporary of Bokkei and fellow disciple of Shūbun, Sesshū appears to have been highly conscious of the authenticating function of portraiture possession. A number of Edo-period copies of Sesshū's likenesses suggest that he was not shy about using portraits to signify artistic transmission.[46] Among these later copies, an example in the Fujita Art Mu-

seum in Osaka is most telling (Fig. 16). The original on which it was based was painted by Sesshū in the winter of 1490, when the artist was seventy-one years old, for his disciple Shūgetsu Tōkan. Shūgetsu took the portrait to China, where he had it inscribed by the literatus Qingxia in 1496. The inscription by this otherwise unknown scholar casts its subject as a master in both the artistic and religious senses:

> The argument goes: a flower in the void originally has no material appearance. But if it has no material appearance, how can it be worshipped and handed down for hundreds and thousands of years? One day I tried to visualize this. Ah! This is the aspect of the Master when he concentrates his thoughts on writing, or when he takes up his brush to paint a banana tree in the snow! As for what is hidden within, it is freedom and independence. Since he is completely empty of human passions, there is no one superior to him.[47]

As if to anticipate such accolades, Sesshū's own signature, the leftmost column of his preface, prominently features the honorific title he was given in China, First Seat of the Meditation Assembly at Tiantong si. Furthermore, to present himself as a subject worthy of this title he assumes the headgear of a Chinese Chan monk. In Japanese *chinsō* practice, monks were usually depicted bareheaded, so the presence of this cap makes an already anomalous painting even more so.[48] Sesshū's cross-dressing as a continental monastic here is symptomatic; the shift of the sitter's sartorial profile from Zen to Chan seems to acknowledge the ambiguity of portraiture conferral when practiced by someone of borrowed rank.

It is possible to understand *Splashed Ink Landscape*, made only five years after this portrait, as a kind of likeness as well. When viewed as such, Sesshū's preface takes on the affectation of a Zen master in a number of ways. Its weariness of tone and hesitation to accede to the requests of a disciple echo the familiar humility of a venerable abbot, as do the hortatory passages directed at Sōen. The biographical account only enhances the intimacy of this direct mode of address, while establishing the author's credentials to assume such a disposition.

Portraiture was not the only model for the configuration of *Splashed Ink Landscape*, however. Equally important in informing the scroll's structure were the conventions of the poem-picture scroll. It was highly unusual to add numerous poems to the scroll's surface of a Zen portrait, but poem-picture scrolls commonly anticipated such communal acts of inscription. From the late fourteenth century onward, Japanese Zen monks adapted the Chinese literati practice of using paintings to commemorate significant moments in a monk's life cycle; these occasions could include relocation to another monastery, a promotion, the construction of one's own study, or retirement from monastic duties.[49] Such occasions resulted in what are now commonly termed "study paintings" (*shosaizu*) and "farewell paintings" (*sōbetsuzu*), the latter engendered by the Gozan system of reassigning monks to new administrative positions at different monasteries every few years, ensuring numerous occasions for commemorative picture-making. Poem-picture scrolls most often took the form of a diminutive landscape, leaving sufficient room so that a preface describing the occasion and verse inscriptions could then be added. By adopting a similar structure, *Splashed Ink Landscape* effectively anticipated an array of poetic acknowledgments.

16 *Copy of Sesshū Self-Portrait*, late 16th century, vertical hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper, 23⅜ × 11¼ in. (59.4 × 28.5 cm). Fujita Art Museum, Osaka, Important Cultural Property (artwork in the public domain; photograph © Fujita Art Museum)

Many such poem-picture scrolls emerged from the Five Mountains homosocial dynamic. Typically, they were created at the initiative of an older, high-ranking monk on behalf of a younger one. Recruiting poems from members of his dharma lineage or literary salon, the monk authored a pref-

17 *Newly Risen Moon over a Brushwood Gate*, 1405, vertical hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper, 50⅞ × 12¼ in. (129.2 × 31 cm). Fujita Art Museum, Osaka, National Treasure (artwork in the public domain; photograph © Fujita Art Museum)

ace to preserve for posterity the circumstances of the scroll's creation. In many cases a common theme, such as a classical poetic couplet, was posited at the outset, which participants were expected to address in turn. Such was the case for *Newly Risen Moon over a Brushwood Gate* (*Saimon shingetsu zu*), one of the oldest surviving poem-picture scrolls, with a preface dated to 1405 (Fig. 17). Both the painting and its eighteen poems are based on the last two verses of the poem "Neighbor to the South" (*Nanlin*) by Du Fu (712–770), a celebrated poet of the Tang dynasty.[50] The poem commemorates a scene of parting between the poet and his neighbor, a man known only as Mountain Man Zhu (Zhushanren), and the last two verses describe the evocative scene of departure: "White sand, jade green bamboo, a riverside village at dusk; we bid farewell as the moon newly rises over the brushwood gate." Each of the inscribers, all monks affiliated with the monastery Nanzenji in Kyoto, used the Du Fu verse to frame their own sentiments of parting from the recipient, a young monk named Nankei. The anonymous painting provided a pictorial pretext for inscriptions by depicting Du Fu's scene of leave-taking. Finally, a preface by Gyokuen Bonpō (1348–1420), at that point one of the leading monks in the Five Mountains community, recorded the occasion and the process by which the scroll was put together. In this manner, *Newly Risen Moon over a Brushwood Gate* provides a classic example of a genre that would prove highly popular in the early to mid-fifteenth century.

In the Five Mountains milieu, *shigajiku* became an effective means of garnering communal acknowledgment of the social bonds shared between monks. If portraits endorsed vertical relationships, those attested in poem-picture scrolls were mostly horizontal. *Splashed Ink Landscape* thus mobilizes the testimonial and evidentiary value of painting to map interpersonal matrices that extend both latitudinally and longitudinally. Yet, the question remains to what degree this appropriation of Gozan pictorial protocol reflects a flamboyant and unprecedented act of self-fashioning on the part of Sesshū, or might have been mediated by the prerogatives of others. To some extent this issue also revolves around the question of who instigated the six poetic inscriptions in the upper portion of the scroll. Close examination of *Splashed Ink Landscape* reveals a paper seam between Sesshū's preface and the poems, raising the possibility that the painting was originally accompanied only by a preface, and that only at some later point were the poems added, resulting in the work's current form. In other words, the possibility remains that Sesshū had originally conceived of the scroll as a transmissive portraitlike painting, but Sōen, by adding poetic testimonies, transformed it into something more like a poem-picture scroll. For this reason, any consideration of the original design and subsequent afterlife of *Splashed Ink Landscape* necessitates a proper accounting of Sesshū's disciple.

Sōen

Let us then reconsider *Splashed Ink Landscape* from the perspective of its recipient. Predictably, little is known about Josui Sōen. Although some twenty surviving paintings have been attributed to him, most of what is known about his profile derives from only a few sources, one of which is *Splashed Ink Landscape* itself.[51] The preface tells us that Sōen was a monk from Kamakura with the title Keeper of the Tripitaka (*zōsu*), and that he had been studying painting under Sesshū for three years in Suō Province when he re-

ceived the painting in the third month of 1495. To this brief set of facts can be added his main monastic affiliation with Engakuji in Kamakura, where several of his paintings remain to this day. The two questions most germane to the present inquiry, however, concern Sōen's initial intentions for the bequeathed scroll and how these may have changed during his subsequent activities in Kyoto.

The initial question is easily answered. Sesshū's preface indicates that Sōen planned to return to Kamakura, as does the headnote to the poem by one of the inscribers, Ranpa Keishi. In this regard, Sōen most likely had in mind the example of Kenkō Shōkei (act. ca. 1478–1518), another Kamakura painter who was affiliated with Kenchōji monastery. In 1478 Shōkei traveled to Kyoto, where he studied painting for three years under the Ashikaga cultural adviser Geiami (1431–1485) and received privileged access to the shogunal collection. After his return, the monk-painter played a considerable role in transforming the painting culture of eastern Japan based on his mastery of Ashikaga pictorial modes.[52] Although Sōen's date of birth is unrecorded, it is assumed that he must have come of age in the wake of this transformation, from which likely derived his own impetus to travel westward. Shōkei's example may also have provided a precedent for *Splashed Ink Landscape.* Upon leaving the capital in 1480, Shōkei was given the hanging scroll *Viewing a Waterfall* by Geiami to commemorate his time there (Fig. 18). Because *Viewing a Waterfall* is inscribed by three of the leading monks of the period—Ōsen Keisan, Gettō Shūkyō, and Ranpa Keishi (the latter two of whom later also inscribed *Splashed Ink Landscape*)—all of whom remark on Shōkei's tutelage under Geiami and his accomplishments in the capital, its testimonial function is clear.[53] Sōen must have had the example of *Viewing a Waterfall* foremost in his mind as a means of commemorating his own apprenticeship under Sesshū in Suō Province. As a painter from eastern Japan similarly attempting to become expert in the most advanced pictorial practices of the time under an acknowledged master, he too may have sought a painted keepsake to certify and formalize his experience.

In the case of *Splashed Ink Landscape,* the impetus for the conferral of a transmissive painting cannot easily be attributed to a single individual and more likely emerged from an interrelational dynamic. Even if Sōen hoped to emulate the example of Shōkei, it is unclear how he secured the participation of the monks who inscribed *Splashed Ink Landscape.* The six monks who added poems were Gettō Shūkyō (d. 1500), Ranpa Keishi, Ten'in Ryūtaku (d. 1500), Shōjū Ryūtō (1429–1498), Ryōan Keigo (1425–1514), and Keijo Shūrin (1440–1518). They are discussed in greater detail below, but suffice it to say here that they were among the most prestigious monks in the capital at the time. Given that Sōen hailed from Kamakura, was of undistinguished monastic rank, and had no profile as a literatus, he would have been virtually anonymous among Zen communities in the capital. Ordinarily one would be hard-pressed to imagine easy entrée to these six monks without special intervention. It is possible that Sesshū's own networks played a role, especially his close friendship with Ryōan Keigo, who had extensive ties with the Suō region and who had composed an essay on the painter's studio some ten years earlier.[54]

18 Geiami (1431–1485), *Viewing a Waterfall,* 1480, vertical hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper, 41⅝ × 11⅞ in. (105.8 × 30.3 cm). Nezu Museum, Tokyo, Important Cultural Property (artwork in the public domain; photograph © Nezu Museum)

Recently, Aizawa Masahiko has proposed a highly intriguing hypothesis that places Sōen's engagement with *Splashed Ink Landscape* in a new light.[55] According to Aizawa, it is probable that Sōen relied on the well-established priestly network of Shōkei in soliciting the versification of high-ranking monks. This understanding is tied to an interpretation of the nature of Shōkei's earlier stay in Kyoto. Although this stay had traditionally been seen as motivated by a desire for artistic self-betterment, Aizawa argues that Shōkei's 1478–80 sojourn served a political purpose. In this scenario, Shōkei helped to broker a peace between the shogunate and the eastern warrior Ashikaga Shigeuji (1438–1497), who, despite being a distant relation to the shogunal family and bearing the same name, at the time was the head of an antishogunal federation of warriors.[56] As something like a cultural emissary of the eastern provinces, Shōkei was given unparalleled access to the shogunal collection and also the standing to fraternize with the leading monks of the capital.[57] This status remained unchanged when he returned to Kyoto in 1493, most likely again for political reasons, and stayed for an indeterminate amount of time. This second visit is of special relevance to *Splashed Ink Landscape*, for during this stay Shōkei had a poem-picture scroll made to commemorate his abode, the Study of Pleasures amidst Poverty (Hinrakusai). Although it does not survive, later records indicate that its preface was authored by Gettō Shūkyō in the third month of 1493, six poems were written by Ranpa Keishi, Ten'in Ryūtaku, Shōjū Ryūtō, Ryōan Keigo, Keijo Shūrin, and a certain Kōshuku Shūzen, and, finally, Ōsen Keisan appended a colophon.[58] These monks, excluding Kōshuku and Ōsen, the latter of whom passed away in late 1493, constitute the same retinue of six that inscribed *Splashed Ink Landscape* two years later.[59] In other words, the same cast of monks attested the Sesshū-Sōen painting as Shōkei's earlier "Study of Pleasures amidst Poverty," and their inscriptions were even applied in the same order. It is quite likely, then, that Shōkei's now-lost poem-picture scroll was the immediate model for the dramatis personae who lent their imprimatur to *Splashed Ink Landscape*. It is furthermore likely that arrangements for these testimonials were made through the good offices of Shōkei himself, who was of far greater stature than Sōen in the capital.[60]

When Sōen's aspirations for his commemorative painting and Shōkei's mediation are taken into account, the mapping of agency onto *Splashed Ink Landscape* becomes a more complicated affair. Through connections independent of Sesshū, Sōen was able to secure the highest form of validation that the Five Mountains milieu could offer. Even were this the case, though, from what little can be gleaned of Sōen's movements in Kyoto after 1495, it appears that the painter's own intentions for the scroll may have changed over time. There is cause to believe that he never returned to Kamakura, despite what the preface and Ranpa Keishi's poem say to the contrary. This shift in plans appears to have occurred during the two-plus years that it took to procure the poetic inscriptions. Several clues allow a provisional time line for the gathering of these inscriptions to be established. The signature to Gettō Shūkyō's poem indicates that he was residing at Rokuonji at the time, which would make the terminus ante quem for his contribution the first month of 1496.[61] Keijo Shūrin's poem, meanwhile, appears to have been composed sometime during the spring of 1497.[62] He can also be situated in Kyoto in the fall of 1500, when he was involved in an exchange of letters with Sesshū.[63] At some point during the late 1490s, Sōen was also receiving instruction in poetry from Ranpa Keishi, one of the inscribers of *Splashed Ink Landscape*.[64] Sōen's movements after 1495 furthermore suggest that he was unaffiliated with any temple but perhaps seeking an association with Daitokuji.[65] Although exactly when is unclear, he seems to have died in Tajima Province carrying out activities on behalf of Daitokuji.[66]

These traces of activity imply that *Splashed Ink Landscape* was never taken to Kamakura as originally intended, speculation that is bolstered by the fact that the painting was passed down in Shōkokuji monastery throughout the Edo period.[67] (It arrived in the Kantō region only when it entered the Tokyo Imperial Museum in 1905.[68]) Given Sōen's shifting career trajectory in the late 1490s, although he himself may have intended for *Splashed Ink Landscape* to confirm his lineal affiliations as a monk-painter at Engakuji, it became something that more ambiguously certified his credentials as an unaffiliated monk in the capital.[69] If it did invoke the poem-picture scroll in its final form, this may have resulted from Sōen's desire to emphasize his parallel links to the Five Mountains community as well as his tutelage under Sesshū. To this day it remains unclear whether *Splashed Ink Landscape* eventually served any legitimating or institutional function, and it may be more prudent to understand Sesshū's anticipation of the final form of his painting as limited. If so, in the years after its making, it slid off the trajectory Sesshū had assumed for it. At the time the work left Sesshū's hands in 1495, it was still incomplete and open-ended; the painter could guide but not control the ways in which it would accrue meaning. Ultimately, its closure was more closely linked to Sōen's movements and actions than to those of its maker.

Six Kyoto Abbots

The story of the immediate aftermath of *Splashed Ink Landscape* does not end here. It remains insufficient to view the work's profile solely through the prerogatives of maker and recipient, because the push and pull of a number of other figures shaped its significance as a pictorial artifact. To understand how this was so requires turning to the circumstances of the monks who inscribed poems on the painting.

During the last decades of the fifteenth century, these six monks were easily among the most influential and institutionally prestigious figures in the Five Mountains. Gettō Shūkyō was the head of the Registry of Monks, making him the leading administrative overseer of Gozan Zen monasteries. Ranpa Keishi already boasted a long list of abbacy appointments and was presently the head of Tōjiji monastery. Ten'in Ryūtaku, abbot of Kenninji monastery at the time, was considered the most accomplished litterateur among all Zen monks of his generation. Shōjū Ryūtō was accorded the singular honor of conducting the service for Ashikaga Yoshimasa's preemptive thirty-third death anniversary observance in 1488.[70] Ryōan Keigo, the abbot of Tōfukuji, was a spiritual confidant of Emperor GoTsuchimikado and leading aristocrats and would head the diplomatic mission to China in 1511–13. Finally, at the time Keijo Shūrin was abbot of

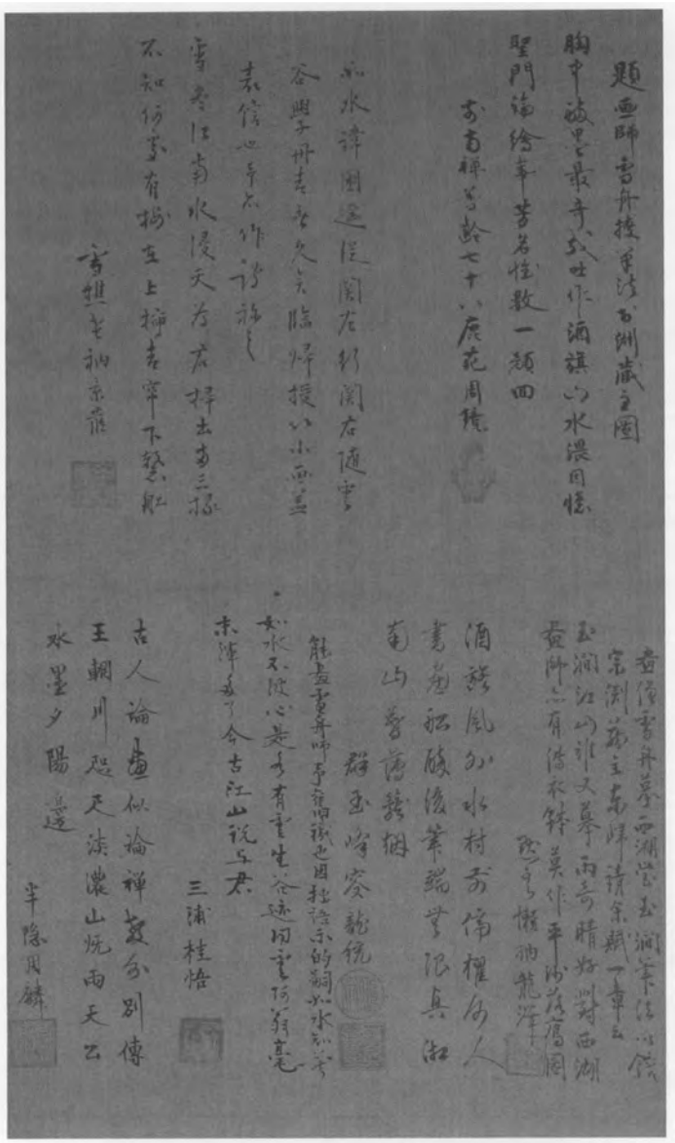
Shōkokuji, Sesshū's former monastery. It goes without saying that all six monks hailed from the most prestigious dharma lineages in the Five Mountains.[71] During the 1490s, it would have been difficult to come up with a more credentialed list of ecclesiasts.

The participation of these worthies in *Splashed Ink Landscape* raises important questions regarding the nature of painting inscriptions in Gozan culture. Beyond singular acts of versification, such inscriptions, when considered in the aggregate, played an important role in shaping the legacies of prominent medieval monks. Most figures who climbed to the top rung of a Five Mountains career were prolific authors and took pains to circulate their literary production in the form of recorded sayings (*goroku*) and poetry anthologies. Painting inscriptions could appear in either kind of compilation, depending on the subject matter they accompanied. Such circulation enhanced the monks' standing among peers and patrons and tended to facilitate monastic appointments and other forms of recognition. In this regard, paintings played a crucial role in circulating the quatrains of would-be versifiers to destinations both expected and unexpected. Every encomium brushed on a pictorial surface, furthermore, potentially existed in multiple bodies, one as part of a pictorial object, others as part of textual ones.[72] In the case of *Splashed Ink Landscape*, Ryōan Keigo's poem found its way into *The Big Dipper Anthology*, whereas Keijo Shūrin's was included in his own poetry anthology, *Collection of Floating Gourds of the Brushwood Court* (*Kanrin koro shū*). It could be that other poems on the scroll were recorded in texts that have no longer survived. Whatever the case may be, these acts of inscription were made with one eye toward the curation of the author's oeuvre.

Yet a closer look at the interrelations among the six monks suggests that other considerations were also a factor in their participation. These monk-poets had already taken part in similar endeavors together, specifically in their joint contributions to Shōkei's commemorative painting. Their comaraderie is further evinced in two surviving examples of joint authorship. The first is a Chinese painting titled *Tidal Bore at Qiantang* at the Nezu Museum in Tokyo (Fig. 19).[73] Although the fourteenth-century work takes the form of a round fan, it is now mounted as a hanging scroll and includes the inscriptions of seven monks, six of whom are the same as the signatories of *Splashed Ink Landscape*. (The seventh monk, Keirin Tokushō, was a Kenninji abbot who was prominent in literary circles at the time.) It can be surmised from their inscriptions that *Tidal Bore at Qiantang* was reconfigured into a poem-picture scroll with the addition of their poems in 1495, the same year as *Splashed Ink Landscape*. Three years later, in 1498, the same seven monks copublished the poetry collection *The Big Dipper Anthology*.[74] The Big Dipper being an asterism of seven stars, the anthology's title refers to the seven monks who are each represented by twenty poems in the anthology, whose editor was Ten'in Ryūtaku. Again, with the exception of Tokushō, the anthology brings together the same six monks in the same order as on *Splashed Ink Landscape*. If the latter invoked the characteristics of a Zen portrait, for these inscribers it was a group portrait.

These examples make clear that the monks in question were members of an active literary salon. Such informal

19 *Tidal Bore at Qiantang*, Chinese, 14th century, inscriptions added in 1495, vertical hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 37¾ × 10⅛ in. (97.8 × 25.7 cm). Nezu Museum, Tokyo (artwork in the public domain; photograph © Nezu Museum)



20 *Splashed Ink Landscape*, detail of Fig. 1, showing the poems (artwork in the public domain; photograph © TNM Image Archives, provided by DNP Archives)

fellowships based on group versification were not uncommon in Five Mountains culture and demonstrated the degree to which skill in poetry was not only prized in medieval monasteries but could drive career advancement. They also point to the crucial but oftentimes subterranean significance of horizontal networks in an environment that officially placed greater rhetorical emphasis on vertical lineages. In this particular context, the activities of this literary clique suggest that *Splashed Ink Landscape* provided another welcome opportunity to convey to others one's membership in a privileged coterie—the leading literary salon of the Five Mountains—that was not always easily testified to in other ways. Their advanced age may have made such expressions of group affiliation that much more urgent. Shōjū Ryūtō would pass away in the first month of 1498, meaning he was already deceased when *The Big Dipper Anthology* appeared; Gettō Shūkyō and Ten'in Ryūtaku died in 1501, and Ranpa Keishi followed the year after.

The Poems

The poetic responses by these six notable ecclesiasts to *Splashed Ink Landscape* have been curiously understudied and merit closer examination. While the addition of these poems reconfigured the many valences of Sesshū's work as a circulating pictorial object, the verses themselves are richly suggestive of how *Splashed Ink Landscape* was experienced by its initial audiences and how the splashed ink mode was construed within a Gozan discursive environment. On the one hand, the poems echo Sesshū's preface in their clear acknowledgment of the transmissive function of the painting and take pains to couch an artisanal transmission as a religious one. On the other hand, they interpret the image as the scenography of a cultivated literatus and situate Sōen in the lead role. In doing so, the verse inscriptions conceptualize the inkwork as a sign of interiority, opening up the possibility of a complex layering of subject positions within the painting. The moist and ever-morphing splashed-ink idiom itself, in particular its ability to convey the impression of an image guided by chance and arbitrary decisions, enables Sesshū's ink painting to be understood as a vehicle for subjectivity. The subject it posits, however, is a self-negating one, perpetually under erasure, imagined in the Zen literati discursive nexus as an ideal of selflessness. The performance of this self-as-no-self opens up a space for the inscription of Sōen into the painting and animates *Splashed Ink Landscape* as a transmissive object.

The six poems and their headnotes read as follows, going from right to left, beginning with the two in the top register and then the four in the register below (Fig. 20).[75] The first poem, in the upper right, is by Gettō Shūkyō:

> For a picture in which the painting master Sesshū transmits his brush method to the Tripitaka Keeper Sōen—
>
> The inebriated ink in one's heart is the most remarkable
> It gushes out to form a wineshop banner on the bay
> Upon viewing this, were I to expound on painting like a Confucian
> I would say that only one name was worthy of it—Yan Hui.
>
> By Shūkyō of Rokuonji, formerly the abbot of Nanzenji, at the elderly age of seventy-eight

The poem at the upper left was composed by Ranpa Keishi:

> Josui, whose formal name is "En," traveled from far east to far west in order to study painting with Unkoku some years ago. Now that he is going back he is to receive a small painting. This represents his transmission, and I have composed a poem to praise it:
>
> The snow has melted, fusing water and sky in this Jiangnan scene,
> For you this small hut has been painted
> But where is the plum tree?
> Above flies the wineshop banner, below sits the moored boat.
>
> By Old Monk Keishi, the Snowy Woodcutter

The far right-hand poem of the second register was written by Ten'in Ryūtaku:

> The monk painter Sesshū, following the brush method of Ying Yujian of West Lake, painted this for Tripitaka Keeper Sōen upon his return to the east.[76] A verse was requested of me for the occasion:
>
> Who is this painting rivers and mountains in the manner of Yujian?
> It is as if one is looking at West Lake itself, which sparkles come rain or shine[77]
> Painters, too, must pass on their robes and alms bowls,
> Pictures such as "Geese Alighting on a Sandy Bar" simply will not do.
>
> By "Quiet Clouds," the Lazy Monk Ryūtaku

The fourth poem, second from the right in the lower register, was authored by Shōjū Ryūtō and does not include a headnote:

> On the far side of the fluttering wineshop banner, before the waterside village,
> Whose boat filled with calligraphy and painting is that with its oars resting?
> Endlessly fascinating are the landscapes that emanate from the tips of inebriated brushes,
> The day fades beyond the mountains south of the Xiang River, which are enshrouded in mist.
>
> —Old Man Ryūtō of the Jade Peaks [Kenninji]

The fifth poem, the second from the left on the lower register, was inscribed by Ryōan Keigo:

> The skillful painting master Sesshū is an old friend. Therefore I have offered some clumsy words on behalf of his successor, the Tripitaka Keeper Josui:
>
> Like water that does not make waves, the heart is still as a pool,
> Clouds rise up from the valley, mingling with other clouds.[78]
> The Old Man's [Sesshū's] brush tip has said too much,
> For the scene before you tells you all you need to know about painting method, past and present—
>
> —Miura Keigo

Finally, the sixth poem on the left-hand side of the lower register is by Keijo Shūrin (1440–1518), without a headnote:

> When the Ancients speak of painting, it is similar to speaking of Zen,
> A separate transmission outside the scriptures—Wang Wei,
> Diminutive, with dark and light tones, the mountains are already moist with rain
> This is ink from the heavens, with an evening glow.
>
> —Shūrin the Semi-Recluse

As a whole, the six poems offer a consistent horizon of response to *Splashed Ink Landscape*. Most express a clear awareness of the transmissive function of the scroll. Gettō's headnote describes the work he is inscribing as a "picture in which the painting master Sesshū transmits his brush method to the Tripitaka Keeper Sōen," and his poem likens the latter to Confucius's most able disciple, Yan Hui. In doing so, it analogizes the Sesshū-Sōen relationship and the most famous teacher-student alliance in the classical Chinese world. Ranpa also prefaces his contribution by acknowledging, "Now that he [Sōen] is going back he is to receive a small painting. This represents his transmission." Ranpa reads the recipient into the work, "For you this small hut has been painted." The poems acknowledge that this transmission is among monk-painters, as does Ten'in's identification of "the rivers and mountains in the manner of Yujian." After referring to Sōen as Sesshū's "successor [*tekishi*]," Ryōan writes, "the scene before you tells you all you need to know about painting method, past and present." He also cleverly reads both Sōen's and Sesshū's names into the first two lines of his poem, intertwining them in parallel couplets. Yet the monks also draw a parallel between this succession and a Zen genealogy. Ten'in notes that "[p]ainters, too, must pass on their robes and alms bowls," linking Sesshū's farewell gift to the most time-honored items associated with a Buddhist monk's inheritance. And Keijo likens the painting to the Zen school's definition of its own unique understanding of dharma transmission, as "[a] separate transmission outside the scriptures [*kyōgai betsuden*]." According to this understanding, the painting embodies all that needs to be stated; wordlessly, the flame has been passed.

If *Splashed Ink Landscape* is a dharma-modeled bequeathal among monk-painters, its poems also seize the opportunity to portray the recipient Sōen as a cultivated individual. This casting necessitates an identification of the scene before them as the abode of a noble recluse and a projection of Sōen into it. Whereas Gettō simply notes a bay (*kuma*) with a wineshop, as indicated by its banner (*shuki* or *sakahata*), Ranpa is more specific, identifying the setting as a moist scene from Jiangnan after "[t]he snow has melted [*yuki tsukite*]," and the building depicted as Sōen's own abode. He also identifies the wineshop banner (*seiren*) and boat in relation to the inhabitant. Ten'in is more specific still in designating the painting as a portrait of West Lake in Hangzhou, although Shōjū locates it south of the Xiang River, during a misty sunset; again the wineshop banner is noted. Keijo notes an "evening glow" in a rainy landscape. Most agree that this is an idealized Chinese waterside scene, during sunset, most likely just after a rain- or snowfall, in keeping with the moistness of the splashed-ink method.

This assumed scenography is crucial for the collective identification of Sōen as a man of cultivation. The rooftop suggests his rustic abode, and, by extension, that he shares the eremitic ideal cherished by all noble characters. This assumption is reinforced by references scattered throughout the poems to several canonized figures. Keijo names Wang Wei (699–759), the Tang dynasty poet who to later generations of scholars became a veritable patriarch of scholarly poetic sentiment. When Shōjū asks, "Whose boat filled with calligraphy and painting is that with its oars resting?" he is making

21 Bokkei Saiyo, *Moonlit Landscape*, late 15th century, vertical hanging scroll, ink and light colors on paper, 22¼ × 8½ in. (56.4 × 21.6 cm). Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 55.55 (artwork in the public domain; photograph by Paul Macapia, © Seattle Art Museum)

reference to the Northern Song calligrapher and official Mi Fu (1051–1107), whose fondness for loading his boat with fine examples of the brush arts and meandering along the waterways of the Jiangnan region was commemorated by his friend Huang Tingjian (1045–1105).[79] And when Ranpa queries where the plum tree is in the scene, he is alluding to the famed poet Lin Bu (967–1028), a hermit on the shores of West Lake who authored some of the most famous lines of verse on plum blossoms in classical China.[80] By invoking Wang Wei, Mi Fu, and Lin Bu, the poems liken Sōen to several of the most highly respected members of the scholar-official patriarchy. The Zen dharma genealogy is shadowed here by a literati lineage that casts the painting recipient as exemplary of two different paradigms of cultivation simultaneously.

Inkwork and Interiority

In and of itself, the framing of Sōen as a refined scholar here differs little from the encomia accompanying ink landscapes of almost every variety in medieval Japan. All such works were based on a projective aesthetics in which the rudiments of a humble abode in a rustic setting could be imaginarily inhabited by a retiring but high-minded protagonist. The same applies to other splashed ink works by Sesshū, which bear commentary that uses the depicted scene as a pretext to extoll the virtues of a generic subject (Figs. 8–11). The responses inscribed on *Splashed Ink Landscape*, however, are particularized by two additional characteristics. The first, already discussed, is their acknowledgment of a discursive space for sanctioned succession among monk-painters. The second concerns the manner in which this commentary understands inkwork as an index of the painter's own interiority.

The idea that unbrushed ink could somehow reflect the subjectivity of the painter is conditioned by a traditional poetics of intoxication, going back to Wang Mo, the father of the splashed ink tradition. When the emergence of a literati discourse on the brush arts during the eleventh century elevated characterology to one of the primary goals of pictorial theory, inebriation came to be associated with the prized attribute of naturalness or "self-so-ness [*ziran*]." Aesthetic discourse of the late Northern Song (960–1127) linked the imbibing of spirits with unguardedness of expression and a concomitantly more authentic ability to express the essence of the self.[81] Counterintuitively, such exteriorized interiority was invoked through both gesticular brushwork and passive inkwork, either of which could be interpreted as flushed facture.[82]

In medieval Japan, this discourse on intoxication and the brush arts took hold among Zen monks, who were especially fond of citing the scholar-poet Su Shi's (1038–1101) verse concerning the "intoxicated ink [*cuimo*]" that poured forth from the brush of the calligrapher Shi Cangshu.[83] It also appears to have been linked specifically to the splashed ink method, as demonstrated by the case of the fifteenth-century monk-painter Bokkei Saiyo. A disciple of Shūbun, Bokkei was active in the circle of Ikkyū Sōjun at Daitokuji. Along with Sesshū, he was one of the primary practitioners of the Yujian mode in the latter half of the fifteenth century, and a number of his splashed ink paintings survive (Fig. 21).

Bokkei adopted the studio name Abode of Intoxicated Ink (Suiboku'an), invoking Su Shi's poem and asserting an aesthetic disposition that prized unconstrained artistry and elegant inertia above all else. For his disciple's studio, Ikkyū brushed the two large characters for "Intoxicated Ink" on a plaque to hang above the entrance, and Ōsen Keisan composed an essay commemorating both the studio and its inhabitant.[84] Ōsen opens the essay with a variation on Su Shi's poem about Shi Cangshu. Whereas when visiting Cangshu's studio Su notes, "there is no wine, only calligraphy," Ōsen writes of Bokkei's studio, "there is neither wine nor calligraphy, only painting." He then makes clear that intoxication is merely a state of mind for the painter: "In order to paint landscapes and birds-and-flowers, one must splash ink with the wine in one's heart. Who can add to the joy of doing this?" The essay concludes with a seven-character quatrain:

> If one does not drink, how can one be drunk?
> Are the paintings made on borrowed wine provisional or truthful?
> With two or three bushels of the ink in one's heart
> This will be a spring of one thousand winepots, or one hundred wine barrels.[85]

Bokkei's example is of direct relevance to *Splashed Ink Landscape*, for there its maker is also extolled through recourse to the trope of intoxicated ink. Su Shi's very words are incorporated into the first line of Gettō's poetic inscription, "The inebriated ink in one's heart is the most remarkable [*kyōchū no suiboku, mottomo kinaru ya*]." Shōjū echoes them by following with the verse, "Endlessly fascinating are the landscapes that emanate from the tips of inebriated brushes [*suigo no hittan, mugen no kō*]." The shift in agency from painter to instrument ("inebriated brushes") cleverly conveys the distance between actual and rhetorical tipsiness. No fewer than three of the inscribers make note of the wineshop in the landscape, a further nod to the implication that this is a painting that should be understood in terms of a well-established tradition of tipsy representation.[86] Calling attention to the tavern where spirits are imbibed introduces a more literal way of inscribing intoxicology into the image. Thus, in Gettō's verse, the ink appears to "[gush] out to form a wineshop banner on the bay [*haite shuki o nasu, sansui no kuma*]." In the words of Ranpa, "Above flies the wineshop banner, below sits the moored boat [*kami, seiren o sashi, shimo, fune o tsunagu*]." Finally, in Shōjū's verse, the scene is situated "[o]n the far side of the fluttering wineshop banner, before the waterside village [*shuki, fūgai, suison no mae*]." In *Splashed Ink Landscape*, the banner is more than an insignificant detail magnified in the poetic responses; it is a key motif that enables the painting to be read as the manifestation of drunken mark-making.

It is not merely the presence of a tavern that invites such a reading, however, but the adoption of the splashed ink method itself. The choice of the Yujian mode for Sōen's farewell painting directed attention to the painter's interiority.[87] The understanding of interiority in this context is framed according to the inherited aesthetic theories of scholar painting. As such, it does not designate a revelation of emotion so much as the "idea [*yi*]" of the painter, an emotively neutral concept that referred to a subject's mental disposition and, by extension, character and personality, incommunicable through language but uniquely expressible through the brush arts.[88] Splashed ink revealed inner nature in a particular and remarkable way, by inverting the manner in which brushstrokes are typically read as indexes of an artistic subject. In the Yujian mode, the almost total lack of brushwork, conventionally understood as the somatic trace that most legibly registered a painter's character, conveyed transparency of person. In *Splashed Ink Landscape,* uninscribed ink is viewed as an extension of Sesshū's unconstrained and refined disposition. This transparency, in turn, leads to a heightened attention to ink's own agency in the formation of the image. Thus, the commentary on *Splashed Ink Landscape* is interspersed with direct acknowledgments of the inkwork itself, such as in Gettō's description of "ink [gushing] out to form a wineshop banner on the bay." Even more telling is the slippage between literal and representational readings of ink reflected in Keijo's account of the landscape: "Diminutive, with dark and light tones, the mountains are already moist with rain [*shiseki, tannō, yama sude ni ame furu*]." The copresence of interpretative gloss that is both materialistic and illusionistic becomes even more pronounced in Keijo's next and final line, "This is ink from the heavens, with an evening glow [*Tenkō ga suiboku, sekiyō no hen*]." Keijo's words attribute agency to the cosmos itself; the landscape self-creates. Ironically, this becomes the manner in which splashed ink posits ultimate artistry. The affect of naturalness can double as an evacuation of subjectivity, the brush-wielding artist transformed into a medium through which creation occurs. Strokelessness enhances author function to such a degree that presence becomes absence. *Splashed Ink Landscape* thus showcases a mode of ink painting that projects both cultivated artistic agency and a state of subjectlessness. This condition of the permeable subject would prove pitch-perfect for the Japanese monk-painter of the late medieval period.

The Legacy

Splashed Ink Landscape can be situated at the fulcrum of numerous developments that mark the transition between the pictorial cultures of Japan's medieval and early modern eras. It was born at the intersection of the decline of the modal system—which had always been dependent on access to modal works in the Ashikaga sphere—and the emergence of the monk-painter as a social subject who transcended the confines of any specific abbot's circle, dharma lineage, or monastic environment. By the late fifteenth century, incessant warfare had irreparably disrupted the contexts in which modal painting flourished and monk-painters had been cocooned. Political fracture also facilitated the dissemination of painting norms throughout Japan. In this regard, *Splashed Ink Landscape* helps to map a new topography of pictorial cultures onto the Japanese archipelago. By serving as a space for their intersection, Sesshū's painting acquired a Rashōmon-like capacity to accommodate multiple narratives. For Sesshū, it embodied a moment in which a wrinkle in Gozan pictorial practice enabled him to position himself as the patriarch of a painting genealogy. For Sōen, it endorsed his mastery of Ashikaga pictorial norms and carried the imprimatur of the leading abbots of Kyoto. For these same abbots, all of whom were in the twilight of their careers, the painting offered

22 Tōshun (d. 1520), *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting*, late 15th or early 16th century, vertical hanging scroll, ink on paper, 8⅝ × 12½ in. (22 × 31.6 cm). Masaki Art Museum, Osaka (artwork in the public domain; photograph © Masaki Art Museum)

another opportunity to express group identity as part of a distinguished literary salon and to reaffirm their testimonial authority in an increasingly distressed Five Mountains milieu. In the process of negotiating these concerns, *Splashed Ink Landscape* appears to have been reconceptualized from something like a Zen portrait to a poem-picture scroll.

The increasingly crowded and ever-fluctuating agency manifest in Sesshū's scroll as it traveled throughout the archipelago underscores the inadequacy of understanding *Splashed Ink Landscape* too insistently within the interpretative confines of the artist's life and intentions. As with many other ink paintings of the Muromachi period, this work reconfigured and even instantiated a polyphony of interrelations through circulation and inscriptive practice. With *Splashed Ink Landscape*, this capacity was thoroughly conditioned by its deceptively arbitrary application of ink, replete with smears, blots, and scratchy effects. Sesshū's painting was able to fully exploit the Yujian mode as a special representational ground for the projection of a certain kind of painterly subjectivity. As the poetic inscriptions demonstrate, splashed ink became a persuasive pictorial medium through which monk-painters could be reidentified as cultivated scholars. In this way, *Splashed Ink Landscape* provides an instructive example of how the materiality of the ink painting medium itself could determine the interpretative potentiality of a given work. Whereas other monochrome pictorial modes accommodated different kinds of subject positions, such as the association of the Xia Gui mode with kingship, the Yujian mode conveyed a kind of voided selfhood, a brush drowned by its own ink. Moreover, its complex interpretative heritage—one with roots in many different intellectual traditions but in this case representing a convergence of the intoxicological hermeneutics of Northern Song literati and the word-image practices of Muromachi Zen monks—established a foundation for the modern interpretations of Sesshū and his painting. It was this discursive reception of splashiness that clinched its embrace by monk-painters as an ideal mode for the expression of transmissivity.

It is telling that Sesshū's disciples, more than any other

23 Tōkan Shūgetsu (Japanese, Muromachi period [1392–1573]), *Splashed Ink Landscape*, late 15th or early 16th century, also known as *Haboku* (*Flung Ink Landscape*), ca. 1510, vertical hanging scroll, ink on paper, 23⅜ × 10⅝ in. (59.5 × 26.9 cm). Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund, 1976.59 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Cleveland Museum of Art)

group of painters in medieval Japan, transmitted the Yujian mode during the sixteenth century.[89] Sōen himself left at least one work of splashed ink, revealing both his indebted-

24 Shūtoku, *Splashed Ink Landscape*, vertical hanging scroll, ink on paper, 9⅛ × 12⅛ in. (23.3 × 30.8 cm). Kyoto National Museum (artwork in the public domain; photograph © Kyoto National Museum, provided by Shimizu Kogeisha)

ness to his painting master and perhaps a tendency to turn Sesshū's manners into mannerisms.[90] A different direction was taken in *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* by the disciple Tōshun (d. 1520), who used layered wash effects to achieve greater atmospheric specificity and engender finely calibrated poetic moods (Fig. 22).[91] The splashed ink method of Shūgetsu, another Sesshū disciple, was remembered in later accounts as "simple and direct, [conjuring] up an expansive spirit," a description borne out by his work in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Fig. 23).[92] Shūtoku, who is believed to have been the steward of the Unkoku studio in the decades after Sesshū's passing, was also known to splash ink on occasion (Fig. 24). Just as importantly, monk-painters affiliated with the Sesshū school continued to confer splashed ink works on their disciples. Shūgetsu is recorded as having given his disciple Tōha a painting in the Yujian mode. Shūtoku, a successor to the Unkoku studio, also bequeathed a splashed ink work on his disciple Tōsatsu, who then had it inscribed by the Tenryūji monk Sakugen Shūryō (1500–1578).[93] By inaugurating a practice in which the conferral of a splashed ink painting signified membership in a specific artistic lineage, *Splashed Ink Landscape* effectively shifted the master referent of the splashed ink mode from Yujian to an entire genealogy of practitioners that spanned Yujian, Sesshū, and his followers.

This outcome underscores the counterintuitive negation and multiplicity of splashed ink and also suggests its appeal to Zen monks; its passive-aggressive inkwork posited the subject as nonsubject, both transparent and transmissible. Ultimately, this dual quality allowed Sesshū to become a patriarch not only to a genealogy of monk-painters but also to multiple lineages of professional painters during the Edo period.[94] This same quality can be posited as the ultimate origin of his portrayal, in the modern era, as the ideal embodiment of the Zen painter.

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Notes

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Unless otherwise noted, translations are mine.

1. The entire scroll measures 58¼ by 12⅞ inches (147.9 by 32.7 centimeters). Of this, the painted portion, which constitutes only the lower third of the scroll, measures roughly 15¾ by 11¾ inches (40 by 30 centimeters).
2. Robert H. Sharf, "The Zen of Japanese Nationalism," in *Curators of the Buddha: The Study of Buddhism under Colonialism*, ed. Donald S. Lopez Jr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 126.
3. The diversity of Zen Buddhism's discursive reception in the United States after World War II is discussed in Gregory P. Levine, "Two (or More) Truths: Reconsidering Zen Art in the West," in *Awakenings: Zen Figure Paintings from Medieval Japan*, ed. Levine and Yukio Lippit (New York: Japan Society, 2007), 52–63; and idem, "On the Look and Logos of Zen Art," in *Re-Presenting Emptiness: Essays on Zen and Art*, ed. Levine and Lippit (Princeton: Tang Center for the Study of East Asian Art, forthcoming).
4. Jon Carter Covell, *Under the Seal of Sesshū* (New York: De Pamphilis Press, 1941), 84–85. As we shall see, however, the reference to rice wine invokes the much older rhetoric of the drunken painter in East Asia.
5. Michel Tapié and Tōre Haga, *Avant-Garde Art in Japan* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1962), n.p.
6. See Shimao Arata, " 'Haboku sansui zu' no ga to shi," *Tenkai toga* 3 (2002): 32–46; Watada Minori, "Sesshū nyūmin hoi—shinpojiumu

hōkoku to 'Haboku sansui zu' no koto," *Tenkai toga* 6 (2006): 23–40; idem, "Sesshū jijo o yomu," in *Sesshū Tōyō—"Sesshū e no tabi" ten kenkyū zuroku*, ed. Sesshū kenkyūkai and Yamaguchi kenritsu bijutsukan (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2006), 258–64; and idem, "Sesshū to iu orijinaru na sonzai—sakkaron no kōzai," in *"Orijinaru" no yukue—bunkazai o tsutaeru tame ni*, ed. Tōkyō bunkazai kenkyūjo (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2010), 189–208.

7. Arguably, the origins of the critical reevaluation of Sesshū's historical image should be traced back further still to the efforts of Ōnishi Hiroshi, who in 1976 began a twenty-four-part series in which he systematically analyzed each of the primary sources related to the painter's biography. See Ōnishi, "Sesshū shiryō o yomu," 24 pts., *Nihon bijutsu kōgei* 448–75 (1976–78). Subsequently, Ōnishi has revisited his analysis of the primary sources in "Sesshū shiryō o yomu dai nibu," of which the thirty-three installments thus far can be read through his university Website at http://www.musashi.jp/~onishi/. Although each of these analyses brims with significant observations, they were never systematically synthesized into a new understanding of the painter, as in the case of Shimao's research.

8. This image was perpetuated in works such as the cultural critic Yoshimura Teiji's influential *Sesshū* (Tokyo: Tairyūsha, 1979); or, more recently, in Miyajima Shin'ichi, *Sesshū—ryoitsu no gaka* (Tokyo: Seishi Shuppan, 2000).

9. Shimao Arata's first major reassessment of Sesshū's biographical sources is "Sesshū Tōyō no kenkyū ichi—Sesshū no imeeji senryaku," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 351 (January 1992): 196–213, and subsequently pursued in numerous publications. A particularly cogent summary of his views can be found in Shimao Arata, "Shiteki Sesshū zō," in *Sesshū—botsugo gohyakunen tokubetsuten*, exh. cat. (Kyoto: Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan; Tokyo: Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2002), 218–25.

10. A good example of Sesshū's amplification of his own virtues involves the title First Seat of the Meditation Assembly at Tiantong si, which was a perfunctory honorific granted to all members of diplomatic embassies who visited the Chan monastery in the Ningbo region. Yet because of Sesshū's low monastic rank in Japan (at Shōkokuji he had only achieved the rank of *shika*, or Guest Prefect, who tended to visitors to the monastery), the new designation represented, in title if not in substance, a meteoric rise in his ecclesiastical credentials. It is telling that most of the prominent Kyoto abbots never addressed him by this honorific.

11. A number of other productive lines of interrogation have been explored in recent years by such scholars as Egaitsu Michihiko, Fukushima Tsunenori, Hata Yasunori, Takahashi Noriko, Watanabe Yūji, Yamashita Yūji, and Yamamoto Hideo. Although a thorough review of the Sesshū historiography will have to await another occasion, recent attention to an interregional East Asian context for Sesshū's painting merits mention. In 1989 the historian of Chinese painting Toda Teisuke authored a highly influential article that called for a systematic reevaluation of Sesshū's work in light of Ming dynasty pictorial practice. This proposition was taken up in a very informative 2005 exhibition at the Nezu Museum, curated by Itakura Masa'aki and Shimao Arata. See Toda Teisuke, "Sesshū kenkyū ni kansuru nisan no mondai," in *Nihon kaigashi kenkyū*, ed. Yamane Yūzō sensei koki kinenkai (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1989), 151–62; and *Mindai kaiga to Sesshū*, exh. cat. (Tokyo: Nezu Bijutsukan, 2005).

12. Watada Minoru's method can be gleaned from the following studies in particular: Watada, "Sesshū nyūmin—hitori no gasō ni okotta tokushu na jiken," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 381 (March 2004): 209–32; idem, "Sesshū nyūmin hoi"; idem, "Sesshū jijo o yomu"; and idem, "Sesshū to iu orijinaru na sonzai."

13. See Watada Minoru, "Sesshū ga motarashita mono," *Bijutsu fōramu* 9 (January 2004): 23–29.

14. A classic reference on Gozan monastic culture and history remains Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1981).

15. The difference between the two terms was once the subject of considerable debate. See Wakimoto Sokurō, "Haboku no igi no hensen ni tsuite," *Bijutsu kenkyū*, 1933, 17–29; Wakita Shūtarō, "Hatsuboku to haboku," *Okayama daigaku hōbun gakubu gakujutsu kiyō* 6 (December 1956): 55–61; and Tanaka Toyozō, "Haboku no ben" and "Zoku haboku no ben," in *Chūgoku bijutsu no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1964), 135–40 and 141–44, respectively.

16. For English translations of the texts, see William Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting*, 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954–74); and Alexander C. Soper, "T'ang ch'ao ming hualu: Celebrated Painters of the T'ang Dynasty by Chu Ching-hsuan of T'ang," *Artibus Asiae* 21, nos. 3–4 (1958): 204–30.

17. Translated by James Cahill with only minor emendations in Shujiro Shimada, "Concerning the I-p'in Style of Painting," 3 pts., *Oriental Art* 7, no. 2 (Summer 1961): 66–74; 8, no. 3 (Autumn 1962): 130–37; and 10, no. 1 (Spring 1964): 19–26.

18. The Six Laws of Painting are discussed in John Hay, "Values and History in Chinese Painting I: Hsieh Ho Revisited," *Res* 6 (Autumn 1983): 72–111; and idem, "Hsieh Ho Revisited: Values and History in Chinese Painting II: The Hierarchic Evolution of Structure," *Res* 7–8 (Spring–Autumn 1984): 102–40. On the "untrammeled" school, see Shimada, "Concerning the I-p'in Style of Painting."

19. On the construction of such literary personas in Chinese poetry, see, for example, James J. Y. Liu, *The Chinese Knight-Errant* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1967).

20. It is also worth noting here that historically the rise of the splashed ink method is closely tied to the emergence of ink painting itself. Although the English term "ink painting" tends to refer to painting in which some kind of carbon black pigment is combined with water, in East Asia the operative term is more accurately "water-ink painting," underscoring the degree to which aqueous effects were understood as a crucial component of the visual properties of this type of painting. For further discussion, see Kiyohiko Munakata, "The Rise of Ink-Wash Landscape Painting in the T'ang Dynasty" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1965); and Yukio Lippit, "Tawaraya Sōtatsu and the Watery Poetics of Japanese Ink Painting," *Res* 51 (Spring 2007): 57–76.

21. See Ogawa Hiromitsu, "Tō Sō sansuigashi ni okeru imajineeshon—hatsuboku kara 'Sōshun zu,' 'Shōshō gayū zukan' made," 3 pts., *Kokka* 1034 (June 1980): 5–17; 1035 (July 1980): 35–45; and 1036 (August 1980): 25–36.

22. Because four Chinese painters with the sobriquet "Yujian" are recorded in Chinese painting texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries—Ruofen Yujian, Ying Yujian, Meng Yujian, and Bin Yujian—there is considerable confusion as to which Yujian was the author of the works that were transmitted to Japan. This confusion extends back to the premodern period, since both Ruofen Yujian and Ying Yujian are listed in the *Precious Mirror*, and Ten'in Ryūtaku, one of the inscribers of *Splashed Ink Landscape*, refers to Ying Yujian in his poem. Suzuki Kei has demonstrated convincingly that the extant paintings should be attributed to Ruofen Yujian. See Suzuki, "Gyokkan Jakufun shiron," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 236 (September 1964): 1–14.

23. On the distinguished provenance of Yujian's paintings in Japan, see Takagi Bun, *Gyokkan Mokkei Shōshō hakkei e to sono denrai no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Shūhōkaku, 1926); Suzuki Kei, "Shōshō hakkei zu to Mokkei, Gyokkan," *Kobijutsu* 2 (June 1963): 41–45; and Tsukahara Akira, "Mokkei Gyokkan Shōshō hakkei zu—sono denrai to keifu," *Waseda daigaku daigakuin bungaku kenkyūka kiyō bessatsu* 17 (January 1991): 155–65.

24. *Mountain Market, Clearing Mist* was originally part of a handscroll depicting the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang, based on eight poetic couplets describing a scenic delta in southern China, where the Xiao and Xiang Rivers merged. This handscroll was known to have been in the Ashikaga shogunal collection during the fifteenth century, and, according to legend, the eighth shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1435–1490) ordered his cultural adviser Nōami (1395–1471) to divide it into eight fragments so that individual scenes could be mounted as hanging scrolls and displayed in an alcove. Seven of the fragments had entered tea collections by the end of the sixteenth century, where they were treasured as the height of the Song-Yuan painting tradition. The three fragments that have survived depict the couplets *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting, Sail Returning from Distant Shore*, and *Mountain Market, Clearing Mist*.

25. One work sometimes cited as an unusually early example of the Yujian mode in Japan is *Rainy Landscape* (private collection) by the monk-painter Gukei Yūe. Its rough, abbreviated method is still primarily brushstroke-driven, however, and its relation to Yujian's known oeuvre ambiguous. See Shimada Shūjirō, "Gukei Yūe no sakuhin nishu," *Kokka* 707 (February 1951): 83–90; and Richard Edwards, "Ue Gukei: Fourteenth-Century Ink-Painter," *Ars Orientalis* 7 (1968): 169–78.

26. The work was first published in Matsushita Taka'aki, "Kōsei Ryūha to Shūbun ga—Ryūha san sansuiga ni tsuite," *Kokka* 709 (April 1951): 145–50. For further discussion, see Miyajima Shin'ichi, "Kōsei Ryūha chakusan den Shūbun ga no zengo kankei ni tsuite," *Bukkyō geijutsu* 157 (November 1984): 40–51; and Hoshiyama Shin'ya, "Sansui zu," in *Zenrin gasan—chūsei suibokuga o yomu*, ed. Iriya Yoshitaka and Shimada Shūjirō (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1987), 323–25.

27. Kawai Masatomo, "Haboku sansui zu Sessō Tōyō," in *Dai'ei hakubutsukan san*, vol. 3 of *Hizō Nihon bijutsu taikan*, ed. Kawai Masatomo (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1993), 204.

28. The question of whether the works pressed with the seals "Sessō" (also readable as "Sesshū," but with different characters) and "Sesshū" belong to the same artist, with "Sessō" simply representing an earlier sobriquet, has been a matter of considerable debate ever since Tanaka Ichimatsu first made the proposal in 1956. Now a majority of scholars, with a few notable exceptions, believe this to be the case. See Tanaka,

"Sessō Tōyō ni tsuite—Sesshū Tōyō to kanren shite—," *Sansai* 75 (May 1956): 15–22. For the most recent defense of the theory that Sessō/Sesshū are the same artist, see Fukushima Tsunenori, "Sessō to Sesshū—iwayuru 'dōjinsetsu' o meguru jinbutsu tachi," in *Sesshū Tōyō—"Sesshū e no tabi" ten*, 219–25. For a dissenting opinion, see Richard Stanley-Baker, "Sesshū Toyo and Sesso Toyo: The Issues Reviewed," *Bijutsushi ronsō* 12 (1996): 139–65.

29. Until recently, it was commonly believed that Sesshū changed his sobriquet from Sessō sometime between the years 1462 and 1466, based on a short essay by the monk Ryūkō Shinkei explaining the meaning of the two characters "Sesshū." Fukushima Tsunenori has recently discovered a copy of this essay that dates to 1457, necessitating a revision of the early chronology of Sesshū's works. Paintings with the "Sessō" seal are now considered to date to the mid-1450s at the latest. See Fukushima, "Shinshutsu no Chōroku gannen 'Sesshū niji setsu' ni tsuite," *Tenkai toga* 7 (2009): 3–9.

30. For a transcription of Baifu's text, see "Zuga kōryakki, jō," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 76 (April 1938): 27–43. For an analysis, see Taniguchi Tetsuo, "Tenkai togarō ki ni tsuite," *Bukkyō geijutsu* 54 (May 1964): 35–54. Among Sesshū's surviving works in this idiom are a number of small-scale scrolls dating to his later years. One is a painting attached to a letter that Sesshū sent to Sōen in 1500 (11th month, 22nd day), five years after *Splashed Ink Landscape* was bequeathed, apparently in response to a letter Sōen had sent the previous month. The content of the letter is generic, with Sesshū expressing concern over the safety of his disciple in war-torn Kyoto, and urging him to seek safe harbor in Yamaguchi if he has the opportunity. See Saitō Takashi, "Sesshū no tegami o megutte," *Okayama daigaku geijutsugaku kenkyū* 2 (1992); and Watada Minoru, "Sōen ate shojō, sansui zu," in *Sesshū Tōyō—"Sesshū e no tabi,"* 186–88. Another work inscribed by Jonan Etetsu is discussed in Hiroshi Kanazawa et al., *Of Water and Ink: Muromachi-Period Paintings from Japan, 1392–1568* (Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1986), 115; and Watada Minoru, "Sansui zu," in *Sesshū Tōyō—"Sesshū e no tabi,"* 154–55. A recently discovered splashed ink painting is inscribed by Ten'in Ryūtaku, one of the inscribers of *Splashed Ink Landscape*. The only substantial discussion of the work to date is Watada Minoru, "Sansui zu," in ibid., 160–61. Finally, for a copy of a Sesshū handscroll in the Yujian mode, see Yamashita Yūji, "Mō hitotsu no sansui chōkan—Sesshū no hatsuboku sansui zukan o megutte—," *Tenkai toga* 1 (1997): 5–17.

31. The three works were first published by Kunigō Hideaki in *Sesshū—botsugo gohyakunen tokubetsuten*, 290–91.

32. The work inscribed by Ōsen Keisan can be dated to about 1484–85, because the poem at the top is included in chronological order in his poetry anthology. See *Flowers of the Capital from the Ramshackle Hut, Separate Edition (Hoan keika besshū)*, in *Gozan bungaku shinshū*, ed. Tamamura Takeji (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1967–72), vol. 1, 611. The dates for the other two examples are more difficult to discern. Shōun Seisan, the inscriber of another of the scrolls, was known to be active sometime between 1492 and 1520. Isan Shūshō was a lifelong associate of Sesshū's. The proximity of the style of the three works, however, suggests a date close to the Ōsen-inscribed work in the mid-1480s, some ten years before *Splashed Ink Landscape*.

33. Modal painting is the translation proposed here for what is sometimes referred to in Japanese as *hitsuyō*, traditionally translated as "brush styles" or "brush manners." For previous discussions, see Takeda Tsuneo, *Kinsei shoki shōheiga no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983), 241–52; Shimao Arata, "Jūgoseiki ni okeru Chūgoku kaiga shumi," *Museum* 463 (October 1989): 22–34; and Gail Capitol Weigl, "The Reception of Chinese Painting Models in Muromachi Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica* 35, no. 3 (Autumn 1980): 257–72.

34. Yoshimitsu modeled his own patterns of patronage and collecting after Huizong, going so far as to have the inscription on his portrait as a priest copied verbatim from Dahui Zonggao's (1089–1163) inscription on Huizong's portrait. His practice of impressing his owner's seals ("Tenzan" and "Dōyū," after his own dharma name and sobriquet) directly on paintings, which was rare outside the Ashikaga sphere, was most likely sparked by the idea of establishing an "imperial" collection.

35. The very choice of mode could generate meaning or inflect the display of the paintings in ways that were unrelated to the question of subject matter. The Muqi mode tended to be reserved for interior rooms in a Zen abbot's quarters, for example, thereby animating private spaces of encounter and daily life. At the opposite end of the spectrum, the Xia Gui mode signified more than any other an official or authoritative idiom for Japanese potentates. In Japan Xia Gui was associated with hard-edged and highly accentuated landscapes engineered with sharp and frenetically brushed outlines, filled in with an array of energetically applied dots and brush movements. Its prominent display in the shogunal environment marked it as suggestive of kingly rule. It is no accident that in 1486, when Sesshū created the *Long Landscape Scroll* as an offering to the Ōuchi to commemorate the coming-of-age of their next family head, Xia Gui was his mode of choice. For further consideration of this idea, see Hata Yasunori, "Bunmei jūhachinen no Ōuchi-shi to Sesshū," in *Sesshū Tōyō—"Sesshū e no tabi" ten*, 247–51.

36. See "Zuga kōryakki, jō," 39–40.

37. For a recent, thorough assessment of the scroll, see Takahashi Noriko, "Hō Kō Kokkyō sansui zukan saikō," in *Sesshū Tōyō—"Sesshū e no tabi" ten*, 236–46.

38. The modes found in the Tsunenobu scroll include two Xia Gui, two Muqi, Mi Fu, and Liang Kai.

39. The translation here has benefited from consultation with the following two analyses of the text: Hoshiyama Shin'ya, "Sansui zu (Haboku sansui)," in Iriya and Shimada, *Zenrin gasan*, 205–10; and Watada, "Sesshū jijo o yomu."

40. Recently Shimada Hidemasa has argued that Li Zai was in fact active several generations later than previously assumed. His interpretation of sources is unconvincing, however, and his argument appears to derive from an attempt to render Sesshū's claim more plausible. See Shimada, "Rizai ni tsuite—denki hen," *Kokka* 1278 (April 2002): 3–15.

41. The nature of Sesshū's China trip has been the subject of numerous studies. Recent notable ones include Takahashi Noriko, "Sesshū zenhanki no ichikōsatsu—Hōtoku sannen no 'Nittōki' ni michibikareru mono," *Geijutsu ronkyū* 29 (2002): 21–38; and Watada, "Sesshū nyūmin."

42. The function of Zen portraiture has been the subject of a number of English-language studies in recent years. See T. Griffith Foulk and Robert H. Sharf, "On the Ritual Use of Ch'an Portraiture in Medieval China," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 7 (1993): 149–219; Gregory P. Levine, *Daitokuji: The Visual Cultures of a Zen Monastery* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 1–82; and Yukio Lippit, "Negative Verisimilitude: The Zen Portrait in Medieval Japan," in *Asian Art History in the Twenty-first Century*, ed. Vishaka Desai (Williamstown, Mass.: Clark Art Institute, 2007), 64–95.

43. In addition, a copy of a 1383 self-portrait by the monk-painter Kichizan Minchō (1352–1431) survives in Tōfukuji. Although it does not formalize artistic transmission, it is nevertheless noteworthy as an early example of a monk-painter's self-portrait. For further discussion, see *Zendera no eshi tachi—Minchō, Reisai, Sekkyakushi—*, exh. cat. (Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi Kenritsu Bijutsukan, 1998), 150.

44. "Son'an kō," in *Gozan bungaku shinshū*, ed. Tamamura Takeji, 6 vols. (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1967–72), vol. 2 (1972).

45. Bokkei is discussed extensively in Miyajima Shin'ichi, *Suibokuga—Daitokuji-ha to Jasoku*, vol. 336 of *Nihon no bijutsu* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1994), 22–32.

46. For a brief survey of these copies, some by members of the Kano house of painting (an extended kinship structure adopted by elite craft studios in Japan), see Matsubara Shigeru, *Gaka, bunjin tachi no shōzō*, vol. 386 of *Nihon no bijutsu* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1998), 20. One particularly anomalous portrait of Sesshū shown holding a Japanese lute (*biwa*) in the Yamato Bunkakan collection is discussed in Miyajima, *Sesshū*, 1–10. During the Edo period, members of the Unkoku painting house transmitted copies of Sesshū portraits among their members, a practice discussed in Watada Minoru, "Kan'ei jūrokunen no Unkoku-ha—futatsu no Sesshū-zō o megutte," *Yamaguchi kenritsu bijutsukan kiyō* 3 (2001): 5–18.

47. The translation is by Richard H. Brower and Shen-fu Lin in Kanazawa, *Of Water and Ink*, 118.

48. Entries on this painting typically note the headgear as appropriate to a Chinese literatus, but at this time it would have been common for Chan monks as well.

49. For an overview of the history of poem-picture scrolls, see Shimada Shūjirō, "Muromachi jidai no shigajiku ni tsuite," in Iriya and Shimada, *Zenrin gasan*, 10–31. See also Joseph D. Parker, *Zen Buddhist Landscape Arts of Muromachi Japan (1336–1573)* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999).

50. Takahashi Noriko, "Shigajiku no kōzō to ba—Toho no shi'i zu o megutte," in *Zōkei no ba*, ed. Nagaoka Ryūsaku, vol. 4 of *Kōza Nihon bijutsushi* (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 2005), 151–80. See also idem, *Suibokuga ni asobu—Zensō tachi no fūga* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2005), 76–93.

51. The following studies have explored the available documentation on Sōen: *Muromachi jidai no Sesshū-ryū*, exh. cat. (Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi Kenritsu Bijutsukan, 1993), 94; Kageyama Sumio, "Shūgetsu to Sōen," in *Nihon bijutsu no suimyaku*, ed. Tsuji Nobuo sensei kanreki kinenkai (Tokyo: Perikansha, 1993), 461–90; Fukushima Tsunenori, "Josui Sōen kenkyū josetsu," *Miura kobunka* 55 (December 1994): 60–79; Watada, "Sesshū jijo o yomu"; Aizawa Masahiko, " 'Haboku sansui zu' to Sōen," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 391 (March 2007): 59–75; and Watada, "Sesshū to iu orijinaru."

52. Shōkei's role in the painting culture of the Kantō region is thoroughly

explored in Aizawa Masahiko and Hashimoto Shinji, *Kantō suibokuga* (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 2007).

53. Each inscriber reads the waterfall as a metaphor for Shōkei's apprenticeship. Shūkyō's poem, for example, likens it to the emergence of a new stream branching off the Milky Way and falling to earth. Ōsen adds a short postscript to his poem that records the circumstances of Shōkei's stay in Kyoto and the scroll's making. See the discussion in Ōta Takahiko, "Kanbakusō zu," in Iriya and Shimada, *Zenrin gasan*, 210–13. Further discussion of the scroll in English can be found in Helmut Brinker and Hiroshi Kanazawa, *Zen Masters of Meditation in Images and Writings*, trans. Andreas Leisinger (Zurich: Artibus Asiae, 1996), 316–17.

54. Ryōan's essay, "Record of the Pavilion with a View Unfurled from Heaven" (*Tenkai togarō ki*), authored in Suō Province in 1486, duplicates the title of the essay written ten years earlier for Sesshū by Baifu Ryōshin. Ryōan also left poetic inscriptions on several late landscapes by Sesshū and was one of the painter's closest companions in his late years. Ryōan's essay is published in "Zuga kōryakki, jō," 40–41.

55. See Aizawa, " 'Haboku sansui zu' to Sōen."

56. Shigeuji had been in a long-standing conflict with the Uesugi warlords, the representatives of the Ashikaga shogunate in the eastern provinces, but brokered a peace with Uesugi Akisada (1454–1510) in 1478. The next step was to do the same with the shogunate itself, and Aizawa (" 'Haboku sansui zu' to Sōen") argues that Shōkei's journey to the capital was meant to lay the groundwork for this official cessation of hostilities. In the end, a treaty was signed with the shogunate in 1483.

57. Aizawa Masahiko, "Kantō suibokuga oboegaki—Chūan Shinkō, Shōkei, Sesson o chūshin ni," *Kanagawa kenritsu rekishi hakubutsukan sōgō kenkyū hōkokusho*, 2003, 27–48.

58. The inscriptions are recorded in Shōkei's entry in Asaoka Okisada's *Reference for Old Paintings* (*Koga bikō*), compiled during the 1850s. See Asaoka and Ōta Kin, *Zōtei Koga bikō*, 4 vols. (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1904), vol. 2, 799–801. The circumstances of the scroll's production are detailed in Ōsen's colophon.

59. Kōshuku was the younger brother of a close shogunal confidant who would not ordinarily have participated in such a gathering but for his connections.

60. It is unclear whether Shōkei was still in Kyoto when Sōen traveled there in 1495, or whether his introductions were made long-distance after his return to Kamakura. Shōkei can be firmly placed in Kamakura only in 1499, when he painted *Snowy Peak Studio* with inscriptions by three monks from Kenchōji. See Aizawa, " 'Haboku sansui zu' to Sōen," 67.

61. Fukushima, "Josui Sōen kenkyū josetsu."

62. This has been determined by Yamamoto Hideo by analyzing the chronological sequence of poems in Keijo's poetry anthology *Collection of Floating Gourds of the Brushwood Court* (*Kanrin koro shū*). See Yamamoto, "Tōshun saikō," *Kokka* 1277 (March 2002): 5–18.

63. See n. 30 above.

64. This is known from a colophon added by Keijo Shūrin to a poem-picture scroll painted by Sōen himself, recorded in Keijo's poetry anthology *Collection of Floating Gourds of the Brushwood Court*. See Uemura Kankō, ed., *Gozan bungaku zenshū*, 5 vols. (Tokyo: Gozan Bungaku Zenshū Kankōkai, 1936), vol. 4, 338–39.

65. This can be surmised from a verse that the Daitokuji monk Jitsuden Sōshin authored on Josui's dharma name. See Watada, "Sesshū jijo o yomu," 262–63.

66. Three surviving letters suggest that Sōen traveled to Tajima Province to reside at An'yōji, a branch temple of Daitokuji (more specifically of Tokuzenji, a subtemple of Daitokuji). One of them mentions his death there. Watada Minoru points out that Sesshū's letter of 1500 to Sōen reflects a worried tone and may come at a time when Sōen was unaffiliated in Kyoto and his status with Daitokuji still uncertain. See ibid.

67. A recently discovered copy by the painter Mochizuki Gyokusen (d. 1755) while the work was in Shōkokuji's Jishōin subtemple confirms its presence there early in the eighteenth century, where it remained until the modern era. See Aizawa, " 'Haboku sansui zu' to Sōen."

68. *Splashed Ink Landscape* was sold by Shōkokuji monastery at auction in 1905, and soon after it was published in the prestigious art history journal *Kokka*. See "Sesshū no haboku sansui zu," *Kokka* 200 (October 1907): 545–46.

69. In this regard, Sōen's attempts to improve his versification skills are intriguing. He appears to have been attempting to establish himself as a poet as well as a painter. His surviving paintings have a higher quotient of self-inscriptions than those of other Muromachi monk-painters, and his skill in verse is highlighted in Keijo's colophon to his lost poem-picture scroll (see n. 64 above).

70. At the time, it was common among the aristocratic and military elite to perform preemptive funerals and mortuary rituals to ensure that they were properly observed. Yoshimasa would not pass away until 1490 but held his thirty-third death anniversary ritual in 1488. To ensure that Shōjū had the proper credentials to serve in this capacity, he was appointed abbot emeritus of Nanzenji monastery before performing the ritual, even though he had never served there. Shōjū must have felt the pressure of the occasion, for he obliged with the longest sermon (*hōgo*, literally "dharma words") in Gozan history. For more on Shōjū, see Tamamura Takeji, *Gozan Zensō denki shūsei* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2003), 309–13.

71. Gettō Shūkyō, Ranpa Keishi, and Keijo Shūrin were all members of the Musō Soseki dharma lineage, as was Sesshū; Ten'in Ryūtaku traced his dharma lineage back to Yishan Yining (1247–1317), the émigré monk who arrived in Japan in 1299; Shōjū Ryūtō was affiliated with the lineage of the eleventh-century Chinese monk Huanglong Huinan (1002–1069); and Ryōan Keigo belonged to the Shōichi lineage of Enni, the founder of Tōfukuji monastery.

72. Gregory P. Levine, "Looking at and Reading Sesshū's 'Splashed Ink Landscape': Thoughts on Intratextuality" (unpublished paper). The opportunity to consult this paper is gratefully acknowledged.

73. Ōta Takahiko, "Sentō kanchō zu," in Iriya and Shimada, *Zenrin gasan*, 360–64. Hoshiyama Shin'ya (ibid., 210) was the first to observe that the same inscribers to *Splashed Ink Landscape* can be found on this work.

74. Aizawa, " 'Haboku sansui zu' to Sōen," 63–65.

75. In translating these poems I have consulted the annotations found in Hoshiyama, "Sansui zu (Haboku sansui)," 205–10; and Yoshizawa Katsuhiro, unpublished handout accompanying his presentation for the Gasan Kenkyūkai (Research Group for the Study of Painting Inscriptions) on March 20, 2010, at Hanazono University in Kyoto. I would like to thank Gregory Levine and the Gasan Kenkyūkai for making the handout available to me.

76. As explained earlier, there was some confusion during the Muromachi period between two different painters bearing the sobriquet "Yujian": "Ying Yujian" and "Ruofen Yujian." The painter of the famous scrolls in the Ashikaga collection that are the basis for the Yujian mode is the latter, but Ryūtaku here mistakenly invokes the former.

77. Ryūtaku here invokes a verse by Su Shi, "Drinking at the Lake First in Sunny and Then in Rainy Weather," which describes the scenery of West Lake as unchangingly excellent no matter the conditions.

78. These first two lines cleverly versify on the names of Sōen (Josui, or "Like Water") and Sesshū (Unkoku, or "Cloud Valley").

79. For more on the life and calligraphy of Mi Fu, see Peter C. Sturman, *Mi Fu: Style and the Art of Calligraphy in Northern Song China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

80. Lin Bu was of special significance for the history of literati painting and the ink plum (*momei*) genre. For further discussion, see Maggie Bickford, *Ink Plum: The Making of a Scholar-Painting Genre* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 23–29.

81. As Peter C. Sturman writes, "within the Chinese tradition . . . drunkenness equals purity—the return to a more natural state of being. . . . Alcohol, in other words, leads not to degeneration, but rather to transparency and self-effacement." See Sturman, "Wine and Cursive: The Limits of Individualism in Northern Sung China," in *Character and Context in Chinese Calligraphy*, ed. Dora C. Y. Ching et al. (Princeton: Art Museum, Princeton University, 1999), 200–231, at 216.

82. Not just any picture making could solicit such commentary, however, only those that tended to be undercrafted and project a sense of amateurism, prized qualities among scholars. This unmediated selfhood was best expressed through unskilled (or deskilled) brushwork, the use of simple materials, and a general lack of prettifying gestures and pictorial techniques. See Yukio Lippit, "Urakami Gyokudō: An Intoxicology of Japanese Literati Painting," *Studies in the History of Art* 74, ed. Elizabeth Cropper (2008): 167–87.

83. See the translation and discussion of Su's "Shi Cangshu's Hall of Drunk Ink" in Michael Anthony Fuller, *The Road to East Slope: The Development of Su Shi's Poetic Voice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 122–25. Shi Cangshu was known primarily for his cursive and running scripts. The outsize influence of Su Shi's poetry and aesthetic theories in medieval Japan remains an understudied phenomenon. For an examination of his presence in Muromachi subject matter, see Kunigō Hideaki, "Nihon chūsei kaiga ni okeru Tō Enmei to So Shoku," *Tōkyō kokuritsu hakubutsukan kiyō* 38 (2002): 5–113.

84. The essay is recorded in his poetry anthology *Collection of Flowers of the Capital from the Ramshackle Hut, Continued*. See "Suibokuan ki," in Tamamura, *Gozan bungaku shinshū*, vol. 1, 447. Judging by the dates of entries around it, Ōsen's essay was composed sometime between the eighth and eleventh month of 1481.

85. "Bushels" is an approximate translation of the Japanese *to*, a traditional

unit of measurement that amounts to just over eighteen liters, or roughly half an American bushel. The term *sakatsubo* is a play on the word for inkpot or inkwell, *sumitsubo*, and is translated here accordingly.

86. In early Chinese poetry, the tavern was already established as the primal scene of tipsiness, as in the case of the early Tang poet Wang Ji's (590–644) "Eight Quatrains Scribbled on Tavern Walls." For further discussion of the poetics of taverns, see Sturman, "Wine and Cursive," 215.

87. In this regard, it is important to note that Su Shi's comments on intoxicated ink were made in reference to the draft and running script of Shi Cangshu.

88. By now a formidable literature has accrued on the concept of "ideas" in East Asian painting. For a recent study that takes into account the complex characterology of painting ideas in the Northern Song context, see Eugene Y. Wang, " 'Picture Idea' and Its Cultural Dynamics in Northern Song China," *Art Bulletin* 89 (2007): 463–81.

89. Other than Sesshū followers, the Yujian mode was occasionally practiced among later Daitokuji painters and incorporated more generically into the pictorial menu of the Kano house of professional painters, but by the mid-sixteenth century the splashed ink mode was more of a controlled application conceptualized as the "cursive" mode of a new calligraphy script-based taxonomy of formal (regular), draft (running), and cursive (grass) modes of pictorial representation. See Takeda, *Kinsei shoki shōheiga no kenkyū*, 241–52.

90. Sōen inscribed a quatrain by the Jin dynasty poet Zai Gui (dates unknown) on its surface. The painting is published in Ebine Toshio, "Sōen hitsu Haboku sansui zu," *Kokka* 1257 (July 2000): 31–34.

91. Brinker and Kanazawa, *Zen Masters*, 322.

92. This is the description in Kano Einō's *History of Painting of the Realm* (1693). See Kasai Masa'aki et al., *Yakuchū Honchō gashi* (Kyoto: Dōbōsha Shuppan, 1985), 258. Note that the modern Japanese edition mistranslates the splashed ink method as simply "ink painting."

93. For the Shūgetsu example, see Shimada, "Muromachi jidai no shigajiku," 31. The Shūtoku case is recorded in *History of Painting of the Realm*; see Kasai et al., *Yakuchū Honchō gashi*, 263.

94. Sesshū's reception in the early modern era is discussed in chapter 1 of Yukio Lippit, *Painting of the Realm: The Kano House of Painters in Seventeenth-Century Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, forthcoming).