

Fealty and Patronage: Notes on the Sponsorship by Matsudaira Sadanobu of Tani Bunchō and His Painting

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By any consideration, Matsudaira Sadanobu (1758-1829) falls close to the ideal patron of the arts. Powerful and wealthy, Sadanobu was a collector, painter, and historian with a philosophical background and a personal stake in the life of the artist closest to him in the world. That artist was Tani Bunchō (1763-1841), personal retainer to Sadanobu. Bunchō was a prolific artist, skilled connoisseur, and author of works on the history and theory of painting; his works have been studied by scholars in Japan and abroad, and attempts have been made to analyze the connections between the two men. Nevertheless, their relationship is easily misunderstood, as it does not fit neatly into our expectations of the early modern Japanese hierarchy.

Two Lives Intertwined

Sadanobu was the third son of Tayasu Munetake (1715-1771), daimyo of the Tayasu lineage, which was one of the *sankyō* ("Three Lords") houses, who were cousins of the Tokugawa family, and were at least theoretically in line for succession to the office of shōgun. However, as a third son, Sadanobu was unlikely to succeed even to leadership of his own family, so he moved up considerably in the world when he was adopted, at the age of 15, into the Hisamatsu branch of the Matsudaira family. Matsudaira was one of the *sanke*, or "Three Houses," which was closer to the main Tokugawa line than the Tayasu. The Hisamatsu branch held the Shirakawa fief north of Edo in modern Tochigi prefecture.¹ As a member of this noble

military lineage, Sadanobu studied assiduously and by 1783, when he succeeded to headship of the Shirakawa fief, he had written three books and a collection of *waka* poetry, studied painting with Kanō school masters, and served in the shogunal entourage on pilgrimage to Nikkō.²

This was, however, only the first stage in Sadanobu's rise to power. In 1786 the Shogun, Tokugawa Ieharu (1737-1786, r. 1761-1786) died, and shortly after was replaced by Ienari (1773-1841, r. 1787-1837). As Ienari was just 14 years old at the time, Sadanobu was installed as a kind of regent, with the official title of *rōjū shuseki*, chief senior councilor. From that point until his resignation from the post in 1793, Sadanobu was arguably the most powerful person in Japan. He initiated reforms, later known as *Kansei no kaikaku* ("the Kansei reforms"), in large measure as a reaction to the corrupt government of his predecessor as senior councilor, Tanuma Okitsugu (1719-1788). These reforms attempted to return Japan to the strong economic and philosophical systems of the 1730's, and included emphasis on *Shushigaku*, the "orthodox" interpretations of Confucian texts by Zhu Xi (1130-1200), while denying authority to alternate visions such as those held by the proponents of *Yōmeigaku*, the pragmatic interpretations of Wang Yangming (1472-1559). According to Timon Screech, Sadanobu pursued aesthetic and cultural goals with the intent of producing a new image of Japan as a clearly bounded nation moving toward a modern future.³ Sadanobu maintained a stable of artists in his service, including Ono Bunsen (dates unknown), the priest-painter Hakuun (1764-1825),

reaucrat, by Herman Ooms (University of Chicago Press, 1975), which never mentions Bunchō and hardly mentions Sadanobu's cultural activities; and *The Shogun's Painted Culture*, by Timon Screech (London: Reaktion Books, 2000).

² For further details on the lives of Sadanobu and Bunchō, see among other sources the chronological chart (*nenpyō*) in Tokushima Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, *Sadanobu to Bunchō* (Aizu Wakamatsu: Tokushima Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, 1993), pp. 113-114.

³ Screech, pp. Chapter 5, pp. 208-64.

¹ Sadanobu's career has been explored in two surprisingly different volumes, *Charismatic Bu-*

and the Western-style painter and printmaker Aōdō Denzen (1748-1822). The leader of this group, acting as mentor and director of many artistic activities, seems to have been Tani Bunchō.

Like Sadanobu, Bunchō was born to a well-connected family. His grandfather, Motonori (1689-1752), had been brought to the Tayasu fief from the Ōmi fief centered in Ōtsu. Motonori was a student of *Yōmeigaku* who wrote a series of economic treatises and reformed the finances of Ōmi. His service there was noted by the Bakufu, and in 1739 he was pressed into service for the Tayasu house, then suffering near bankruptcy. Motonori was able to bring successful policies to bear, and in 1744 was awarded a special allowance for his services. He settled in Edo in 1739, and retired there in 1751, just a year before his death.⁴

The heir of Tani Motonori was his eldest son Motoyoshi, better known as Rokkoku (1728-1809), but the son's character was very different from his father's. Though he succeeded to Moronori's position and salary and retained them until retiring at the auspicious age of 60, Rokkoku was little interested in service or in economic issues. Instead, he was deeply immersed in the cultural life of his adoptive home, Edo, and became widely known as a *kanshi* poet. Writing poems in the classical language of China required Rokkoku to acquire a thorough knowledge of the Chinese classics in a variety of neo-Confucian interpretations. Slender of build and abstemious in character, Rokkoku made friends among the literati elite of Edo, including Shibano Ritsuzan, Kikuchi Gozan, and Hamada Kyō.⁵

⁴ Soeda Tatsuryō, "Tani Bunchō to sofū Motonori oyobi chichi Rokkoku: Bunchōden no issetsu," *Tōei* 13.8 (1937.8), pp. 29-30.

⁵ In the 1790's, Bunchō edited and published the definitive collection of Rokkoku's poetry. For more details see Frank L. Chance, *Tani Bunchō (1763-1841) and the Edo School of Japanese Painting* (PhD Dissertation, University of Washington, 1985), pp. 48-51. Bunchō also utilized the connections from his father's poetry circle for early support of his painting career, as exem-

Rokkoku's first son was born on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month of 1763 and given the childhood name of Masayoshi. He later developed into the prolific painter and expert connoisseur we know as Bunchō. From around the age of ten, he began to study painting with a local master of the Kanō style, Katō Bunrei (1706-1782). After Bunrei's death, or possibly even before, Bunchō began to study other modes of painting, including the Chinese realism of Shen Nanpin; the *yamatōe* style of the Tosa school; Western styles; and most importantly, the style of Chinese literati painting that has come to be known as *Nanga*.

Bunchō officially entered the service of the Tayasu house in 1788, beginning as *okuzuke minarai* (apprentice in service to the interior), with five subordinates under his command.⁶ Bunchō retained his position with the Tayasu throughout his life, but in addition was assigned, in 1792, the position of *tsuke* (personal attendant) to Matsudaira Sadanobu. Their special relationship continued for nearly thirty years, until Sadanobu's death in 1829. The unusual fact that Bunchō retained his Tayasu position, as well as becoming a retainer of Sadanobu, has led many writers to comment on their relationship; some have accused Bunchō of sycophancy. Yamaouchi Chōzō asserts that:

Sadanobu employed Bunchō not only because of his personal taste for painting and calligraphy, but also, and perhaps more, because Sadanobu wished to develop and utilize Bunchō's painting skills to the maximum. At least, Sadanobu probably

plified by the inscriptions on his *Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang* of 1788; see Frank L. Chance, "Tani Bunchō's eight views of Xiao and Xiang: Origins, Ideas, Implications," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, v. 76, (Oct. 1989), pp. 266-79.

⁶ From a service record transmitted in 1842 to the Tayasu house by his son Bunji, and quoted in full by Mori Senzō. "Tani Bunchō den no kenkyū," *Nihon bijutsu kyōkai kaihō* (1935.5 - 1937.5), pp. 158-159.

had the desire to do so from the inception of Bunchō's service.⁷

Authors with more conservative leanings, such as Soeda Tatsuryō in the 1930's, place another layer of feudal and Confucian values on the relationship, emphasizing the fact that Sadanobu was actually a son of the Tayasu family adopted into the Matsudaira as a teenager:

Many think Bunchō was supported by Sadanobu simply because he appreciated Bunchō's talent. Some even think it was because Bunchō was skilled at "diplomacy" and used Sadanobu for the sake of personal ascendancy. ... In fact, it was because Sadanobu remembered the loyal service given to his natural family by Bunchō's grandfather Motonori; it may even be seen as a repayment of *on* [filial obligations]. If not for this, Bunchō would have been made a retainer of the Shirakawa *han*, rather than continuing to be a Tayasu vassal until his death.⁸

Public and Private Patronage

Given such a long relationship and the position of public power that Sadanobu enjoyed, we might expect a long list of monumental works by Bunchō executed for the palatial residences of his patron. Unfortunately, all of the wall and screen paintings Bunchō may have created for Sadanobu's residences in Edo and Shirakawa have been lost. Indeed, only one complete room decorated with Bunchō's paintings has survived, though perhaps six thousand works in more portable formats can reasonably be attributed to him today.⁹ This situation is the result of his working primarily in and around the city of Edo, which suffered major fires repeatedly throughout

its history, in addition to the twentieth-century disasters of 1923 and 1944-45.

What does survive from the relationship are, instead, relatively private works that are small in scale. Large-scale works often employ a public iconography intended to convey symbolic power, and naturally require significant investments of artistic effort.¹⁰ Moreover, the choice of an artist for such a project implies a sort of public approval for his style and thus clearly grants status to the artist, whether or not this is augmented by official grants of title or office. Smaller works may not make such overt statements, but could in fact take up time and energy on a scale not much less than that required by screen and wall paintings. In particular, small works suffer from relative invisibility; they cannot be seen unless the owner chooses to share them with others. As a result their impact is more limited than that of screen or wall paintings. On the other hand, small works may provide viewers with a much deeper insight into the expressive potential of their creators, and a stronger sense of the desires of the patron for whom they were created. They create a direct link between their audience and their creators, without the mediation of public space or the simultaneous presence of numerous viewers. For better or worse, in the case of Bunchō and Sadanobu, we cannot today know what sort of monumental works Sadanobu might have ordered from his retainer, but four important works in small scale survive that limn the range of their relationship. These currently take the form of three handscrolls – *Kōyo tanshōzu* of 1795, *Kinsei meika shōzō zukan* of around 1800, and *Ishiyamadera engi emaki* of 1804-5 – and a book, *Shūko jussū*, published around 1800.

⁷ Yamanouchi Chōzō, *Nihon Nanga shi* (Tokyo: Ruri Shobō, 1981), p. 307.

⁸ Soeda Tatsuryō, p. 30.

⁹ The surviving room is at the Honkōji in rural Shizuoka prefecture. For discussions of Bunchō's surviving *oeuvre*, see Chance 1985, pp. 154-156.

¹⁰ See for example Karen Gerhart, *The Eyes of Power: Art and Early Tokugawa Authority* (University of Hawaii Press, 1999), for an analysis of the political iconography of Kano school murals from the seventeenth century.

Three Handscrolls and a Book, or Three Books and a Handscroll

***Kōyo tanshōzu*, [Views of an Inspection Tour of the Coast], 1795.** In the fourth and fifth lunar months of 1793, Bunchō accompanied Sadanobu on a tour of the coast of the Izu and Miura peninsulas in modern Shizuoka and Kanazawa prefectures. The tour was an official function occurring about three months before Sadanobu retired from his *ri*(insert macrons) office. Bunchō's function in the entourage was primarily documentary, and he kept notebooks delineating the topographical features of the coastline for the purpose of preparing defenses against Russian ships, which had been sighted off the coast in the early Kansei years. The notebooks, probably finished with color after the group returned to Edo, consist of 79 scenic views on 80 pairs of paper pages, now mounted on two handscrolls and kept in the Tokyo National Museum.¹¹ One might say that *Kōyo tanshōzu* began as a book, or more specifically a sketchbook, but was finalized in the handscroll format.

The topographical accuracy of these small paintings is remarkable. The beach at Ashina (Figure 1), for example, is clearly recognizable in a photograph of the same site (Figure 2) taken in 1984. The view from a cliff-hugging road over a curving beach to a small archipelago at the end of a jutting spit of rocks is little changed despite the passing of nearly two centuries. The inclusion of meteorological phenomena, from clear blue skies to clouds and mist to slanting lines of rain, provides the views with a striking sense of time as well as place that puts them in favorable comparison with some of the best topographical European works, such as the nearly contemporaneous landscape views of John Constable and J. M. W. Turner.



Figure 1: Tani Bunchō, Ashina, from *Kōyo tanshōzu*, 1793, Tokyo National Museum. Used by permission.



Figure 2: Ashina, photograph by the author, 1984.

The link between Sadanobu and these paintings is clear and specific, since he was the leader of the inspection team for which these serve as documentation, but they came to be preserved in the shogunal collection, rather than Sadanobu's. Hence, though private in scale, they have an official, and in some sense public function. As documentation for a public project, they were property of the shogunal authorities; on the other hand, as this function was linked to concerns of what we would today call "national security," the document was not available for public view; indeed its very existence was never publicized outside the shogunal castle, but its presence in the

¹¹ The whole work was reproduced by Meichō Shuppan in 1975 in original size. Commentaries on them in English include, among others, those of Timon Screech in *The Shogun's Painted Culture* and by Michael Cunningham in *Reflections of Reality in Japanese Art* (Cleveland, Ohio: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1993), p. 280.

Tokugawa archive may be telling. Among the pictures, the vast majority of sites are represented only once, and a few appear twice, but only one site was represented more frequently. There are a total of four views of the harbor at Shimoda. This may merely reflect the importance of this port as a center of local commerce and transportation, but a larger factor may also be at play. Some sixty years after the creation of *Kōyo tan-shōzu*, when an American fleet under the direction of Commodore Matthew Perry approached this coastal area, it was directed specifically to Shimoda in order that negotiations *might* be opened. It is entirely conceivable that the Bakufu officials who sent that order consulted these images before determining the best location for this historic meeting.

***Shūko jusshū* [Collected Antiquities in Ten Types], published c. 1800.** Among the four works most clearly indicative of Sadanobu's patronage of Bunchō, *Shūko jusshū* is both the largest and the least clearly indicative of Bunchō's hand. In modern form, it consists of fourteen volumes of illustrated text, but was originally produced as a set of 85 handscrolls. Here again we have a work with private scale but public function, as it was converted from painted handscrolls to block-printed book form and thus achieved a wide audience. Bunchō was involved in its production from research through compilation, and Sadanobu signed off on the preface in 1800.

In 1796, Bunchō traveled from Edo to the Kansai region in order to gather materials for the project. He kept extensive notes,¹² as did at least one of his traveling companions.¹³ During the tour, he visited private, temple, and shrine collections from Kamakura and Kanazawa to Kyoto, Osaka, and Nara, and sketched hundreds of paintings, sculptures, and other objects. During the trip he went to Daitokuji in Kyoto, for

¹² Transcribed and published serially by [Hayashi] Wakagi, "Bunchō kaganroku" in *Shūko kaishi*, (1911-1925).

¹³ Hirose Mōsai (1768-1828), quoted extensively in Mori, pp. 182-190.

example, where he saw a pair of landscape paintings (Figure 3) then attributed, along with the icon between them, to the Tang dynasty master Wu Daozi (c. 700-792), but now recognized as the work of Li Tang (c. 1050-c. 1130).¹⁴ These served as inspiration for a



Figure 3: *Waterfall*, after two landscapes attributed to Wu Daozi, from *Shūko jusshū*, 1908 edition.

number of Bunchō's later paintings, including a waterfall now in the Burke Collection in New York.¹⁵ Other paintings included in the *Meiga* [Famous Paintings] section of *Shūko jusshū*, range from Chinese works attributed to Li

¹⁴ The modern attribution is based primarily on the work of Shimada Shūjirō, who discovered an obscured signature of Li on the paintings in the 1950s. See Shimada Shūjirō, "Kōtō-in sho-zō no sansuiga ni suite," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 165 (1952), pp. 136-149. See also Richard Barnhart, "Li T'ang (c.1050-c.1130) and the Koto-in Landscapes," *The Burlington Magazine* 830(1972), pp. 304-311.

¹⁵ First published in Miyeko Murase, *Japanese Art: Selections from the Mary and Jackson Burke Collection* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975), pp. 276-277.

Gonglin (1049-1106; Figure 4) and Liang Kai (active early 13th century) to landscapes by the Japanese master Sesshū (1420-1506). Other pictorial works are reproduced in the Portraits section with representations of Kūkai, Shōtoku Taishi, and Minamoto no Yoritomo, among others.



Figure 4: *Tiger*, after a painting attributed to Li Gonglin, *Shūko jusshu*, 1908 edition.

Kinsei meika shōzō zukan [Portraits of Contemporaries], c. 1800. Perhaps the most controversial of the works associated with Bunchō and Sadanobu is the handscroll in the Tokyo National Museum known as “Portraits of Contemporaries.” The link to both Sadanobu and Bunchō is established only in the colophon written by a conservator at the Tokyo National Museum, Kosugi Sugimura (1834-1910), more than half a century after the work was produced.¹⁶ At least one scholar, Mori Senzō, has proposed that the portraits were produced around 1831, yet the inscriptions on many of the individual portraits correspond with dates recorded in Bunchō’s travel diaries.¹⁷ Ueno Kenji and others have proposed that in fact the current scroll is at best a copy of Bunchō’s work, itself copied from his sketches.¹⁸ The rectangular line framing each image may echo page-framing lines from the book format of the original work.

As it exists today, *Kinsei meika shōzō zukan* consists of 46 portraits mounted on one handscroll, with names and other information inscribed beside them; in addition, there are slips

¹⁶ The inscription, reproduced in Kyoto National Museum, *Nihon no shōzō* (Portraits of Japan), p. 301, translates as follows:

Matsudaira Sadanobu commissioned Tani Bunchō to draw portraits of his [Sadanobu’s] compatriots. Sadanobu always kept the portraits by his side. In the Meiji era, the scroll was sold by the Matsudaira family to the Tokyo Imperial Museum Director, Machida Hisashige. It thus entered the collection, and was also restored at that time.

Kosugi Sugimura, conservator, based on oral transmission.

¹⁷ Mori, p. 231. I am indebted to Naoko Gunji for her analysis of the “Portraits of Contemporaries” scroll in an unpublished paper, “Matsudaira Sadanobu’s *Scroll of Portraits of Contemporaries*: Sadanobu’s Political Implications,” University of Pittsburgh, July 14, 2004.

¹⁸ Ueno Kenji, “Den Tani Bunchō hitsu ‘Kinsei meika shōzō zukan’ ni tsuite,” *Tochigi Kenritsu bijutsukan kiyō* (1979) pp. 73-80.

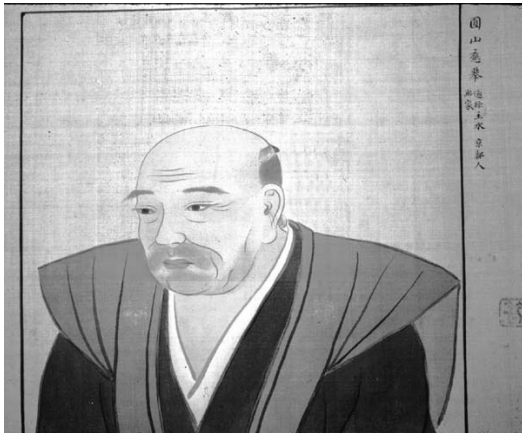


Figure 5: Maruyama Ōkyo, from *Kinsei meika shōzō zukan*, Tokyo National Museum. Used by permission.

of paper attached to the scroll repeating some of the information about the sitters. All the subjects are male. Included are a number of famous painters, such as Maruyama Ōkyo (1733-1795, Figure 5); Matsumura Goshun (1752-1811); and Minagawa Kien (1734-1807); along with Confucian scholars such as Hayashi Jussai (1768-1832); Shibano Ritsuzan (1734-1807); and Rai Shunsui (1746-1816). Three feudal lords are included, and at least four Buddhist monks as well. Perhaps the most troubling image, in terms of Bunchō's possible authorship, is that of the painter himself, especially as it is slightly larger in scale than the others except for the image of Ōkyo. This probably indicates the respect of the copyist for these two figures, who might have been considered the finest painters of the era, but makes it unlikely that Bunchō actually painted this version.

Many authors have speculated on the motivation behind the production of this scroll. Why would Sadanobu want portraits of friends (such as Shibano and Hayashi), and acquaintances "to keep by his side?" Why would the scroll also include persons Sadanobu may never have even met, such as Kimura Kenkadō (1736-1802), and also those Bunchō may never have met, such as Maruyama Ōkyo? As a supporter of Zhu Xi Confucianism, why would he have included prominent scholars of

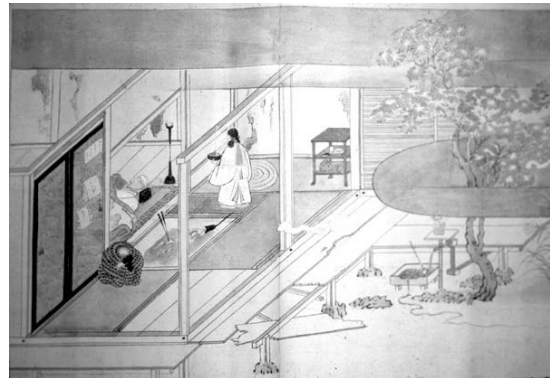


Figure 6: Tani Bunchō, *Ishiyamadera engi emaki*, detail of a study for scroll 7, Tokyo National Museum. Used by permission.

other schools, such as Rai Shunsui? Finally, how heavily did Sadanobu's appreciation for Ōkyo's representational vision color the realism of these portraits? These are not questions with easy answers, and lie beyond the scope of the current investigations.

***Ishiyamadera engi emaki* [Illustrated Handscrolls of the Ishiyama Temple Legends], 1804-5.** A set of illustrated legends of the Ishiyamadera, a major Tendai edifice located in the foothills of Mt. Hiei outside Kyoto, remained uncompleted at the beginning of the twentieth century. The scrolls had been viewed by Bunchō in 1796,¹⁹ and Sadanobu was petitioned by the abbot of the temple, Sōken (dates unknown) to complete them. Sadanobu then commissioned Bunchō and his assistants to copy the five extant scrolls (dated by modern scholars to the fourteenth century) and add two more to illustrate the flowing cursive calligraphy of Asukai Masaaki (1611-1679) for the last eight episodes. Sadanobu added a colophon to the seventh scroll in the set, indicating that he asked Bunchō "to live in this world but depict that of long ago" in order to maintain consistency within the final work.²⁰ Bunchō's own note, at the end

¹⁹ Hayashi, p. 269

²⁰ Umezu Jirō, *Ishiyamadera engi e, Shinshū Nihon emakimono zenshū* 22 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1979), p. 2.

of a set of preparatory sketches owned by the Matsudaira family but preserved today in the Tokyo National Museum, indicates that he began drawing early in 1804 and completed the scroll in the final month of the following year.²¹ The illustrations, executed in heavy colors on the silk of the final copy, are among the most faithful Edo era reproductions of the *yamatoe* narrative style. In this case we can strongly assert Sadanobu's influence as a patron, as well as the success with which Bunchō followed the mandate to reproduce the style of late medieval *yamatoe* handscrolls.

Each of the thirty-three episodes of the full set of scrolls illustrates an incarnation of Kannon (Sanskrit Avalokitesvara), the bodhisattva of compassion, performing some deed for a believer who worshipped at Ishiyamadera. Bunchō sent his adopted son Bun'ichi (1777-1818) and two followers to Ishiyamadera in the closing months of 1803 to copy the five existing scrolls. He also made two scrolls of preparatory studies, preserved now in the Tokyo National Museum; these incorporate not only visual quotations from the other scrolls of *Ishiyamadera engi emaki* but also from at least five other medieval handscrolls and from other antique paintings. The result of

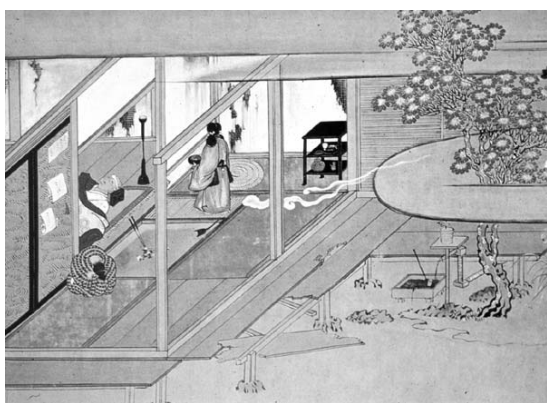


Figure 7: Tani Bunchō, *Ishiyamadera engi emaki*, detail of a study for scroll 7, Tokyo National Museum. Used by permission.

²¹ Reproduced in Komatsu Shigemi, ed. *Ishiyamadera engi, Nihon emaki taisei* 18 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1978), p. 106.

these preparations is a remarkable consistency in style between Bunchō's illustrations and the five preexisting scrolls of the set.

For example, let us look at the opening segment of the final scroll from the set (Figures 6, 7, 8). The main character of this episode is one priest Ken'en, abbot of a small subtemple named Enjōji. The scene shows Ken'en suffering from illness; Kannon miraculously appears in the form of an acolyte, who offers the priest a bowl of medicine to cure his fever. To emphasize the loneliness of the isolated setting, Bunchō opens the scene with a crescent moon gleaming over the autumn landscape of low hills painted with malachite green fading to brown along the lower edge. The texture of the cliff is indicated by a few wandering brush strokes that appear free and spontaneous, but that are in fact carefully calculated and practiced, since they are repeated with almost photographic accuracy in the two stages of preparatory sketches (as well as in two further copies of the scroll, held respectively by Ishiyamadera and Ninnaji). Confirming the

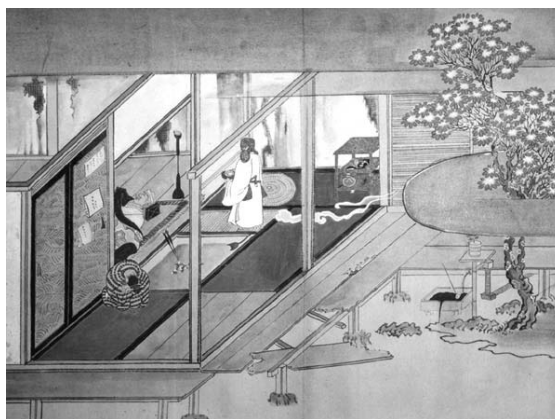


Figure 8: Tani Bunchō, *Ishiyamadera engi emaki*, detail of scroll 7, Ishiyamadera, Shiga prefecture. Used by permission.

season is a red-leaved tree, and the ivy draped elegantly over its withered branches contains the only spots of color on the first, otherwise monochrome roll of studies, indicating that they were planned from the start as "boneless" forms in pure color without ink outlines. The lines of the priest's residence are almost line-for-line imitations of a scene from *Eshi no zōshi* [The

Tale of a Painter], a handscroll stylistically dated to the fourteenth century.²²

Conclusions

The relationship between Bunchō and Sadanobu as artist and patron was unquestionably a long and complex one. In addition to the four hand-held works discussed here, Sadanobu commissioned Bunchō to create numerous other works — hanging scrolls as well as screen and wall paintings — but few of them survive.²³ The mutual benefits of the relationship are beyond question — Sadanobu's support gave Bunchō access he could not have hoped for otherwise, and Bunchō supplied works to satisfy the wide-ranging tastes and aesthetic needs of his patron. No surviving records indicate whether Bunchō was compensated for these works beyond his regular stipends, but it is clear that he also accepted commissions from other sources, including feudal lords, wealthy merchants, and others.²⁴ In some respects, there are other daimyo-painter relationships that echo this one — for example, the links between Satake Shōzan (1748-1785), lord of Akita, and Odano Naotake (1749-1780). Satake and Oda, however, cooperated for less than a decade before the untimely death of the younger painter, while Sadanobu patronized Bunchō for three decades. It also seems clear that Bunchō's service was both loyal and constant, a kind of fealty repaid by his

patron over four decades. Only the lack of surviving documents, and the failure of modern scholars to interpret them correctly, prevent a deeper understanding of this fascinating interaction.

²² Originally noted by Komatsu in *Ishiyamadera engi*, p. 118. The *Eshi no zōshi* section is illustrated in Komatsu Shigemi, ed., *Haseo zōshi – Eshi zōshi, Nihon emaki taisei* 11 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1977), pp. 46-49.

²³ Three hanging scrolls with paintings by Bunchō and inscriptions by Sadanobu, for example, are reproduced in Tokushima Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, *Sadanobu to Bunchō*, (Aizu Wakamatsu: Tokushima Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, 1993), pp. 22-23.

²⁴ For example, in his *shukuzu* sketchbooks, Bunchō made miniature copies of many of his paintings, often attaching brief notes naming the source of the commission.