

SOUVENIR OF KYOTO'S ENTERTAINMENT:  
THE SHIOMI *RAKUCHŪ-RAKUGAIZU* SCREENS  
IN THE JORDAN SCHNITZER MUSEUM OF ART

by

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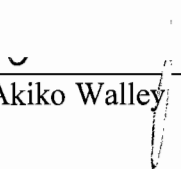
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## An Abstract of the Thesis of

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Title: SOUVENIR OF KYOTO'S ENTERTAINMENT: THE SHIOMI *RAKUCHŪ*-  
*RAKUGAIZU* SCREENS IN THE JORDAN SCHNITZER MUSEUM OF ART

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 Akiko Walley

This thesis examines an unstudied pair of eight-paneled Japanese *rakuchū-rakugaizu* screens donated by Dr. Robert H. Shiomi to the Jordan Schnitzer Museum of Art (JSMA). *Rakuchū-rakugaizu* (Scenes in and Out of the Capital) was a popular painting genre that developed over the late sixteenth to seventeenth centuries. In contrast to most accepted scholarly views of this genre, I believe the Shiomi screens are void of political intentions and function as souvenirs. Closely comparing the visual traits to other known examples and contemporary travel guides demonstrates the shift in focus to entertainment and famous sites in the capital available to Kyoto's citizens and visitors alike. Kyoto's history, the prevalence of travel that came with a reunified Japan during the Tokugawa hegemony, and the identification of activities, temples, and shrines within the screens solidifies this argument. This facilitates a nuanced understanding of this painting genre and demonstrates alternative approaches for its study.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Housed in the Jordan Schnitzer Museum of Art, (JSMA), is a pair of Japanese folding-screens depicting a panoramic view of Kyoto during the seventeenth century. *Rakuchū-rakugaizu*, or “Scenes in and out of the Capital,” documents the urban lifestyle at the junction of the late medieval to early modern Japan and falls into a painting genre that emerged during a period of constant warfare beginning in the sixteenth century and continuing into the seventeenth century. This pair of eight-paneled screens is distinguished from other extant works in this genre by the fact that the screens show a complete panoramic view along the Kamo River in Kyoto. This thesis will argue that the Shiomi screens are souvenirs due to the number of differences found when comparing them to other *rakuchū-rakugaizu* examples. Before we proceed, a brief introduction to the screens’ previous owner is in order.

The JSMA is fortunate to own these screens because Dr. Robert H. Shiomi (Fig. 1) generously donated them to the museum and like its donor, not much is known regarding their histories. Unfortunately, any record that may have existed upon the purchase of these screens was lost after their donator passed away. Dr. Shiomi had a fruitful, but difficult life. Born in 1904 on a little island off the coast of Japan, Dr. Shiomi traveled to the United States, by himself, at the age of thirteen to reunite with his father on the West Coast. His father may have been trying to earn money to send back to his

family in Japan, or saving up money in order to return home. Regardless, Dr. Shiomi stayed in the United States and worked his way through college when his father finally returned to Japan. Eventually, Dr. Shiomi became a student at the University of Oregon and gradually made his way through medical school, while supporting himself with odd jobs. He graduated from the University of Oregon in 1930 in which his tie to the university was solidified.

After his time at the University of Oregon, he pursued a medical degree and upon finishing, he established his first practice in Portland. Shortly thereafter, World War II broke out and he and his family were sent to an internment camp; he had lost everything. They were relocated to Joliet, Illinois, where Dr. Shiomi continued to practice medicine until he, and his family were approved to move back to Portland, their home. Upon his return, he opened a new medical practice where he treated fellow Japanese-Americans for no charge because he was sympathetic to their predicaments. Amazingly enough, all of these patients paid him back to thank him for his kindness.

Dr. Shiomi passed away in 2004; five months shy of his one-hundredth birthday. He is remembered as a generous man. Throughout the years, he continued to support the University of Oregon by sponsoring the university's athletic events and buying art in Japan and donating it to various museums, especially to the JSMA. Regarding the donation of his *rakuchū-rakugaizu* folding-screens (hereinafter, the "Shiomi screens"), Dr. Shiomi's chauffeur dropped them off wrapped in blankets at the security door of the

JSMA on a rainy day, a fact that is always repeated when discussing these screens within the JSMA community.<sup>1</sup>

*Rakuchū-rakugaizu* is a painting genre for folding-screens that was popular among the warrior class during the late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries. Considered highly treasured pieces of art, early works of this genre were commissioned predominately by *daimyō*, or territorial lords. Early *rakuchū-rakugaizu* screens are politically charged because warriors commissioned them and because they include their major monuments. Whether the patron is a significant figure in Kyoto or not, they still contribute to this inherent political message portrayed in these screens. The stability of the political powers and the rise of the wealthy merchant class in the Edo period changed the function of the *rakuchū-rakugaizu* screens from gifts to be exchanged among warriors to souvenirs purchased by commoners.

This study consists of three chapters. Following a close visual analysis of the Shiomi screens (Chapter 2) and a discussion on the history of the *rakuchū-rakugaizu* as a genre (Chapter 3), Chapter 4 investigates the possible function the Shiomi screens served at their conception. I will argue that unlike their predecessors, the Shiomi screens are void of any political implications, instead serving a more leisurely purpose. Chapter 4 will demonstrate that the Shiomi screens reflect the culture of travel that emerged during the Edo period and the new types of commodity associated with it. In short, this study

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<sup>1</sup> Bibliographic accounts for Dr. Shiomi's life have been pieced together from stories shared by his daughter, Carol Murata, and Yoko McClain, Professor *Emerita* of East Asian languages at the University of Oregon and sponsored by Dr. Shiomi when she was a student. Dr. and Mrs. Shiomi's time spent in the internment camp and their family's relocation are not mentioned because he never discussed this experience with others.

argues that the Shiomi screens were not produced as vessels for specific political opinions, but rather as souvenirs.

For the purpose of this thesis, I define “souvenir” as a luxury craft that was mass-produced or privately commissioned to serve to encapsulate one’s memory of a specific place. A Japanese term for souvenir, *meibutsu* (“named things”), refers to a local product (craft, food, and monuments, etcetera) that has an inherent traditional quality specific to a particular geographic location. *Meibutsu*—when used in this context—were the objects of attraction a traveler would have looked for and consumed upon arrival to his/her destination and carried back with him/her upon departure either physically, or as a memory. The Shiomi screens may fall into this category of Japanese souvenirs.

As it will be discussed in both Chapters 3 and 4, unlike the earlier works of this genre, which often prominently featured key political monuments in and around Kyoto, the Shiomi screens focus on famous temples, shrines, pleasure districts, and recreational activities that took place within them. They display a seeming disinterest in the political dimension of the city. The shift in attention from palaces and castles to *meibutsu* sites and festivities, combined with their inclusion of motifs rarely seen in earlier *rakuchū-rakugaizu*, but featured in contemporary gazetteers, suggest that the Shiomi screens served a fundamentally different function from their predecessors. This study will demonstrate that the Shiomi screens are the prime examples of the new type of souvenir *rakuchū-rakugaizu*, refining our understanding of this painting genre.

CHAPTER II  
IDENTIFIED MONUMENTS AND ACTIVITIES  
ON THE SCREENS

Since the Shiomi screens have not been the subject of scholarly investigation until now, one of the objectives of this thesis is to identify many of the temples, shrines, and activities and provide a basic description of them. Although the screens' scenes contain a large number of buildings accompanied by a gold cartouche, a thorough identification of the monuments is by no means an easy task, as the labels are written in seventeenth-century style cursive script. While visual comparisons to other *rakuchū-rakugaizu* screens helps, it can only take us so far since the imaginary topography of the Shiomi screens do not match any of the other existing *rakuchū-rakugaizu*. In addition, one has to keep in mind that the Shiomi screens portray Kyoto in the seventeenth century and some buildings may no longer be extant. Since *rakuchū-rakugaizu* are paintings of an actual city, they often record such architectural changes found in Kyoto.

Identification of the major monuments and activities and their historical significance highlights the Shiomi screens' distinct characteristics. In the latter half of this chapter, I will also compare the Shiomi screens to their earlier counterparts. These visual analyses will demonstrate that the compositional and thematic choices made for the Shiomi screens cannot be explained entirely through differences in personal taste.

Instead, they reflect a shift in the social function that *rakuchū-rakugaizu* played in the Edo period.

### **Structure of the Shiomi screens**

Each Shiomi screen (Fig. 2) consists of eight panels (W: 121.9 x H: 335.2 centimeters; 4 x 11 feet). Unlike other *rakuchū-rakugaizu* screens, which often portrays a progression of the four seasons, the Shiomi screens only feature two seasons: spring on the right screen and autumn on the left one. The number of monuments varies from panel to panel, depending on the geographical direction it portrays. Depending on the area of Higayashima, the number of structures ranges from as few as one structure to four. Presently, twenty-four sites on the right screen and twenty-five on the left are labeled. Considering that the screens date to the seventeenth century, a surprising amount of labels is still intact. Some of the labels are identified in this chapter. While the screens are continuous, I will explore the sites in sequence, comment on them and draw attention to their features that might have been of interest to contemporary viewers. I will be describing each panel moving from right to left (Fig. 3 & 4).<sup>2</sup>

### **The Right Screen/Eastern View of the Kamo River**

Beginning with the upper half of the first panel on the right, there are three religious complexes nestled in Higayashima. Along a path on the right edge of this panel is a shrine indicated by its red *torii*, or Shinto gate, which is the entrance to Inari Shrine

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<sup>2</sup> For example, (R-1-1) denotes the right screen, first panel from the right, location number one, this method will be used for both screens.

(R-1-1). Opposite Inari Shrine on the fold of the first and second panel is Imagumano Shrine (R-1-2), and continuing further down from this shrine is Chishaku-in (R-1-3). While Chishaku-in is not noted for being a tourist location, it is a repository of sliding-door paintings (*fusuma-e*) from Shōun-in built for Sutemaru, Hideyoshi's first son who died at the age of two in 1591. The *fusuma-e* are all that remains of Shōun-in. Originally established on Mount Kōya in Wakayama prefecture in 1585, Chishaku-in moved to Higayashima after the fall of the Toyotomi and eventually became the head temple of Shingon Buddhism in Kyoto.<sup>3</sup>

Below Chishaku-in is Sanjūsangendō (R-1-4) in the middle ground and this building extends just beyond the first panel into the second. Sanjūsangendō, “Thirty-Three Bay Hall,” was requested by Emperor Go Shirakawa (1127-1192) and funded by Taira no Kiyomori (1118-1181) in 1164. Within this long hall are 1001 statues of the Thousand-Armed Kannon, with 1000 smaller statues and one larger statue of Kannon in the middle. In addition front of the Kannon statues are the statues of Buddhism's guardians. Taira no Kiyomori and members of his clan, likened themselves to these guardian statues because they were self-proclaimed to be the protectors of the state.<sup>4</sup> The major festival that takes place at this temple ground is the Tōshiya, an archery competition occurring in the gallery on the west side of the hall (Fig. 5). In 1246, the temple complex was burned down, but a replica of the main hall was constructed in

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<sup>3</sup> Herbert E. Plutschow, *Historical Kyoto: With Illustrations and Guide Maps*. (Tokyo: The Japan Times, Ltd., 1983), 135.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 73.



1266.<sup>5</sup> Continuing further down in the first panel is a smaller religious shrine with visiting monks, and the beginning of the Kamo River (R-1-5). At the river ‘mouth,’ one can see fishermen on their boats and some walking in the water dragging nets behind them.

In the second panel from the right lies Toyokuni Shrine, also known as Hōkoku Shrine (R-2-6) nestled in Higayashima. The official tomb for Toyotomi Hideyoshi, this shrine was constructed in 1599 to commemorate his death. On the anniversaries of Hideyoshi’s death, townspeople, nobles, priests, and warriors would gather here to hold large celebrations, honoring him with dance. The mausoleum at this shrine was built on a lavish scale to reflect all of Hideyoshi’s lifetime accomplishments.<sup>6</sup>

In the third and fourth panels from the right, atop Higashiyama, is the temple Kiyomizudera (R-3-7). Kiyomizudera or, “Pure Water Temple,” was first constructed in 798; the current buildings have renovations dating from 1633. This temple offers one of the best overlooks of Kyoto; this area is known for viewing blossoms and autumnal foliage, even today. In fact, cherry blossoms surround the temple grounds in these panels. Even before the construction of this temple, the site was considered sacred. Labeled within the Kiyomizudera complex is the *Shikama*, or “deer mound” (R-4-10). This area is associated with a founding legend of the complex. The legend involves monk Enchin who was for land large enough for establishing a new temple. One day, a mountain deity, in the form of a deer, visited Enchin’s camp in the night and flattened enough land for his temple. The second legend dates from after the establishment of the temple. One time, an

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 151

aristocrat, Sakanoue no Tamuramaro, was hunting near the temple grounds for deer; his wife was pregnant and deerskin was believed to be a talisman for ensuring a safe birth. After he killed a deer, Enchin lectured him on the evils of killing animals. Tamuramaro, feeling repentant, buried the deer; hence, the *Shikama*.<sup>7</sup>

The main hall of Kiyomizudera has a veranda supported by hundreds of pillars jutting out over the hillside; impressively, not a single nail was used throughout the entire temple. Just below the main hall is the waterfall Otowa no Taki (Fig. 6) (R-3-8), which is believed to have sacred properties for visitors who partake of its water. On the screen, the temple site is full of worshippers and sightseers walking the grounds, and utilizing the sacred properties of the Otowa no Taki. To the left of the temple complex is the Saimon (R-4-9), a large gate leading to the temple complex and a three-storied pagoda at the foot of Higayashima.

Continuing down from Kiyomizudera in the third panel from the right is Hōkōji (R-3-11) constructed by Hideyoshi in an attempt to rival the Great Buddha Hall, Tōdaiji, in Nara. Peeking out from under the roof of Hōkōji's Great Buddha Hall is the Buddha's crossed legs with his hands folded in his lap. In order to obtain enough metal for casting the fifty-two meter (approximately 171 feet) tall Buddha, Hideyoshi ordered a sword hunt in 1585. All privately owned swords, including those belonging to Buddhist priests, were confiscated in the campaign using the motto "give iron to the Buddha; in doing this, they were ensuring the merit donators would receive in this life and the next."<sup>8</sup> Canals were

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 133.

dug and Gojō Bridge was built to facilitate the casting of the giant statue of the Buddha. Outside of Hōkōji lies a reminder of Hideyoshi's failed attempts at conquering Korea in 1592 and 1597. This is the *Mimizuka*, or "ear-mound" (R-2-12). Traditionally, the enemies' heads were taken as battle trophies; in this instance, the ears were cut off, shipped back in barrels, and buried in this mound. The temple was completed in three years, but an earthquake destroyed the Great Buddha Hall in 1596, only nine years after completion. There were many attempts at rebuilding this large structure, especially after Hideyoshi's death, but it seems that natural disasters destroyed any rebuilding efforts.

During Hideyoshi's reconstruction of Kyoto, he pushed the boundaries of the Heian capital outward by constructing three bridges over the Kamo River. Gojō Bridge (R-3-14), marking Gojō-dōri, or avenue, near Hōkōji was one of the great marvels of the newly renovated city. It was a durable structure and had ornamental caps known as *giboshi*.<sup>9</sup> Apparently, the Tokugawa rebuilt the bridge in the Genna era (1615-1624) and it was maintained by the *bakufu*. Maintenance and upkeep by the *bakufu* resulted in the bridge's nickname, Kōgi-bashi.<sup>10</sup> Gojō Bridge connects the east bank of the Kamo River to the temple district (*teramachi*), in which temples and shops were interspersed. Established by Hideyoshi, the Higayashima mountain district includes various temples on the eastern side of the Kamo River and enabled him to oversee large numbers of temples in a limited area. Hideyoshi drew upon his recent experiences, in which various temple

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<sup>9</sup> R.A.B. Ponsonby-Fane, *Kyoto the Old Capital of Japan (794-1869)*. (Kyoto: The Ponsonby Memorial Society, 1956), 411.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 416.

armies launched attacks within the capital, and Emperor Kammu's experiences during the foundation of Heian-kyō by not allowing temples within the city itself.<sup>11</sup>

*Teramachi* (R-4-15) runs along the bottom of the right screen and past Gojō Bridge on the eastern bank. While there are shops continuing up to Sanjō Bridge, a variety of buildings interrupts this line of establishments. A main thoroughfare breaks up the bottom edge of the screen and *teramachi*. On this road, one can see different people of varying social stations meandering. There are a variety of shops in *teramachi* ranging from those for fans to tobacco and tobacco accessories. Shops were narrow, but deep because during the Muromachi period (1336-1573), shop owners were charged by the width of the entire shop. Thus, these shop owners adapted and created these deep and narrow shops with sitting areas in the front to display their wares to customers.

*Teramachi* continues along the Kamo River until it reaches Sanjō Bridge.

Progressing westward through Higayashima, in the fifth panel from the right, is Kōdaiji (R-5-17), which was established in 1605 by Hideyoshi's wife, Kita no Mandokoro, after his death in 1598, at which point she became a nun and adopted the name Kōdai-in. This religious complex is a Zen monastery where Mandokoro stayed and meditated. Hideyoshi was buried here along with his mother and eventually his son, Hideyori, after the failed campaign at Osaka Castle in 1615. On the extensive temple grounds there includes gardens and teahouses designed by the tea master Sen no Rikyū (1522-1591).<sup>12</sup> Moving downward of Kōdaiji, Yasaka Pagoda (R-5-16) is the only

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<sup>11</sup> Plutschow, 131.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.

remaining structure from Hōkanji. Originally, Shōtoku Taishi founded the complex, and the pagoda was regarded as a symbol of Kyoto. In 1618, Itakura Katsushige, a governor of Kyoto at the time, rebuilt this pagoda.<sup>13</sup> At the end of Gojō-dōri is a teahouse labeled as Yasaka *chaya* (R-4-13) that had connections to the pagoda and Yasaka Shrine. West of the Yasaka Pagoda, a painted path connects Kōdaiji to Yasaka Shrine also known as Gion Shrine.

Considered the guardian shrine of the Gion district of Higayashima, Yasaka Shrine (R-6-18) was and still is the sponsor for the Gion Festival and is located at the east end of Shijō-dōri in the sixth panel. Construction started in 656 and was under imperial patronage throughout the Heian period (794-1185). On the Shiomi screens, visitors are on their way to the shrine and the entrance is marked by a *torii*. Surrounded by golden clouds, the entire shrine complex continues from the fifth through the seventh panel from the right. Filled with visitors enjoying the sites of the temple and cherry blossoms, the main hall, stage, and other buildings are depicted in great detail. Of additional interest regarding this complex, is that a number of buildings and the surrounding forest are identified. The forest is labeled as “Gion *Bayashi*” (R-7-19), or Gion forest, suggesting that there was a legend associated with this area. Gion was the entertainment district and after the reconstruction of Kyoto, in which the streets were narrowed to make them less crowded, many urbanites would congregate here and take part in various forms of entertainment. These recreational activities were available to all levels of society and especially appealed to commoners.

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<sup>13</sup> Aisaburo Akiyama, *Sights of Old Japan*. (Tokyo: Yōshūsha, 1919), 59.

Directly below Yasaka Shrine are two different types of theaters facing each other on the eastern banks of the Kamo River: the left is a kabuki theater (R-6-21) and the right is a puppet (*bunraku*) theater (R-5-20). The Shijō Bridge (R-6-22) made this entertainment district accessible, but it was not a permanent bridge like the ones located at Gojō and Sanjō-dōri. Both theaters are in the Gion district after crossing Shijō Bridge. They are portrayed in the early stages of their development.<sup>14</sup> Kabuki and *bunraku*'s origins date to the early seventeenth century; around the time that *rakuchū-rakugaizu* started gaining popularity. Stylized movements for expressing various emotions and the music and stories characterize these performance arts. These performance venues occupy the middle plane from the fifth to the seventh panels from the right. The popularity of these different performing arts and the depiction of large crowds of people waiting to enter the theaters illustrates that a flourishing bourgeois culture had begun to emerge.

The founder of kabuki performance was believed to have been a woman named Okuni. Although not much is known about her background, she was believed to have served as an attendant at the Izumo Shrine.<sup>15</sup> In its developmental stages, Okuni led an all female dancing troupe and they performed outdoor musical entertainment.<sup>16</sup> As this type of theater was developing in the early years of the Tokugawa, those of lower stations, such as farmers, were prohibited to see these plays because authorities were worried that

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<sup>14</sup> Shuzaburo Hironaga, *Bunraku: A History of Japan's Puppet Theater Together with the Stories of its Plays*. (Dotombori, Osaka: Bunrakuza Theater, 1959), 19.

<sup>15</sup> Paul Varley, *Japanese Culture*. (University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 186.

<sup>16</sup> William E. Deal, *Handbook to Life in Medieval and Early Modern Japan*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 276.

this luxury would make them want to improve their lives.<sup>17</sup> It is clear from the depiction in some *rakuchū-rakugaizu* screens, such as the Shiomi screens, that this control was slipping as people from varying social stations, including farmers, seem to be enjoying the theater.

*Bunraku*, also referred to as *ningyō jōruri* is an interesting combination of two art forms that developed separately, the puppet manipulation and singing.<sup>18</sup> Puppeteers used to perform in the streets, and when the Jōdo sect of Buddhism was established, these performers used their art to popularize their religious beliefs.<sup>19</sup> In its early stages, the puppets were small marionettes similar to the Western Punch and Judy performances and eventually the puppets evolved into large figures manipulated by three puppeteers.<sup>20</sup> While using smaller puppets, the puppeteers and accompaniments were hidden behind a miniature stage with a curtain (Fig. 7). Since *bunraku* was in direct competition with kabuki, it is no surprise that they borrowed elements from one another. For example, kabuki actors mimicked the way the puppeteers manipulated the puppets. Kabuki stage sets borrowed tricks from the *bunraku* stage to heighten the effects.<sup>21</sup> Additionally, kabuki and *bunraku* borrowed musical scores and storylines from one another. Both forms of theater revolved around stories based on historical figures, especially warriors

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<sup>17</sup> C.J. Dunn, *Everyday Life in Traditional Japan*. (New York: G.P Putnam's Sons, 1969), 83.

<sup>18</sup> Hironaga, 16.

<sup>19</sup> Kenneth P. Kirkwood, *Renaissance in Japan: A Cultural Survey of the Seventeenth Century*. (Rutland, Vermont; Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1970), 133.

<sup>20</sup> Penelope Mason, *History of Japanese Art*. (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Pearson Education, Inc., 2005), 177.

<sup>21</sup> Deal, 280.

(*jidaimono*); contemporary plays (*sewamono*) concerned with townspeople and their lives; and dance dramas (*shosagoto*) that featured music and the body language of the performers.<sup>22</sup>

In the hills of Higayashima lies the complex of Chion-in (R-8-23), which is shown in the upper left corner of the eighth panel from the right on the right screen. Built by Genchi (1183-1238), a disciple of Hōnen (1133-1212), in 1234, the temple marks the site where Hōnen established his residence after leaving Mount Hiei to institute the Jōdo sect of Pure Land Buddhism.<sup>23</sup> It was not until 1523, however, that Chion-in became the head temple of the Jōdo sect. In 1607, the temple was designated as a *monzekidera*, which required the abbot to be a member of the imperial family or aristocracy.<sup>24</sup> Much like Sanjūsangendō and Kiyomizudera, Chion-in's complex also survived the wreckage of the Ōnin War, but numerous buildings were burned down during the conflict.

Continuing down past a copse of pine trees is a small group of people in the Kamo River fishing or relaxing on the banks. On the western bank of the river, one of the numerous buildings that break up *teramachi* is a temple complex believed to be Zuisenji (R-8-24). Zuisenji marks the site where Toyotomi Hidetsugu's (1568-1595) wives and concubines were executed when Hideyoshi no longer needed his nephew to be an heir for his domain due to the birth of his son Hideyori.<sup>25</sup> While Hidetsugu was forced to commit

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 213.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> McKelway, "The Partisan View: Rakuchū Rakugai Screens in the Mary and Jackson Burke Collection." *Orientalism* 28 (February 1997): 52.



suicide on Mount Kōya located to the south of Osaka, the rest of his family was coerced into going to the Kamo River for their execution. Zuisenji was founded in 1611, to pacify the souls of Hidetsugu's family members whose bodies were displayed along the riverbank of Sanjō Bridge.<sup>26</sup> Zuisenji is the newest building among the monuments in the Shiomiscreens that are identified. Therefore, it is safe to assume that the Shiomiscreens were made sometime after 1611.

### **The Left Screen/Western View of the Kamo River**

What makes the Shiomiscreens quite different from their *rakuchū-rakugaizu* counterparts is what is shown in the left screen. Unlike earlier *rakuchū-rakugaizu*, which typically portrays the Nijō Castle, the Gion Festival, and the city streets of Kyoto in the left screen, the Shiomiscreens instead include a continuation of the panoramic view along the Kamo River. Other popular motifs in earlier examples, such as a *daimyō* procession—a sign of Tokugawa authority—and rows of townhouses are missing from the Shiomiscreens. The lack of similar examples makes it challenging to identify the monuments included in the left screen. However, some of them are still recognizable either through the accompanying labels, or by their general location.

On a downward slope of the hills of Higayashima, in the upper edge of the first panel on the right, is Nanzenji (L-1-1). This religious complex was originally constructed as a retirement villa for Emperor Kameyama (r. 1260-1274), but upon his death in 1291, it was converted into a Zen temple. Constant warfare and the activities of the warrior-

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<sup>26</sup> Plutschow, 164.

monks from Mount Hiei destroyed much of the original temple grounds, but Hideyoshi initiated the reconstruction of Nanzenji in 1593. Later on, its temple grounds were further expanded through private donation of various buildings and landscaping projects.<sup>27</sup>

Golden clouds and the rolling hills of Higayashima obscure this large complex renovated by Hideyoshi and Ieyasu. Nanzenji's complex also continues into the second panel.

Continuing south of Nanzenji in the first panel is a mountain path veering off to the right, labeled "*Hi no Oka Tōge*" (L-1-2). *Hi no Oka Tōge* connects to Sanjō Bridge at the bottom of the panel (L-1-3). Much like Gojō Bridge near Hōkōji, Sanjō Bridge is a permanent structure of importance associated with the Kamo River. Sanjō Bridge marked the beginning of the Tōkaidō road, which connects Kyoto with the eastern provinces. This bridge was also a location for public beheadings, a gruesome form of entertainment in Kyoto's early history. The bodies of Hidetsugu and his consorts were displayed here. On the screens, there is a group of men crossing the bridge towards the mountain path, and a man on horseback appears to be surrounded by a number of men clad in black, while a couple move ahead to clear a path.

Continuing downward from Nanzenji is a shrine surrounded by pine trees (L-2-5). The label is illegible, except for the character for pine tree, or "*matsu*," suggesting that this was a famous pine forest. Along the bottom edge, in the second panel from the right on the western side of the Kamo River is the beginning of a line of urban architecture. Only one of the buildings has a label. Although this building has yet to be identified, its lacquered wood trim makes it starkly different from its neighboring buildings, indicating

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 143.

its special significance (L-3-6). This line of buildings continues from the second panel to the fifth. Along the bottom of the screen, people meander along the street while a palanquin enters a residence. The street scenes highlight the people from varying social classes that comprise Kyoto's urbanites. Portrayed here are the elderly, a monk preaching at a street corner, a toy peddler surrounded by children accompanied by their parents, laborers carrying goods over their shoulder, and attendants surrounding a man on horseback as they clear a path on the road.

Continuing west along the bank of the Kamo River, there is an interesting juxtaposition of huts and Shōgoin (L-4-11). Although nothing can be found on these huts, their close proximity to Shōgoin, seems to allude to their affiliation to the temple. They could be the residence of a family of farmers, or, possibly a part of the temple complex. Below these huts, in the third panel, is a small group of men wading in the river while fishing.

In the fourth panel from the right, a small cluster of labels is located in the upper left portion of this panel. The uppermost label accompanying a temple site has been trimmed at the top; just below this unknown temple (L-4-7) is an area of Kyoto known as Shirakawa (L-4-9). This area in Higayashima is one of many small agricultural communities in Kyoto. Opposite of Shirakawa, on the right in the fourth panel, is Konkaikōmyōji, more popularly known as Kurodani (L-4-8). Constructed by Hōnen in 1175 on Mount Yoshida, this complex became part of the Pure Land Sect of Buddhism. As with many temples of this time, the main hall of the Kurodani suffered numerous fires.

The present main hall was rebuilt by Hideyoshi in 1605.<sup>28</sup> Below this temple is Zenjōji (L-4-10). As the screens progress along the riverbank, the foot of Higayashima in the fourth panel depicts the Mitarashi-gawa (L-4-12), a stream originating in Shimogamo Shrine, flowing into the Kamo River. At this junction, a large group of people has an elaborate picnic under the autumn foliage. An attendant prepares a fish, and another stokes the bonfire, while others play musical instruments and feast. In contrast, across the river from this scenic view are a couple of men harvesting a field.

On the upper edge of the fifth panel from the right lies Yoshida Shrine (L-5-13) is surrounded by rolling hills and autumn colors. This is a site of importance for imperial patronage. Established in 859 by Fujiwara Yamakage, the Yoshida Shrine housed the spirits of Yamakage's ancestors. According to the imperial records, the Fujiwara clan believed this shrine to be a protector of the capital.<sup>29</sup> In the inner sanctum of Yoshida Shrine lies an octagonal structure known as Daigengū. Close to the Shrine grounds is a labeled area that reads as Kagura-oka (L-5-14), a burial site for the imperial family. Ichijōjimura (L-5-15) is another labeled site in Higayashima, which is on the right side of the Shimogamo Shrine.

Below Yoshida Shrine is Shimogamo Shrine (L-5-16). Located at the fork of the Takano and Kamo Rivers, Shimogamo Shrine is one of the oldest shrines in Japan, and the place for the worship of water and river deities in times of droughts and floods.<sup>30</sup> In the Shiomi screens, however, the Mitarashi-gawa seems to take the place of the Takano

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<sup>28</sup> Akiyama, 94.

<sup>29</sup> Plutschow, 26.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

River. Shimogamo enshrines the maiden Tamayori-hime, the mother of Wake-Ikazuchi-no-Mikoto. Below the shrine's entrance, a circle of people dances near the picnic by the Mitarashi-gawa. A lone dancer is in the middle of this circle of merriment, while two men escort a fellow party-member who may have imbibed too much away from the festivities. The large picnic and the dancing circle are associated with the Shimogamo Shrine.

Continuing westward into the sixth panel from the right, Mount Hiei (L-6-17) is shown in the upper right corner. This mountain is the most important in Kyoto. Located in the northeastern part of the capital, Mount Hiei protects the city from malignant forces because it was believed that epidemics and fires spread from this particular direction. Originally, Mount Hiei was an important Shinto site, but priest Saichō (767-822) developed this site into an important Buddhist center. His temple, Enryakuji, eventually became an all-powerful temple in the sixteenth century. Below the label for Mount Hiei is a small area of huts nestled in an opening in the rolling hills and a path leading up the peak (L-6-19).

Below Mount Hiei in the sixth panel just below a tuft of golden clouds, one can see the Kamigamo horse races (L-6-20) at the Kamigamo Shrine grounds (L-6-22). Originating in 1093, the Kamigamo horse races usually consisted of twenty horses and riders divided into two groups.<sup>31</sup> Men chosen to preside over the races dressed as aristocrats and encouraged foul play during the races. Traditionally, these races were held as a prayer for peace and bountiful harvests, but as time progressed, they became

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<sup>31</sup> Akiyama, 196.

something more for entertainment purposes. Left of the horse races is the Kamigamo Shrine peeking out from a mass of clouds in the seventh panel from the right. Established in 678, Kamigamo Shrine is the sister shrine of the Shimogamo Shrine. Kamigamo Shrine is dedicated to the thunder deity named Wake-Ikazuchi-no-Mikoto, the son of Tamayori-hime, and is associated with fertility. With this connection to fertility, the imperial family held this shrine complex in high regard and always had a virgin representing the emperor at the shrine until 1212.<sup>32</sup> In the eighth panel, these have labels, but unfortunately, only a couple have any discernable writing.

### **How the Shiomi screens compare to the Shōkōji screens**

The Shiomi screens display some interesting differences from typical examples of the *rakuchū-rakugaizu*. First of all, they display a distinct orientation of Kyoto's outskirts along the Kamo river. Although it is difficult to find another pair of screens with this particular east to west panoramic view, the Shōkōji screens display many similarities to the Shiomi screens (Fig. 8). Both pieces are contemporaries of the Edo period and share many popular monuments, and the orientation of the city streets are the same. With right-descending angles as an aid for organizing the monuments in the screens, it creates an open south-facing terrain while highlighting some of Kyoto's topography. Because the Shōkōji and Shiomi screens share some general similarities, comparing the two will highlight the significant characteristics unique to the Shiomi screens.

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<sup>32</sup> Plutschow, 8.

The perspective shown in the Shōkōji screens portray an east to west divide for the views of the city with Aburanokōji Avenue along the lower edge of both screens. The eastern divide of these screens begins with the depiction of Fushimi Castle in the upper right corner and Yoshida Shrine and Nanzenji in the far left of the right screen. As for the left screen, the western division of the capital is centered on a large-scale view of Nijō Castle (Fig. 9). While the Shiomi screens share the east to west perspective, it is a panoramic view, unlike the Shōkōji screens, with their distinctive directional divide of the city's outskirts and view of the city's interior. The use of diagonals allows these screens to pull famous monuments that are further south along the edges of the screens. This juxtaposition of faraway and actual placement of buildings demonstrates the care taken to ensure the depiction of these important sites. While the monuments are in their general proximity, they are perhaps relocated on the screens to ensure that some buildings are grouped together thematically or historically.

Both the Shōkōji and Shiomi screens portray some of the same monuments, although not all of either work's buildings are identifiable. The shared monuments include: Sanjūsangendō, Hōkōji (Fig. 10), Kiyomizudera (Fig. 11), Yasaka Pagoda, Yasaka Shrine (Fig. 12), Yoshida Shrine, Nanzenji, Toyokuni Shrine (Hōkoku Shrine), and *teramachi*. On the other hand, many sites and events with strong political connotations included on the Shōkōji screens are missing from the Shiomi screens. For instance, the Shiomi screens do not portray Fushimi Castle, Nijō Castle, the Imperial Palace, townhouses, aristocratic mansions, the Gion Festival, and the Odoi wall constructed by Hideyoshi. Instead, the Shiomi screens include monuments and activities

missing from the Shōkōji screens, such as: the theater district; the (*mimizuka*); Kamigamo (Fig. 13) and Shimogamo Shrines; Kurodani; a variety of noted sites and structures within Kiyomizudera and Yasaka Shrine; Zuisenji; popular areas in Kyoto, such as Shirakawa; and, perhaps most notably missing from the Shōkōji screens, are labels identifying these places.<sup>33</sup> These differences suggest that the makers of *rakuchū-rakugaizu* were making conscious decisions in choosing what monuments in the capital and Higashiyama to portray.

Kyoto's important monuments in the hills of Higayashima are depicted for the most part on both sets of screens, but what the Shōkōji screens lack, the Shiomi screens more than make up for in terms of the numerous temples and shrines nestled in these hills. Overlapping structures found on both the Shiomi and Shōkōji screens suggest a preexisting general geographic formula in portraying scenes of Kyoto. However, the Shiomi screens tend to display more details of the more famous religious complexes, such as Kiyomizudera and Yasaka Shrine. One can observe that the Shōkōji screens seem to include more motifs related to the political powers in the city, while the Shiomi screens focus on the entertainments and popular sites.

The buildings are grouped together on the screens to fit together historically, reminding the viewer of their contribution to the long and rich history of Kyoto. Complexes such as Sanjūsangendō, Kiyomizudera, Shimogamo Shrine, and Kamigamo Shrine have strong roots in the religious and cultural life of Kyoto's urbanites. Also included in these recreational sites are more recently constructed buildings, such as the

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<sup>33</sup> McKelway, *Capitalscapes: Folding-Screens and Political Imagination in late Medieval Kyoto*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 187.



Hōkōji and the Kōdaiji, that demonstrate the new historical references associated with the imperial capital. Not only are there these new and old buildings of significance, but the Shiomi screens also includes areas of Kyoto that are well known to the urbanites such as Shirakawa's farming community. On the Shiomi screens, locales and monuments from far distances were brought together to unify the theme of recreation and entertainment in the outskirts of Kyoto.

While there is an apparent spatial manipulation in the building's location on the Shiomi screens when compared to the Shōkōji screens, many of the common buildings are approximately in the same area (Fig. 14). In early modern Japan, there was not a method of accurately portraying the geography of the cities and the nation as a whole. Rather, it was the maps and paintings of cities and incorporated visual cues popularly known to the public. Marcia Yonemoto refers to this idea as the “spatial vernacular” in which a “common spoken, written, and/or visual language particular to a certain social or occupational group, or to a place or culture—aptly describes both the common usage of and variation in forms of spatial representation in Japan [...]”<sup>34</sup> Even with the interesting east to west perspective that the Shiomi screens offer, they still follow the norm for historical placement of these popular monuments found in other examples of *rakuchū-rakugaizu*. Lacking an interior city view on the Shiomi screens does not detract from the “spatial vernacular,” as other screens depicting Nijō Castle and its environs are quite similar.

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<sup>34</sup> Marcia Yonemoto, “The ‘Spatial Vernacular’ in Early Modern Japan: Knowledge, Power, and Pleasure in the Form of a Map,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 59 (2000), 648.

Although the Shōkōji and Shiomi screens are similar in their use of the “spatial vernacular,” the way in which they represent space differs significantly. On the Shiomi screens, the east to west panoramic perspective of these screens lends to the artist shortening the distance between monuments creating a layered look of buildings practically stacked upon one another. The location of these monuments on the Shiomi screens are mostly located in the hills of Higayashima, lending to this layered look; the Shōkōji screens put a greater emphasis on the city view, making the screens look more organized and highlighting the highly planned city of Kyoto.

Specifically, in contrast to multiple buildings being cramped together in the hills of Higayashima in the Shiomi screens, the Shōkōji screens’ buildings appear to occupy their own square that the diagonals create on the screens. In other words, these buildings are more compartmentalized, especially when looking at the left screen with Nijō Castle and its environs. Nijō Castle’s stone rampart and moat reflect the rigid structure of the Tokugawa hegemony. Lending to this more organized view of the capital is the squared off neighborhoods in Kyoto, or *machi*, which are interspersed throughout the city and surrounds the castle. Aburanokōji Avenue acts as the dividing line between the Nijō Castle and neighborhoods, and the resulting long, rectangular line of houses along the bottom of the left screen further emphasizes this compartmentalization.

When examining the right screen of the Shōkōji screens, cloud coverage appears to hide much of the interior city view and breaks up the square *machi*. Even with more golden clouds in the right screen, the *machi* break through to reveal the Gion Festival procession underway. The square structure demarcated by the city streets, shows the

compartmentalization implemented by Hideyoshi when he was reorganizing the city and traces of the imperial capital dating to the Heian period. On the Shōkōji screens, each complex was neatly enclosed within their walls while surrounding these structures with golden clouds, which compartmentalizes these structures even further. Although these temples and shrines are not as structured as the *machi* within the city, there is still a sense of the organization present in the Higayashima portrayed in the Shōkōji screens.

This aspect of the screens further demonstrates the differences that distinguish the Shiomi screens within the *rakuchū-rakugaizu* genre. Even though the Shiomi screens share common monuments found in the Shōkōji screens, the temples' outer walls do not create the same level of organization. Instead of the monuments on the Shiomi screens occupying their own compartment, places such as Sanjūsangendō, Hōkōji, Kiyomizudera, and Chion-in's walls are covered by golden clouds that appear to undulate with the hills of Higayashima. These undulating hills and clouds prevent this structured aspect of Kyoto's outskirts and have a more unifying and organic feel. It appears that these temples and shrines are a part of the landscape, more so than what appears in the Shōkōji screens. A more open environment and the unrestrictive nature of these complexes on the Shiomi screens create a more inclusive feeling for the viewer.

While this is only a comparison between two of many examples of *rakuchū-rakugaizu*, it gives one an idea of how the Shiomi screens compare with typical examples within this popular genre of the seventeenth century. The Shōkōji screens are similar to the Shiomi screens in that they share right descending diagonals and have a more narrow view than other works do. Their similarities underline the characteristics of the Shiomi

screens, as well, which are more important for the purpose of this thesis. What this comparison showed was that although the two screens position their motifs in a similar diagonal composition, there are significant differences in the actual choice of the sites and activities. While the Shōkōji screens included many of the monuments and festivals affiliated with warrior authority—a trait generally shared by early *rakuchū-rakugaizu* screens—the Shiomi screens focus more on motifs with leisure or popular appeal. Through this analysis, one may reach a conclusion that, broadly speaking, the Shiomi screens depart from the earlier *rakuchū-rakugaizu* works in their apparent detachment from any overt political monuments.

CHAPTER III  
KYOTO AND ITS HISTORICAL CONTEXT:  
CREATING MEANING FOR THE SCREENS

Since its founding in 794, Kyoto has witnessed significant social and political changes. Originally known as Heian-kyō, “capital of peace and tranquility,” the city lived up to its name until the 1180s. Before Kyoto was established, Nara had been the capital of Japan until the Buddhist priest, Dōkyō (d. 772), tried to usurp the throne, which forced Emperor Kammu (737-806) to find a new site for another capital.<sup>35</sup> This series of events was in response to the growing political influences of Buddhism.

Under the pretext of numerous hunting excursions, Emperor Kammu sought out a new site to establish a new capital. He employed the diviners and geomancers to ensure that the city was suitable for living. On the twenty-second day of the tenth month of 794, an auspicious day for moving according to the astrological charts, Emperor Kammu declared that the capital was being relocated.<sup>36</sup> This venture was risky since the imperial family had already invested much of their finances in the establishment of Nagaoka.

The new site chosen for Heian-kyō was a long valley surrounded in the east, west, and north by wooded hills and mountains that form a horseshoe shape. The only opening to the city was from the south, which was considered auspicious. From north to south, the

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<sup>35</sup> Plutschow, 2.

<sup>36</sup> Wendell Cole, *Kyoto in the Momoyama Period*. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 9.

Katsura River is located on the western side with the Kamo River on the east. Across the Kamo River on the eastern side of Kyoto are the hills of Higashiyama and to the northeast is Mount Hiei, the future site for the powerful complex of the Buddhist monastery, Enryakuji.

Deeply influenced by China, Emperor Kammu modeled the capital after the Tang dynasty capital of Chang'an, modern day Xian. The city of Heian-kyō was a rectangular site that spanned 3.1 miles from north to south and 2.8 miles from east to west (Fig. 15).<sup>37</sup> Suzaku, a highway spanning 250 feet in width, split the city in half; the two halves were called the East, or Left (Sakyō) Capital, and West, or Right (Ukyō) Capital.<sup>38</sup> The streets within the capital were laid out in a grid. Eight major avenues ran parallel to the Suzaku; the nine streets intersecting these avenues ran east to west and were known by numbers, such as Ichijō, or First Avenue.<sup>39</sup> The imperial palace and important ceremonial buildings were located in the northern quadrant of the city, and in the south official buildings intermingled with domestic buildings. Seniority at court was determined by close proximity to the imperial palace. It is estimated that by 794, the capital had 80,000 houses and a population of 400,000.<sup>40</sup> Throughout the centuries, Heian-kyō remained the imperial capital and it was not until the twelfth century that people referred to the city as

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<sup>37</sup> John Lowe, *Old Kyoto*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 5.

<sup>38</sup> Cole, 9.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>40</sup> Lowe, 5.

Kyoto. As the city grew over the centuries, Kyoto became the home for over 1500 temples, which is ironic considering Emperor Kammu's initial reaction.<sup>41</sup>

To understand *rakuchū-rakugaizu*, one must know the historical events leading up to the Sengoku period that continued until the reunification of Japan at the end of the Momoyama period, for they directly related to the choices of monuments portrayed on the screens.. This can aid in understanding why particular monuments and social events are portrayed on the screens. Knowing how they might interact with one another gives additional socio-political meaning to this art. Therefore, it is essential to begin with the rise of the warrior class.

The imperial family reigned during the generally peaceful Heian period (794-1185) and no one anticipated the rise of the warrior class. The end of the Heian period saw the rise of the warrior class in two rival families, the Taira and the Minamoto, who fought each other within the city. This kind of violence had never been used in political endeavors in Japan. Minamoto no Yoritomo (1147-1189) emerged victorious after a series of battles and established the first autonomous warrior government (*bakufu*) in Kamakura, some distance away, while Kyoto remained the imperial capital.

With the continual increase of power of the warrior class and the strong interests in land ownership, Japan was divided into numerous domains that were independently controlled by provincial lords (*daimyō*) throughout the Kamakura period (1185-1333). Eventually towards the end of the Muromachi period (1336-1573), these warrior families fought over issues of succession along with peasants upset over high taxes, developed

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<sup>41</sup> Donald Richie, *The Temples of Kyoto*. (Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1995), 15.

into the Ōnin War. This war was the catalyst for the “warring states period” (*Sengoku jidai*) that spanned from the late fifteenth to the late sixteenth century.

### **Onslaught of war in Kyoto**

Violence and destruction during the Ōnin War drastically changed Kyoto’s cityscape and affected all those who lived within the capital. The events during this major war led to even more battles and violence in Kyoto. Between 1467 and 1469, the most destructive period during the Ōnin War, a third to a half of all buildings burned down in the capital.<sup>42</sup> After 1477, the Sengoku period witnessed the rise of warlords who ruled their respective domains independently. Since there was political fragmentation, Japan suffered further instability and decentralization of power.<sup>43</sup>

Instability was a consequence of constant social upheaval among warrior families who wanted more power. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the Ashikaga shogunate had lost all power and the various provinces were ruled autonomously by the *daimyō* who had survived the Sengoku period. The emergence of three major figures was pivotal to the reunification of Japan towards the end of this tumultuous period. Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582), arrived in Kyoto in 1568, accompanied by Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598) (Fig. 16); his foot soldier turned trusted general. Eventually, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616) would enter the fray in the final steps towards the reunification of Japan.

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<sup>42</sup> Pierre François Souyri, *The World Turned Upside Down: Medieval Japanese Society*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 195.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 206.



Over the course of approximately one hundred years from the onset of the Sengoku period through the early 1570s, Nobunaga burned down a majority of Kyoto, resulting in the destruction of numerous buildings and monuments. During the Momoyama period (1568-1615), Hideyoshi initiated the reconstruction of Kyoto and introduced new ideas of ostentatious displays of art. Nobunaga and Hideyoshi both had instrumental roles in the reunification of Japan, including the re-establishment of a sense of peace throughout Kyoto. Nobunaga initiated the rebuilding process with the construction of the first fortified structure, Azuchi Castle, in Shiga Prefecture in 1576. Coincidentally, Azuchi Castle marked the transition for the purpose of castles from one that was purely for defensive reasons to incorporating symbolic functions of political dominance.<sup>44</sup> Fortified structures now led to new opportunities for displaying wealth and power within the art community amongst influential people. As a result, commerce and industry increased dramatically and Kyoto was the focal point of these political, social, and economic changes. Rapid urbanization was underway in Kyoto and the influx of a large commoner population led to further reorganization of the city by Hideyoshi.

Reunification also triggered opportunities for extravagant displays of art among the warlords and lavish early examples of *rakuchū-rakugaizu* began to appear in the Momoyama period. There are records that Nobunaga's castle was documented in early *rakuchū-rakugaizu*. These screens allowed artists and patrons to show the interest and affluence they had in their changing city, such as fortified structures. Although records state that Azuchi Castle was painted in a particular set of *rakuchū-rakugaizu* screens, the

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<sup>44</sup> McKelway, *Capitalscapes*. 164.

castle was unfortunately destroyed after Nobunaga's death and these screens are missing as a result.

After Nobunaga's death, Hideyoshi continued the rebuilding project of Kyoto to a higher level than that of his predecessor. Hideyoshi utilized reconstruction of the city as a way of establishing his new reign of power, which included repairing the palace, rebuilding major bridges, introducing new streets, restoring important temples, and completing a stone rampart around the city.<sup>45</sup> Hideyoshi went even further with major physical changes in Kyoto by narrowing the streets.<sup>46</sup> *Rakuchū-rakugaizu* from this period reflected all of Kyoto's internal changes by Hideyoshi.

From 1590 to 1591, the resurgence of the population in Kyoto led to redesigning of the city. An urban space emerged that reflected the newly developed social system implemented by Hideyoshi.<sup>47</sup> Creating a central thoroughfare running north to south, street houses were constructed with their facades opening onto the main street. Buddhist institutions were moved to the eastern edge of town and re-sited on the right bank of the Kamo River.<sup>48</sup> Peasants were relocated to the outskirts separating the townspeople from the farmers. The reorganization of this city allowed Hideyoshi to effectively implement the warrior-farmer-artisan-merchant (*shi-nō-kō-shō*) status system that prevailed throughout the Tokugawa period.<sup>49</sup> In addition to various social reforms, Nobunaga and

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<sup>45</sup> Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Hideyoshi*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1982), 194.

<sup>46</sup> Mason, 236.

<sup>47</sup> Nicholas Fiévé and Paul Waley, *Japanese Capitals in Historical Perspective: Place, Power and Memory in Kyoto, Edo and Tokyo*. (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 12.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

Hideyoshi also contributed to Kyoto's artistic renaissance by offering economic incentives for merchants, craftsmen, and artists to return to the capital.<sup>50</sup> The newly blossoming marketplace and people's activities within it provide a new motif for *rakuchū-rakugaizu*.

### Origins and history of *rakuchū-rakugaizu*

Stemming from the rampant destruction of the capital, *rakuchū-rakugaizu* developed over the entire span of Kyoto's reconstruction. The societal and artistic changes occurring after the social upheavals that spanned over a century were the impetus of a blossoming urban culture, which in turn was documented in this genre of screen-painting.

Despite numerous studies, we do not know why and how *rakuchū-rakugaizu* developed into a popular painting genre. Scholars in art, architecture, history, and politics proposed conflicting interpretations, further complicating the issues. Research over the past fifty years focused on three primary issues: 1) providing dates for the screens based on objects in the paintings, especially architecture; 2) charting the development of *rakuchū-rakugaizu* and its place in the realm of genre painting; 3) examining what the screens can share in regards to information about life in Kyoto in the late medieval

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<sup>49</sup> Asao Naohiro and Bernard Susser, "The Sixteenth-Century Unification" in John Whitney Hall, *The Cambridge History of Japan: Volume 4 Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 60.

<sup>50</sup> Tsuneko S. Sadao and Stephanie Wada, *Discovering the Arts of Japan: A Historical Overview*. (Tokyo; New York: Kodansha International, 2003), 164.

period.<sup>51</sup> The lack of consensus regarding their interpretation and significance of this genre has created problems in the study of *rakuchū-rakugaizu*. How does *rakuchū-rakugaizu* fit into the realm of genre painting? How and when did it become an original genre of painting from a mere synthesis of traditional *yamato-e* motifs? These are questions still unanswered.

The first documented pair of *rakuchū-rakugaizu* screens appears in the Great Minister of the Center Sanjōnishi Sanetaka's (1455-1536) journal in 1506. Sanetaka was a patron and a consultant of the artists in the capital, including Tosa Mitsunobu (1434-1525). Tosa Mitsunobu was the foremost painter of the imperial court during the Ōnin War, and according to Sanetaka's record, the painter responsible for the set of screens. Sanetaka was also a member of the imperial court aristocracy and a leader in literary and cultural circles, which explains his access to Mitsunobu's screens depicting Kyoto, which was commissioned by the *daimyō*, Asakura Sadakage (1473-1512) from Echizen Province.<sup>52</sup> The Tosa school is often criticized as being confined to the artistic styling of the Heian period and the strong ideals of the court in the past. However, if Sanetaka's record is true, Mitsunobu was able to utilize the traditional *yamato-e* themes in a new way, resulting in the earliest work of *rakuchū-rakugaizu*.<sup>53</sup> Sanetaka's documentation also attests to the attraction *rakuchū-rakugaizu* had to the warriors, who were the primary patrons of this genre through the seventeenth century.

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<sup>51</sup> McKelway, *Capitalscapes*, 3.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>53</sup> Mason, 171.

*Rakuchū-rakugaizu* offers glimpses into the lives of Kyoto urbanites and the city. All screens within this genre are extremely detailed views of the city and one does not usually find this type of highly detailed painting of an urban space on such a large scale anywhere in art history.<sup>54</sup> What appears to be a simple cityscape is actually working as a multi-layered symbol. On one hand, *rakuchū-rakugaizu* represents major architectural and societal changes that Kyoto had gone through beginning in the Momoyama period. On the other hand, it may also display the continuous links to the aristocratic past by incorporating many themes that were already prevalent in other painting genres. *Rakuchū-rakugaizu* is a synthesis of *shiki-e* (pictures of the seasons), *tsukinami-e* (pictures of monthly events), *nenjūgyōji-e* (pictures of annual rites and observances), and *meisho-e* (pictures of famous places). In *rakuchū-rakugaizu*, however, oftentimes the familiar motifs appropriated from pre-existing genres served a political function by obscuring the actual damage inflicted upon the city and its cultural heritage, attempting to reassure the audience that the present political turmoil was not affecting the people in Kyoto.

Commissioned by military elites, *rakuchū-rakugaizu*, in its early stages, allowed their patrons to show off their funded monuments pictorially.<sup>55</sup> These early screens were sometimes commissioned specifically for these powerful figures to display their authority and legitimacy within the capital.<sup>56</sup> In later periods, not only warrior-elites, but wealthy

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>55</sup> McKelway, *Cityscapes*, 213.

<sup>56</sup> Karen M. Gerhart, *The Eyes of Power: Art and Early Tokugawa Authority*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), ix.

merchants also began to commission *rakuchū-rakugaizu* screens to commemorate their contribution to the rebuilding of the city. Although these new *rakuchū-rakugaizu* screens shares similar traits to their sixteenth-century predecessors, they begin to exhibit slight variations to reflect the shift in the social status of the commissioners. However, generally speaking, in their early development *rakuchū-rakugaizu* screens were often political in nature with different degrees of their subtlety.

There are only four *rakuchū-rakugaizu* screens that are datable to the sixteenth century. Although we know that there was a general shift in patronage from warrior-elites to wealthy merchants, since we have very little in terms of historical context for these screens, it is often difficult to trace the changes in the degree of political intent caused by this shift. What we could measure, however, is the change in the kind of monuments included in the *rakuchū-rakugaizu* screens from the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries, and their potential significance.

### **Function and politics in the Shiomi, Sanjō, and Funaki screens**

Cities grew and prospered from the late-sixteenth century through the seventeenth century and Kyoto benefited from Hideyoshi funding extravagant building projects in the city. In addition, newly wealthy citizens, such as members of the merchant class, became established in Kyoto and they contributed to building projects. The progression of the city on its way to recovery is shown throughout the decades when comparing the Sanjō screens with the Funaki screens. This comparison will demonstrate the changes in

composition and choice of motifs, indicating a possible shift in the function of these screens.

The Sanjō screens (Fig. 17), dating from 1525 to 1536, are identified as the earliest extant work of *rakuchū-rakugaizu*. Ashikaga shogun's palace, labeled as the *kubō-sama* on the screen, acts as a visual sign for Ashikaga Yoshiharu (1511-1550).<sup>57</sup> These screens portray their political significance through the network of religious institutions and other residences depicted, such as the mansions of the shogun's subordinates and the Ashikaga's temple, Shōkokuji. These monuments all reinforce the image of a stable rule of the Ashikaga shogunate.<sup>58</sup> The Sanjō screens focus on the social networks that make a powerful ruler, despite the fact that it was well known among the citizens that the Ashikaga shogunate was losing power. Heavy warfare within the capital several times in Yoshiharu's rule forced him to flee the capital and marked the decline of the Ashikaga shogunate. Differing from their politically overt counterparts later in the century, there is no clear political center in the Sanjō screens, whereas later screens indicate the presence of a strong central authority.<sup>59</sup> This is demonstrated by the Ashikaga's headquarters, the *kūbo-sama*, having a clear label, but no prominent placement on the screens.

Whereas the Sanjō screens do not have a distinct political purpose, that motivation is clearly apparent in the Funaki screens, attributed to Iwasa Matabei

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<sup>57</sup> Matthew P. McKelway, "In or Out of the Capital? Reading Point of View in *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu*: The Case of the Sanjō Version," *Transactions of the International Conference of Eastern Studies* 40 (1995), 110.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.

<sup>59</sup> McKelway, *Cityscapes*, 195.

Katsumochi (Fig. 18). The Funaki screens were commissioned around 1615, which was during the unstable period at the end of the Toyotomi's reign and the beginning of the Tokugawa hegemony. With barricades from Kyoto's various militias removed and the nation reunified, the city is filled with festivities and large groups of people crowding the narrow streets. The Kamo River flows through both screens, unifying the bustle of activities of commoners conducting daily business, aristocrats performing daily rituals, and warriors patrolling the narrow city streets. The Gion Festival, which was revitalized after the Ōnin War, is shown with elaborate floats and hordes of people processing throughout the city. While there appears to be a general sense of peace throughout Kyoto in the Funaki screens, the paintings show the tension between two warrior families through the prominent placement of architecture associated with the Toyotomi and Tokugawa.

On the right Funaki screen, the towering Great Buddha Hall commissioned by Hideyoshi in 1586, stands opposite Nijō Castle constructed by Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1603 on the left screen. Rivalry intensified between these two families following Hideyoshi's death in 1598 until the final assault committed by the Tokugawa during the siege of Osaka Castle in 1615. Although such obvious political messages in *rakuchū-rakugaizu* screens are unusual, the display of these monuments, in the Funaki screens, suggests the use of architecture as a way of measuring political authority.<sup>60</sup> While the screens appear to depict tension between the Tokugawa and Toyotomi hegemonies, the screens also

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<sup>60</sup> Andrew M. Watsky, *Deploying the Sacred Arts in Momoyama Japan: Chikubushima*. (Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 2004), 31.



focus on the people's activities. Unlike the Sanjō screens, the Funaki screens emphasize the vitality of the city and the variety of social classes within Kyoto.

With the knowledge that political figures, such as *daimyō*, were primary patrons during the development of *rakuchū-rakugaizu*, the few extant screens in the sixteenth century are latent with political undertones. One has to wonder how *rakuchū-rakugaizu* became so prevalent among the merchant class in the seventeenth century in the early stages of the Tokugawa government.

The change in the production process of *rakuchū-rakugaizu* screens from the Momoyama period to the early Edo period may provide an explanation to this shift. As opposed to the Momoyama period, when the professional ateliers, such as the Kano and Tosa schools, monopolized painting commissions of *rakuchū-rakugaizu* screens, the work of the *machi-eshi* ("town painters") contributed to the large number of screens produced during the Edo period.<sup>61</sup> The governmental headquarters now in Edo, *rakuchū-rakugaizu* now catered for both merchants residing in Kyoto, celebrating their own vibrant culture, as well as visitors to Kyoto from other major cities like Edo.

With the newfound peace in the Edo period, the *rakuchū-rakugaizu* genre began to have a wider range of makers as well as buyers. How does this relate to the underlying political meaning? Without a more specific context, there is no way of teasing out any hidden political implications. However, through the comparative analysis above, we can

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<sup>61</sup> McKelway, *Capitalscapes*, 196. The *machi-eshi* is an interesting group of artisans with the ability to adapt to changing circumstances in Kyoto. Descendants of two major Japanese art schools, the Kano and Tosa schools, *machi-eshi* utilized the painting techniques and creating their own workshops to cater to a larger audience. These changes were typically influenced by political changes within the capital and there was an established market for citizens and visitors that wanted this traditional art form, reflecting their interest in Kyoto.

safely conclude that the Shiomi screens lack many of the major monuments of the ruling shoguns of Kyoto. Buildings such as the Nijō Castle, the imperial palace, and aristocratic mansions, if they did carry a political meaning, would have been something of a different nature to what we have already observed in the Sanjō and Funaki screens. There is a possibility, furthermore, that the Shiomi screens were not intended to have a political message at all. In fact, for some seventeenth-century *rakuchū-rakugaizu* screens, there are historical documents stating that they were used for dowry items or as souvenirs that visitors from Edo purchased.<sup>62</sup>

There is more to *rakuchū-rakugaizu* than what might be suggested at first glance. Depending on the circumstances of their commission, or occasions of their use, these screens may have infinite layers of meanings and connotations. The issue is even more complicated because what is portrayed in these *rakuchū-rakugaizu* screens are a balance of “historical ‘truth’ and artistic ‘fiction’”<sup>63</sup> and this continues from the first documented pair of screens to those created throughout the Tokugawa hegemony. If some seventeenth-century *rakuchū-rakugaizu* were commodified as souvenirs, which may not necessarily had a specific patron in mind; these screens also present another perspective of how the painters themselves (i.e. *machi-eshi*) interpreted the changes in their city.

The development of this genre has had an interesting transformation from its first documented pair of screens, the Sanjō screens. The slow transition from the focusing on political monuments to portraying urban life parallels the changes occurred within Kyoto. As the interest of the viewers shifted, distant bird’s eye views of the capital changed to

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<sup>62</sup> McKelway, *Capitalscapes*, 196.

<sup>63</sup> McKelway, “In or Out of the Capital?” 106.

close-up views of activities in which inhabitants of Kyoto participated. While the sixteenth-century screens lack much documentation, the visual analysis suggests that these lavish pieces can be understood as a more straightforward case of political representation, while some seventeenth-century examples, such as the Shiomi screens, present the new type of less overtly political examples.

The increase interest in travel during the Edo period opens a new possible interpretation for these new types of *rakuchū-rakugaizu*, as souvenirs and as something that would lure travelers to the city. As I discussed earlier, screens of Kyoto became somewhat generic with similar pictorial motifs becoming common, including: the archery contests at Sanjūsangendō; worshipers at Kiyomizudera; theater houses along Shijō-dōri located on the eastern side of the Kamo River; and horse races at Kamigamo Shrine. In other words, by the Edo period, these monuments and activities were becoming familiar (even famous) among the people who lived outside of Kyoto. The depiction of varying social stations enjoying recreational activities along the Kamo River demonstrates the opportunities available to visitors. As we have seen, in the case of the Shiomi screens, the theater houses and the festivities at the Kamigamo Shrines appear to be much more emphasized than their sixteenth-century counterparts. The next chapter will further explore the implication of the Shiomi screens' intense focus on leisurely sites and activities.

### **Summary**

Out of a long and arduous period of warfare in Kyoto emerged a painting genre, which presents a city appearing untouched by rampant destruction by utilizing gold

clouds to hide the damage. From *rakuchū-rakugaizu*'s inception, this genre appeared as an art form popular among the warrior class since they had a role in reshaping Kyoto's culture. *Rakuchū-rakugaizu* screens may have been commissioned by and given to warrior-elites as gifts. By the seventeenth century, however, the wealthy merchants also began to patronize this painting genre. A close visual analysis of the key motifs included in three pairs of *rakuchū-rakugaizu* screens from the sixteenth to early seventeenth century demonstrates that the shift in patronage from warriors to merchants led to a change in the function of these screens also. What used to be the central motifs with heavy political implications, such as the Nijō Castle and the Gion Festival, gave way in the Shiomi screens to seemingly more leisurely sites and activities.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE SHIOMI SCREENS: A SOUVENIR

This chapter will explore the possibilities for the Shiomi screens to be souvenirs within a genre that is predominately political in nature. It will demonstrate that rather than focusing on sites and events traditionally with political connotations, the Shiomi screens incorporated motifs from the early seventeenth-century gazetteers that developed through a new interest in travel during this period.

Painted folding-screens (*byōbu*) are a distinctive art form found in East Asian art and have had various transformations throughout the ages. The medium originated in China, possibly during the Tang dynasty (618-906) and found its way in Japan during the eighth-century.<sup>64</sup> Folding-screens were not always painted because many early examples found into Japan used dyed and printed textiles.<sup>65</sup> Usually existing in pairs, folding-screens could be placed anywhere and were the only large decoration in the room. One usually finds these screens as the backdrop for an important personage during meetings or social gatherings. Whether painted in ink or color, screens were meant to be the decorative focus of the room. During the Momoyama and Edo periods, folding-screens

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<sup>64</sup> Oliver Impey, *The Art of the Japanese Folding-screen: The Collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Ashmolean Museum*. (New York: Weatherhill in association with Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1997), 9. There may have been earlier examples of folding-screens in the Sui Dynasty (581-618).

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

became the major format for expressing artistic themes because of the wealth needed to fund these lavish pieces.

A folding-screen consists of a light wood frame enclosing a lattice of thin wood strips (Fig. 19). Over this lattice, pieces of paper or silk create a backing that can support the surface. Screen panels are narrow and joined by a complicated system of hinges that are made of folded paper that it enables the hinges to bend inwards or outwards.<sup>66</sup>

Popularity for folding-screens grew exponentially during the Momoyama period.

Aristocrats, *daimyō*, samurai, and wealthy townspeople had these decorative pieces in their homes. Coinciding with the growing popularity of this art form was the development of utilizing bright colors in addition to gold and silver paint on gold or silver leaf. These changes reflect the new affluence available during the Momoyama period, which continued into the Edo period. These pieces of paper would be adhered to the paper on the folding-screen and occasionally painted red to enhance the richness of the gold color.<sup>67</sup> The major producers of these folding-screens were the *machi-eshi*, especially during the Momoyama and Edo periods.

Around the time of the screens' production, many new political and social developments arose due to the gradual establishment of peace throughout the Edo period. Developments in agriculture, changes in mercantile affairs, and the growing prevalence of travel, all contributed to a stable economy that allowed fine handicrafts, such as the

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<sup>66</sup> Mason, 245.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid. Gold leaf manufactured in Japan is believed to be the thinnest in the world and the technique is labor intensive and time consuming; the process for beating gold paper alone could take up to six months.

*rakuchū-rakugaizu* screens, to be produced for Kyoto dwellers, but more importantly, wealthy travelers.

Before the reunification of Japan, travel was a difficult ordeal, due to the economic status of most travelers and the lack of efficient road networks. Even during the political turmoil of Japan's early history, the Tōkaidō was an important road that allowed political figures to travel between cities. The Tōkaidō reached great popularity during the Edo period and there are records of this road dating to the Nara period (645-794). Historical documents, states that the purposes of the road were "to facilitate the transportation of tax revenues in the form of commodities, and to enable ministers of government to travel to and from the provinces."<sup>68</sup> It was impossible for common citizens of Japan to travel freely since this road was primarily for governmental purposes. Thus, with each new historical period under the leadership of different men, various mandates were decreed for the upkeep and renovation of the Tōkaidō.

With the reunification of the country beginning in the Momoyama period, Nobunaga issued major highways to be rebuilt and for the roads to be lined with mound markers; in 1601, Tokugawa Ieyasu designated fifty-three stations for the Tōkaidō once reunification was completed.<sup>69</sup> Under Ieyasu's control, the Tōkaidō was an efficient network between the new capital of Edo and the various provinces and was designed to maintain military control and contact with the imperial court.<sup>70</sup> Perhaps one of the more

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<sup>68</sup> Stephen Addiss, *Tōkaidō: Adventures on the Road in Old Japan*. (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas, Spencer Museum of Art, 1980), 3.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 3-4.

significant changes in travel was the implement of the alternate-year attendance (*sankin kōtai*), established by Ieyasu in the 1630s, which required *daimyō* to establish residences in Edo and appear before the shogun every other year. It is only logical that with the reunification of Japan and the rebuilding of Tōkaidō, which coincided with the rise of the merchant class, that travel became something of a recreational activity for those who could afford it, besides serving governmental officials. The necessary repairs created a more widespread network of communication in addition to increased commerce.

With the Tokugawa hegemony undertaking a major infrastructure overhaul, extensive traveling became available whether for commodified goods or pilgrimage. These factors contributed to the stability necessary for the dissemination of Kyoto goods throughout the country. Since the Ōnin War, the wealth accumulated by merchants, the increased productivity of the peasants, and exponential specialization in the handicraft industry increased, which resulted in the economic stabilization of Kyoto. Thus, from the fifteenth century on, Japan had a monetized economy, and the merchants grew more powerful and independent into the sixteenth century.<sup>71</sup> Japanese guilds, or *za*, became trade monopolies that were considered too powerful; therefore, Hideyoshi's administration began implementing policies to break up these monopolies by terminating trade with court nobles and religious institutions.<sup>72</sup> During the Edo period, Kyoto artisans

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<sup>70</sup> Stefano Vecchia, *Japanese Art: Masterpieces in Painting, Sculpture and Architecture*. (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 2007), 265.

<sup>71</sup> Sasaki Gin'ya and William B. Hauser, "Sengoku Daimyo Rule and Commerce," in John Whitney Hall, *Japan Before Tokugawa: Political Consolidation and Economic Growth, 1500-1650*. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981), 147.



manufactured quality handicrafts for the aristocrats and eventually to any person that could afford these goods. The Tōkaidō facilitated this trade in goods and the exchange of artistic ideas. Tied with the production of luxury arts and crafts, Kyoto's cultural identity was identified as such in Edo (present day Tokyo) and its surrounding areas.<sup>73</sup>

The early seventeenth century was a time of unprecedented growth in which there was a demand for cultural items and a development of a handicraft industry.<sup>74</sup> Kyoto's expansion, the development of an urban culture, and the ability to travel between Edo and the capital led to the development of travel guides and maps for visitors and residents alike. I believe that certain motifs included in the Shiomi screens parallel the information regarding tourist sites and popular activities in Kyoto included in these travel guides.

Printed in 1606, one of the earliest books regarding activities in the capital is the *Inumakura* (Dog Pillow); in this book, the unknown author has a list of ninety things in contrasting categories of likes and dislikes and mentions activities such as getting a bargain in an antique shop, buying fashionable clothing, and seeing famous sights.<sup>75</sup> This was the first step in making the scenes in *rakuchū-rakugaizu* even more available to the people in a cheaper medium that organized the seasonal activities and famous sights that

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<sup>72</sup> Wakita Osamu and James L. McClain, "The Commercial and Urban Policies of Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi," in John Whitney Hall, *Japan Before Tokugawa: Political Consolidation and Economic Growth, 1500-1650*. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981), 228.

<sup>73</sup> Christine Guth, *Art of Edo: The Artist and the City 1615-1868*. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Incorporated, 1996), 51.

<sup>74</sup> Matsunosuke Nishiyama, *Edo Culture: Daily Life and Diversions in Urban Japan, 1600-1868*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 9.

<sup>75</sup> Donald H. Shively, "Popular Culture," in John Whitney Hall, *The Cambridge History of Japan: Volume 4 Early Modern Japan*. (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 734. For an English translation, refer to Edward Putzar, "Inu Makura: The Dog Pillow," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 28 (1968), 98-113.

would prove beneficial to travelers. It was not until 1658 that the physician, Nakagawa Kiun, wrote the first proper travel guide to Kyoto entitled *Kyōwarabe* (The Kyoto Youth).<sup>76</sup> Unlike the *Inumakura*, *Kyōwarabe* begins to describe the palace, shrines, temples, famous sights, and historical remains throughout the capital. In addition, Nakagawa included the more popular sites among Kyoto urbanites, and he listed the best temples to visit during the appropriate season, the kabuki theaters at Shijō and the horse races at Kamigamo Shrine. A drawing of the site and a poem accompanied each description of these popular activities within the capital (Fig. 20).<sup>77</sup>

While following some typical conventions of the genre, the Shiomi screens are more interesting in their portrayed differences. As I discussed in Chapter 2, the right screen from the Shiomi screens shows the eastern view of the Kamo River, while the left screen portrays the western view. The focal point for both screens is Higashiyama, one of the mountain ranges, which forms a horseshoe shape around Kyoto. Throughout the middle plane of both screens is the Kamo River with the river and hills unifying all of the panels of both of the screens.

The strong focus on a particular geographic location within Kyoto is not the only difference we detect in the Shiomi screens. Unlike other screens in which apparent seasonal progression is evident throughout the pair of *rakuchū-rakugaizu*, the Shiomi screens are distinguished by a sequential focus on spring in the right screen, and autumn on the left. Typically, these two seasons are considered the poetic seasons in Japanese

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 735.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

literature, poetry, and art. There are a few popular activities depicted in the Shiomiscreens that are unusual. They are the two theater houses, kabuki (R-6-21) and *bunraku* (R-5-20) on the eastern bank of the Kamo River along Shijō-dōri (Fig. 21). On the left, the focus of the horse races at Kamigamo Shrine (L-7-22) (Fig. 22), and a large picnic along Mitarashi-gawa (L-4-12) (Fig. 23).

Unlike their sixteenth-century counterparts, these famous sites and recreational activities along the Kamo River in the Shiomiscreens are enlarged and not obscured by golden clouds. Thus, equal emphasis and treatment of these sites, we may readily assume that, as far as the Shiomiscreens are concerned, these sites are important to the shaping of Kyoto's urban life and culture.

We will begin the examination from the theater district. Whereas, many *rakuchū-rakugaizu* examples show Shijō Bridge and the thoroughfare, the theaters are typically deemphasized. Sometimes they are covered by golden clouds, other times, the Shijō Bridge was portrayed leading directly to Yasaka Shrine with the theaters and its large number of attendants missing, similar to what is shown in the Shōkōji screens (Fig. 24). This is because the focus of most of these folding-screens was the float procession of the Gion Festival as it winds its way around the numerous city blocks within Kyoto. The Shiomiscreens, however, depict the rickety Shijō Bridge leading to Yasaka Shrine, but before one reaches this major shrine, the theater district comes into view, completely free from golden clouds. In fact, on the Shiomiscreens, the kabuki and *bunraku* theaters almost have a more significant placement than the Yasaka Shrine—traditionally a more popular motif in *rakuchū-rakugaizu*—which is enclosed and slightly obscured by clouds.

To use an earlier example, the Funaki screens are similar to the Shiomi screens in that they depict the theater district on Shijō-dōri. However, the difference in their way of representing the theaters in fact accentuates the peculiarity of the Shiomi screens. Although the Funaki screens have kabuki and *bunraku* theaters facing one another in the fifth and sixth panels from the right (Fig. 25), it does not have a prominent placement on these screens. They are tucked away in the upper left corner and are surrounded by clouds and over-crowded with people. With a radically different perspective from that of the Shiomi screens, these buildings are painted on extreme right-descending diagonals creating a visually hectic scene. As a result, many details get lost in the confusion of this perspective.

The same bustling activity is found in the Shiomi screens as well, except that these theaters are depicted as they were meant to be, which is out in the open. Similar sights within Kyoto along the Kamo River are shown in the Funaki and Shiomi screens, but the intention is different. The presence of the kabuki and *bunraku* theaters in the Funaki screens is a matter of depicting what is located in the vicinity. Whereas, the purpose of the Shiomi screens portraying both theaters is to highlight recreational activities available to the Kyoto urbanities and visitors interested in scenes in the Higayashima ward. This is especially emphasized when comparing the visual traits of these theaters to the description of kabuki in *Kyōwarabe*.

Although there are images accompanying the textual information in *Kyōwarabe*, these pictures appear to focus more on the human activities than the architecture. People's interactions with Kyoto's environment portrayed in *Kyōwarabe* and their

depiction in the Shiomi screens reflect this sentiment as well. It is important, however, to avoid treating the guidebook as the textual version of the screens; rather, *Kyōwarabe* seems like a supplement for the Shiomi screens. Lacking a large number of pictures, the guidebook only provides the level of popularity and a description of some of the sites, such as the legends or the founding history associated with an area. For example, when Nakagawa describes kabuki, he writes about the development of this performance art and the problems it created for the government. In addition, the description of large crowds and the chaos in the theater district is represented in the Shiomi screens.

In the description of Shijō-dōri, Nakagawa provides a lengthy discussion of the site and history of this eclectic area. He gives a comprehensive description of the development of kabuki and its affect on the nation and includes a shorter passage on *bunraku*. The beginning of this passage sets the scene to give the reader an idea of what a traveler might encounter. Nakagawa writes,

On the right, one can see the theater ‘rat door’ entrance and a man who has to bend his back (like a cat) to enter. On the left, on the watchtower, one can see a man with a spear-pointed chin. Spectators are men and women, young and old. Some wear a braided hat from Ise with a re-curved rim and some put on a thin silk robe. Or some hang a pine-motif cotton robe from their shoulders, with threads poking out through the stenciled pines.<sup>78</sup>

Within this particular section’s discussion of kabuki, the accompanying image provides close-up of a performance underway, which was described by Nakagawa. The bottom left corner shows a group of men entering the theater house as they move towards the front of the stage. As theatergoers find their seats, the actors make their way to the center stage

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<sup>78</sup> *Kinsei Bungei Sōsho*. Volume 1. (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai), 297. Translated by author. Nakagawa is making a pun by referring to the spears lying across the watchtower with a man with a “spear-pointed chin.” By describing the clothes, Nakagawa is highlighting the different social classes that attend the theaters.

with their musical accompaniment sitting along the back wall. The Shiomi screens show this same kind of view for both theaters, but both are crowded with people and have an even larger crowd outside. Both *Kyōwarabe* and the Shiomi screens highlight this growing popularity of the theater arts.

With the right Shiomi screen following typical conventions in most *rakuchū-rakugaizu* examples, the left screen is far more atypical for its depiction of Kyoto. Rather than portraying Nijō Castle and the Gion Festival, which are always included on the left screen, the Shiomi screens focuses exclusively on the western view of the Kamo River. The city proper is barely hinted by the line of urban architecture in the outskirts of the city near the river.

The Shiomi screens of screens are unique within the *rakuchū-rakugaizu* genre for their lack of the Gion Festival, or of a procession in general. Revived in 1500, the Gion Festival grew with the support of Kyoto's prosperous merchants, artisans, and moneylenders and continued to flourish with the economic boom of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-centuries.<sup>79</sup> Supported by various affluent members of society, the significance of the festival changed over the years, was adapted by these merchants and artisans, and became a symbol of their wealth and their importance to Kyoto. It may be strange to viewers familiar with this painting genre not to see this important festival, which is considered one of the largest processions in Kyoto.

The significance for omitting an important city event could be to stress the well-known sightseeing locales and recreational activities available to those visiting Kyoto.

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<sup>79</sup> Taizō Kuroda, Melinda Takeuchi and Yūzō Yamane, *Worlds Seen and Imagined: Japanese Screens from the Idemitsu Museum of Arts*. (New York: Asia Society Galleries, 1995), 104.

Rather than Nijō Castle and the Gion Festival, the Shiomi screens includes monuments that are (or even unseen) in the tradition of the *rakuchū-rakugaizu* genre, but featured in guidebooks such as *Kyōwarabe*. Monuments that appear in the Shiomi screens that are atypical in other *rakuchū-rakugaizu* examples, such as Kōdaiji, Shimogamo Shrine, and an allusion to Kiyomizudera's legend associated with deer, appear in Nakagawa's descriptions in *Kyōwarabe*. Although the section describing Kōdaiji is considerably shorter than some other sections, the mention of this area is interesting because this temple complex is not shown in *rakuchū-rakugaizu*, perhaps due to its location in Higayashima. In most examples, these hills acted as a backdrop instead of the subject within this painting genre.

In his description of the Yasaka Shrine, Nakagawa includes a poem supposedly written by Susano'o, a deity housed at the monument. The poem describes a special cherry tree placed in front of the location where the deities are worshiped.<sup>80</sup> This is an interesting poem in relation to the Shiomi screens. In the depiction of Yasaka Shrine, there is only one clearly depicted cherry tree peeking out from behind the golden clouds, while the other trees on site are obscured. Although it is uncertain whether this is the cherry tree described in the poem, it remains an interesting correlation between a Kyoto travel guide and the Shiomi screens.

The left screens continue the focus on entertainment opportunities and religious activities available along the river that began in the right screen. Another aspect of the left screen is the juxtaposition of the huts of lower class citizens with the dwellings of a

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<sup>80</sup> *Kinsei*, 301.

higher station. In other examples of *rakuchū-rakugaizu*, these huts may have been covered by one of numerous gold clouds, which covered undesirable aspects of the city. The depiction of these huts shows further evidence of the growing diversity of Kyoto during the seventeenth century. The portrayal of people from various social stations and enjoying the same recreational activities on the Shiomis screens appears to have blurred the strict social boundaries that resulted from the Confucian social hierarchy implemented by the Tokugawa hegemony.

In the Shiomis screens, these figures are placed not simply in famous sites, but engaged in various festivities, such as the Kamigamo horse races and other entertainments along the Kamo Riverbed in Higayashima. As it was previously mentioned, the Shiomis screens' focus on recreational activities in the Higayashima ward is uncommon within the *rakuchū-rakugaizu* genre, but not without precedent. A pair of screens entitled *Amusements at Higayashima* (Fig. 26) is an example of adopting scenes and isolating them into their own pair of folding-screens. In this composition of Higayashima, Kiyomizudera is on the right-hand screen in the upper right corner, while the Yasaka Shrine appears on the left-hand screen. The focus of this pair is the long avenue with vendors along the road leading to Yasaka Shrine, groups of women at the shrine being admired by samurai, and a picnic under the cherry blossoms where dancers perform.<sup>81</sup> Just as we saw on the Shiomis screens, portraying people enjoying aristocratic pastimes involving cherry blossoms is a recurring theme that could appeal to a wider audience, resulting in this blurring of social boundaries.

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<sup>81</sup> Yoshiaki Shimizu, *Japan: The Shaping of Daimyo Culture, 1185-1868*. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1988), 187.



During the civil wars in Kyoto, there was no sense of community, and the city lost the essence that truly made it the imperial capital. The city's grid was organized according to political alliances with other aristocratic families and temples during the Ōnin War as one can see in the Sanjō screens. During the stages of reunification, however, structures transformed from compounds for the elite into accessible landmarks or monuments to be appreciated by everybody.<sup>82</sup> The result of making these sites more accessible in both real life as well as in art (*rakuchū-rakugaizu* screens, for example) and in the seventeenth century, created a more inclusive atmosphere because it disassociated the personal, political histories related to these monuments.<sup>83</sup> This attempt to separate the tumultuous past of many of Kyoto's religious complexes opened the city to different social circles.

Rising income from the new business ventures that arose when citizens returned to Kyoto resulted in the increasing opportunities for recreation and literacy, which allowed more citizens to be engaged in social and cultural activities.<sup>84</sup> These social changes are reflected in *rakuchū-rakugaizu*. Merchants being on the lower rung of the social ladder, although important economically, were forbidden to advance their social station and were restricted to areas of general culture and amusements, hence the number of social activities adapted by them. The restricted merchants used their profits to indulge

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<sup>82</sup> Mary Elizabeth Berry, *The Culture of Civil War in Kyoto*. (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1994), 298.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

in theater, excursions and other recreational activities.<sup>85</sup> This dissemination of knowledge for popular activities is important because ordinary people had adopted certain annual festivals and ceremonies, which had previously only been available to the aristocracy and the military class who made them a regular part of their lives.<sup>86</sup> Therefore, many popular urban activities still seen today can be traced back to the sixteenth-and seventeenth century.<sup>87</sup> Japan in the early seventeenth century underwent many social, economic, and artistic changes and this might account for the slight variations within the *rakuchū-rakugaizu* genre and scenes of the capital.

The Shiomi screens' focus on social gatherings can be understood as a reflection of these changes that were taking place in the early Edo period. What is more intriguing is which social gatherings the Shiomi screens chose to include. Kamigamo Shrine, much like Yasaka Shrine, is usually depicted in *rakuchū-rakugaizu* and its own independent genre scene. This site has a more popular pastime, which are the horse races that appealed to the masses. Two poems accompany the description of this site in *Kyōwarabe*, and both are related to these equine competitions. Nakagawa describes this activity, "There are many festivals that take place at this shrine, but the horse races that occur on the fifth day of the fifth month are a must-see event. It is especially divine."<sup>88</sup> Popularity

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<sup>85</sup> Ichitaro Kondo, *Japanese Genre Painting: The Lively Art of Renaissance Japan*. (Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1961), 19.

<sup>86</sup> P.G. O'Neill, "Organization and Authority in the Traditional Arts," *Modern Asian Studies* 18 (1984), 638-639.

<sup>87</sup> Yoshida Mitsukuni, *The People's Culture, from Kyoto to Edo*. (Hiroshima: Mazda Motor Corporation, 1986), 15.

<sup>88</sup> *Kinsei*, 320. Translated by author.

of this lively competition is the focus of the Kamigamo Shrine in the Shiomi screens as it continues over two panels and depicts a large crowd surrounding the racetrack.

Even though Shimogamo Shrine is associated with the Kamigamo Shrine, it does not receive the same treatment as the latter. Typically, the Shimogamo Shrine is omitted to emphasize the more popular scene of the Kamigamo horse races, but the Shiomi screens portrays the picnic and dancing that is associated with the shrine's festival. Nakagawa does not give Shimogamo Shrine the same attention in *Kyōwarabe*, but he writes, "In front of the altar there is the Mitarashi stream. Every year during the last ten days of the sixth month, the shrine gets more crowded than ever with worshipers. The rice cakes you can get on a stick are also pretty good."<sup>89</sup> The inclusion of Mitarashi-gawa in the guidebook and the portrayal of this stream on the Shiomi screens is an interesting overlap, especially since this stream and shrine are absent in other examples of *rakuchū-rakugaizu*. In real-life, the Takano River flows into the Kamo River; on the screens, it is replaced by a recreational site associated with Mitarashi-gawa, which originates at Shimogamo Shrine.

These selected excerpts from one of the earliest formal guides of Kyoto and the sites and activities chosen for the Shiomi screens reflects the growing interests that people found in various cities, culture, and travel during the seventeenth century. Although there are no specific dates for the Shiomi screens creation, they are unique in their panoramic and seasonal portrayal of Kyoto and provide insight to the way in which

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<sup>89</sup>Ibid., 320. Translated by author. The rice cakes on a stick are Mitarashi dango, which is a sweet snack covered in syrup made from soy sauce and sugar. To celebrate the popularity of this treat, a poem at the end of the section reads, "Oh Mitarashi, oh how true that dangos are better than flowers."

people viewed the imperial capital. The variety of urban experiences available was the inspiration for the writers of city guidebooks, which is reflected throughout *rakuchū-rakugaizu* in its portrayal of a newly developed urban culture.<sup>90</sup>

### Summary

As evidenced by these Kyoto travel guides, there was a shift in what these various temples and shrines meant to the public. No longer were these monuments politically charged, rather they were considered sites of historical importance. The close visual analysis of the Shiomi screens suggests that a similar shift took place in the *rakuchū-rakugaizu* genre. This pair reflects the change resulting from political consolidation at the end of the Momoyama period. Kyoto was now regarded as the old capital for religious devotion, tourism, but also a revived commercial center.<sup>91</sup> Naturally, since we have no historical context for the Shiomi screens, it is impossible to completely rule out the possibility that they were initially commissioned as a highly politically charged piece.

However, the choice for right-descending angles, the depiction of only spring and autumn, omission of obvious political monuments (such as Nijō Castle), and featuring unconventional sites and entertainments, such as the horse races, the picnic, and the theater district, cater to the commercial aspect of Kyoto culture. This is a reflection of the celebration of *machishū* life and culture that came to fruition. Nakagawa's often-entertaining descriptions of sites that one should see in Kyoto have many overlapping

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<sup>90</sup> Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period*. (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2006), 140.

<sup>91</sup> McKelway, *Capitalscapes*, 201.

themes found in the Shiomi screens. *Kyōwarabe* solidifies the interest that people had for details of popular sites and activities when traveling to Kyoto or for residents, and one sees these minor areas highlighted in the Shiomi screens. The emergence of a new way to describe and see the city that overlaps with a pre-existing painting genre, especially a pair of folding-screens that differ from other *rakuchū-rakugaizu* counterparts gives the Shiomi screens an inherent *meibutsu* quality.

CHAPTER V  
CONCLUSION

This thesis demonstrated the possibility that the Shiomi screens were *rakuchū-rakugaizu* made not as a political message, but as a souvenir. Chapter 2, identified the numerous monuments throughout both screens, providing their historical significance and introducing the pictorial characteristics of the Shiomi screens. Chapter 3 gave a cultural and historical context in understanding how *rakuchū-rakugaizu* came into fruition and how the pull of political powers in the capital greatly affected Kyoto and its people, which in turn was reflected in *rakuchū-rakugaizu*.

Chapter 4 argued that the Shiomi screens are originally made as souvenirs. The comparison of these screens to other known examples highlights the distinctiveness of the Shiomi screens. The Shiomi screens included minor sites omitted from most *rakuchū-rakugaizu* screens, which are highlighted in early travel guides, such as *Kyōwarabe*. With the growing popularity of these travel guides, I argued that the differences found in the Shiomi screens in fact spoke to the shifting function of *rakuchū-rakugaizu*.

In the early Edo period, the heightened popularity of leisurely travel created a new interest in large cities besides Kyoto. The method of portraying an urban cityscape that was developed through the *rakuchū-rakugaizu* genre was now used to paint other key cities such as Osaka and Edo. During the Edo period, Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo were known as the cultural, commercial, and political capitals of Japan. Unlike Kyoto,

however, people first became familiar with the cityscapes of Osaka and Edo through commercial prints and monochromatic reproductions in travel guides.

Although the examples are few, these paintings of other cities show a similar progression to *rakuchū-rakugaizu* from overtly political to more leisurely and popular examples.<sup>92</sup> For instance, in *Edo-zu*, or “Views of Edo,” (Fig. 27) what few examples we have still demonstrates that the earlier seventeenth-century examples incorporate more of a traditional method of portraying an urban scene with heavy political undertones observed in the late sixteenth century. Compositionally, *Edo-zu* adopted the basic template of *rakuchū-rakugaizu*, but since Edo—unlike Kyoto—was not surrounded by mountains, which provided a topographical orientation, the Sumida River was often featured in the foreground to create a better sense of location.<sup>93</sup> One can see how these city views permeated Japanese society and highlight this growing interest in urban life. Even though *Edo-zu* was not as longstanding as *rakuchū-rakugaizu*, it shows how prevalent Kyoto cityscapes were to the general populace.

Even as this expensive genre faded away in the latter part of the seventeenth century, portrayals of popular sites and recreational activities within Kyoto remained. Instead of depicting these famous scenes and monuments on lavishly painted folding-screens, they were becoming popularized in travel guides and eventually in *meisho-e*, or images of famous places, in woodblock prints during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

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<sup>92</sup> McKelway, *Cityscapes*, 201. With approximately eighty examples of *rakuchū-rakugaizu* portraying Kyoto, *Edo-zu* only has three examples that are positively placed in the seventeenth century.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 202.

As for images of Kyoto, the commercialization of a cityscape as a type of souvenir escalated, eventually making its way into mass-produced *ukiyo-e* woodblock prints in the nineteenth century. Famous landscape print designers, such as Utagawa (Ando) Hiroshige (1797-1868) and Katsushige Hokusai (1760-1845) drew upon the people's interest of travel, and sites known for their specialty goods. For instance, although it was much more commercially driven, Hiroshige's *Famous Views of Kyoto* series (1834-1835), tapped into people's desire to see named places in and around Kyoto, and festivals and other seasonal activities associated with them, in a similar way to a souvenir *rakuchū-rakugaizu* (such as the Shiomi screens). When we consider this general trend toward commercializing "famous sites" as a type of souvenir, one could argue that the Shiomi screens mark the transitioning point from old to new, from thinking of depiction of a site only as a tool for political statements, to seeing it more as a record of personal experiences or imagination.

By positioning them as a type of souvenir—or *meibutsu*—distinct from earlier more politically driven examples, the Shiomi screens provide an alternative way of understanding *rakuchū-rakugaizu*. Although we have no record of who made the Shiomi screens or why, the unique "townspeople" view of Kyoto represented in these screens, and their focus on tourist sites and famous entertainments along the Kamo River, suggest a different type of agenda or motive. Their affiliation to the contemporary travel guides, particularly in their choice of sites and events to include, demonstrates that the Shiomi screens were made to be used not in a hierarchical social relationship, as in a gift giving that would have cemented a lord-retainer relationship, but perhaps in a more amicable



gathering of equals. Furthermore, if the *rakuchū-rakugaizu* originally had a function to reassure the commissioner (of the warrior class), and its subjects of the peace and stability of the capital, then it would mean that whoever commissioned these screens was, in one sense, claiming his/her responsibility for ownership of the city. If this was the case, and if the Shiomi screens were indeed created by and for the *machishū*, one could argue that these screens also symbolized a significant shift in townspeople's mentality in the Edo period, from thinking of themselves as the mere dwellers (subordinates) of the city to its owners.<sup>94</sup>

#### **Tentative artist attribution**

The patrons or the artists of *rakuchū-rakugaizu* screens are rarely identified. In the case of the Shiomi screens, however, one can find a red, circular seal located at the bottom, left corner of the left screen in the eighth panel that can be identified to a seventeenth-century painter named Iwasa Katsushige. The identification of the seal as Iwasa Katsushige came too late in the research process to incorporate into the body of this paper. However, I believe it is still worthwhile to include the preliminary findings here.

The seal measures 3.5 centimeters in diameter. It contains two characters in seal script within a double ring border, which reads "Katsushige." According to the museum acquisition record, the Shiomi screens are attributed generically to the Tosa school.<sup>95</sup> The

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<sup>94</sup> Sandy Kita, *The Last Tosa: Iwasa Katsumochi Matabei, Bridge to Ukiyo-e*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 172-173.

<sup>95</sup> While the museum's attribution to the Tosa school is not incorrect, it should be noted that they are a different group that worked in their particular style.

identification of this seal, however, suggests that they were the works by Iwasa Katsushige (fl. 1661-1673). Iwasa Katsushige was the eldest, legitimate son of Iwasa Matabei Katsumochi. I discussed his father, Katsumochi, earlier in relation to the Funaki screens. Much like his father, Katsushige's biography is scarce. Previous studies show that when Iwasa Katsumochi left for Edo in 1637, Katsushige was in his twenties and became the new head of the Iwasa school in Fukui prefecture. Unlike his father, Katsushige was the official painter for the *daimyō*. Although he developed his own painting style, like his father, Katsushige was most popular as a painter of genre scenes.<sup>96</sup> According to Sandy Kita (Senior Scholar, Chatham College), there are about half a dozen works correctly attributed to Katsushige.<sup>97</sup> However, the lack of biographical documents—added to the fact that his father was a much more skilled and famous painter—led to many misattributions of Katsushige's works. Furthermore, since Katsushige was most known for his genre paintings, many forged seals bearing Katsushige's name are found on Iwasa-style genre paintings.

A detailed comparison between the circular seal on the Shiomi screens and a similar seal from Katsushige's work that is believed to be authentic reveals similarities and a few key differences. First, the diameter of the Shiomi seal is consistent with the seal that is found on *Priest Beading* (a panel from a folding-screen, *Collection of Various Occupations*; private collection, Tokyo) (Fig. 28). Its general appearance (double ring around Katsushige's name in seal script) also matches the previously identified authentic seals. On the other hand, there are also some inconsistencies between the Shiomi seal and

<sup>96</sup> Hiroshi Iso, "Iwasa Katsushige Kenkyū Josetsu," *Bigaku Ronkyū* 2 (1963): 65.

<sup>97</sup> Sandy Kita, Personal correspondence, September 3, 2009.

the other example. For instance, in the Shiomi seal (Fig. 29), the inside of the double rings is accented by short vertical lines, which do not appear in any of the other Katsushige seals of similar type (Fig. 30). Furthermore, a detailed examination of the character “katsu” shows that the character is in fact written incorrectly. Since there are too few examples of Katsushige’s authentic seals, the above cursory comparison neither confirms nor negates the attribution of the Shiomi screens. Although further research is needed to confirm the authenticity of the Shiomi seal, its attribution to Iwasa Katsushige not only places the Shiomi screens contemporarily with *Kyōwarabe*, it also opens up avenues to explore the specific functions of these screens in the newly evolving relationship between the cultural center and its periphery.

## APPENDIX

## FIGURES



Fig. 1. Photograph of Dr. Robert H. Shiomi and Yoko McClain.

Photograph courtesy of Yoko McClain.

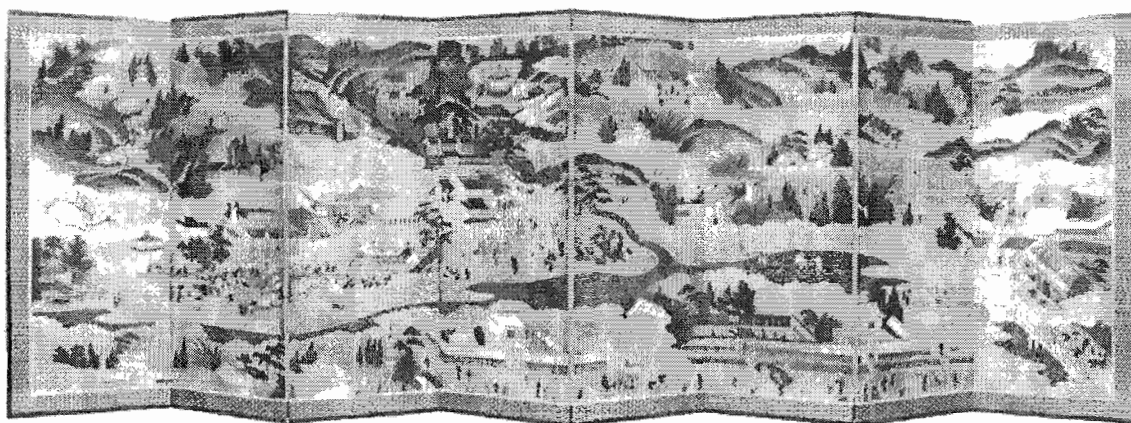
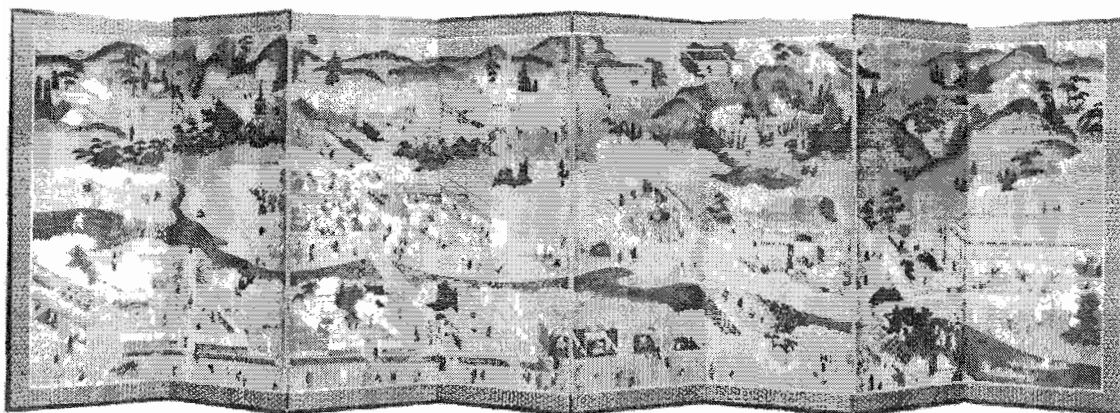


Fig. 2. Pair of Shiomis screens. (Right screen on top; left screen on bottom).  
Edo period, 17<sup>th</sup> c. Pair of eight-panel screens; ink, color and gold on paper.  
Jordan Schnitzer Museum of Art; Eugene, Oregon

Images courtesy of the Jordan Schnitzer Museum of Art.

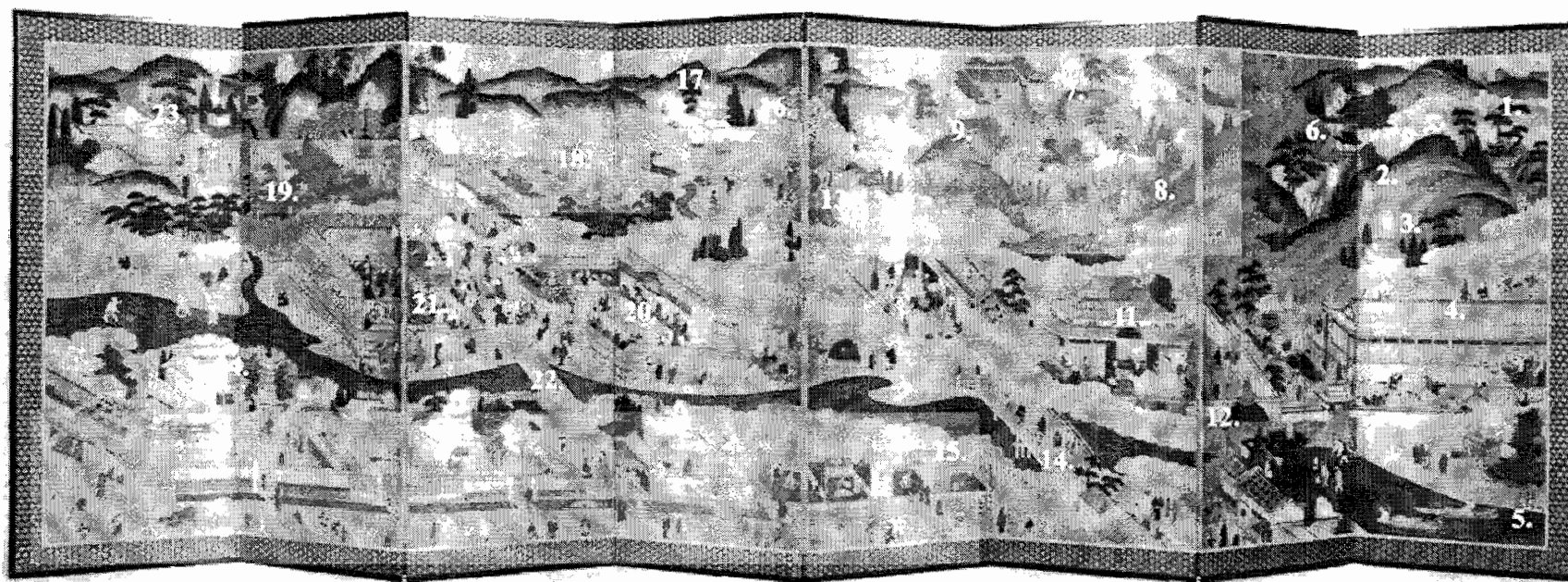


Fig. 3. Identified places on right Shiomi screen.

- 17. Kōdaiji
- 18. Yasaka Shrine
- 19. Gion Bayashi
- 20. Puppet (*bunraku*) theater\*
- 21. Kabuki theater\*
- 22. Shijō Bridge\*
- 23. Chion-in
- 24. Zuisenji\*

\*Denotes no cartouche

- 9. Saimon
- 10. *Shikama* "deer-mound"
- 11. Hōkōji
- 12. *Mimizuka* "ear-mound"\*
- 13. Yasaka *chaya* (teahouse)
- 14. Gojō Bridge\*
- 15. *Teramachi*\*
- 16. Yasaka Pagoda

- 1. Inari Shrine
- 2. Imagumano Shrine
- 3. Chishaku-in
- 4. Sanjūsangendō\*
- 5. Kamo River\*
- 6. Hōkoku Shrine
- 7. Kiyomizudera\*
- 8. Otowa no Taki

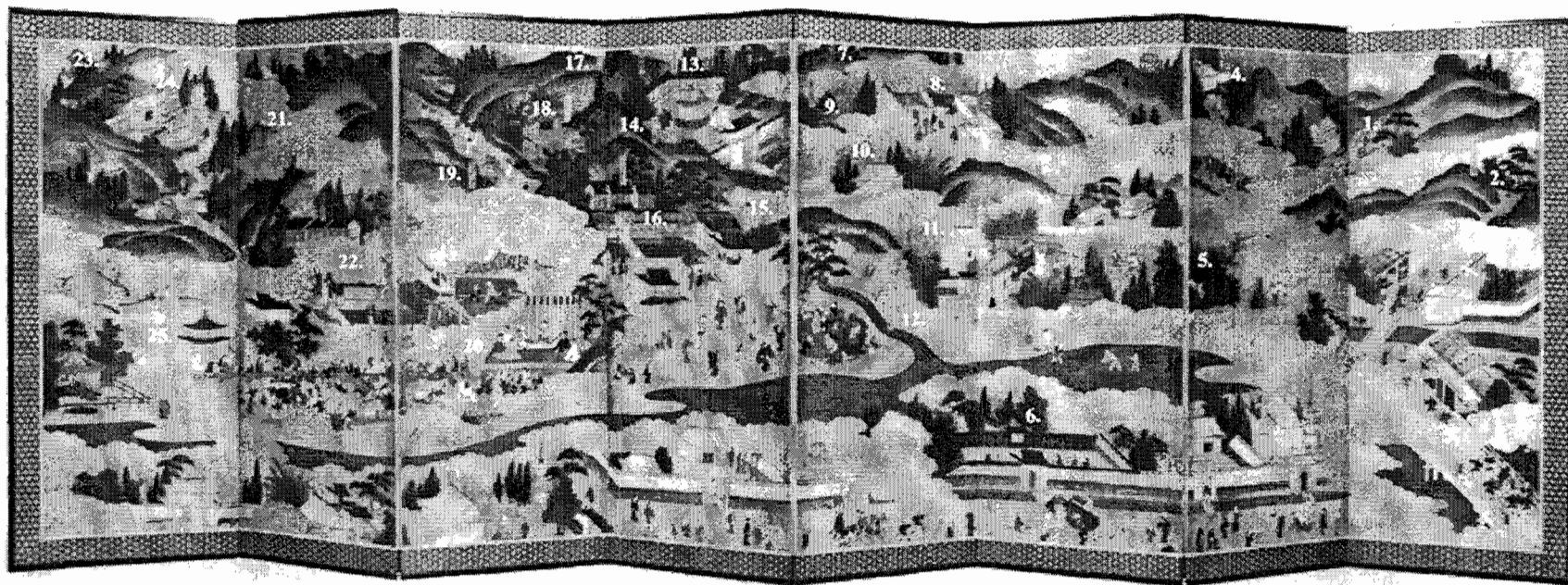


Fig. 4. Identified places on left Shioimi screen

- |                                  |                                      |                                      |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 18. Takao?                       | 9. Shirakawa                         | 1. Nanzenji                          |
| 19. Path to Mount Hiei           | 10. Zenjōji                          | 2. Hi no Oka Tōge (mountain pass)    |
| 20. Kamigamo Shrine horse races* | 11. Shōgoin                          | 3. Sanjō Bridge*                     |
| 21. [...] no Tani                | 12. Mitarashi gawa                   | 4. Unknown                           |
| 22. Kamigamo Shrine              | 13. Yoshida Shrine (Daigengū inside) | 5. [...]in matsu (pine tree shrine?) |
| 23. Shōrin-in?                   | 14. Kagura-oka? (burial site)        | 6. Unknown                           |
| 24. Unknown                      | 15. Ichijōji-mura                    | 7. [...]n dō (part of label cut off) |
| 25. Rokkakudō?*                  | 16. Shimogamo Shrine*                | 8. Kurodani? (Konkaikōmyōji)         |
| * Denotes no cartouche           | 17. Mount Hiei                       |                                      |

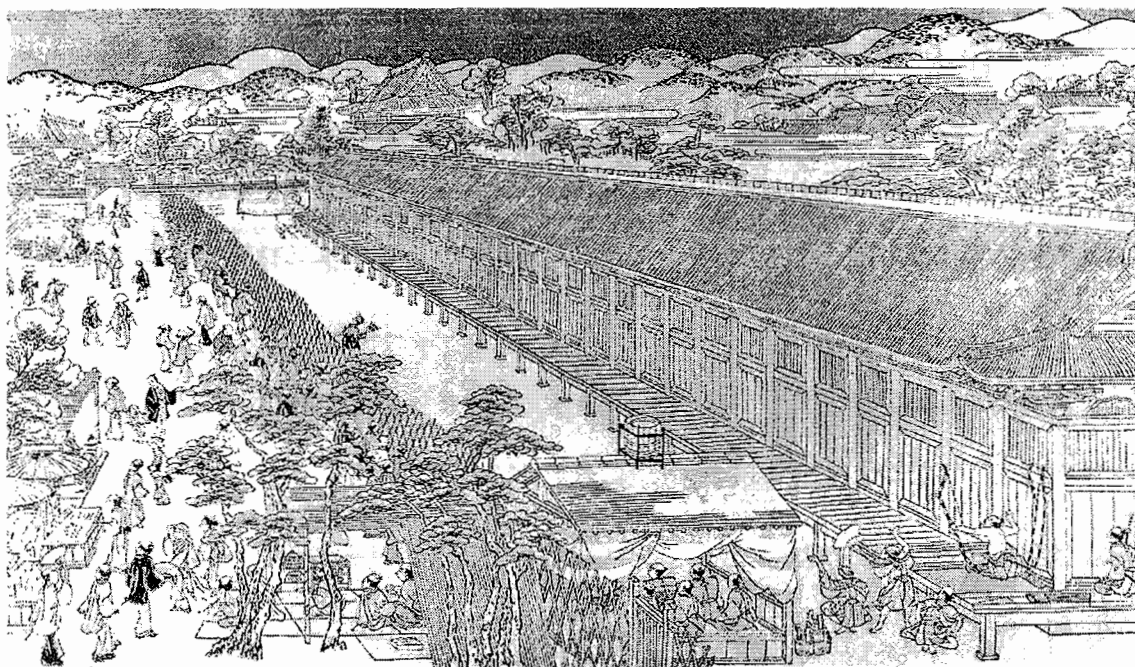


Fig. 5. Tōshiya (archery competition).

Source: pamphlet supplied by Sanjūsangendō.



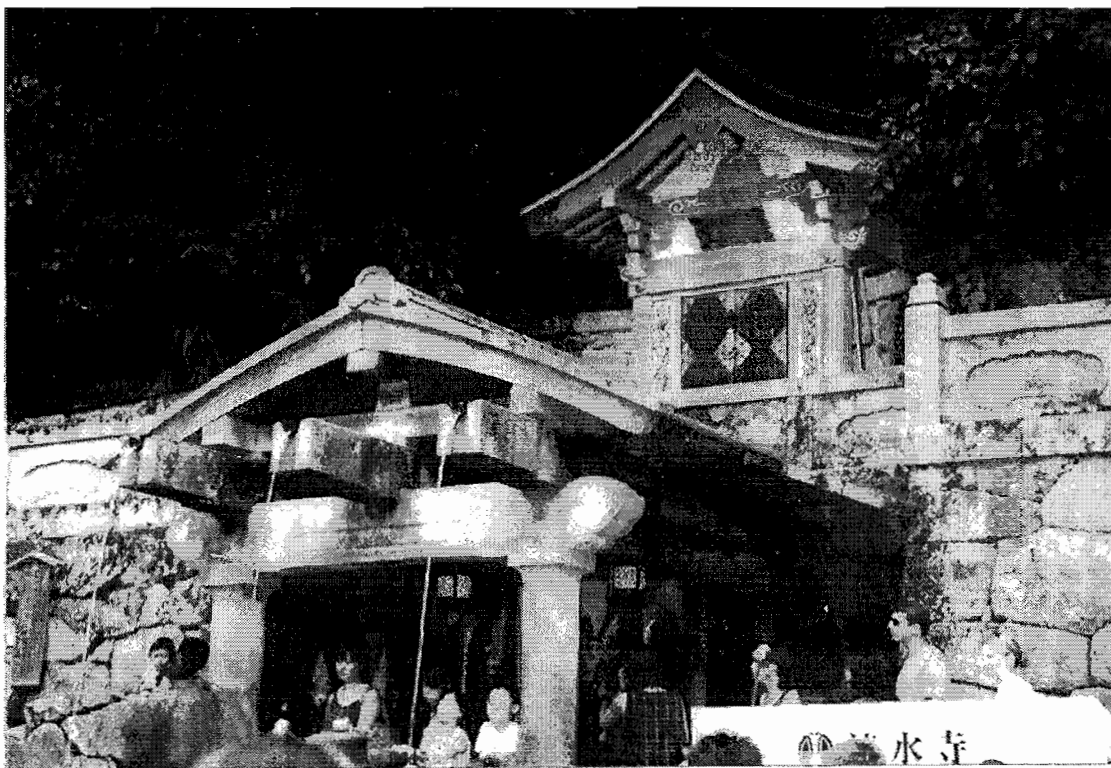


Fig. 6. Photograph of Otowa Waterfall.

Photograph taken by author.



Fig. 7. Backstage of *bunraku* theater.

Source: Hironaga, *Bunraku*, pg. 24.

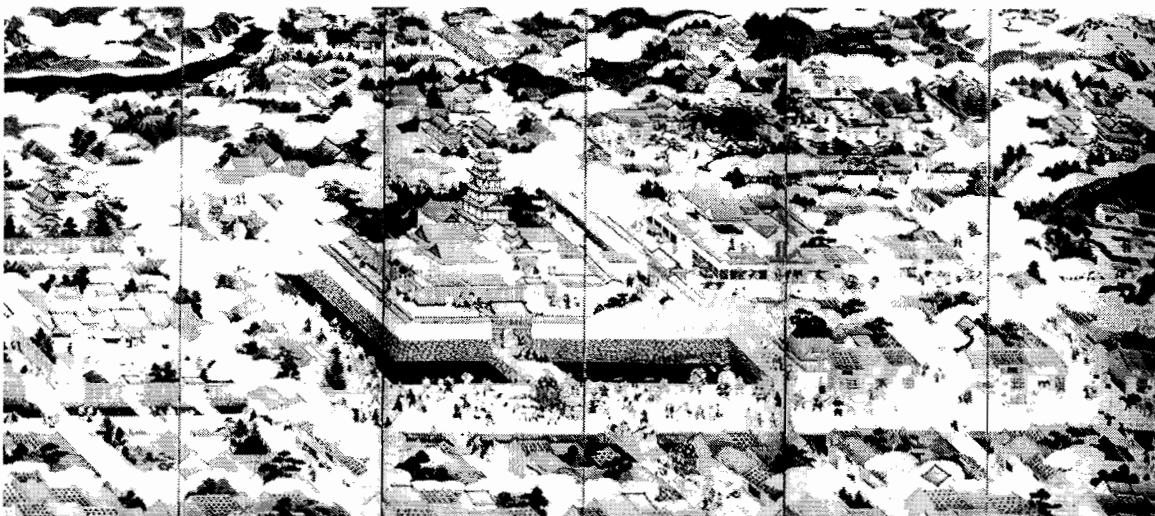
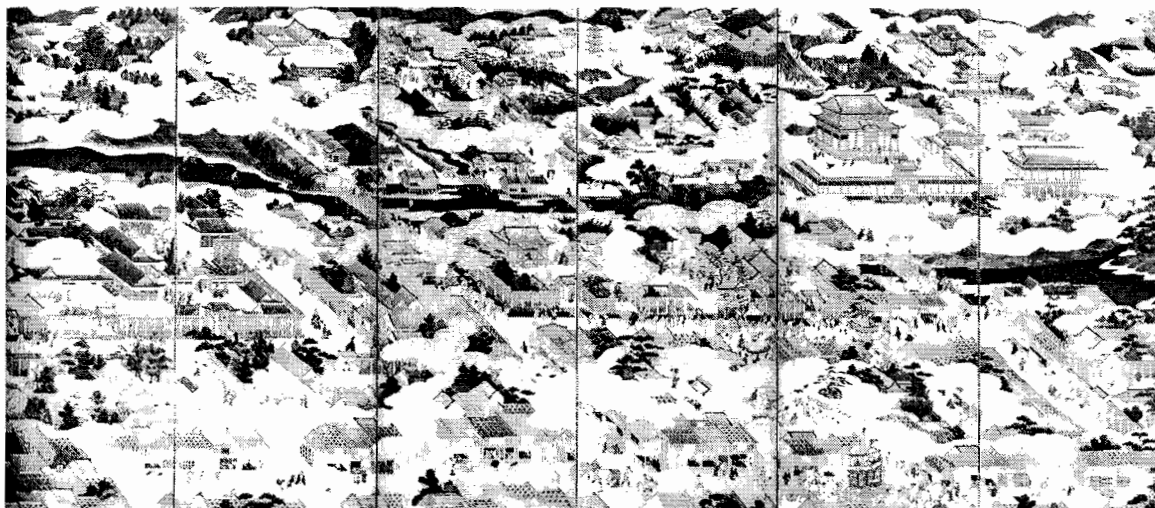


Fig. 8. Pair of Shōkōji screens. (Right screen on top; left screen on bottom). Momoyama-early Edo period, early 17<sup>th</sup> c. Pair of six-panel folding-screens; ink, colors, and gold on paper.  
Shōkōji, Toyama

Source: McKelway, *Capitalscapes*, pg. 188-189.

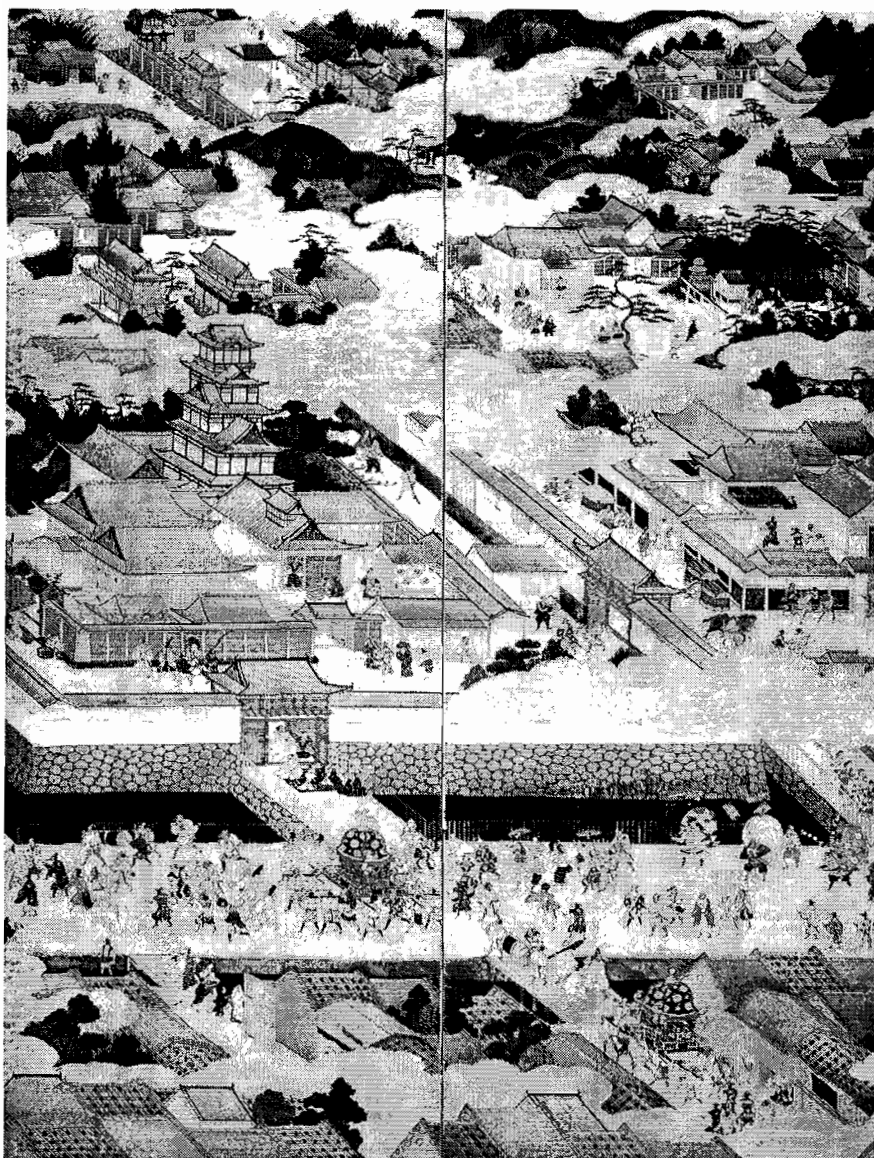


Fig. 9. Shōkōji screens, detail of Nijō Castle.

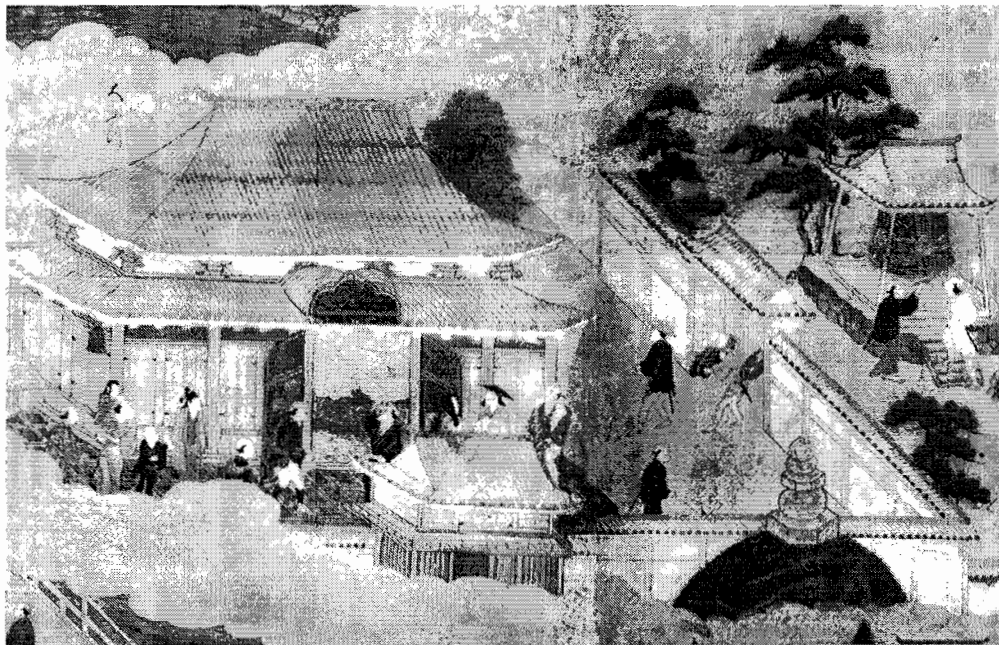


Fig. 10. Shioami screens, detail of Hōkōji.

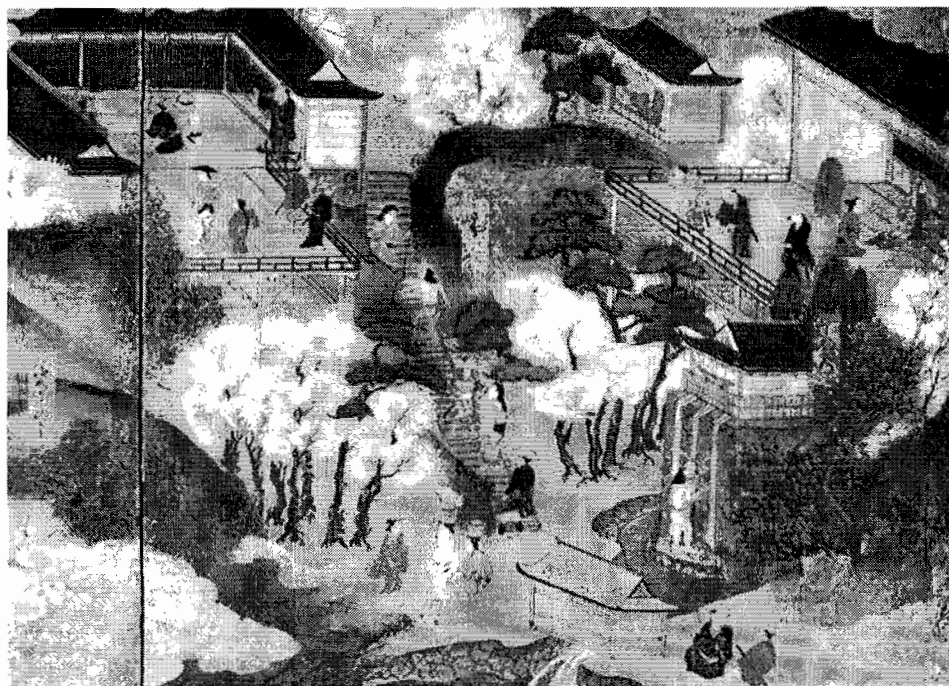


Fig. 11. Shioami screens, detail of Kiyomizudera.

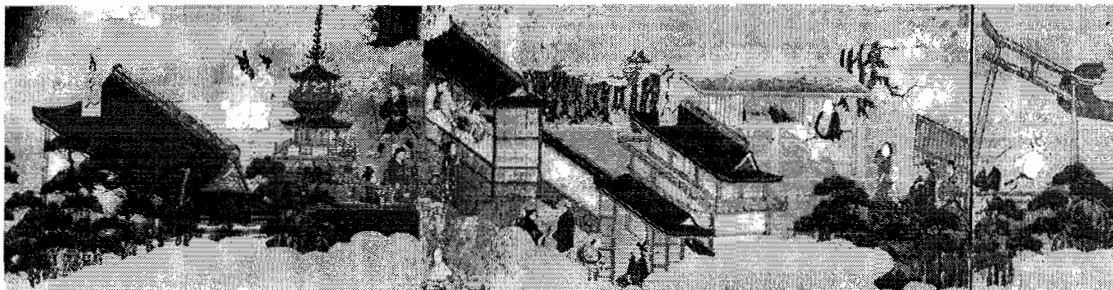


Fig. 12. Shiomi screens, detail of Yasaka Shrine.

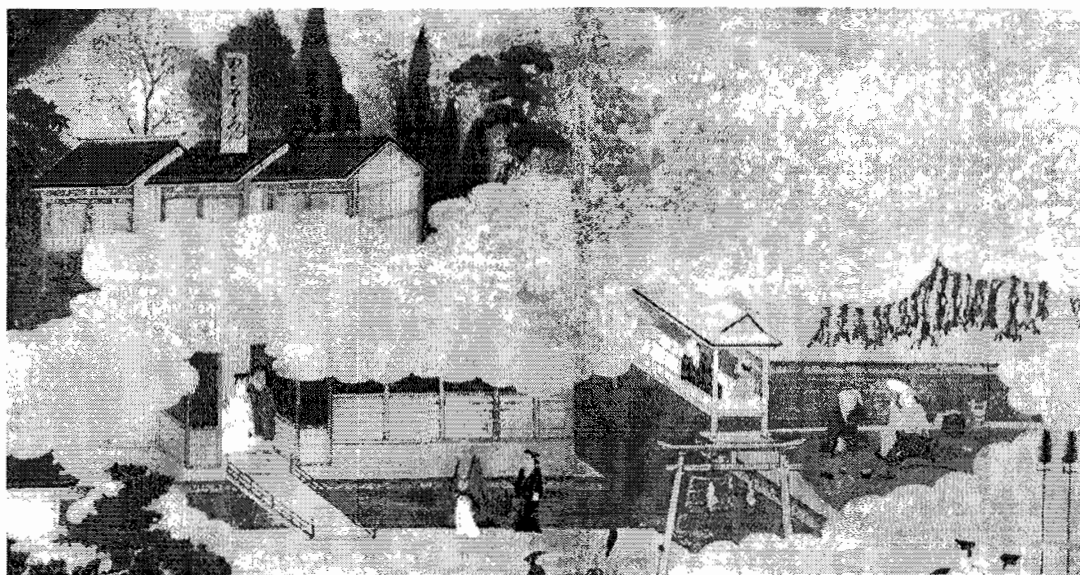


Fig. 13. Shiomi screens, detail of Kamigamo Shrine.

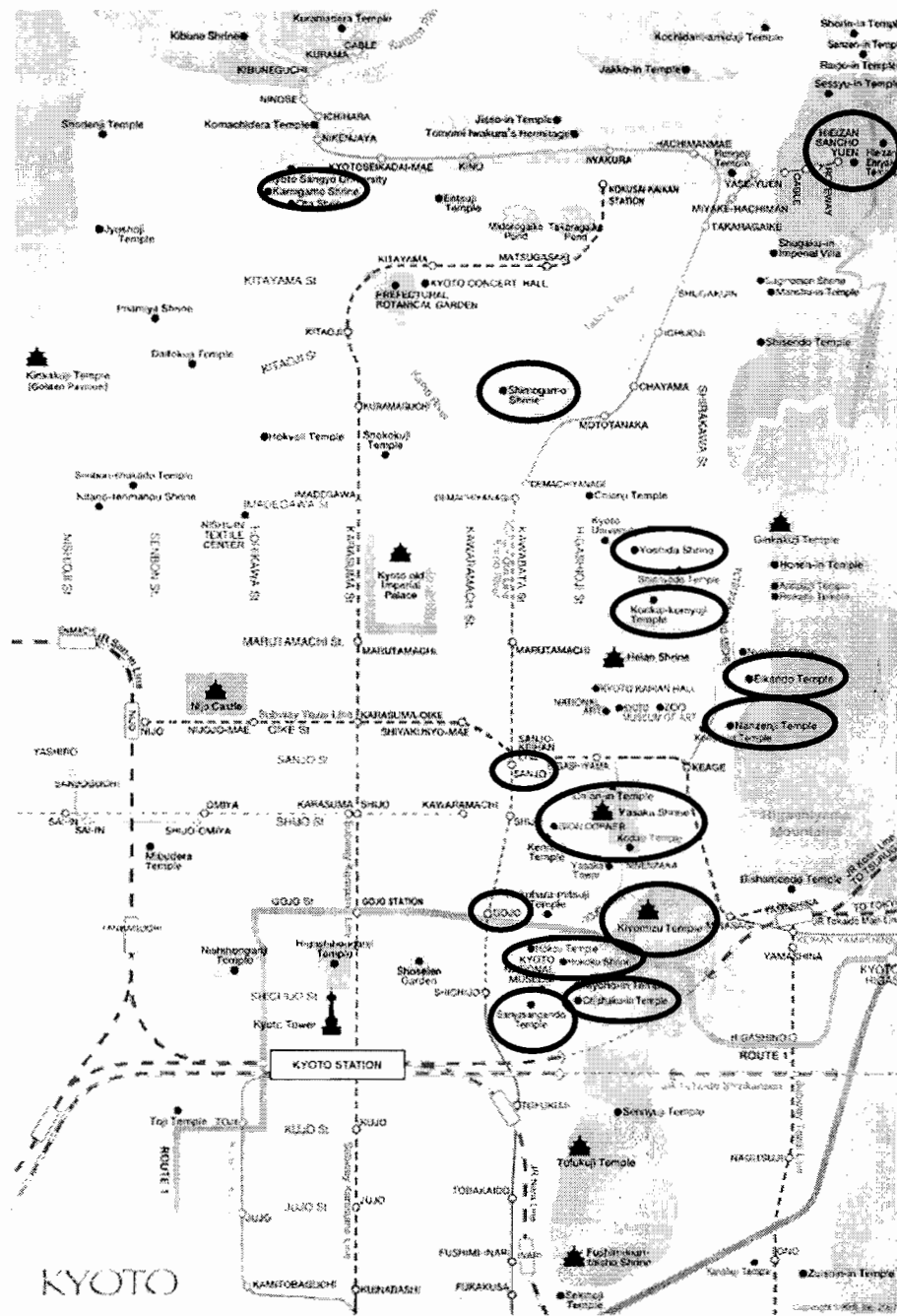


Fig. 14. Map of modern Kyoto.

Source: [http://www.khulsey.com/travel/japan\\_kyoto\\_city-map.html](http://www.khulsey.com/travel/japan_kyoto_city-map.html)  
(accessed November 25, 2009)

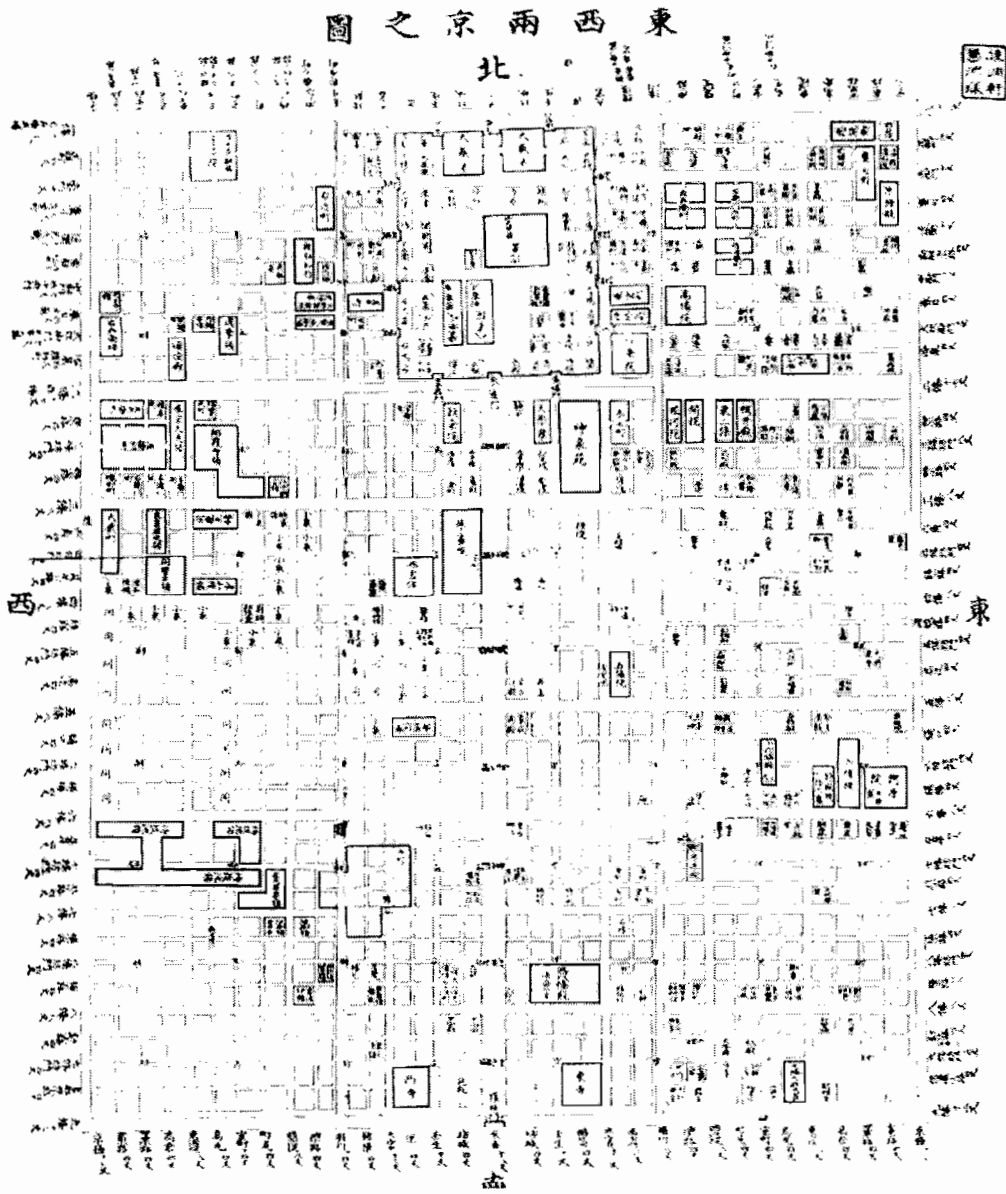


Fig. 15. Map of Heian (Kyoto)

Source: Plutschow, *Historical Kyoto*, pg. x.



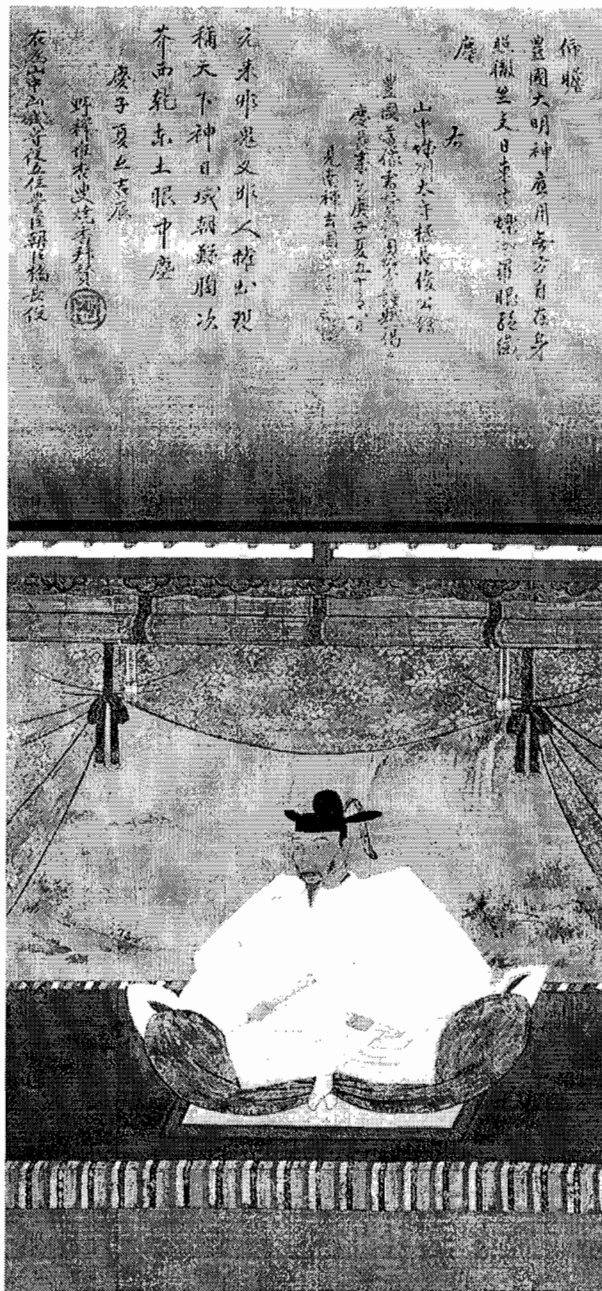


Fig. 16. Painted portrait of Toyotomi Hideyoshi.  
 Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk.  
 Saikyōji, Otsu.

Source: Hickman, *Golden Age*, pg. 72.

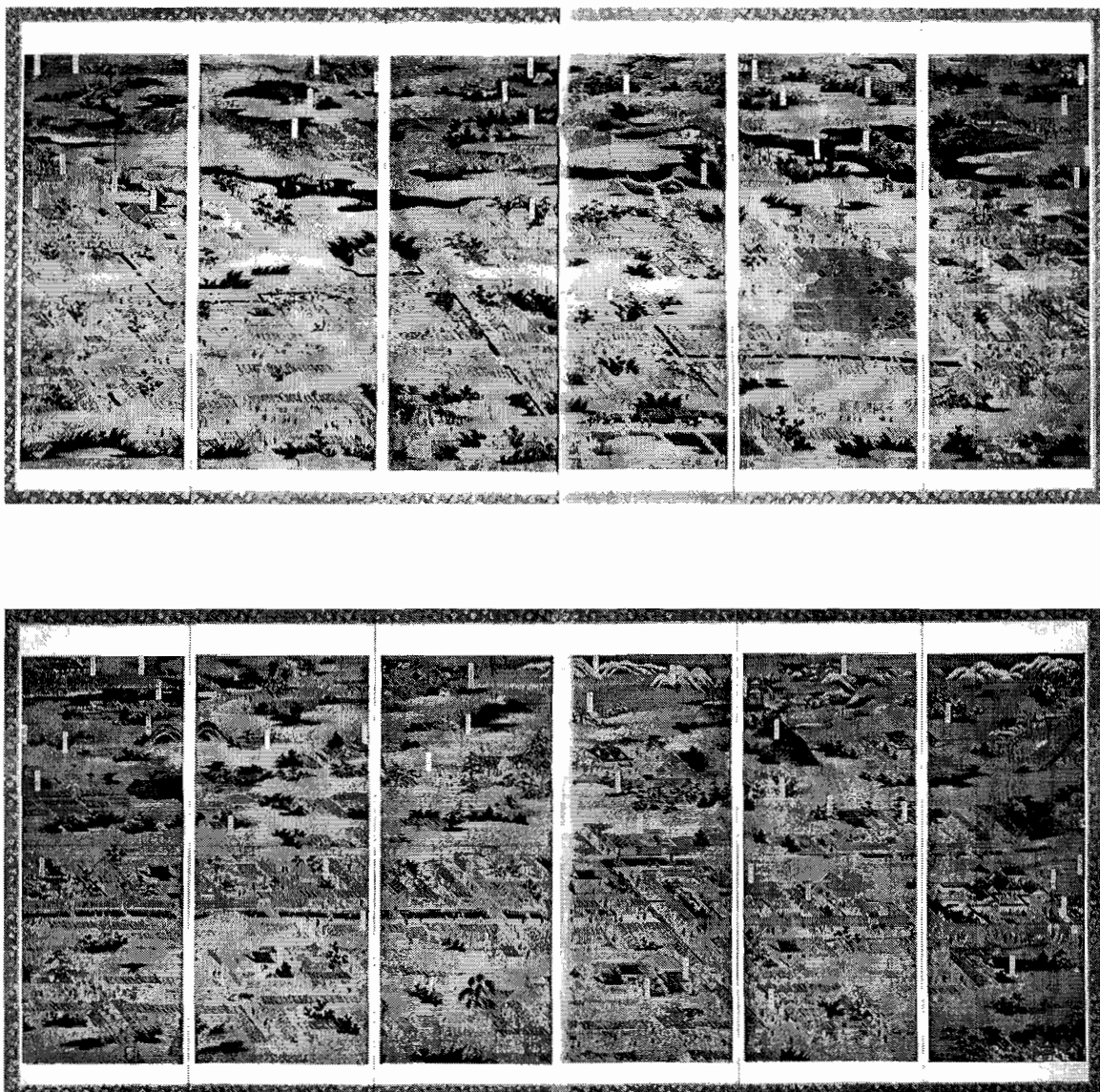


Fig. 17. Pair of Sanjō screens. (Right screen on top; left screen on bottom).  
 Muromachi period, 16<sup>th</sup> c. Pair of six-panel folding-screens;  
 ink, colors, and gold on paper.  
 Natural History of Japanese History, Sakura.

Source: McKelway, *Capitalscapes*, page inserts, pl. 2a & 2b.

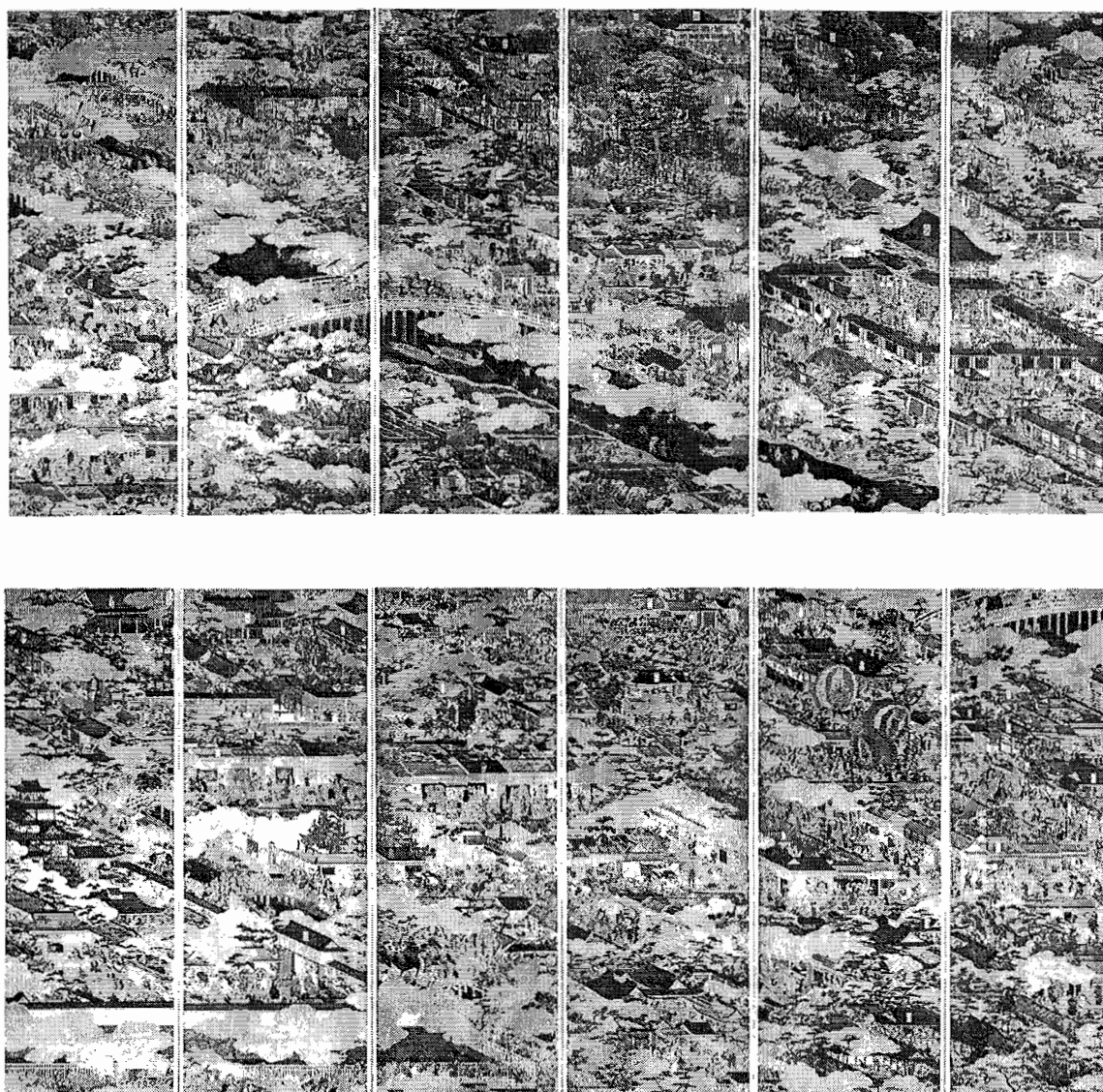


Fig. 18. Pair of Funaki screens. (Right screen on top; left screen on bottom).  
 Attributed to Iwasa Matabei Katsumochi. Edo period, early 17<sup>th</sup> c.  
 Pair of six-panel screens; ink, color and gold leaf on paper.  
 Tokyo National Museum.

Source: McKelway, *Capitalscapes*, pg. 194-195.

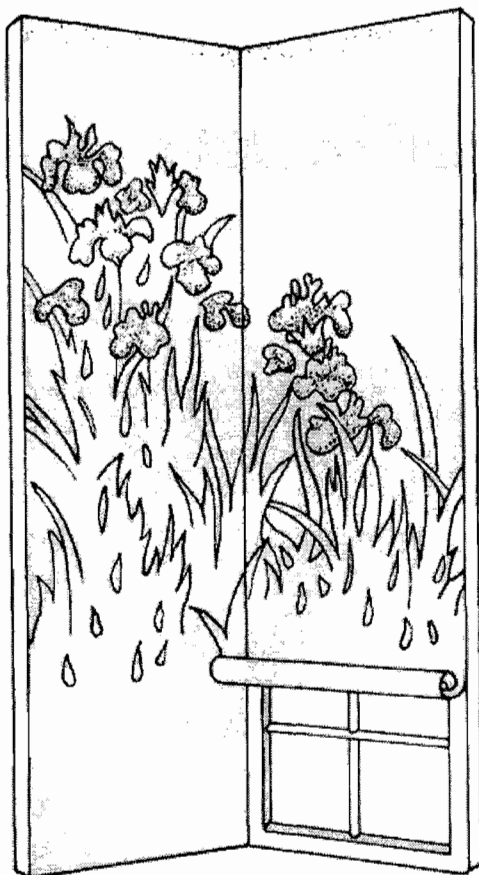


Fig. 19. Diagram of folding-screen.

Source: Mason, *History of Japanese Art*, pg. 245.

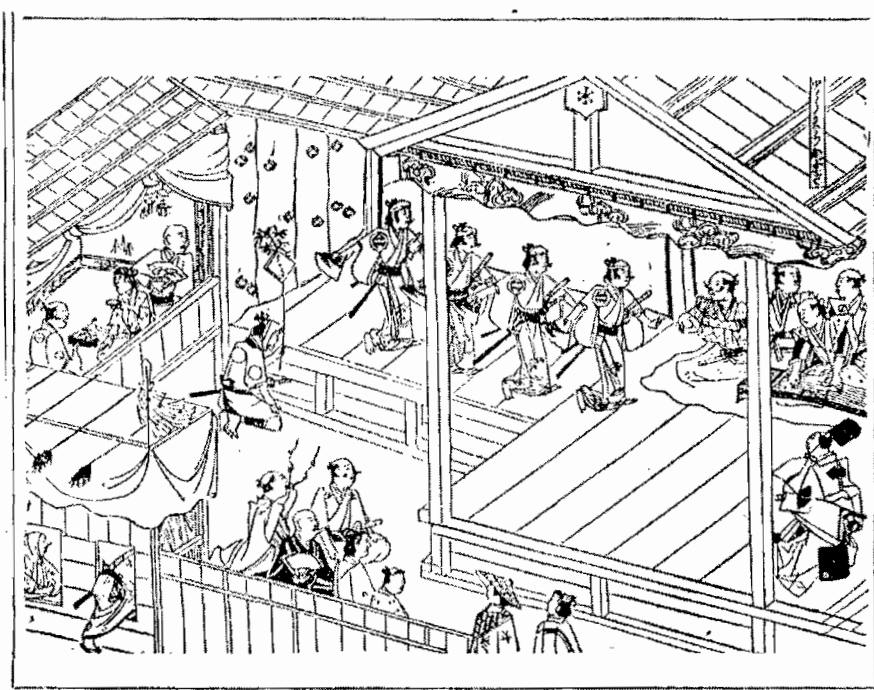


Fig. 20. *Kyōwarabe*, theater page excerpt.

Source: *Kinsei Bungei Sōsho*, pg. 299.



Fig. 21. Shiomi screens, detail of theater district.



Fig. 22. Shiomi screens, detail of Kamigamo horse races.



Fig. 23. Shiomi screens, detail of picnic along Mitarashi-gawa.

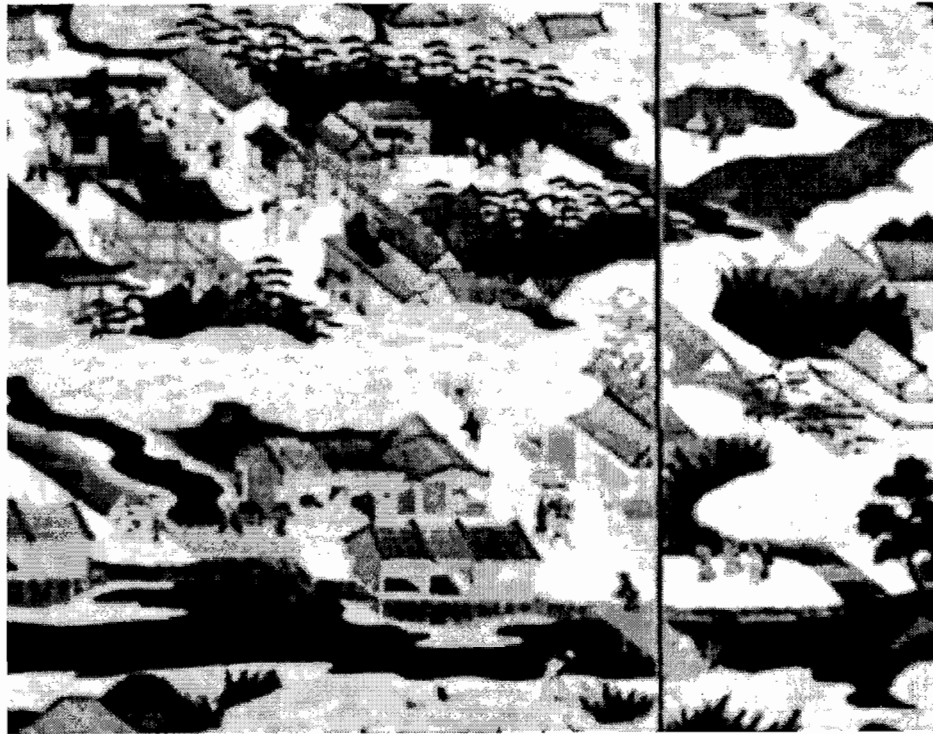


Fig. 24. Shōkōji screens, detail of Shijō

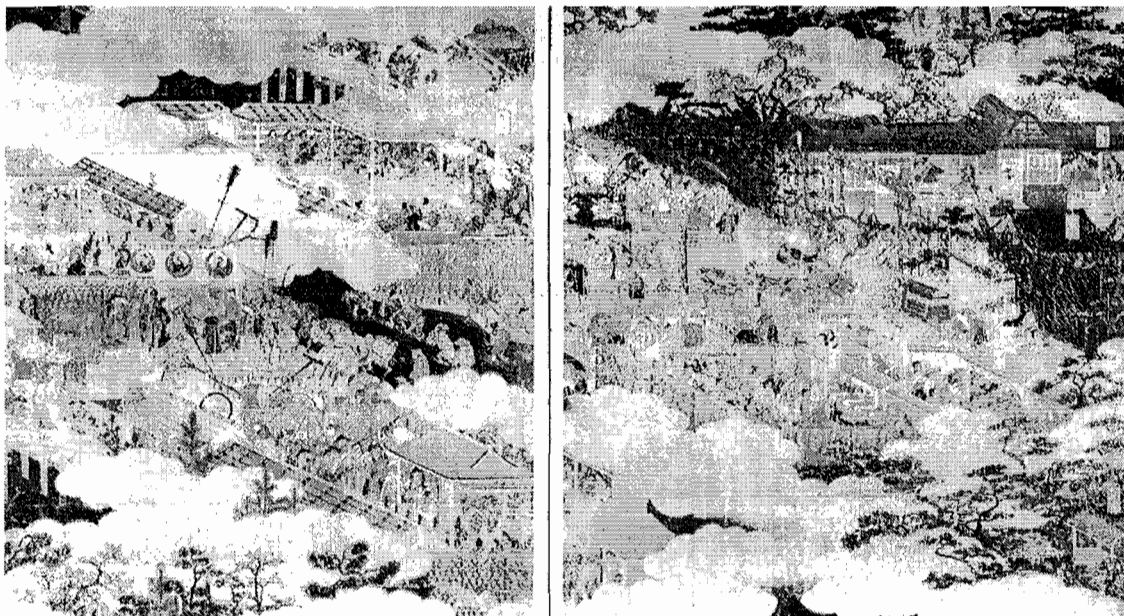


Fig. 25. Funaki screens, detail of theater district.



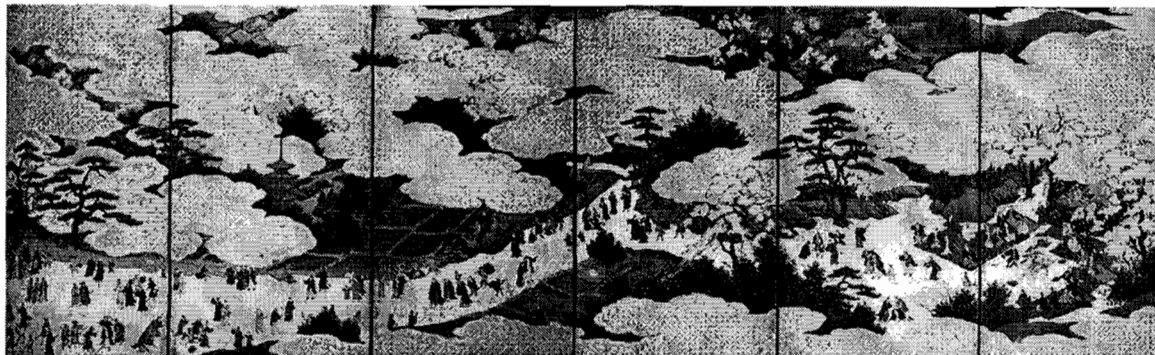


Fig. 26. *Amusements at Higayashima*.  
Edo period, 17<sup>th</sup> c. Pair of six-panel screens;  
ink, color and gold leaf on paper.  
Kōzu Kobunka Kaikan, Kyoto.

Source: Hickman, *Golden Age*, pg. 124-125.

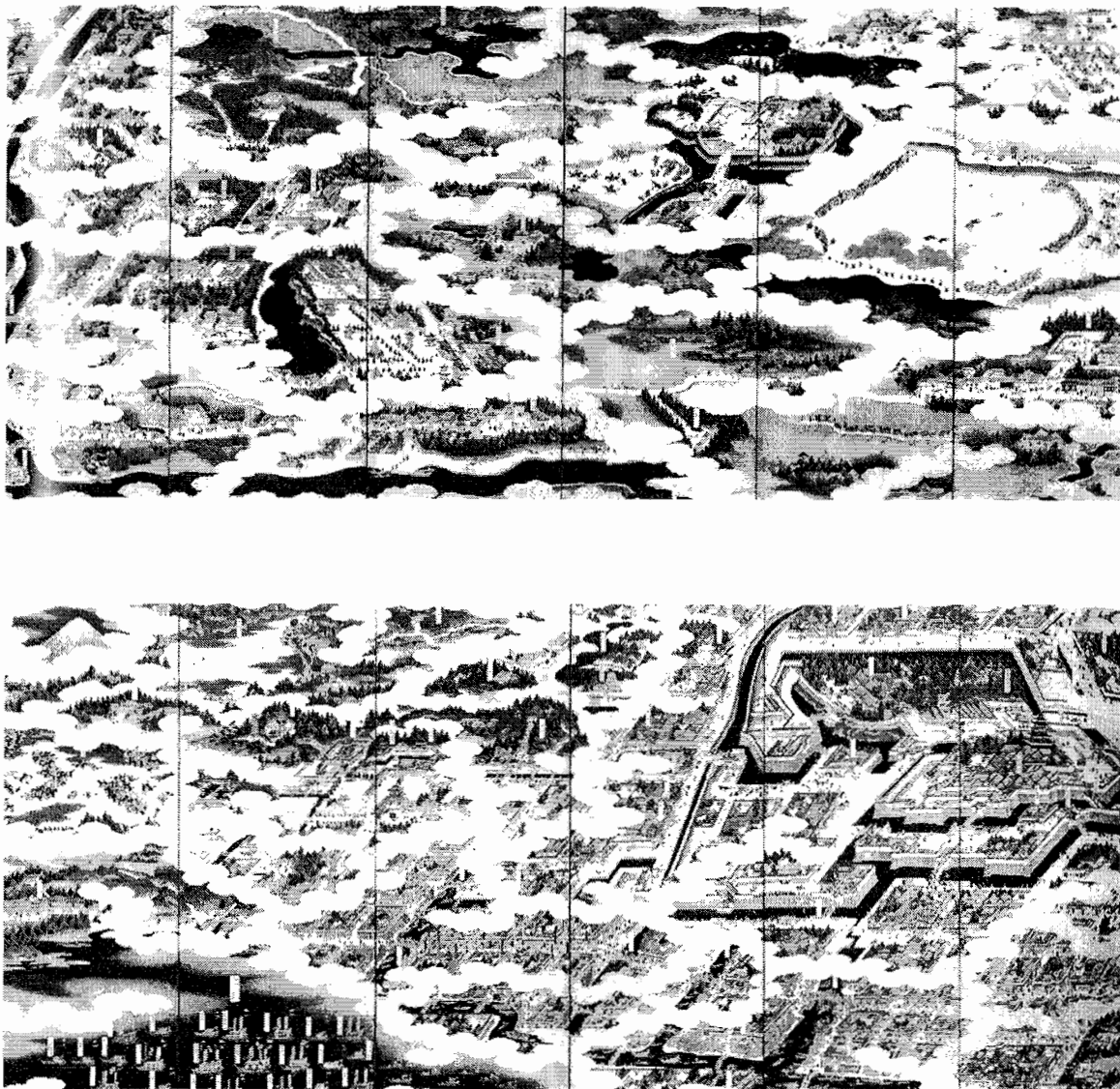


Fig. 27. Pair of *Edo-zu* (Hayashi screens).  
Edo period, early 17<sup>th</sup> c. pair of six-panel folding-screens;  
ink, colors, and gold on paper.  
National Museum of Japanese History, Sakura.

Source: McKelway, *Capitalscapes*, 208-209.



Fig. 28. Iwasa Katsushige, *Priest Beading*. Panel of folding-screen,  
*Collection of Various Occupations*.  
Private collection, Tokyo.

Source: Narazaki Muneshige, "Iwasaha no Kenkyū," *Kokka* 691, pg. 286.



Fig. 29. Shiomi screens, detail of Iwasa Katsushige's seal.

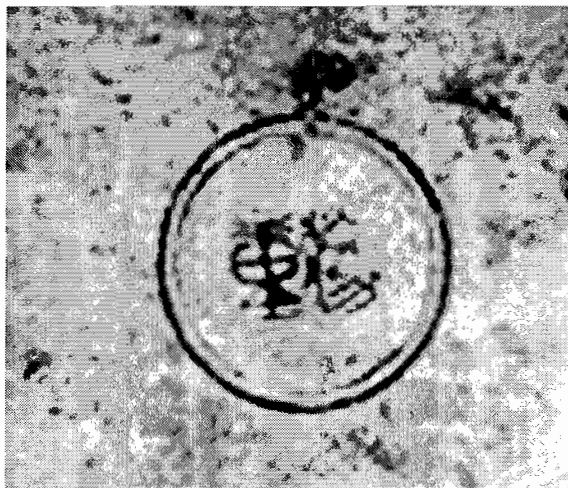


Fig. 30. Iwasa Katsushige, *Priest Beading*, detail of seal.

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