# DISPLAYING AUTHORITY: ASHIKAGA FORMAL DISPLAY IN THE MUROMACHI PERIOD

by

**Jungeun Lee**

B.A. Ewha Womans University, 2005

M.A. Ewha Womans University, 2008

M.A. University of Pittsburgh, 2011

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This dissertation was presented

by

Jungeun Lee

It was defended on

March 13, 2017

and approved by

Katheryn M. Linduff, Professor Emerita, History of Art and Architecture

Barbara McCloskey, Professor, History of Art and Architecture

Evelyn Rawski, Professor Emerita, History

Dissertation Advisor: Karen M. Gerhart, Professor, History of Art and Architecture

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Jungeun Lee, PhD

University of Pittsburgh, 2017

This dissertation project investigates the socio-political and socio-economic contexts of the Ashikaga collection of Chinese paintings and objects and the associated development, function, and multifaceted meanings of formal decoration and display in medieval Japan. Scholars have been interested in the Ashikaga collection, *kaisho* reception halls, and shogunal art manuals (*Kundaikan sōchōki*) as either a way to understand the Japanese reception of Chinese paintings or to trace and reconstruct *shoin*-style architecture. However, formal display as an ensemble and a means of representing the patrons' identities within the political and economic spheres of Kyoto have not been adequately addressed. My dissertation also investigates the relationship between the Ashikaga and their cultural advisors (*dōbōshū*) who were in charge of the arrangement of the collection. I show that the Ashikaga skillfully combined Japanese court and Buddhist traditions with elements of continental culture as a means to consolidate their own political and cultural authority. Additionally, I explore the gradual change in the meaning of formal display from an expression of political authority to a commodity circulated among the elite following the Ōnin War (1467-1477). The architectural space where the objects were displayed will be examined through visual and textual evidence. To this end, this dissertation moves beyond a survey of shogunal palaces and examines the development of interior space in medieval Japan and the relationship between formal interior display and the identity of the patron or owner.

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# 1.0    INTRODUCTION

…. In the *kaisho*, the magnificence of the displayed and treasured objects was startling to the eyes. The landscape [garden] was fine beyond description. The magnificence of [Buddhist] Paradise is perhaps like this [interior display] ……

御会所已下山水等可有御一覧之由伺申、(中略)、凡会所以下荘厳置物宝物等驚目、山水殊勝非言語所覃、極楽世界荘厳も如此歟、(中略)、奥御会所ニ参、於此所可有一献也(『看聞御記』永享三年二月七日条)[1]

The above was written by Go Sukōin (1372-1456), the father of Emperor Go Hanazono (1419-1471, r.1428-1464), in his diary *Kanmon nikki* after he had visited the sixth shogun Ashikaga Yoshinori's (1394-1441, r.1429-1441) new *kaisho*, on the 7th day of the 2nd month in 1431.[2] The monk Mansai Jugō (1378-1435), an abbot of the Sanbō-in at Daigoji temple in southeast Kyoto, was similarly impressed when he visited the same *kaisho* in 1430 and wrote:

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[1] *Kanmon nikki* 看聞日記 vol. 3, in *Zushoryō sōkan* (Tokyo: Kunaichō Shoryōbu 宮内庁書陵部, 2002): 271-272.

[2] Considering the date, because the first *kaisho* building at Yoshinori's Muromachi Palace was built in 1432, I think that this new *kaisho* was built by Yoshinori at the Sanjōbōmon Palace. Sanjōbōmon Palace (三条坊門殿) was first built by the fourth shogun Ashikaga Yoshimochi (1386-1428, r.1394-1423) in 1409. When Yoshinori became a shogun in 1429, he initially lived in Yoshimochi's Sanjōbōmon Palace before moving to his new Muromachi Palace (室町殿) in the 12th month of 1431. The building project of the Muromachi Palace began in the 10th month of 1431 and continued to 1437. Yoshinori's Mumorachi Palace and his three *kaisho* buildings are discussed more in Chapter Three. For more about Ashikaga shogunal palaces in general, see Kawakami Mitsugu 川上貢, *Nihon chūsei jūtaku no kenkyū* 日本中世住宅の研究 (Tokyo: Bokusui Shobō 墨水書房, 1967), reissued in 2002 by Chūo Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan 中央公論美術出版. As for the detailed history of the construction process of Yoshinori's Muromachi Palace, see Kawakami Mitsugu (2002): 231-235.

…. A trip to the newly built *kaisho* was made. Every room was magnificent and all displayed objects were widely studied (viewed)….[3]

It is clear from these diary entries accounts that the interior setting of the *kaisho* at the Ashikaga shogunal palace had become a kind of 'showcase' where treasured objects were put on display. Go Sukōin and Mansai wrote of the *kaisho* (會所), a new type of architectural setting dedicated to social gatherings, ceremonies, banquets, meetings and celebrations that developed in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.[4] *Kaisho* (reception hall) interiors were decorated with appropriate paintings and objects collectively known as *kara-e* (Chinese paintings) or *karamono* (Chinese objects).[5] Go Sukōin and Mansai's descriptions of what they saw as "magnificent (*shōgon*)" and giving the impression of a "Paradise" indicate the care taken to create these interiors.

This dissertation project investigates the socio-political and socio-economic contexts of the Ashikaga collection and the associated development, function, and multifaceted meanings of formal decoration and display. By doing so, my dissertation proposes that the elaborate display

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[3] *Mansai jugō nikki,* 2. 7. 1430 (Eikyō 2)
*Mansai jugō nikki* 滿濟准后日記 in *Kyoto teikoku daigaku bunka daigaku hen* 京都帝國大學文科大學編 vol. 3 (Kyoto: Rokujō Kappan Seizōjo, 1920): 34-35. He also recorded his impression on new *kaisho* at Muromachi Palace along with his visit in 1433. "Of all the guest halls he had seen since the time of the Yoshimitsu's Kitayama Villa, none were as fine as this, and the beauty of the display of the Chinese objects was beyond words. 悉御座敷拝見驚目了. 尽善尽美. 言詞難覃. 北山殿以來多御会所等一見処. 超過先了," *Mansai jugō nikki,* 8. 15. 1433 (Eikyō 5). *Mansai jugō nikki* in *Kyoto teikoku daigaku bunka daigaku hen* 京都帝國大學文科大學編 vol. 3 (Kyoto: Rokujō Kappan Seizōjo, 1920): 663-664.
[4] *Kaisho* refers to the place (room or building) for various social gatherings and banquets in elite residences; it was usually decorated with *karamono* or *karae. Kaisho*, a reception hall or place for social gatherings, emerged as an independent building beginning with the third shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu's Muromachi Palace. More architectural features and the development of *kaisho* will be examined in Chapter Two.
[5] *Karamono* (唐物) literally means 'things Chinese,' but in Japan it refers to objects from outside of Japan in general not just those from China. Minagawa Masaki 皆川雅樹, "Karamono kenkyū to higashi ajia teki shiten 唐物研究と東アジア的視点," *Ajia yūgaku* 147 (2011): 8-20; Hada Satoshi 羽田聡, "Chūsei shiryo kenkyū to karamono 中世史料研究と唐物," *Ajia yūgaku* 134 (2010): 192-207.

of the collections was developed and formalized to connote Ashikaga authority, ascendency, and political, cultural as well as economic legitimacy in Kyoto during the Muromachi period (1333-1573).

I use 'formal display' to refer to the proper or intentional arrangement of objects in social settings.[6] Therefore, this dissertation approaches the topic through three factors: 1) the kinds of objects collected, selected, and put on display, 2) the *kaisho* where objects were displayed, and 3) the rules that governed how the objects were arranged. My goal is to critically examine the visual and textual discourses that surrounded Ashikaga architecture and collections. To this end, this dissertation shows that the Ashikaga shoguns combined Japanese court and Buddhist traditions with continental culture as a means to consolidate their own political and cultural authority.

This dissertation also argues that there was a gradual change in the meaning of formal display from an expression of political and cultural authority to a commodity related to the unstable power and economic structure after the Ōnin War (1467-1477). I examine the lives of objects, the architectural space where objects were displayed, and the relationship between the Ashikaga and their cultural advisors (*dōbōshū*) who were in charge of the objects. I analyze how the three components impacted the use of objects in new contexts following the dispersion of the collection as the Ashikaga *bakufu* declined during continuous conflicts and uprisings before and after the Ōnin War.

Therefore, this dissertation moves beyond a survey of the Ashikaga shogunal collections or palaces and critically reconsiders the following: 1) the development of interior space in medieval Japan and its relation to things and collecting; 2) the relationship between the formal

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[6] My use of 'formal display' is my translation of Japanese words "*zashiki kazari* 座敷飾り." I will discuss the problems of terms and translations later in the Introduction. (pp. 35-37)

interior display and the identity of the patron or owner; 3) the objects and collections as markers of authority; and 4) secrecy as evidenced by restricted access. This study of the objects in the shogunal collections in medieval Japan demonstrates that the meaning of display for and by the Ashikaga changed over time.


## 1.1    RESEARCH QUESTIONS


This project started with basic and simple questions and my interest in the Ashikaga shogunal art manuals with texts and illustrations. The texts inventoried objects and paintings from the Ashikaga collection and also included commentaries and instructions for their proper display and arrangement. There manuals are divided into three parts: 1) a section listing some 170 to 190 Chinese artists, along with three qualitative grades depending on the manual; 2) a section on instructions, with illustrations on how to display Ashikaga objects and paintings in the alcove, desk, and on the staggered shelves of the *kaisho*; 3) a section of commentary on objects that include lacquer ware, ceramics, and bronzes. The first question is why were art manuals made and for whom? Numerous inventories and illustrated manuscripts such as *Kundaikan sōchōki* (君臺觀左友帳記) began to be compiled in the fifteenth century by cultural advisors (*dōbōshū*) working for the Ashikaga shoguns. The fact that there are approximately 150 extant copies of these manuals leads to the next question of why the later copies were made.[7] Were the Japanese

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[7] There are approximately 150 extant Edo period (1615-1868) copies. The most comprehensive study for the manuals appears in Yano's two volume *Kundaikan sōchōki no sōgō kenkyū* in 1999. The *kenkyū hen* includes scholarly texts and the *ēin hen*, which reproduces the illustrations of various copies. Yano Tamaki has examined all of the 150 copies related to *Kundaikan sōchōki* and reproduced the illustrations of 74 different copies. By using data analysis, he classified and categorized 150 copies according to their

interested in Chinese objects and paintings, and did the idea of proper display travel with the objects and paintings from China to Japan, or did the objects and paintings hold social, political, or economic meaning specific to the Ashikaga shogun? These are all questions that this dissertation addresses.

## 1.2    PRESENT SCHOLARSHIP

Many scholars, both Japanese and Western, have examined the Ashikaga collection and *kaisho* reception halls, but few studies have approached the formal display of the collections as an ensemble and investigated the complicated underlying power and economic structure in Kyoto as it applies to this subject. My main criticism of present scholarship is that the traditional approach of isolating factors of the Ashikaga formal display, collection, and space hinders a more nuanced understanding. Accordingly, my dissertation synthesizes studies of architectural space with material culture analysis to refine our understanding of the role of material display.

Before explaining my methodology, I organize the present scholarship into three parts; Art History: Ashikaga Collection and Shogunal Art Manuals; Architectural History: Ashikaga Architecture; and *Kaisho* Formal Display.

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time period. Yano Tamaki 矢野環, *Kundaikan sōchōki no sōgō kenkyū: chabanakakō no genten Edo shoki Ryūei gyobutsu no kettei* 君台観左右帳記の総合研究: 茶華香の原点江戸初期柳営御物の決定, (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan 勉誠出版, 1999).

### 1.2.1 Ashikaga Collection and Shogunal Art Manuals

The Ashikaga shoguns are known as great collectors of a wide range of valuable Chinese objects and paintings that they placed on display for both their own enjoyment and to impress visitors to their mansions. Art historians have long been interested in the Ashikaga collection and art manuals. Early scholars focused primarily on the content, authorship, and production dates based on the detailed information and content recorded in the manuals (*Kundaikan sōchōki*, Manual of the Attendant of the Shogunal Residence) and inventories of the Ashikaga collection (*Gomotsu on-e mokuroku*).[8] From the early twentieth century, several individual manuals with either a short explanation or annotations were published.[9] Scholars then compared the slightly different contents of several copies to find the oldest format, the authenticity of each copy, and the authorship. They then established probable dates among the extant copies.

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[8] Suzuki Makoto 鈴木恂, "Okazarisho no kōsatsu 御飾書の考察," in *Kenchikushi kenkyū* 建築研究, no.33 (1963): 1-13; Nakamura Tanio 中村渓男, "Gomotsu on-e mokuroku no sensha Nōami ni kansuru ikkōsatsu," in *Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan kiyō* 東京国立博物館紀要 7 (1971): 161-193; Satō Toyozo, "Muromachi dono gyokō okazariki to zakashitsuin 室町殿行幸御飾記と雑華室印," in *Higashiyama gomotsu:"zakashitsuin"ni kansuru shin shiryō o chūshin ni* 東山御物:「雑華室印」に関する新史料を中心に (Tokyo: Nezu Bijutsukan 根津美術館 and Nagoya: Tokugawa Bijutsukan 徳川美術館, 1976): 109-124; Hayashi Samae 林左馬衞, "Kundaikan sōchōki to Okazarisho no denki 君台観左右帳記と御飾書の伝記," in *Higashiyama gomotsu* (1976): 146-159. Yano Tamaki also deals with authorship and production date issues by briefly introducing previous arguments. Yano, 1-17.

[9] Koten Hozonkai 古典保存会 edited *Kundaikan sōchōki* introducing Tohoku Library version with Yamada Yoshio (山田孝雄 1873-1958)'s short description. *Kundaikan sō chōki* 君台観左右帳記 (Tokyo: Koten Hozonkai 古典保存会, 1933). Murai Yasuhiko includes annotated translation of two records, Tohoku Library version *Kundaikan sōchōki* and *Okazarisho*. Murai Yasuhiko 村井康彦, *Chanoyu no koten* 1. *Kundaikan sōchōki. Okazarisho* 君台観左右帳記. 御飾書 (Tokyo: Sekai Bunkasha 世界文化社, 1983).

Some of this early scholarship on the Ashikaga collection has also tended to focus on the eighth shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa and his cultural role.[10] Ashikaga collection are still often referred to as the "Higashiyama collection" (*Higashiyama gomotsu*) because Ashikaga Yoshimasa was also known as Lord Higashiyama (*Higashiyama dono*).[11] Hasegawa Tōhaku (1539-1610), a famous painter in the Momoyama period, recorded in 1592 that "Lord Higashiyama owned and displayed many hundreds of paintings. They were hung all around the rooms of his palace, right up to the eaves. All of these Chinese paintings aligned in such a manner formed a magnificent spectacle indeed!"[12] Modern scholars have proved that the Ashikaga collection had been amassed well before Yoshimasa's time at the beginning of Ashikaga ascendancy (sovereignty) in the fourteenth century.[13] Recent studies that focused on trade and foreign policy have added more detailed information and context to the Ashikaga's collecting practices as well as their collections.[14]

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[10] As for Ashikaga Yoshimasa's cultural roles, see Donald Keene, *Yoshimasa and the Silver Pavilion: The Creation of the Soul of Japan* (Columbia University Press, 2003).

[11] Higashiyama is the eastern area in Kyoto where Ashikaga Yoshimasa's Higashiyama villa (present day Jishōji) was built and the collections are often referred to by Yoshimasa's name/era.

[12] The translation refers to that of Cunningham and Lippit. Michael R. Cunningham, "Unkoku Tōgan (1547-1617)'s Painting and Its Historical Setting," (PhD diss. University of Chicago, 1978): 169-281; Yukio Lippit, *Painting of the Realm: The Kano House of Painters in the 17th-Century Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012): 122-123.

[13] Kawashima Masao criticizes the term Higashiyama culture (*Higahiyama bunka*) and previous scholarship that focuses only or mainly on Yoshimasa. He points out that within the the popularity of *wabi* tea context in the Momoyama period, Yoshimasa and his collections were idealized during the Edo period. See, Kawashima Masao 川嶋将生, "Higashiyama bunka: sono gensetsu no seiritsu 東山文化：その言説の成立" in *Āto risāchi* アート・リサーチ vol.7 (2007): 89-95. Kawashima's study is also significant in that he points out that scholars invented the concept of Kitayama culture to counter Higashiyama culture. Also see footnote 17.

[14] As for the Zen temple collections of Butsunichian, subtemple of Engakuji, see Satō Hironobu 佐藤博信, "Jōji ninen-zuke Engakuji Butsunichian kumotsu mokuroku ni tsuite 貞治二年付円覚寺仏日庵公物目録について: karamono o meguru hitobito no shosō kenkyū yoreki 唐物をめぐる人々の諸相研究余瀝," *Kamakura ibun kenkyū* 鎌倉遺文研究 27 (2011): 100-107; Takahashi Noriko, "Butsunichian kumotsu mokuroku ni yomeru koto 仏日庵公物目録に読める事," in *Sōgen butsuga* 宋元仏画 (Yokohama: Kanagawa kenritsu rekishi hakubutsukan 神奈川県立歴史博物館編, 2007): 128-134; and

The 1976 exhibition at the Nezu Museum and Tokugawa Art Museum was the first

public showing of the Muromachi dono gyokō okazariki (室町殿行幸御飾記) where all of the

objects used during Emperor Go Hanazono's visit to Ashikaga Yoshinori in 1437 are listed.[15]

This exhibition held special significance for scholars because they were able to access detailed

information pertinent to architecture as well as the collection. In conjunction with the exhibition,

Satō Toyozo was the first to argue that '*zakashitsu*' is the seal name for Ashikaga Yoshinori, not

Ashikaga Yoshimasa.[16] Paintings with the seal '*zakashitsu*' began to be reexamined, and

scholarship gradually began to note the significance of Yoshinori and his collecting practices as

well as his impact on Muromachi culture in general.[17] The record provided additional detailed

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Furukawa Motoya 古川元也, "*Butsunichian kumotsu mokuroku* seiritsu ni kansuru ikkōsatsu「仏日庵公物目録」成立に関する一考察," *Kanagawa Kenritsu Hakubutsukan kenkyū hōkoku jinbun kagaku* 神奈川県立博物館研究報告 人文科学 35 (2009): 13-24. As for the Ashikaga's foreign trades or foreign policies, see Hashimoto Yū 橋本雄, *Chūka gensō: karamono to gaikō no Muromachi jidaishi* 中華幻想: 唐物と外交の室町時代史 (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan 勉誠出版, 2011).

[15] *Higashiyama gomotsu:"zakashitsuin"ni kansuru shin shiryō o chūshin ni* 東山御物:「雑華室印」に関する新史料を中心に (Tokyo: Nezu Bijutsukan 根津美術館 and Nagoya: Tokugawa Bijutsukan 徳川美術館, 1976).

[16] Before Satō's article, *zakashitsu* was believed to be Ashikaga Yoshimasa's seal and Chinese paintings with this seal have been discussed in the context of Yoshimasa's interest in Chinese paintings. For Satō's articles, see exhibition catalogue, *Higashiyama gomotsu:"zakashitsuin"ni kansuru shin shiryō o chūshin ni*, 109-135. He also published a series of four articles related to the Ashikaga collection and art manuals in *Kinko sōsho*. Satō Toyozo 佐藤豊三, "Shōgunke 'onari' ni tsuite 1 将軍家 '御成'について (一)," in *Kinko sōsho* 金鯱叢書 vol. 1 (1974): 457-470; "Shōgunke 'onari' ni tsuite 2 将軍家 '御成'について (二)," in *Kinko sōsho* 金鯱叢書 vol. 2 (1975): 463-479; "Shōgunke 'onari' ni tsuite 3 将軍家 '御成'について (三)," in *Kinko sōsho* 金鯱叢書 vol. 3 (1976): 511-536; "Shōgunke 'onari' ni tsuite 4" 将軍家 '御成'について (四)," in *Kinko sōsho* 金鯱叢書 vol. 4 (1977): 559-576.

[17] Murai Yasuhiko emphasizes the significance of Yoshinori in Muromachi culture, between Kitayama culture and Higashiyama culture. Murai Yasuhiko 村井康彦, *Ransei no sōzō : bunmei no tenkai* 乱世の創造:文明の展開 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten 角川書店, 1991). Suegara Yutaka also argues the need for an integrative approach to Muromachi culture, criticizing the separation of Kitayama and Higashiyama cultures. Kawashima Masao focuses on Yoshinori and emphasizes Yoshinori's role in Muromachi culture. Kawashima Masao 川嶋将生, *Chūsei Kyoto bunka no shūen* 中世京都文化の周縁 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan 思文閣出版, 1992). Also see footnote 15.

information on the collections and display and the specific location of Yoshinori's palace at the time of the emperor's visit; it again increased the interest of scholars' interests in the collections. In examining the Ashikaga collection, art historians, in particular, have been interested in the sections where Chinese artists are listed along with qualitative grades. Studies of the lists of Chinese artists and paintings inventoried in the manuals and extant Chinese paintings with the Ashikaga seals were used to establish either the Japanese taste for or the reception of Chinese paintings during the Muromachi period.[18] Some scholars examined the relationship between the paintings and Zen Buddhism.[19] Several scholars approached the collections by focusing on specific genres or subjects of paintings.[20] Regardless of their contribution to the Ashikaga collection and Muromachi paintings, the shortcoming of these studies is that the focus had been on paintings but ignored the remainder of the collection.

Art historians have, for the most part, examined specific painting styles or painting subjects, and this has led to an incomplete understanding of the Ashikaga collection. This was partly because a manual that contained only the names of the Chinese artists along with qualitative grades was circulated as a separate text during the Edo period.[21] It is my contention

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[18] Several scholars have conducted studies on Chinese paintings from the Ashikaga collection. See Itakura Masaaki, "Biishiki de miru higashiyama gomotsu," in *Shubi* (2014): 11-23 and Yamamoto Yasukazu, "Ashikaga Yoshimitsu jidai no zen'ami to kanjōin ni tsuite," in *Muromachi shogunke no shihō o saguru* 室町将軍家の至宝を探る (Nagoya: Tokugawa Bijutsukan 徳川美術館, 2008): 170-189.

[19] Joseph D. Parker, *Zen Buddhist Landscape Arts of Early Muromachi Japan (1336-1573)* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998). Scholars also examine a stylistic transmission of Zen paintings from China to Japan by focusing on specific artists. Zhan Bo, "Muqi: A Study of Stylistic Transmission from China to Japan," (PhD diss. Purdue Univ., 2015); Fang Hui, "Sesshū Tōyō's Selective Assimilation of Ming Chinese Painting Elements," (PhD diss. University of Oregon, 2013).

[20] Scholars used the manuals to examine specific subjects or genres of Muromachi paintings. Patrick Richard Stanley-Baker, "Mid-Muromachi Paintings of the *Eight View of Xiao and Xiang*, (PhD diss. Princeton University, 1979); Ng Yuk Lan, "Mid-Muromachi Flower and Bird Painting in Ashikaga Painting Circles," (PhD diss. University of Hong Kong, 2007); Shalmit Bejarano, "Picturing Rice Agriculture and Silk Production: Appropriation and Ideology in Early Modern Japanese Painting," (PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2010).

[21] Lippit, 123-125.

that this segmented understanding of Ashikaga collection needs to be reexamined in order to correct the approach that classifies paintings and crafts as separate categories and prioritizes painting over all other genre.

When the objects were placed on display, paintings, ceramics, and lacquerware were shown together, and the modern convention of specialists who oversaw specific parts of the collection did not exist. Our modern understanding of authorities who specialize in specific objects and who also determine if an object is typed as either a fine art or a craft is not applicable to the men who took care of the collections. Several Ashikaga exhibition catalogues clearly show this tendency. Examples include six articles in the 1976 catalogue accompanying the *Higashiyma gomotsu* exhibition. One examined and compared lists of Chinese paintings among several copies, and a second identified the seals affixed to the Chinese paintings as added by either Yoshimitsu or Yoshinori.[22] None of the articles in the catalogue included studies on ceramics or lacquerware. The catalogue accompanying the 2015 *Higashiyama gomotsu no bi* exhibition has articles written on paintings and crafts (lacquerwares and ceramics), which continue the categorization of the Ashikaga collection into separate mediums and genres.[23]

The above-mentioned studies of the Ashikaga collection have led to a better understanding of the reception of Chinese paintings and Ashikaga tastes related to Zen Buddhism in Muromachi Japan. However, they lack an integrated approach that I hope to correct in this dissertation.

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[22] *Higashiyama gomotsu* (1976): 109-134.

[23] In the catalogue, Itakura Masaaki's 板倉聖哲 and Higuchi Kazutaka's 樋口一貴 articles focus on paintings from the Higashiyama collection, and Akanuma Taka 赤沼多佳 examines lacqureware through *Kundaikan sōchōki.* See *Higashiyama gomotsu no bi: Ashikaga shōgunke no shiho* 東山御物の美: 足利将軍家の至宝 (Tokyo: Mitsui Kinen Bijutsukan 三井文庫三井記念美術館, 2014): 134-157.

**Ashikaga Collection: Famous Objects and Tea**

Some art historians have focused on the objects or crafts from the Ashikaga collection, in particular, on famous objects (*meibutsu*).[24] After the Ashikaga collection was dispersed, several objects gained popularity among tea enthusiasts who came from local warrior families, wealthy merchants, and Momoyama leaders. During that time some objects/tea utensils were elevated to the status of famous objects, and scholars have focused on them and examined how they became famous in the contexts of the tea ceremony and Edo.

Several famous objects (utensils) with Ashikaga provenance are of interest. For example, the Song Chinese Longquan celadon bowl that was repaired with metal staples, known as 'Bakōhan' (馬蝗絆), is said to have been owned by Ashikaga Yoshimasa.[25] The history of this bowl is told in an eighteenth-century document commissioned by its owner that has been kept with the bowl in its custom-made box.[26] As the document recounts, the bowl was originally presented in 1175 to Taira no Shigenori (1138-79), second in command to his father Kiyomori

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[24] Many scholars have studied famous objects (*meibutsu*) and the record on famous objects (*meibutsuki*). They have also examined tea diaries, such as *Yamanoe Sōjiki* (The Diary of Yamanoe Sōji), written by a disciple of the famous tea master Sen no Rikyū (1522-1591). Yano Tamaki, *Meibutsu chaire no monogatari: denrai ga wakaru, rekishi ga mieru* 名物茶入の物語: 伝来がわかる, 歴史がみえる (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 2008); Louis Allison Cort and Andrew M. Watsky, eds. *Chigusa and the Art of Tea* (Washington D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 2014).

[25] Longquan ware is famous for celadons, and they were favored in medieval Japan. Most of ceramics from the Sinan shipwreck are longquan ware celadons. For longquan ware celadons from the Sinan shipwreck, see Kim Yŏngmi 김영미, *Sinansŏn kwa tojagi kil* 신안선과 도자기길 (Seoul: Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwan, 2005); Kungnip Haeyang Yumul Chŏnsigwan 국립해양유물전시관, *14-segi Asia ŭi haesang kyoyŏk kwa Sinan haejŏ yumul* 14 세기 아시아의 해상교역과 신안해저유물 (Mokp'o: Kungnip Haeyang Yumul Chŏnsigwan, 2006).

[26] For a detailed history of this tea bowl, I referred to the following articles. Hasebe Gakuji, *Shōrai bijutsu (Tōgei)* 請来美術 (陶芸) (Tokyo: Shōgakkan 小学館, 1972): 6-7; Hayashima Seizō and Hasebe Gakuji, eds. *Tōyō tōji taikan* vol.1 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1976): 24; Christine Guth, *Art, Tea and Industry, Masuda Takashi and his Circle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993): 46-47. Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere discusses *karamono* with the tales of two bowls, 'Bakohan' and 'Chidori'. Nicole Coolidge Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere, "Art of Kazari" in *Kazari: Decoration and Display in Japan, 15th-19th centuries*, (New York: Japan Society, 2002): 22-24.

(1118-81), by a Chinese priest as a token of gratitude for a donation of gold to the priest's temple in Zhejiang Province, China. The bowl was broken some three hundred years later while in the collection of Yoshimasa (1436-90), who is said to have sent the bowl back to China to have a replacement made; however, wares of such high quality could no longer be produced, and no suitable replica could be provided. Instead, the bowl was mended in China and returned to Japan.[27] Bakohan was then given by Yoshimasa to his retainer and subsequently handed down in the Suminokura family, a family of powerful merchants in Kyoto. The Mitsui family, prosperous Edo-period dry goods merchants who had become one of the leading manufacturing and banking families of modern Japan, acquired the bowl after the Meiji Restoration. Mitsui Takahiro bequeathed it to the Tokyo National Museum in 1970.[28] The bowl has since been designated by the Japanese government as an Important Cultural Property.

This famous object is significant in that it records its history and relationship to the Ashikaga collection. However, such documentation of tea wares and other heirlooms is thought to have begun with the tea master Kobori Enshū (1579-1647) in the early seventeenth century.[29] Scholarship that focuses on the Edo tea context can be misleading because doing so removes the objects from the earlier Muromachi context. Kawashima Masao points out that Yoshimasa and his collections were admired during the Edo period.[30] The relationships of tea master Sen no Rikyū (1522-1591) and Murata Jukō (1423-1502) to Yoshimasa were stressed, and some objects became famous through their relation to Yoshimasa. Yukio Lippit also explains that the Ashikaga collection and the Ashikaga cultural sphere acquired an aura of mystery early in the

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[27] Hasebe, 6-7.
[28] See, Rousmaniere and Harris. Rousmaniere, 22-23; Victor Harris, *Swords of the Samurai* (London: British Museum Press, 1990): 60
[29] Rousmaniere, 22.
[30] Kawashima (2007): 89-95.

Edo period.[31] Therefore, I suggest that we approach the Ashikaga collection more carefully so that we can better understand the original context and meanings of these collected objects and paintings.

Part of the problem, I believe, is that the collection became famous only after its dispersion and, therefore, the Edo period has more information about it. Also, it is true that painting styles, subjects, artists' signatures, or patron seals lend themselves easily to examination. Objects, on the other hand, are difficult to trace because they often lack specific records or information about their creators. However, I think it is still necessary to approach the Ashikaga collection more carefully so that we can understand the original context and meaning of these collected objects and paintings. If we focus only on the Edo context, it leads to misunderstandings by focusing overly on the tea ceremony or other contexts of entertainments, and loses all of the socio-political importance of the Muromachi context.

Scholars who have been interested in the detailed content of manuals and inventories of the Ashikaga collection have not discussed the meaning of objects and collecting practices in Japan. Their focus has been on either paintings or on objects, but not on the Ashikaga shoguns' collecting practices. They have emphasized the popularity of Chinese objects and paintings in medieval Japan, but they have not discussed the meaning or implications of collecting Chinese.

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[31] Lippit, 113-115.

### 1.2.2  Ashikaga Palace Complex and *Kaisho* Reception Halls

Interior architectural settings that are illustrated or described in the manuals have been of interest to architectural historians. Japanese architectural historians have approached these sources as an aid to reconstruct the palaces and buildings that were demolished, moved, and rebuilt during and after the Ōnin War (1467-1477). [32] Written sources and extant buildings have allowed architectural historians to recreate a detailed history of Ashikaga buildings in Kyoto. Reconstructions of the Ashikaga shoguns' residences have provided locations and ground plans, as well as timelines for building projects. The interests of these architectural historians focus on understanding Ashikaga residences as a means to trace the change of style from *shinden* to *shoin* or from Japanese to Zen. [33]

Just as *shinden* and *shoin* are used to describe residential architecture as it developed from the court to the warrior style, scholars have traced the changes in religious architecture from early Japanese style (*wayo)* to later Chinese Zen style (*zenyo)*. Kawakami Mitsugu uses the term "*setchū* style (折衷)" to refer to new religious architecture in the late Kamakura and Nambokucho periods. Kawakami Mitsugu cites the Golden Pavilion at Ashikaga Yohimistu's retirement villa (Rokuonji) as an example of this style. He explains that the combination of the

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[32] Noji Shūsa 野地修左, *Nihon chūsei jūtakushi kenkyū: tokuni Tōgūdō o chūshin to shite* 日本中世住宅史研究: とくに東求堂を中心として (Tokyo: Nihon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai 日本学術振興会, 1955); Kawakami Mitsugu (2002); Saitō Hidetoshi 斎藤英俊, "Kaisho no seiritsu to sono kenchikuteki tokushoku 会所の成立とその建築的特色," in *Chadō shūkin* 茶道聚錦 2. *Cha no yu no seiritsu* 茶の湯の成立 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1984): 155-164.

[33] Many studies trace *shoin* style architecture and explain their characteristics, often termed warrior style (*buke*), but have not explained the meaning of these changes.

styles--first floor *shinden* style, second floor Japanese Buddhist style, and third floor Zen

Buddhist style--is one characteristic of *setchū* (折衷).[34]

Several studies have focused specifically on *kaisho* reception halls. Scholars who have

examined textual sources have proven that Ashikaga Yoshimitsu built his *kaisho* as an

independent building.[35] Further research on *kaisho* was impacted by the *Muromachi dono gyokō*

*okazariki* 室町殿行幸御飾記 that lists all of the objects for Emperor Go Hanazono's visit to

Ashikaga Yoshinori in 1437. Miyakami Shigetaka and Nakamura Toshinori have examined the

record and reconstructed their own probable diagram of Ashikaga Yoshinori's three *kaisho* at

Yoshinori's Muromachi palace.[36] Their reconstructed diagrams are still used and quoted by

scholars today. Thus far, the focus has been on architectural spaces or sites without taking into

account displays of objects or paintings.

Also, when *kaisho* interior settings are discussed, the interest is in identifying specific

architectural elements as precedents of the tea room or tea house, not in focusing on the objects

or paintings displayed in *kaisho* architectural settings.[37] For example, Miyakami Shigetake, as

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[34] The author focuses on the transitional period and its characteristics. Kawakami Mitsugu, "kaisho to zashiki kazari no seiritsu katei 会所と座敷飾りの成立過程," in *Nihon bijutsu zenshū* 日本美術全集 11 (Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1990): 161-167.

[35] The earliest record confirming the *kaisho* at the Muromachi palace is the entry of the 29th day of the 2nd month in 1401 in *Kyōyōki*. Kawakimi Mitsugu (2002): 210-212; Saitō Hidetoshi, "Kaisho no seiritsu to sono kenchikuteki tokushoku," in *Cha no yu no seiritsu* (Tōkyō: Shōgakkan, 1984): 155-157. Matthew Stavros recently raises an objection to the relation of the *kaisho* to Yoshimitsu. Because the date 1401 is after Yoshimitsu left the Muromachi palace to live in his retirement villa, Kitayama dono, he argues that the *kaisho* was Yoshimochi's preferred venue for all social and political activities but not Yoshimitsu's. Matthew Stavros, "Building Warrior Legitimacy in Medieval Kyoto," *East Asian History* 31 (2007): 11-12. I will further examine this in Chapter Two.

[36] Miyakami Shigetaka 宮上茂隆, "Kaisho kara chayu zashiki e 会所から茶湯座敷へ," *Chadō shūkin* 茶道聚錦 7. *Zashiki to roji* 座敷と露地 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan 小学館, 1984): 46-92; Nakamura Toshinori, *Machiya no chashitsu* 町家の茶室 (Kyoto: Tankōsha 淡交社, 1981).

[37] Several literature specialists or cultural historians have been interested on *kaisho* as a place for ceremonies (*utage* 宴). Ono Masatohi 小野正敏, Gomi Fumihiko 五味文彦, Hagihara Mitsuo 萩原三雄 eds., *Utage no chūsei: ba kawarake kenryoku* 宴の中世: 場・かわらけ・権力 (Tokyo: Koshi Shoin,

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well as Nakamura Toshinori, examined the interior setting of *kaisho* in order to find decorative precedents of later tea rooms for tea ceremonies.[38]

Recent architectural historians are interested in placing Ashikaga-sponsored buildings within the larger setting of Kyoto and city development. They have situated building projects within socio-political contexts and commented on the relationship between architecture and the politics and power structure in Kyoto. Recent studies by architectural historians have furthered our understanding of Muromachi residences by analyzing the relationship between palaces and temples. Hosokawa Taketoshi and Takahashi Shinichiro have examined warrior residences and *jisha* (temple-shrine complexes) to explain the socio-political structure of the Muromachi *bakufu*. Hosokawa analyzes the meaning of the locations of three Ashikaga shogunal palaces and their family temples (*bodaiji*). Hosokawa points out that the Muromachi *bakufu* cannot be fully understood through an examination of textual sources alone and emphasizes the spatial analysis of Ashikaga buildings and Kyoto cityscapes.[39] Matthew Stavros, largely influenced by Takahashi Shinichiro, emphasizes that the location of Ashikaga residences and their sponsored buildings was used to establish the legitimacy of the Ashikaga.[40]

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2008); Saitō Kenichi 斉藤研一, "Chūsei kaiga ni miru utage 中世絵画に見る宴," in *Utage no chūsei* (2008): 153-180; Yoshida Kan, "Utage no kukan 宴の空間" in *Utage no chūsei* (2008): 69-96.

[38] Ibid. Nakamura Toshinori and Miyakami Shigetaka's used *kaisho* in order to better understand and find precedents of later tea rooms or tea houses.

[39] Hosokawa Taketoshi 細川武稔, *Kyoto no jisha to Muromachi bakufu* 京都の寺社と室町幕府 (Tokyo: Yoshiwara kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 2010); Takahashi Shini'ichirō 高橋慎一朗, *Chūsei no toshi to bushi* 中世の都市と武士 (Tokyo: Yoshiwara kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1996).

[40] Matthew Gerald Stavros, "*Reading Ashikaga History in the Urban Landscape: Kyoto in the Early Muromachi Period, 1336-1467*," (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2005); "The Sanjō bōmon Temple-Palace complex," *Japan Review* 22, (2009): 3-18; *Kyoto: an Urban History of Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014).

### 1.2.3 *Kaisho* Display and Ashikaga Authority

Richard Stanley-Baker and Shimao Arata applied a more synthetic approach to the meanings of display in architectural settings. Baker built upon the work of architectural historians who relied on the *Muromachi dono gyokō okazariki* to reconstruct Ashikaga Yoshinori's *kaisho* reception halls at the Muromachi palace. Baker argues that elaborate display at the *kaisho* indicate the Ashikaga's cultural legitimacy.[41] Because Muqi style ink paintings were hung in the *kaisho*, he believes that referencing Zen Buddhism was a means to show the new cultural legitimacy of the Ashikaga. His argument, however, is based only on the examination of Chinese painting subjects and styles cited in the *Muromachi dono gyokō okazariki* and ignores the objects in the record. Furthermore, he did not discuss the meaning of display in Ashikaga Yoshimasa's time or after the Ōnin War.

Like Baker, Shimao Arata also asserts that elaborate *karamono* displays in *kaisho* were an expression of Ashikaga authority.[42] He also focuses on the early Muromachi period and his examples are mainly paintings. Shimao does, however, construct a diagram explaining the differences between *kara* (Chinese/outside or imported things) and *wa* (Japanese/inside things) in medieval Japan. His argument suggests that a broader and more complicated meaning of "Chinese/outside" and "Japanese/inside" should be applied to formal display. Moreover, he also

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[41] Richard Stanley-Baker, "Muromachi jidai no zashiki kazari to bunkateki shudōken 室町時代の座敷飾りと文化的主導権," *Nihon bijutsu zenshū* 日本美術全集 11 (Tokyo: Kōdansha 講談社, 1990): 168-173. He also discusses more on Ashikaga Yoshimistu's buildings and gardens. Richard Stanley-Baker, "Mystic and Sacred Gardens in Medieval Japan: Sacral Mediation in the Rokuonji and the Saihōji Gardens," in *Sacred Gardens and Landscapes: Ritual and Agency* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Trustees for Harvard University, 2007): 115-152.
[42] Shimao Arata 島尾新, "Kaisho to Karamono 會所と唐物," in *Shirīzu toshi, kenchiku, rekishi* シリーズ 都市・建築・歴史 4. *Chūsei bunka to ba* 中世の文化と場 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 2006): 123-154.

criticizes present scholarship. He points out that an integrative or synthetic approach toward built environments is needed, criticizing current scholarship that separates architectural history, art history, history, and literature.[43] He mentions that *kaisho* has been interpreted as a characteristic of Muromachi culture, but that the inter-relationships among *kaisho* interior space, displayed objects and paintings, the entire palace complex, events, and performances, audiences and patrons have not been examined. Shimao asserts that his research takes one closer step toward this synthetic approach; however, as an art historian who specializes in paintings, he admits that he has difficulty with the integrated research. I agree with his criticism on present scholarship and the need for synthetic approaches.

To summarize, the integration of formal display into the complicated world of Kyoto politics and economy has not adequately been examined in Japan or in the West. Japanese and Western scholars have addressed the Ashikaga collection and architecture, but few studies have approached the display of the collection combined with the *kaisho* as 'an ensemble' or investigated the complicated underlying power structure in Kyoto as it applies to this subject.[44] My dissertation combines studies of architectural space with material culture analysis to refine our understanding of the role of material display. My integrated analysis of the Ashikaga collection and their display within new architectural forms not only reinforces the research

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[43] Ibid., 123-124.

[44] Recent religious studies utilize an interdisciplinary approach toward sites that are viewed as more than single buildings that serve as repositories of icons, objects, and rituals. They see architecture beyond technique, style, and aesthetic value to reconstruct a physical, iconic, and ritual past. In particular, Andrew Watsky's work is methodologically meaningful. Watsky's project, focusing on Chikubushima, furthers an interdisciplinary approach. His primary subject is the main hall at Tsukubusuma Shrine on the island Chikubushima in Lake Biwa. His discussion includes the history of Chikubushima as an abode of the Benzaiten (protector goddess), Toyotomi Hideyoshi's effort to acquire power through the sacred site, and the hall architecture and its sliding door paintings, architecture carvings, and lacquer. By using the term "ensemble" to refer to both the architecture and the decorations as a whole, the author shows that physical spaces were decorated to mimic the divine realm and thereby contribute to the private salvation and public status of their patrons. Andrew Watsky, *Chikubushima: Deploying the Sacred Arts in Momoyama Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004).

already done, but gives a fuller, more nuanced picture of these developments within the context of a politically unstable Kyoto.

## 1.3    THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK, ISSUES AND APPROACHES

Recent theoretical approaches such as thing theory, new materialism, and material culture studies have enriched and sometimes revised our understanding of objects by profoundly reshaping the way that we look and think about them. Because the essential and basic elements of this integrated project are the objects, collections, displays, and identity, I explain how the methodology of this project borrows from several theoretical approaches.

### 1.3.1    Material Culture and the Lives of Things

In *The Social Life of Things,* Arjun Appadurai and various scholars from the fields of social history, cultural anthropology, and economics focus on material culture to examine how things, including various material goods that range from carpets to relics, can function in social and cultural settings, such as the tastes, trade and desires of the time or the people.[45]

Based on Appadurai's theoretical framework of the lives of things, Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello in their discussion of the painting *Still Life with an Ebony Chest* by Spanish painter Antonio de Ereda (1599?-1678?), further emphasize the importance of situating things in

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[45] Arjun Appadurai, 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value,' in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988): 4-5.

a larger global history.[46] They argue that each of the objects depicted in the painting once had its own cultural and historical trajectory, and that placing these selected objects together on a single canvas caused them to interact with one another, thereby creating another value and meaning.[47] Thus, part of this phenomenon seems to have taken place even before the objects were placed together on a single canvas. Moving beyond the lives of things in their own contexts, the authors propose that it is also important to focus on global perspectives when examining, for example, a single painting from a specific time period and region.

I borrow this theoretical framework in my examination of the imported Chinese objects and paintings in the Ashikaga collection. Since most of the Ashikaga collection was either produced in contemporary China or earlier, the objects and paintings not only have their own trajectories on the continent, but also acquired additional meanings in Muromachi Japan and within the Ashikaga collection. This framework is also useful to better understand the Ashikaga collection within a global context. Items were brought from the continent, so I have included excavations of a Sinan shipwreck in this project that provides details about trade and traded objects, and also broadens our understanding of the significance and popularity of *karamono* in medieval Japan.

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[46] Anne Gerriten and Giorgio Riello eds., *Global Lives of Things: The Material Culture of Connections in the Early Modern World* (London: Routledge, 2015).
[47] Anne Gerriten and Giorgio Riello, "The Global Lives of Things: Material Culture in the First Global Age," in *Global Lives of Things* (2015): 2-3.

## 1.3.2 The Economy of Things, Consumption of Objects, and Social Identities

Studies focusing on things have had an impact on interdisciplinary approaches to art historians such as the location of things within the economy. Craig Clunas, in his *Superfluous Things*, discusses not just things but "ways of looking at things" through their consumption in late Ming China.[48] Clunas critically examines current discourse on material culture, such as Chandra Mukerji's objects as "carriers of ideas" and Richard Goldthwaite's concept of an "empire of things" in Renaissance Florence, in order to understand new patterns of consumption.[49] One point that Clunas makes is that most of the theoretical work concerning consumption is based on European and American traditions. His detailed examination of how the Ming elites chose clothing and furniture allows him to argue that their decisions are related to their legitimacy. His research is critical in that he calls for more attention to the material culture from Chinese specialists and a more interdisciplinary approach to material culture that combines economic aspects with consumption.

In his book *Sensuous Surfaces: The Decorative Object in Early Modern China,* Jonathan Hay expands this perspective and explores materials, techniques, and issues of patronage and taste, which together "formed a loose system of informal rules that affected every level of decoration in early modern China" from an individual object to the arrangement of an entire

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[48] Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (University of Illinois Press, 1991): 1-3.
[49] Chandra Mukerji, *From Graven Images: Patterns of Modern Materialism*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983): 15-16; Richard Goldthwaite, "The Empire of Things: Consumer Demand in Renaissance Italy," in *Patronage, Art and Society in Renaissance Italy* edited by F.W. Kent and Patricia Simons (Canberra: Humanities Research Centre Australia and New York: Oxford University Press, 1987): 153-176.

residential interior.[50] Luxury decoration included a vast range of objects and practices, but his interest is specifically in what the great seventeenth-century playwright, novelist, and taste-maker Li Yu called *wanhao zhi wu*, ('pleasurable things') within the context of elite residential interiors. According to Hay, Li Yu's concept of 'pleasurable things' is equivalent to the modern Western idea of secular decorative arts and encompasses all the individual elements of interior decoration. Although the studies of both Clunas and Hay examine the Chinese early modern period from the late sixteenth through the mid-nineteenth century, they are crucial because they have created a theoretical framework that calls for a deeper understanding of the East Asian interest in objects and decoration. Also, Jonathan Hay's research is useful to my research in that he defines decoration as objects that exist within interior settings and includes a range of objects from ceramics to clothing patterns. Both studies are probably most applicable to the Edo period in Japan; however, I believe that the medieval Japanese Muromachi period also fits within the same economic focus because the Ashikaga opened up and played a significant role in establishing trade with the continent.

Recently, Japanese historians have studied *karamono* as a major economic source in medieval Japan. Sakurai Eiji, a medieval historian who has emphasized both the economic aspects and roles of shogunal collections within the economy of the Muromachi *bakufu*, points out that the Ashikaga collection also had monetary value.[51] The medieval economy was a combination of both gifts (exchanged) and cash. *Karamono* proved an effective medium through which to convert one to the other on different occasion, and in this regard, the Ashikaga

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[50] Jonathan Hay, *Sensuous Surfaces: The Decorative Objects in Early Modern China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010): 7-15.

[51] Sakurai Eiji 桜井英治, "Gomotsu no keizai: Muromachi bakufu zaisei ni okeru zōyo to shōgyō 御物の経済：室町幕府財政における贈与と商業," in *Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan kenkyū hōkoku* 国立歴史民俗博物館研究報告, vol.92 (2002): 113-130.

collection played an important role in setting a standard for an otherwise inherently unstable exchange value.

Historian Seki Shuichi has carried out comprehensive and detailed research on the use of imported objects in medieval Kyoto.[52] He has divided imports into four categories according to function: 1) as part of their use in both official and religious rituals and ceremonies; 2) as offerings in Buddhist rituals or memorial services; 3) as gifts from emperors to retired emperors and shoguns; and 4) as gifts to emperors and shoguns. Although these scholars are historians and their focus are more on the meanings and roles of imported objects in general, their scholarship has led to a better understanding of the economy in the Muromachi period and helped me to comprehend the economic context of the Ashikaga collection.

### 1.3.3 Collection, Practice of Collecting, Display, Power and Identity

Scholarship that explains how, why, and where collections were assembled has gone far in recognizing the explicit and implicit value judgments made about things when objects and paintings are situated within collections. With a few notable exceptions, however, the emphasis in much of this work has been on the European context of private collectors and museum collections.

Patricia Ebery argues that collecting and writing about books, art, and antiquities in Song times became an arena in which the educated elite and the emperor subtly competed for cultural

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[52] Seki Shūichi 関周一, *Chūsei no karamono to denrai gijutsu* 中世の唐物と伝来技術 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 2015); Seki Shūichi 関周一, "Karamono no ryūtsū to shōhi 唐物の流通と消費," *Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan kenkyū hōkoku* 国立歴史民俗博物館研究報告, v. 92 (Feb. 2002): 87-111.

leadership.[53] The author clearly mentions in the introduction that, since she is a historian and not an art historian, the book focuses primarily on the meaning of imperial collections and collecting practices, not on the objects, paintings, or books that were favored or collected. However, her work is pertinent in that she proposes that the collecting practices of Huizong and the elite were a competition to control cultural leadership. Ebery's discussion on Huizong is also relevant to Japanese examples because the Ashikaga shoguns were sometimes compared to Huizong and the Ashikaga collection is known to include some of Huizong's works.

Craig Clunas analyzes the relationship between possessions and identities in his examination of Chinese art collections at the Victoria and Albert Museum. Borrowing several Western theories on politics of possessions, he argues that possessions can be "seen as constitutive of identity within dominant discourses of political and moral economy."[54] Clunas takes his examples from the Chinese collections in the modern European museum, but I think that his discussion can be modified for the Ashikaga shoguns large collection of Chinese objects and paintings in medieval Japan; both the European and Ashikaga collections share the idea of formulating collections of foreign and antique items. The idea that objects and paintings are assigned a meaning that can be interpreted in specific ways by groups and related to their identities at different times constitutes one of the underlying concepts of this dissertation.

Display is also related to the identity of the group. In the West and in contemporary contexts, some studies have suggested the importance of residences in understanding art and culture. For example, David Halle, in his examination of interior display within contemporary American residences from four areas in the New York region, proposes the house as the

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[53] Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *Accumulating Culture: The Collections of Emperor Huizong* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008).
[54] Craig Clunas, "Oriental Antiquities/Far Eastern Art," *Positions* 2:22 (Fall 1994): 319-322.

container of art and culture.[55] He states: "The absence of an understanding of the meaning of art and cultural items in the audience's own terrain—the house and its surroundings—has led to a tendency to deduce the meanings that these items must have for the audience."[56]

In the modern museum context, there has been much discussion on how museum settings add meaning to art.[57] That is, when the museum staff decides which items to purchase and which to display, then the museum space becomes the new context. This, in turn, impacts the value and fame of the works and the artists. Once the works are displayed in the museum, the art and its artists gain another sort of value relative to the power or identity associated with the museum's name such as MOMA or Guggenheim.

Contemporary residential audiences and famous museums have cultural and historical contexts that differ from those of medieval Japan but are still useful in providing a way to approach the display of the Ashikaga collection. Palaces from the Muromachi period can be understood as being equivalent to exhibition spaces at museums in the contemporary art world.

Paintings and objects in the Ashikaga collection, which were mostly imported from the continent, have cultural, religious, and economic importance. For example, some ink paintings by Chinese priests were favored in Japanese Zen monasteries, Longquan celadon ware was used and favored both in tea gatherings and in religious offerings, red carved lacqureware was used as incense cases in literary gatherings and for religious offerings. Although the identical objects and

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[55] David Halle, *Inside Culture: Art and Class in the American Home* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993).
[56] Ibid., 5.
[57] These scholars have critically examined the role the museum has played in deciding the value of art: Michel Foucault, "Fantasia of the Library," in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice* (Cornell University Press, 1977): 87-109; P. DiMaggio, "Cultural Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth-Century Boston: the Classification and Framing of American Art," *Media, Culture and Society* 4 (1987): 302-322; Carol Duncan and Alan Wallach, "The Museum of Modern Art as Late Capitalist Ritual: An Iconographic Analysis," *Marxist Perspectives* (Winter 1978): 28-51; Reesa Greenberg, Bruce W. Ferguson, and Sandy Nairne eds., *Thinking about Exhibitions* (New York: Routledge, 1996).

paintings were used in both religious as well as secular settings, once they were displayed in *kaisho* at Ashikaga palaces, authoritative economic and social values were layered onto them.

Another reason why I focus on formal display is because these objects and paintings were displayed with special care, not only for practical reasons. *Dōbō* (cultural attendants) from the Muromachi period can be understood as being equivalent to curators in the contemporary art world. Curators manage museum collections, organize and curate special and regular exhibitions, make decisions about additions to the collection, and evaluate donated objects. *Dōbō* had similar roles in their relationship with the Ashikaga shoguns and their collections. In the case of the Ashikaga, museum space for the exhibition was the *kaisho* at their palaces, and *dōbō* made decisions about what to display at private gatherings and at both daily and special events.

This concept of display for power in the Japanese residential context is often noted as it pertains to Tokugawa shoguns and their residences. For example, Karen Gerhart discusses the multi-layered meaning and function of public architecture and the pine tree decorations at Nijō Castle in the early Tokugawa period.[58] She focuses on the work of the painting workshop under the direction of the official Tokugawa artist Kano Tan'yū and questions why a pine tree motif was chosen to decorate an entire structure. Based on her examination of both art and architecture at the Ninomaru Castle by Tokugawa Iemitsu, she suggests that visual images were codes to legitimize his rule by disseminating political messages and constructing a highly cultured Tokugawa image. Gerhart also discusses the meaning of the Yōmeimon and its sculptural decorations in the larger political context of the Tokugawa period.[59] The author indicates that present studies ignore the socio-political context, and focus only on the technical and physical

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[58] Karen M. Gerhart, "Pine Trees as Political Iconography at Nijō Castle," in *The Eyes of Power: Art and Early Tokugawa Authority* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999): 1-34.
[59] Karen M. Gerhart, "Nikkō's Yōmeimon: Sculpture and Sacred Landscape," in *The Eyes of Power: Art and Early Tokugawa Authority,* 73-16.

features of Nikkō. Gerhart suggests that Chinese inspired iconography of the twenty-two carved images at the Yōmeimon reflected Tokugawa Iemitsu's political message, and confirmed and justified the Tokugawa government.

Ornamentation of residential settings within a socio-political context and power and identity issues are often connected with the Tokugawa in early modern Japan, but the same concepts have not been applied to medieval Japan. Ashikaga residences and their intentional display and visual ornamentation also should be investigated through an interdisciplinary approach.

## 1.4    METHODOLOGY

**Formal Display within Architectural Settings: Ensemble**

My dissertation applies an interdisciplinary approach toward spaces, buildings, and sites that encompasses religious, socio-political, and economic studies. Recent studies on Japanese religious sites done in North America clearly show an interdisciplinary approach that identifies sites as repositories of icons, objects, and rituals. They perceive architecture beyond the frame of technique, style, and aesthetic value to reconstruct a physical, iconic, and ritual past. Moreover, these studies have conceived of religious institutions not as enclosed cultural products but more as living sites with larger social and cultural aspects.[60] I apply these concepts to medieval elite residential architecture, which I approach not only as residences but also as repositories of icons,

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[60] Representative works are Watsky, ibid; Gregory Levine, *Daitokuji: The Visual Cultures of a Zen Monastery* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005). See also footnote 44.

objects, paintings, and rituals that clearly connote the Ashikaga shogunate's authority, legitimacy, and status in Kyoto.

### *Kazari,* **Decoration, Ornamentation, Display**

I frame my approach through the concept of *kazari.* Tsuji Nobuo argues that the complex and layered meaning of *kazari* (defined as either 'decoration and display' or the 'act of decorating or displaying') is the correct basis on which to approach Japanese culture.[61] Tsuji's assertion has received little attention within the academic community. Rather than *kazari* being understood as a valid and encompassing academic framework, numerous individual case studies of architecture, crafts, and gardening – all of which could be included in *kazari* – have been narrowly focused on the artifacts themselves. Although it is meaningful to use ornamentation or decoration as a framework in the Japanese context, Tsuji's assertion, based on Alois Reigl's work on ornamentation, is a means of emphasizing 'Japanese-ness.'

A significant exhibition, "Kazari: Decoration and Display in Japan," was held in 2002 at the Japan Society, New York. In the exhibition catalogue, Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere further explains that the term *kazari* refers not just to the actual object and the decoration on it, but also to the use of that object and its transformation into something special or extraordinary.[62] Rousmaniere's and other scholars' essays, which all used case studies from the fifteenth through nineteenth centuries, pursue a number of avenues of enquiry that explore the implications of the term *kazar*i for artistic production in Japan.

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[61] Tsuji Nobuo. "Ornament (*Kazari*): An Approach to Japanese Culture," *Archives of Asian Art* 47 (1994): 35-45. His definition is based on Alois Reigl's work on ornament, in which Reigl employs the term *kunstwollen*, emphasizing the will of the artist over nature and the material.
[62] Rousmaniere, 20-21.

*Kazari* in medieval Japan has a more varied, complicated, and nuanced context. I expand Tsuji's and Rousmaniere's concepts of *kazari* in my analysis of formal displays (*zashiki kazari*) in medieval Japan to include collections of objects and paintings, as well as their uses in official meetings, rituals, ceremonies, and social gatherings.

Therefore, my analysis of formal display in interior space, based on the concept of *kazari,* moves beyond arguing that stylistic changes simply reflect the political framework in the Muromachi period. Rather, it reconsiders the meaning of 'decoration' and 'display' in medieval Japan and asserts that a 'place' (*kaisho*) where extensive collections were housed and displayed was a highly developed multifaceted concept.

### Terminology: Problems of Translation

The term "formal display" is my translation of the Japanese term '*zashiki kazari*' and encompasses the related Japanese terms *shitsurei* (室礼) and *shōgon* (*sōgon*) (荘厳). I use this term "formal display" in my dissertation to distinguish it from "interior decoration" and to refer to the proper arrangements of objects and paintings during events. Therefore, formal display is not simply about decorating interior spaces with beautiful or luxurious items, but rather it is more concerned with the arrangement, the use of the room, the event, and the attendees.

When we consider contemporary residential settings, the terms formal display, formal decoration, interior decoration, and interior display, are not problematic and can be used interchangeably; however, in the premodern Japanese context, these terms became complicated because *shōgon* (*sōgon*)*, sōshoku* (装飾)*, kazari* (飾り)*, zashiki kazari*, and *shitsurei* could all be

used in reference to interior display.[63] Their usages were nuanced, though, and varied from context to context. Tamamushi Satoko critically examines the concept of 'decoration' in early modern Japan and explains that the Japanese use the term *sōshoku* rather than *kazari* when discussing the Western concept of decoration.[64] As she observes, the concept of decoration did not exist in medieval Japan, and instead, several terms were used to describe ornamentation and embellishment, depending on the context.

To understand the use of these terms and their different contexts in medieval Japan, I briefly explain each of these terms. First of all, *zashiki kazari* (座敷飾り) is often translated as meaning the decoration of a reception hall. This term appears several times in *Kanmon nikki,* usually in the context of poetry gatherings for a *tanabata* ceremony and involves preparing the arrangement of setting up painted folding screens, hanging scroll paintings in the alcove or on the wall, and displaying flower vases or other bronze objects.[65]

In medieval Japan, *zashiki kazari* (座敷飾り) and *shitsurei* (室礼) seem to be used interchangeably. *Shitsurei* (室礼) literally means "house/room rules." In my examination of medieval textual sources, I found that it often refers to the elite residences used for special events or gatherings. For example, in *Kanmon nikki*, the term *shitsurei* is used when describing the preparation of paintings, objects, and screens for poetry gatherings, ceremonies, or rituals.

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[63] Also, to make matters even more complex, *shōgon* (*sōgon*), *sōshoku, kazari* and *zashiki kazari* were used in early modern Japan, but medieval texts only use *shōgon* (*sōgon*), *kazari, zashiki kazari* and *shitsurei.*

[64] Tamamushi Satoko has researched the concept of 'decoration' in early modern Japan (late Edo period) through eighteenth-century diaries and nineteenth-century dictionaries. With her critical examination of the concept of 'decoration' in early modern Japan, she discusses when and how Japanese art began to be described as 'decorative' in Western European languages and when *sōshoku* (decoration) rather than *kazari* was used in Japan. Although she focuses her examination more on the modern concept of 'decoration' and equivalent Japanese terms and usages in the late Edo period, she does provide contexts and examples of the use of each term in the Lord Yanagisawa's diary. Tamamushi Satoko, "Concepts of 'Decoration' in Early Modern Japan," in *Kazari* (2002): 74-85.

[65] See pages 80-81 of Chapter Two for my detailed examination of the diary entries.

*Shōgon* (荘厳), which literally means magnificent or impressive, tends to be used in religious contexts. Scholars explain that it appears in the preface to the Lotus Sutra explaining the splendor and beauty of the realm of the Buddha.[66] Medieval Japanese texts also primarily use this term when describing the decoration of the Buddhist hall or to refer specific objects, such as Buddhist images, canopies, or banners used to decorate the Buddhist hall. Here, I want to point out that in my examination of medieval Japanese texts, *shōgon* is also used to describe the Ashikaga *kaisho* display. In recording their impressions of visiting the Ashikaga shogun's new *kaisho*, both Mansai and Sadafusa's used this term to emphasize the magnificence of the display.[67] That is, although the space setting was not Buddhist, this term could be used to emphasize its magnificent or impressive features.

I am not arguing that the term "formal display" should replace "decoration"; however, I want to emphasize that we need to be more careful when describing medieval interior display and decoration. This distinction will help us to better explain the period, contexts, and nuances of religious and secular settings of interior display and how they impacted each other.

**Sources: war tales, diaries, manuals, inventories, excavations, and illustrations**

My interdisciplinary approach encompasses religious, socio-political, and economic studies to analyze the collected objects and paintings and the spaces in which they were displayed. My historical methodology is a comparative study utilizing primary texts in combination with visual analyses. I make use of both visual and textual sources, a maritime excavation, illustrated handscrolls, diaries of courtiers and monks, temple documents, inventory

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[66] Tamamushi Satoko, 78.
[67] See pages 1-3 of the Introduction.

of the collection, shogunal art manuals, and extant buildings from the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries to analyze the meaning and significance of formal decoration and display. I show that the collection and special care taken when arranging objects in new architectural settings were intended to clearly signify to the audience the Ashikaga's authority, legitimacy, and status. Also, I place the Ashikaga collection in a broader East Asian context by situating it within the increased economic growth that resulted from expanded trade in East Asia and the new socio-political relationship between Japan and the Ming (1368-1644) and Joseon (1392-1897) Dynasties.

**Medieval Illustrated Handscrolls**

There has been controversy among scholars as to how reliable the views of daily lives, specific events, rituals, and buildings are in illustrated handscrolls or screen paintings. [68] Historians who rely on texts criticize using only illustrated handscrolls to examine a specific time period, ritual, or event. However, buildings and sites depicted in paintings have been recognized as significant primary sources in the study of architectural history. [69] Because few remaining residences exist from the medieval era in Japan, illustrated handscrolls that contain both interior

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[68] For example, Fuji Keisuke's article raises this fundamental and specific question for architectural historians: "Can architectural information depicted in paintings be reliable?" Through his analysis of the temples and shrines shown in the *Ippen shōnin e den*, the author argues that the artist used several types of temple and shrine buildings in the scrolls. Fuji Keisuke 藤井惠介, "Emakimono no kenchikuzuha sinrai dekiruka 絵巻物の建築図は信頼できるか," in *Emakimono no kenchiku o yomu* 絵巻物の建築を読む (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai 東京大学出版会, 1996): 203-228.

[69] Ōta Hirotaro 太田博太郎, *Nihon jūtakushi no kenkyū* 日本住宅史の研究 (Tokyo: Iwamani Shoten 岩波書店, 1984); Ōta Hirotaro 太田博太郎, *Nihon kenchikushi josetsu* 日本建築史序説 (Tokyo: Shōkokusha 彰国社) 1989; Nihon kenchiku gakkai 日本建築学会 ed., *Nihon kenchikushi zushū* 日本建築史図集 (Tokyo: Shōkokusha 彰国社, 1980).

and exterior views of various buildings have been used for research on residential architecture.[70]

Scholars today tend to rely on these sources, and it is now common to use both texts and images.[71]

In my dissertation, I also use several illustrated handscrolls for my examination of the development of formal display and *shoin* elements. In Chapter Two, in particular, I use several illustrated handscrolls to examine precedents for Ashikaga formal display. Much of my evidence come from *Boki ekotoba* (Illustrated Biography of Priest Kakunyo, 14th c.), *Haizumi monogatari emaki* (Illustrated Tale of Haizumi, 15th c.), *Sairei soshi* (Tales of Festivals and Observances, mid-15th c.), *Fukutomi sōshi* (Illustrated Tale of Fukutomi, early 15th c.)—all handscrolls that include interior settings with *shoin* elements. I also utilize two fifteenth century court diaries, *Kanmon nikki* and *Sanetaka-kōki*, to prove that the visual sources are credible reflections of the time period, place, or event,

I use primary texts combined with visual analysis to understand the precedents and development of interior space, and I rely on illustrated handscrolls, as well as monks and aristocrats' diaries to trace the precursors of *shoin*-style architecture and their function as places for display. I also examine shogunal art manuals, such as the *Kundaikan sōchōki* (君臺觀左友帳

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[70] Journal articles from the Japanese Architectural Society (Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai) from the 1960s to the 80s reveal a variety of subjects such as the examination of buildings, gates and interiors depicted in certain illustrated handscrolls (*emaki*). Journal articles, such as "Roof types depicted in *Boki ekobota*" and "Residential architecture found in *Ippen shōnin eden,*" consist of detailed information from exterior building characteristics to roof forms and types and intricate decorations of gates. Illustrated handscrolls have been used mainly as complementary material to speculate on medieval buildings that no longer exist. Kawamoto Shigeo based his discussion on aristocratic residential architecture on illustrated handscrolls. With his visual analysis of residences depicted in *Nenjū gyōji emaki*, the author shows how the *shinden* style was established and what components it included. Koizumi also provides reconstructed drawings of *shinden*-style architecture. Kawamoto Shigeo 川本重雄, "Shiden jūtaku 寝殿住宅," in *Emakimono no kenchiku o yomu* (1996): 3-28.

[71] Gomi Fumihiko 五味文彦, *Emaki de yomu chūsei* 絵卷で読む中世 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房, 1994); Karen M. Gerhart, *The Material Culture of Death in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009).

記), in order to understand how architectural decor in the Muromachi period was related to Zen temples, abbots' living quarters, and imperial palaces. By examining each setting and how it functioned, I can offer possible answers for how and why formal decoration and display came to be established within courtier, religious, and ritual contexts. I also incorporate my visual and textual analyses into a theoretical discourse on secrecy to trace how the meaning of both art manuals and collections shifted from their earlier association with political authority to their eventually becoming a commodity.

## 1.5    OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

This dissertation consists of five chapters, including an introduction and conclusion, each of which approaches the formal display in medieval Japan but takes a different perspective.

**Chapter Two. Development of Formal Display: Tracing the Development and Analyzing the Precedents of Formal Display through Written and Visual Sources from the Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries**

Chapter Two traces the development of decorative and organized formal display in Ashikaga residences to identify where and how the idea of display originated. I examine the contexts, backgrounds, and precedents of display during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries through written and visual sources. In my examination of its precedents, I investigate the objects (*karamono*) and paintings that comprised the Ashikaga collection, analyze where they were displayed, and examine the rules governing their display. Through the critical and comparative

examination of both written and visual sources, I show how Buddhist and court traditions worked in concert to impact the development of formal display at Ashikaga residences.

The fact that Chinese paintings and objects were actively imported from China and circulated among the elites is documented in materials recovered from the Sinan shipwreck and in sources such as *Butsunichi-an kōmotsu mokuroku, Hanazono tennō shinki, Entairyaku*, and *Boki-ekotoba*. By examining the precedents and development of formal decoration and display in medieval Japan, this chapter shows that the development of display was impacted by both courtly and Buddhist traditions as well as continental culture. Also, it provides background for subsequent chapters.

**Chapter Three. Politics of Display: Socio-political Meaning of Formal Display through Imperial Visits to Ashikaga Shoguns**

Chapter Three explores the socio-political meaning of formal display through the imperial visit to the Ashikaga shogun, one of the most important events in medieval Japan. The chapter, in particular, focuses on the elaborate formal display during the visit of Emperor Go-Hanazono (後花園天皇 1419-1471, r.1428-1464) to the Muromachi palace of Ashikaga Yoshinori (義教 1394-1441, r.1429-1441) as described in *Muromachi dono gyōkō okazariki*. A thorough examination of this record in conjunction with the socio-political meaning of imperial visits to the shogun enables me to reconstruct of the interiors of Yoshinori's Muromachi palace as well as explores the performative aspects of the formal display in medieval Japan. Information from the previous chapter, combined with a comprehensive analysis of visual and written primary sources from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, shows that formal display was an

integration of Buddhist and court traditions and played a pivotal role in the development and consolidation of Ashikaga legitimacy and ascendancy in fifteenth century Kyoto.

**Chapter Four. From Authority to Commodity: Socio-economic Meaning of Formal Display in *Kundaikan sōchōki***

Chapter Four discusses the socio-economic meaning of formal display by focusing on a broad category of documents called *Kundaikan sōchōki*. The first part investigates the content and organization of several representative examples, including the oldest copies of the texts, and explores possible reasons for the initial production of such documents. The second part deals with the question of why so many copies were made, identifies the factors that caused changes in the production of the illustrated manuals, and examines the various roles of *dōbōshū* who were employed by the shogun. The numerous extant copies, I believe, were produced during the Warring States period (Sengoku Period, 1467-1573) after the Ōnin War (1467-1477) and are related to the fall of the Ashikaga as well as the *dōbōshū's* loss of financial support. Also, borrowing from secrecy theory, I show how later copies produced during the Warring States Period, unlike earlier ones, emphasize as *hisho* (secret text) and prove that the value of formal display (*zashiki kazari*) changed from being an indication of authority to an economic commodity. My focus on a broader context that places the production of manuals within socio-economic changes rather than on the detailed contents of each text provides a more nuanced understanding of formal display in the late Muromachi period.

**Chapter Five. Epilogue: The Spread of Formal Display**

Chapter Five discusses the spread of formal display through shogunal visits to other elites (*onari*). In particular, it considers if *onari* is related to the production of manuals in the late Muroamachi period and discusses how rules of display that were based on Ashikaga authority circulated among new patrons. Also, to conclude, the chapter discuss directions for further research.

**2.0 DEVELOPMENT OF FORMAL DISPLAY: TRACING THE DEVELOPMENT AND ANALYZING THE PRECEDENTS OF FORMAL DISPLAY THROUGH WRITTEN AND VISUAL SOURCES FROM THE THIRTEENTH TO FIFTEENTH CENTURIES**

**2.1 INTRODUCTION**

The end of the Kamakura period (1185-1333) saw the growth of private land holdings in the provinces and the establishment of groups of disenfranchised warriors that gradually eroded the centralized authority of the aristocratic government in Kyoto. Although an uneasy balance of power continued between the court in Kyoto and the warrior class located at Kamakura, it was not until the end of the fourteenth century that the balance of power shifted decisively toward the military. The overthrow of the Kamakura shogunate by a coalition of disaffected warriors and aristocrats under the leadership of the Ashikaga family saw the destruction of the city of Kamakura and the establishment of the new Ashikaga warrior government in Kyoto, ushering in the Muromachi period (1333-1573).

During this period of unrest, elite residential architecture underwent a drastic transformation from the traditional palace style (*shinden*) to a newer Zen-inspired style (*shoin*). Art and architectural historians have long understood and discussed these architectural changes as having been the reflection of the tastes of the newly emerging military rulers, but few studies

have examined the social, political, economic, and cultural implications of the new style.[72] The focus has been on describing the shift from court to warrior style but ignored the implications and contexts of the change. Without careful examination of transitional stages within the socio-political context, *shoin* style architecture has been associated with medieval warriors and is sometimes referred to as warrior-style.[73] This has led to the conclusion that the Ashikaga were the sole force behind adaptation of *shoin* style, denying earlier court traditions.

Moreover, scholars have not attempted an interdisciplinary approach that relates sites and individual buildings and their interiors to the display of objects used during specific events. Prior scholarship has also overlooked three types of primary documents: 1) illustrated manuscripts, such as *Kundaikan sōchōki* or *Okazarisho* (late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries), which detail the proper display and arrangement of the Ashikaga shoguns' collections in their new palaces, 2) illustrated medieval handscrolls where interior views of abbots' quarters or elites villas include paintings and other objects, and 3) courtier and priest diaries that include detailed descriptions of interior displays. These documents are vital to this topic because they provide contexts that confirm that formal decorations and display in medieval Japan held meaning far beyond their aesthetic qualities.

I believe that the new architectural style was closely related to the development of formal display in Ashikaga residences and that shoguns played a significant role in formulating and

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[72] For representative works of *shoin* style architecture, see Fumio Hashimoto, ed., *Shoin zukuri* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1972); Fumio Hashimoto, *Architecture in the Shoin Style: Japanese Feudal Residences* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1981); Teiji Itō with Paul Novograd, "The Development of Shoin style Architecture," in *Japan in the Mromachi Age*, eds., John W. Hall and Toyoda Takeshi (University of California Press, 1977); Nishi Kazuo and Hozumi Kazuo, *What is Japanese Architecture? A Survey of Traditional Japanese Architecture* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1985).

[73] Matthew Stavros explains that the Ashikaga palace complex was comprised of both *shinden* and *shoin* style buildings. He criticizes previous understanding of *shoin* style as warrior style architecture as anachronistic. Matthew Stavros, "Building Warrior Legitimacy in Medieval Kyoto," *East Asian History*, (2006): 1-28. I will discuss more on this *shoin* style and problems regarding this style later in this chapter.

disseminating these displays. A new type of setting for social gatherings at Ashikaga shogunal residences developed in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries when ceremonies, banquets, meetings and celebrations were held in *kaisho* (會所). [74] *Kaisho* interiors were decorated with appropriate paintings and objects known collectively as either *kara-e* (Chinese paintings) or *karamono* (Chinese objects). [75] Therefore, it is important to understand that the process of architectural stylistic changes also involves formal displays within the interior settings.

In this chapter, I will trace the development of decorative formal display in Ashikaga residences. Identifying where and how the idea of display originated and developed are fundamental to any discussion of the meaning of these displays. I will discuss the kinds and origins of objects and how they were displayed. I will also consider if the idea of formal display originated with the shoguns or if they imitated established models.

To accomplish this, I will examine the contexts, backgrounds, and precedents of display during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries through written and visual sources. In my examination of precedents, I will investigate the objects that comprised the Ashikaga collection, analyze where they were displayed, and examine rules that governed their display. With the critical and comparative examination of both written and visual sources, I will show that Buddhist and court traditions worked in concert to impact the development of formal display at Ashikaga residences.

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[74] *Kaisho*, a reception hall or place for social gatherings, emerged as an independent building beginning with the 3rd shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu's Muromachi palace. For the use of *kaisho* in Ashikaga palaces, see Kawakimi Mitsugu, 210-254. See also footnote 35 in the Introduction.

[75] *Karamono* literally means "things Chinese." In Japan it refers the objects from outside of Japan in general, not just from China. *Kaisho* (會所) is the place (both room or building) for various social gatherings or banquets in elite residences and it usually decorated with *karamono* or *karae*. Shimao Arata, "Kaisho to Karamono 會所と唐物," in *Shirīzu toshi, kenchiku, rekishi* シリーズ 都市・建築・歴史 4. *Chūsei bunka to ba* 中世の文化と場 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 2006): 123-154.

In my discussion, I will utilize a maritime excavation as well as both written and visual sources from the late thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries to discuss the objects, clarify where they were placed, and identify rules of display. Because there are so few extant buildings from medieval Japan, it is difficult to trace the development of specific buildings in elite residences or temples, and so we must turn to written and visual sources. Excavated material from the Sinan shipwreck and sources such as *Butsunichi-an kumotsu mokuroku* (14th c)*, Hanazono tennō shinki* (14th c)*, Entairyaku* (14th c), and *Boki-ekotoba* (14th c) show that Chinese paintings and objects were used and circulated among elites and also suggests that the origin of formal display derived from a Buddhist setting that then was transformed into a secular context by warriors and court members.

By examining the precedents and development of formal decoration and display in medieval Japan, this chapter will show that both courtly and Buddhist traditions, along with continental culture, impacted the development of display. Also, it will provide background for better understanding the socio-political and socio-economic meanings of formal display. In following chapters, it will be shown that the Ashikaga shoguns skillfully manipulated traditions and continental culture in order to consolidate their own political and cultural authority in their new capital at Kyoto.

**Difficulties in tracing the architecture and problematic terms**

*Kaisho*, a reception hall or place for social gatherings, emerged as an independent building beginning with the third shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu's Muromachi palace. Because there are no extant buildings from the early Muromachi period and limited written sources reference Ashikaga palaces, it is hard to clarify the development of the *kaisho*. *Kaisho* at

Ashikaga palaces are understood as having been connected to *shoin* style architecture, although there is no clear evidence that palace *kaisho* had *shoin* elements before Ashikaga Yoshimasa's retirement villa in Higashiyama, present day, Jishōji.[76]

The *shoin* style had evolved by Yoshimasa's time but the term "*shoin* style" (*shoin zukuri*) was not in use until the Edo period. Ashikaga shogunal palaces were composed of both *shinden* and *shoin* elements so care needs to be taken when using the terms. Tracing the development and precedents of both the formal display and the architectural elements will add a more nuanced understanding of the newer *shoin* style.

## 2.2 PRECEDENTS OF FORMAL DISPLAY

### 2.2.1 Significance of *Karamono* in Medieval Japan: Collecting Chinese

The first and essential components in the development formal display are the objects (*karamono*) and the development of the popularity of collecting Chinese objects and paintings. Banquets, ceremonies, and official and private meetings were held among the warrior and courtier elites in the *kaisho* that were richly decorated with *karamono* brought into Japan through trade with Song and Yuan China, Goryeo (Koryŏ) and Joseon (Chosŏn) Korea, and Southeast

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[76] Architectural historians have focused on the importance of the *kaisho*. For representative works of *kaisho*, see Miyakami Shigetaka 宮上茂隆, "Kaisho kara chayu zashiki e 会所から茶湯座敷へ," *Chadō shūkin* 茶道聚錦 7. *Zashiki to roji* 座敷と露地 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan 小学館, 1984): 46-92; Kawakami Mitsugu, "Kaisho to zashiki kazari no seiritsu katei 会所と座敷飾りの成立過程," in *Nihon bijutsu zenshū* 日本美術全集 11 (Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1990): 161-167; Saitō Hidetoshi 斎藤英俊, "Kaisho no seiritsu to sono kenchikuteki tokushoku 会所の成立とその建築的特色," in *Chadō shūkin* 茶道聚錦 2. *Cha no yu no seiritsu* 茶の湯の成立 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1984): 155-164. Also see footnote 72.

Asia. Numerous courtier and priests' diaries, medieval essays, such as *Tsurezuregusa*, temple documents, archaeological excavations, and Chinese objects in museums and temple collections in Japan all attest to the popularity of *karamono* objects in medieval Japan and the role of Zen Buddhism in the circulation of *karamono* in Japan.

*Karamono* translates into English as "things Chinese" or "Chinese objects" but, when we examine primary texts, it is applied broadly to include all imports from China, Korea, Ryukyu and Southeast Asia.[77] Therefore, *karamono* includes paintings, metal ware, ceramics, lacquer ware, Buddhist sutras, books, wood, incense, medicine, paper, and ink stones. Luxury, ritual, and common objects were assigned different meanings, values, hierarchies, and functions when they were brought to Japan. I use the term *karamono* to include all objects imported from the continent and note if it is specific to China, Korea or Southeast Asia.

In this section, I will examine two important fourteenth-century primary sources to understand the significance and popularity of *karamono* in medieval Japan and to provide a more detailed context of the circulation and use of *karamono*. The first is the excavation of the Sinan shipwreck that is evidence of the maritime trade between Japan and the continent and the second is the *Butsunichian kumotsu mokuroku* (仏日庵公物目録), inventory of Butsunichian, a

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[77] Minagawa Masaki points out that the term *karamono* was first found in the entry 11th month of 11th day in 808 in *Nihonkoki*. Minagawa Masaki 皆川雅樹, "Karamono kenkyū to higashi ajia teki shiten 唐物研究と東アジア的視点," *Ajia yūgaku* 147 (2011): 8-20. For more definitions and studies on *karamono* in medieval Japan, see also, Minagawa Masaki, *Nihon kodai ōken to karamono kōeki* 日本古代王権と唐物交易 (Tokyo: Yoshiwara Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 2014); Seki Shūichi 関周一, *Chūsei no karamono to denrai gijutsu* 中世の唐物と伝来技術 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 2015); Seki Shūichi, "Karamono no ryūtsū to shōhi 唐物の流通と消費," *Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan kenkyū hōkoku* 国立歴史民俗博物館研究報告, v.92 (2002-2): 87-111; Furukawa Motoya 古川元也, "Chūsei karamono saikō: kiroku sareta karamono 中世唐物の再考," *Ajia yūgaku* 147 (Nov., 2011): 133-147.

subtemple of the Zen temple Engakuji.[78] These two sources are evidence of a brisk trade in Chinese objects and their circulation among Zen temples and the elites. Detailed visual and textual information from these two sources testifies to the significance and popularity of *karamono* in medieval Japan and provide details about the origins of Chinese paintings and objects in the Ashikaga collection.

### 1) Maritime Trade: Material Culture of *Karamono* from the Sinan Shipwreck

Large quantities of *karamono* were brought into Japan via maritime trade routes between Japan and the Asian continent. Underwater excavations carried out between 1976 and 1984 in Sinan, South Korea have uncovered the remains of fourteenth-century trading vessels that were used in international trade between China, Korea, and Japan.[79] The remains of one ship are

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[78] The title of the inventory is often mentioned as *Butsunichi-an kōmotsu mokuroku* like in Yukio Lippit's citing the title in *Painting of the Realm* on page 114. Furukawa Motoya and Takahashi Noriko state that the correct reading of the word 公物 (*kōmotsu* or *kumotsu*) in the title of the inventory during medieval Japan is *kumotsu*. For more about this discrepancy, see Furukawa Motoya, "Karamono kō: Butsunichian kumotsu mokuroku o chūshin ni," *Nenpō mita chūseishi kenkyū* 14 (2007): 7; Takahashi Noriko, "Butsunichian kumotsu mokuroku ni yomeru koto," *Sōgen butsuga* (Yokohama: Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 2007): 128-134. I will follow their pronunciation as *Butsunichi-an kumotsu mokuroku.*

[79] There was little direct evidence of the specifics of trade until underwater excavations were carried out between 1976 and 1984 in Sinan, South Korea. In August 1975, near the coast of Sinan, Jeollanam-do Province, south west of the Korean peninsula, a fisherman hoisted up his net to find that it contained a very unusual catch: six ceramic vessels, including a celadon vase. This surprising haul led to the discovery of a shipwreck dating from China's Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368), which was then salvaged through a series of underwater excavations from 1976 to 1984. The excavations revealed that the Sinan ship was a merchant vessel loaded with a large cargo of trade goods, that departed from Qingyuan, China (present day Ningbo) in 1323, bound for the port of Hakata, Japan. En route, however, the ship sank near the Sinan coast, where it lay on the seabed for 652 years before being discovered and reintroduced to the world. For more detailed information on the Sinan shipwreck, see Okaochi Mitsuzane, "Trade in East Asia-A Study of the 'Sinan' Wrecked Ship," *Bulletin of the Society of the Korean Historical Science* 23 (1986): 115-152; Kungnip Haeyang Yumul Chŏnsigwan 국립해양유물전시관. *Sinansŏn pojon kwa pogwŏn pogosŏ* 신안선 보존과 복원 보고서 (Mokp'o: Kungnip Haeyang Yumul Chŏnsigwan, 2004); Kungnip Haeyang Yumul Chŏnsigwan 국립해양유물전시관 ed., *Sinansŏn pojon kwa pogwŏn, kŭ 20-yŏnsa* 신안선 보존과 복원, 그 20 년사 (Seoul: Yemaek Chulpan'sa 예맥출판사, 2004); Kim Pyŏng-gŭn 김병근, *Sujung kogohak e ŭihan Tong Asia muyŏk kwan'gye yŏn'gu: Sinan haejŏ yumul ŭl chungsim ŭro

particularly significant because of both the large amount of excavated objects and the fact that several objects bear inscriptions and dates suggesting that the ship departed from Qingyuan, China (present-day Ningbo) in 1323 and was bound for the port of Hakata, Japan. For example, a bronze weight was found inscribed with the name of the city Qingyuan (慶元), present-day Ningbo. The opposite side is inscribed with the year name of the Chinese sexagenary cycle of 1320 (庚申年).[80] Several dated wooden sticks/tags (1323, 1320) inscribed with the names of Tōfukuji temple, Hakozaki shrine, and Jojakuan (釣寂庵)—a subtemple of Jotenji, in Hakata, Fukuoka—provide further details on international trade with Japan in the fourteenth century.[81]

It is unclear whether the ship was Chinese or Japanese, but it may have been the Japanese bringing back an order of items to Japan because several wooden sticks were found inscribed

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수중 고고학에 의한 동아시아 무역 관계 연구: 신안 해저 유물을 중심으로 (Sŏul T'ŭkpyŏlsi: Kukhak Charyowŏn, 2004); Kungnip Haeyang Yumul Chŏnsigwan 국립해양유물전시관, *14-segi Asia ŭi haesang kyoyŏk kwa Sinan haejŏ yumul* 14 세기 아시아의 해상교역과 신안해저유물 (Mokp'o: Kungnip Haeyang Yumul Chŏnsigwan, 2006).

There also have been several exhibitions centered on the Sinan shipwreck both in Japan and in Korea. A recent special exhibition marking the 40th year since the initial underwater excavation at the National Museum of Korea in 2016 was notable in the large quantities of objects and the organization of the exhibition. This exhibition partially reconstructed the interior of the vessel and compared excavated objects with objects from various Chinese and Japanese collections. *Sinan haejŏsŏn esŏ chazzanan gŏddeul* 신안해저선에서 찾아낸 것들 (Seoul: Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulgwan 국립중앙박물관, 2016).

[80] Bronze weights from the Sinan vessel inscribed with the Chinese name of the era and city are significant because all the weight and measurements were made and controlled by the government. There are similar weights from each era and year in Chinese museum collections. The items, which are inscribed with 'Qingyuanlu,' are now in the collections of the Ningbo Museum and the Yinzhou Disctrict Institute for Cultural Relics in China. They are inscribed with the dates 1325 (泰定二年造) and 1305 (乙巳大德九年). There are also bronze weights with the dates of 1281, 1282, 1304, 1328 in the collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum. For the Chinese system of weights and measurements, see *Sinan haejŏsŏn esŏ chazzanan gŏddeul* (2016): 104-113.

[81] Ningbo had been an important port city since the Tang dynasty. Tōfukuji temple was one of the five great Zen temples of Kyoto (*gozan*) in the Muromachi period. It had been an important Zen temple in Japan from its founding in 1236 in the Kamakura period by imperial chancellor Kujo Michiie. Enni Ben'en (1202-1280), the founding abbot of Tōfukuji, had studied Chan Buddhism in China under Wuzhun Shifan (1178-1249), a prominent Zen monk, Chinese painter, and Chinese calligrapher. For more on the founding of Tōfukuji, see Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan* (Harvard University Press, 1981): 41-49.

with the names of Japanese temples or shrines.[82] Such sticks were typically tied to the objects and inscribed to record the details of the items. We have proof of this practice from the Sinan ship: There founds wooden sticks bearing the name of Tōfukuji Temple 東福寺 in Kyoto. Several wooden sticks are inscribed with Hakozaki shrine on one side and the name of the era 至治三年 (3rd year of Zhizhi, 1323) on the other. There are also wooden sticks inscribed with the name of the era (3rd year of Zhizhi, 1323) on one side and Jojakuan (釣寂庵) on the other. Several wooden sticks are inscribed with *Gangsi* (綱司) or *Gangsisi* (綱司私), a reference to the Chinese trade director.[83] Therefore, the Sinan ship was most likely bound for Japan, carrying *karamono* objects that had been ordered by Japanese temples or shrines.

In addition to these objects with inscriptions, the excavations recovered 26,000 artifacts and an incredible total of 8 million coins, 28 tons of which were Chinese.[84] The recovered items include about 20,000 ceramic vessels,[85] 1,000 pieces of metal ware,[86] a variety of wooden items

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[82] For more detailed information on wooden sticks, see ibid., 114-121; Lee Yong-hyun 이용현, "Sinan haejŏ palgyeon mokkan e daehayeŏ 신안 해저 발견 목간에 대하여," in *Koryŏ Chosŏn ui taeoe kyoryu* 고려 조선의 대외교류 (Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulgwan 국립중앙박물관, 2002): 160-166; Han Jung-hoon 한정훈, "Tong Asia chungse ui yeŏngu hyunhwang kwa hyungtae pigyo 동아시아 중세 목간의 연구현황과 형태 비교," in *Sahak yeongu* 사학연구 119 (2015): 241-279.

[83] *Gangsi* 綱司 or *Gangsisi* 綱司私 is the Chinese trade director. *Gangsi* translates as 'trade director' and *si* 私 as 'private'. The exhibition catalogue explains that the presence of *Gangsisi* 綱司私 on wooden sticks indicates that the items tagged with these sticks were private items belonging to the trade director. *Sinan haejŏsŏn esŏ chazzanan gŏddeul* (2016): 112-113, 120-121; Lee Yong-hyun (2002): 163-165.

[84] According to the excavation report 24,000 of the artifacts were properly excavated and 2,000 were retrieved after having been stolen.

[85] For more detailed information on excavated ceramic objects, see Kim Wondong, "Chinese Ceramics from the wreck of a Yuan ship in Sinan, Korea: with particular reference to celadon wares," (PhD diss. University of Kansas, 1986); Kim Yŏngmi 김영미, *Sinansŏn kwa tojagi kil* 신안선과 도자기길 (Seoul: Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulgwan 국립중앙박물관, 2005); Also, see conference proceedings from Kungnip Haeyang Yumul Chŏnsigwan 국립해양유물 전시관, *14-segi Asia ŭi haesang kyoyŏk kwa Sinan haejŏ yumul* 14 세기 아시아의 해상교역과 신안 해저유물 (Mokp'o: Kungnip Haeyang Yumul Chŏnsigwan 국립해양유물전시관, 2006).

including 1,000 made of sandalwood, glassware, carved stone and animal bones, and various herbs, spices, and medicinal ingredients. The large amount and quality of excavated objects from the Sinan shipwreck are significant in that they correspond exactly to objects that were listed or depicted in medieval illustrated handscrolls, Ashikaga shogunal manuals, as well as objects in museum or temple collections in Japan. In spite of their significance in medieval Japan, the Sinan shipwreck and recovered objects have not been adequately examined or studied in English sources.[87] I will briefly introduce several examples of metal ware and ceramics which are important for formal display.

### Metal ware

The 1000 metal objects ranged from practical objects used for trade, such as weights or scales, to specific Buddhist or ritual objects that include small Buddhist sculptures, *kundika* vases, incense burners, incense vases, candle holders, and musical instruments. They are also varied in their shapes and materials and included silver and bronze large and small bowls, cups, cases, lidded containers, lamp oil containers, and water droppers.[88] Some bronze vessels that mimic much earlier Chinese shapes such as Jue (爵) and Gu (觚) clearly correspond to the

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[86] For metalware from the shipwreck, see *Sinansŏn sok ŭi kŭmsok kongye* 신안선 속의 금속공예 (Mokp'o: Kungnip Haeyang Yumul Chŏnsigwa 국립해양유물전시관, 2007).

[87] Barbara Seyock briefly introduced the Sinan shipwreck in her discussion "Archaeological Complexes from Muromachi Period Japan as a Key to the Perception of International Maritime Trade in East Asia," in *The East Asian Mediterranean: Maritime Crossroads of Culture, Commerce and Human Migration* edited by Angela Schottenhammer (Wisbaden, Germany: 2008): 179-202. Kim Wondong examines celadon ceramics from the Sinan shipwreck in "Chinese Ceramics from the wreck of a Yuan ship in Sinan, Korea: with particular reference to celadon wares," (PhD diss. University of Kansas, 1986). In spite of its significance in medieval Japan, no thorough studies of the Sinan shipwreck and excavated objects have been published in English.

[88] The majority of metal objects are Chinese but a few are Korean bronze spoons and mirrors and Japanese mirrors, swords and sword ornaments.

images from the *Xuanhe bogutu* (宣和博古圖, Illustrated record of Chinese ancient objects in the Xuanhe Palace, Song imperial collection).[89]

### Ceramics

Among the 20,000 ceramic vessels there are about 12,000 celadons that were produced at the Longquan kilns. Other ceramics came from various kilns including Jingdezhin (景德鎮窯), Jian (建窯), and Jizhou kilns (吉州窯).[90] The shapes are varied and included large and small flower vases, vessels, pots, censers, tripod basins, tripod censers, hexagonal flowerpots, cups and basins, incense burners, and large and small jars. Some of these ceramics mimicked metal ware (See Table 1). There are also celadon Bodhisattva figurines, female figurines, Taoist figurines, animal or figure shaped water droppers. Earthenware includes figurines holding musical instruments, and Daoist and Buddhist figurines. The majority of these objects are Chinese, but also included are Korean inlaid celadon pots, a pillow, a water dropper, bowls, and saucers as well as Japanese pottery.[91]

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[89] *Xuanhe bogutu* (宣和博古圖) is an illustrated inventory of Song imperial collection of ancient bronze objects. Wang Fu (1079-1126) began compiling this record in 1107. It records 839 bronze objects from the Shang through the Tang dynasties in the Song imperial collection including detailed records of rubbings, translations, and comments. Song imperial collections were also compiled in the Xuanhe Calligraphy (宣和書譜 *Xuanhe shupu*) catalogue and Xuanhe Painting Catalogue (宣和畫譜 *Xuanhe huapu*).

[90] Because this constitutes the largest assemblage of Longquan ceramics ever discovered it drew the attention of the great ceramic specialists to the shipwreck.

[91] There have been no definite answers as to why the ship held Japanese pottery. Considering that divers found several items intended for use by the crew, such as cooking pots and utensils, go game boards, and shoes, these Japanese vessels were most likely also for practical purposes. I do not know if Japanese pottery was used as part of a barter system between the trades of Japan and China, but I think it more likely served a practical function.

**Table 1.** Similarities of the Shapes of Metal and Ceramic wares from the Sinan Shipwreck
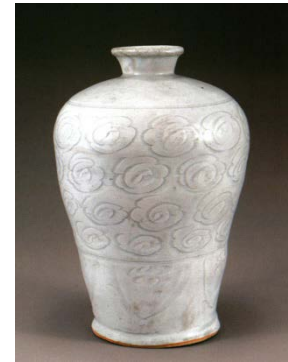


### Wooden objects

Most wooden objects are Chinese lacquer ware including black and red carved bowls, a lidded container, and carved ornaments dating from the Song and Yuan. Recently, Japanese scholars restored a lacquer case from the Sinan shipwreck similar to the lacquer case in the

Engakuji collection.[92] Wooden scroll rods, probably used with paintings or calligraphy, were also recovered.

The Sinan ship serves as an example of fourteenth century maritime trade when the Ashikaga shoguns opened official trade channels and participated in a tribute system with China. The excavate objects provide examples of Chinese material culture that was collected in medieval Japan. The large amount and quality of excavated goods that are similar to objects depicted in both illustrated handscrolls and Ashikaga shogunal manuals, as well as objects in Japanese museum and temple collections is evidence of the active trading among East Asian countries in the fourteenth century. *Karamono* were received by and circulated among elites and temples in medieval Japan. In the following section I will examine the role of Buddhist priests and temples in the dissemination of *karamono*.

### 2) *Butsunichi-an kumotsu mokuroku*: From Zen Temples to Elites

The role of Zen monasteries and priests is critical to our understanding of the reception of Chinese objects, paintings, and culture. The *Butsunichi-an kumotsu mokuroku* (仏日庵公物目録), a fourteenth century inventory of Butsunichian, is a significant primary source that attests to the role played by Zen temples in the dissemination of *karamono* among Ashikaga shoguns and powerful elites warriors.[93] Butsunichian, a sub-temple of the Zen temple Engakuji, was built in

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[92] Matsumoto Tatsuya created a diagram of lacquer case based on a restored piece of lacquer from the shipwreck. Koike has compared it with a *tsuishu* lacquer case from Engakuji temple that the founder of Engakuji, Mugaku Sogen, (c.Wuxue Zuyuan 無学祖元,1226-1286) brought from China. It was first published in the exhibition catalogue from the National Museum of Korea in 2016. For more detailed information, see Koike Tomio 小池 富雄's catalogue entry in *Sinan haejŏsŏn esŏ chazzanan gŏddeul* (2016): 280-281.

[93] *Butsunichi-an kumotsu mokuroku* is now in the collection of Engakuji temple. Furukawa Motoya's detailed analysis of this primary source established the basis for academic discussion of the temple's

1284 as the mortuary temple of Hōjō Tokimune, his wife Kakusanni, his son Hōjō Sadatoki, and his grandson Hōjō Takatoki. It is thought that the Hōjō family collections were merged with the temple collection and included in the inventory.

The *Butsunichi-an kumotsu mokuroku* (仏日庵公物目録) was compiled in 1320, and was reorganized and revised in 1363 to account for additions and deletions to the collection. The colophon records that the inventory was compiled to itemize gifts from the *miuchi bito* (御内人, vassals of the Hōjō family) and Ashikaga Motouji, to tally items lost when the storehouses were destroyed during the military conflicts of the Genkō era, and to list objects donated to the temple.[94] The inventory is significant not just because it provides a vivid accounting of the Zen temple's collection and its use in specific Buddha halls but also because it enumerates when and where objects were either sent as gifts or had been gifted to the temple in the late Kamakura and early Muromachi periods.

The inventory features nine subcategories: (1) Portraits of Patriarchs, (2) Avatars and Sages, (3) Paintings, (4) Calligraphies[95], (5) Objects Given to Various Individuals by the

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*karamono* collection. For more on the inventory, see Satō Hironobu, "Jōji ninen-zuke Engakuji Butsunichi-an kumotsu mokuroku ni tsuite: karamono o meguru hitobito no shosō kenkyū yoreki," *Kamakura ibun kenkyū* 27 (Tokyo: Kamakura Ibun Kenkyūkai, 2011): 100-107; Takahashi Noriko, "Butsunichian kumotsu mokuroku ni yomeru koto," in *Sōgen butsuga* 宋元仏画 (Yokohama: Kanagawa kenritsu rekishi hakubutsukan 神奈川県立歴史博物館, 2007): 128-134; Furukawa Motoya, "Karamono no shōrai to kachi no sōshutsu," in *Sōgen butsuga*, 135-145. Recently, Aaron Rio includes annotated translation of the inventory in his dissertation. See the appendix of this dissertation. Aaron M. Rio, "Ink Painting in Medieval Kamakura," (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2015): 344-362.
[94] *Sōgen butsuga*, 156.
右元応二年六月十三日, 本目録雖在之, 彼目録内, 前代之時, 御内之仁等, 或於御前拝領之
Rio's translation of the the colophon reads: "A version of the above inventory dating to the 13th day of the 6th month of Gen'ō 2 [1320] exists, but due to the receipt of gifts from the *Miuchibito* [vassals of the Hōjō family] or from the *Gozen* [Ashikaga Motouji], the destruction of storehouses during the military conflicts of the Genkō era, and, moreover, the frequent donation of objects during the more recent visit of Chōjuji-dono [Ashikaga Takauji], the present document is the result of amendments to the original inventory. The inventory is hereby certified in this the fourth month of Jōji 2 by Hōsei [cipher]." Rio, 362.
[95] The literal translation is 'ink traces'.

Subtemple, (6) Contents of Two boxes of Vestments, (7) Miscellaneous Implements in the Treasury, (8) Implements in the Three Buddha Halls in the Care of the Hall Prefect, and (9) Objects in the care of the prefect. Itemized objects include: portraits of Chinese priests, ink paintings of plums, monkeys and landscapes, the writings, calligraphy (*bokuseki*) and vestments of various Japanese and Chinese priests, bronze and celadon flower vases and incense burners (*mitsugusoku*), tea bowls, lacquer ware, incense cases, and writing implements.

In Sections 8 and 9, the text lists the uses of specific objects, their combination in specific Buddha halls at Butsunichian, as well as their current status. Here I want to point out that the text explains common pairing in the Buddha Halls was of a celadon flower vase and censer along with a bronze censer. For example, in Section 9, the record lists items for the three Buddha halls—the Main Hall, the Maitreya Hall, and the Avalokiteśvara Hall. Items for the Main Hall are: a pair of celadon flower vases and censers, a bronze censer, a pair of bronze flower vases, a gong and a hand bell. Listed for the Maitreya Hall are: a pair of celadon flower vases and censers, a celadon censer, a bronze censer (stolen), and a hand bell. Listed for the Avalokiteśvara Hall are: a pair of celadon flower vases and censers (ruined by a thief),[96] a flower vase and censer transferred to the treasury, two pairs of bronze flower vases, two censers, and a hand bell. I think this section of the text is important because it provides a detailed account of the time when items were used or arranged in the Buddhist halls at Zen temples. Exactly how *karamono* objects were gifted among elites or used in their residences will be discussed later, but the text here describes the use of these objects in fourteenth-century temples.

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[96] Next to the censer and celadon vase listed for the Avalokiteśvara Hall is the note "ruined by a thief." The inventory shows the current status of temple collections used in Buddha halls. For the translation, I relied on Rio, 358-359.

More significantly, Section 5 delineates the objects that were presented to Ashikaga shoguns Takauji, Yoshiakira, Motouji, and Kō no Moriari (高師有), and *shugo* daimyos Tōki Yoriyasu, Toki Naouji, and Chiba Ujitane (Chibanosuke 千葉介, 氏胤).[97] That is, this record gives us specific details regarding how, when and what kinds of *karamono* objects were gifted to Ashikaga shoguns and provincial military governors from the Zen temple.

Some examples show that the Ashikaga shoguns received gifts of welcome when they visited the temple. For example, on the 18th day of the 4th month of 1352, Ashikaga Takauji visited Engakuji and gifts were presented to him at the end of his visit.[98] These included Chinese hanging scrolls of *Four Sages* (四聖絵四舗),[99] a pair of portraits of the Chinese Chan monks *Hanshan and Shide* (寒山拾得一対), and a pair of Muqi hanging scrolls of *Pines and Gibbons* (松猿絵一対). He was also given a pair of round lacquer trays (*saihi enbon* 犀皮円盆一対),[100] and a pair of sculpted and carved red lacquer ware (*tsuishu* 堆朱一対).[101] Also, during the visit of Takauji's fourth son Ashikaga Motouji to the temple on the 29th day of the 11th month in 1362,

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[97] Objects given to these individuals are mentioned in the peripheral notes that were added to the body of the inventory. The exhibition catalogue on Song and Yuan Buddhist paintings (*Sōgen butsuga*) from Kanazawa Historical Museum includes a Furukawa Motoya's transcription (*honkaku* 翻刻 version) of *Butsunichi-an kumotsu mokuroku*. See *Sōgen butsuga,* 154-156. The fifth part of the inventory lists "objects given to various individuals by the Butsunichian" Also, in the seventh part, entitled "miscellaneous implements in the treasury," some information has been added next to the list of objects.
[98] *Sōgen butsuga,* 154.
[99] The record notes that these figures bear the signature of a Chinese emperor (御賛). The four paintings are: the Buddhist Fish-basket Kannon (Gyoran kannon 魚藍観音), Malang-fu Kannon (Merōfu Kannon 馬郎婦), and two folklore figures of Liushi-nu (柳氏女) and Lingzhao-nu (霊照女). For more on these paintings, see Harada Masatoshi 原田正俊, "Muromachi dono no shitsurai: karamono to zenshū 室町殿の室礼: 唐物と禅宗," *Nihon bukkyō sōgō kenkyū* 日本仏教綜合研究, vol. 9 (2010): 15-16; and *Sōgen butsuga,* 154.
[100] *Saihi* (C: xipi) is a specific type of Chinese carved lacquer ware. Excavations from the Sinan shipwreck includes an example of a *saihi* lacquer case.
[101] *Tsuishu* (C: *duizhu*) is a specific type of Chinese red sculpted or carved lacquer ware. There founds an example of *tsuishu* lacquer excavated from the Sinan shipwreck. *Kundaikan sōchōki* also includes a short explanation of the term *tsuishu*. *Kundaikan sōchōki* will be discussed more in Chapter Four.

Motouji was presented with a pair of round *saihi* lacquer trays (犀皮円盆一対), a pair of medicine cases (薬器一対), a ceramic cup (*tōsan* 湯蓋),[102] a double stand (並台), and a pair of landscape paintings (山水絵) with willows and oxen.[103] Motouji was accompanied by Kō no Moriari, the Chief Steward of the Kantō region, who was gifted with a pair of paintings of *Wild Geese and Reeds*.[104]

Shogun Ashikaga Yoshiakira (1330-1367) visited the temple nine days before Motouji' and requested from the temple a pair of Muqi scroll paintings of white cranes and trees. The temple included with his request an image of Kannon meant to be the central painting.[105] I think that this record has significance because Yoshiakira requested specific Chinese paintings, suggesting he had an active interest in collecting Chinese objects. Present scholarship that has largely focused on Ashikaga collecting practices has centered on the third shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, however, this record demonstrates that Yoshiakira also had an interest in collecting Chinese paintings. More significantly, the fact that the temple added a Kannon painting which Yoshiakira had not requested, suggests that Kannon flanked by white cranes in trees was the accepted arrangement of paintings. It is interesting that, although the temple did adhere to shogun Yoshiakira's request, a better or more appropriate combination of three paintings as a set was recommended. This is one instance where hinting at the common arrangement of three paintings coupled with three or more objects used in temples prior to the early the fourteenth century could have impacted later Ashikaga formal displays.

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[102] *Tōsan* 湯蓋 is a shallow cup used for warm liquid.
[103] *Sōgen butsuga,* 154.
[104] Ibid.
[105] *Sōgen butsuga,*155. Harada Masatoshi also mentions this example of Yoshiakira. Harada (2010): 13-31. Harada Masatoshi's article examines the characteristics of Buddhism in the Muromachi period through the relationship between Zen Buddhism and the reception of Chinese objects (*karamono*). He also suggests that the Kannon could have been a Muqi painting.

Objects were also gifted to provincial military governors. It is recorded that a pair of *Wild Geese and Reed* paintings, a pair of bronze flower vases, and a censer were presented to Chiba Ujitane (1337-1365, Chiba no suke) the governor (*shugo*) of Kazusa (上総) and Shimōsa (下総) Provinces when he visited the temple.[106] I think that the Chinese objects and paintings that were circulated from the temple could impact the way of use and display of these items in residential settings.

There are also several instances of land disputes between temples and warriors when objects in the *Butsunichian* collection were used to settle the litigation of property claims in favor of the temples. *Karamono* were gifts given to both shogun and elite warriors in order to sway the outcome of litigations. For example, several instances of sending *karamono* to the Toki family over the land disputes are listed. The fifth section of the inventory records that due to incidents involved with both Bishū estates (Tomita fief and Shinoki fief in Oawari province, present day in Kasugai city in Aichi Prefecture[107]), Toki Yoriyasu (土岐頼康 1318-1387, the governor (*shugo*) of Owari province)[108] and Toki Naouji (Yoriyasu's younger brother)[109] received the following objects with requital. To Toki Yoriyasu, the gifts included two hanging scrolls of Tigers by Li Jiong sent on the 21st day of the 11th month in 1359, a pair of *Wild Geese and Reeds* by Cui Bo sent on the 7th day of the 6th month in 1362 and four hanging scrolls of bird and flower paintings without specific dates. Also, the temple sent two hanging scrolls of *Fish*

[106] *Sōgen butsuga,* 155.

[107] For more detailed information of Engakuji's economy and landholdings, Collcutt (1981): 255-263.

[108] Toki Yoriyasu was one of important supporters of Ashikaga Takauji. Because of his efforts on behalf of Takauji, Toki Yoriyasu became *shugo* (Governor) of Owari province in 1351. The Toki family was based in Mino province, but by the fourteenth century, the clan also maintained major landholdings in Ise and Owari provinces. For more about the records regarding Toki Yoriyasu, Harada Masatoshi, 20-21; and Satō Hironobu, 104-105.

[109] In 1351, when Naouji's older brother Yoriyasu held governorship of Owari Province (present day Aichi Prefectures), Yoriyasu named his younger brother Naouji Acting Governor (*shugodai* 守護第) of the province.

*and Waterweeds* to Toki Yoriyasu's younger brother Toki Naouji (1331-1381) on the 9th day of the 6th month in 1362.[110]

Another land dispute in the same Owari province recorded in the first, third and seventh sections of the inventory, written as dispersed notes, lists more detailed reasons for sending several gifts. That is, it records that as a confidential settlement related to the seizure of land by Yazaburo, son of the Fields Manager in the village of Tomita fief, the temple sent *karamono* on the 27th day of the 12th month of 1363.[111] A landscape painting, a pair of *saihi* lacquer ware, and a pair of lacquer incense boxes were given to Toki Naouji, and incense boxes and several *saihi* and *tsuishu* lacquer ware were sent to Toki Yoriyasu. The temple also sent a Chinese portrait of Dayu inscribed by Zhou Lizhong (周立中, dates unknown) to Dairin Zen'iku (1291-1372), a prominent Rinzai monk and Toki ally, to solve the dispute resulting from Tadokoro's son Yazaburo's seizure of temple land holdings.[112] Harada Masatoshi explains that Engakuji appealed directly to the bakufu when Sasaki Yoriuji (佐々木氏頼), the head of the legal office, *hikitsuke tonin* (引付頭人), sent a letter to Toki Yoriyasu (土岐頼康) asking Toki Yoriyo (土岐頼世) (later Yoritada, *shugo* of Mino) to desist from taking land by force.[113] The inventory records another example of *karamono* as settlement in land disputes. In 1365 (no dates) four ink paintings of plums were sent to Shiba Takatsune (斯波高経) to settle the litigation of Yamamoto

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[110] *Sōgen butsuga,* 155.
[111] *Sōgen butsuga,* 154-155.
[112] The text mentions the name of the inscriber Zhou Lizhong (周立中), but he is unknown. Dayu's biography is also unclear but scholars have said that he is Gaoan Dayu (9th c), a teacher of Linji Yixuan (died 866), the founder of Linji school, one sect of Chinese Chan school, and his name mentioned in Zen texts. Ibid.; and Furukawa Motoya, 137-138.
[113] Harada, 16.

fief in Echizen province. (Echizen no kuni 越前国 Yamamoto sho 山本庄).[114] Furukawa

Motoya explains that this litigation arose because Shiba Takatsune had paid only half of the

owed taxes.[115] In 1366, the bakufu imposed higher taxes on the new *shugo,* Hatakeyama

Yoshifuka (畠山義深), and gave the land to Engakuji's economic adviser (*zashho,* 雑掌).[116]

In the above examples recorded in *Butsunichi-an kumotsu mokuroku*, *karamono* were

gifts given to both shogun and elite warriors in order to sway the outcome of litigations. My

focus is not the issues of the litigations but, rather, how the above examples add to the context of

the availability and value of *karamono* within elite culture. Detailed information in the inventory

of how and what Hōjō Tokuso (北条得宗) presented to important individuals demonstrates that

objects and paintings were desired by elites and warriors alike. *Karamono* were valued property

of temples and desired by elites at that time. The above documentation regarding Engakuji and

Tōfukuji temples combined with the Sinan shipwreck clearly shows that Zen temples had an

active role in importing Chinese objects and making these objects available in Japan.

### 2.2.2   Displaying *Karamono* in Elite Residences

Rules, the second component of formal display, are useful for tracing the development of

formal display in the Ashikaga palaces. Inventoried items from the Butsunichian place karamono

in either Buddhist or ritual settings. Because the same shapes, materials and combinations of

karamono were gifted to elites, examining karamono display in fourteenth-century residential

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[114] Shiba Takatsune, here called "Shichijō-dono," was governor the Echizen province. *Sōgen butsuga,* 155.
[115] Furukawa Motoya, 136-137.
[116] See Collcutt (1981): 278.

settings is important in deciding whether the rules of display originated with the Ashikaga shoguns or if they followed and shared an established model. In this section I will examine the display of karamono in elite residences through written sources.

### Diaries that Include Records of the Display of Karamono in Elite Residences

Several fourteenth-century diaries provide information about the collection and display of karamono at elite residences. Emperor Hanazono's (1297-1348, r. 1308-1318) diary (Hanazono tennō shinki, 1310-1332) recounts events that give insight into the types and display of objects. For example, it tells us that on the 29th day of the 7th month of 1319, the regent Nijo Michihira (二条道平 1288-1335) received both Emperor Hanazono (1297-1348) and retired emperor Go Fushimi (1288-1336) at his Kyoto residence in Oshi no koji (押小路). Michihira decorated the guest hall (*izumiya* 泉屋) with Chinese paintings, a flower vase, an incense burner, and a stone bowl that were presented to the emperor at the end of his visit.

The diary of courtier Tōin Kinkata (洞院公賢 1291-1361), Entairyaku, also contains detailed information documenting Chinese objects that he displayed at his residence. The entry from the 9th day of the 5th month in 1359 states that a painting of Kannon flanked by two landscape paintings and an incense burner, flower vase, and candle holder were gifted to Kinkata from a warrior. Kinkata sent a message back saying that he would always treasure the objects. Although it is not mentioned in the diary where and how Kinkata displayed the objects at his residence, the entry tells us that certain objects were thought of as sets for gifts by both warriors and courtiers alike.

The entry in Emperor Hanazono's diary is evidence that in the early fourteenth century, a guest hall (izumiya 泉屋) was included in a courtier's (regent Nijo Michihara) residence and that

it was decorated with Chinese paintings and objects. Also, in courtier Kinkata's case, we know that the same combination of three Chinese paintings and three objects was displayed in his residence. Therefore, it can be said that the same combination displayed in religious settings was adapted and used by court elites within their residential settings in the mid- fourteenth century.

### 2.2.3 *Kaisho* **and Formal Display**

The third component we need to examine is the interior space where the *karamono* were displayed. A new type of building known as the *kaisho,* a reception hall or place for social gatherings, was developed in order to create an interior setting for social interaction between the warrior class and court elites at Ashikaga shogunal palaces. The *kaisho* emerged as an independent building at Ashikaga Yoshimitsu's Muromachi palace.[117] Unfortunately, there are no extant Muromachi palaces but the entry for the 29th day of the 2nd month in 1401 in *Kyōyōki* confirms that there was a *kaisho* at the Muromachi palace.[118] The sparse information gives rise to questions of the derivation of the term *kaisho* and if it was in use before the period of the Ashikaga shoguns. In order to come to an understanding the best place to begin is the emergence of the term *kaisho* in written sources.

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[117] 1401. 2. 29. *Kyōyōki* 迎陽記, '泉以下御会所敷覧' See Kawakami (2002): 212.

[118] The Muromachi palace was built in 1378 but it is unclear whether *kaisho* was built in 1378 or later. Because the date 1401 is after Yoshimitsu left the Muromachi palace to live in his retirement villa, Kitayama dono, Matthew Stavros argues that the *kaisho* was Yoshimochi's preferred venue for all social and political activities but not Yoshimitsu's. Matthew Stavros, "Building Warrior Legitimacy in Medieval Kyoto," *East Asian History*, (2006): 11-12.

**1) Written Sources of *Kaisho* from the Thirteenth Century**

The term *kaisho*, which literally means gathering place, is first found in the diary *Meigetsuki* 明月記 of the Kamakura period courier Fujiwara no Sadaie (1162-1241) that covers the years from 1180 to 1235. The entry on the 10th day of the 12th month in 1203 (Kennin 3), mentions retired emperor Go Toba's (1180-1239) Uji Palace (宇治御所) built along the Uji River.[119] The record mentions that in this villa there is a building named the Furo Palace (風呂御所) that is comprised of a bedroom (*go shinjo ma* 御寝所間), a room for presenting gifts (*shin motsu dokoro* 進物所), a bathing room for the emperor or retired emperor (*oyudono* 御湯殿), a bathing room for high-ranking courtiers (*kugyo yu dono* 公卿湯殿) and a *kaisho* (会所).[120] In the diary, *kaisho* refers to a room "gathering place" but does not specify the function. Considering that the name *Furo* Palace means bathing place and the other rooms are all private spaces, *kaisho* could have also been a private gathering space for enjoying literary activities, such as composing *renga* and *waka* poetry.

*Kaisho* are mentioned in two additional Kamakura period written sources. In the *Mumyōshō* (無名抄), a commentary on *waka* poems compiled either in 1209 or 1210, an entry in volume 8 under "recent gatherings" (近年会狼藉事) describes *kaisho* as a place for poetry gatherings (*utakai* 歌会).[121] Additionally, in *Shasekishū* (沙石集) compiled in 1283, the Zen

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[119] The entries in *Meigetsuki* states very detailed explanation of each room of the building. *Meigetsuki*, 1203.12.10. *Honkoku Meigetsuki* vol. 1 (Tokyo: Asahi shinbunsha, 2012): 476-477. See also Saitō Hidetoshi, "Kaisho no seiritsu to sono kenchikuteki tokushoku," in *Cha no yu no seiritsu* (Tōkyō: Shōgakkan, 1984): 155-157.

[120] It is not an official palace, but a villa for the retired emperor.

[121] *Mumyōshō* 無名抄 is a commentary of *waka* and poems compiled either in 1209 or 1210 by Kamo no Chōmei (1155-1216). See entry in *Mumyōshō*: '此比の人々の会に連なりて見れば、まず会所のしつらひより初めて、人の装束の打解けたるさま、各が気色有様、乱れがわしき事限りなし,' cited

priest Musō (無住 1227-1312) describes the *kaisho* as the place where poetry gatherings were held that was separate from the banqueting space. Because this record differentiates between a *kaisho* where poetry gatherings were held and a *zashiki* (座席) where banqueting took place, it suggests there was a distinction between the private *kaisho* and the public *zashiki*.[122]

Kanazawa Sadaaki (金沢貞顕 1278-1333), who held the important position of shogunal regent (*shikken* 執権) during the Kamakura period, writes of a *kaisho* in his residence in a letter sent to his son.[123] In the letter, Sadaaki describes his residence in Kamakura and a *kaisho* with *fusuma shoji* covered with Chinese paper (*karagami* 唐紙) he had ordered from Kyoto. In a second letter to his son in Kyoto he mentions that *karamono* and tea had became popular in Kamakura and urges his son to bring *karamono* back from Kyoto.[124]

That he mentions Chinese paper for the *fusuma shoji* and also requests more *karamono* for himself points to the popularity of *karamono* in Kamakura and Kyoto. Here the record does not mention the function of the *kaisho*, but it seems to suggest that it is a room with *fusuma* doors that could have been used for tea or social gatherings.

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in Saitō Hidetoshi 斎藤英俊, "Kaisho no seiritsu to sono kenchikuteki tokushoku 会所の成立とその建築的特色," in *Chadō shūkin* 茶道聚錦 2. *Cha no yu no seiritsu* 茶の湯の成立 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1984): 155-164.

[122] '近代ノ作法、仏ノ懸記ニタガハズコソ、仏ノ弟子ナヲ仏意ニ背ク、マシテ在 家俗士堂塔ヲ建立スル、多ハ名聞ノ為メ、若ハ家ノカザリトス、或ハ是レニ ヨリテ利ヲ、或ハ<u>酒宴ノ座席、詩歌ノ会所</u>トシテ、無礼ノ事多シ' *Shasekishū* in *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 85 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1966): 117.

[123] The *Kanazawa bunko komonjo* (金沢文庫古文書) from the Kanazawa Bunko in Yokohama has several hand-written letters from Kanazawa Sadaaki. *Kanazawa bunko komonjo,* 6 vols. Yokohama: Kanazawa Bunko. 1952-54.

[124] から物茶のはやり候事、なを、いよいよ勝り候、さようのくそくも御ようひ候へく候. Kanazawa's letters to Shōmyōji indicate his interst in tea. For more about his letter and tea, see Sen, Sōshitsu, *The Japanese Way of Tea: from its Origin in China to Sen Rikyū,* translated by Morris Dixon (University of Hawai'i Press, 1998): 87-88.

**2) Written Sources of *Kaisho* from the Fourteenth Century**

*Taiheiki*, a military tale (ca.1371) of the civil war during the Nanbokuchō period (1336-92), provides more detailed descriptions of objects placed on display in *kaisho*.[125] Sasaki Dōyo (佐々木道誉, 1306-73), who had stewardship of Omi province (present-day Shiga), was a follower of Ashikaga Takauji, the first Ashikaga shogun. Sasaki is portrayed in the tale as a feudal lord with extravagant and fashionable tastes who was known to have a fondness for verse, flower arrangement, and incense. In the 12th month of 1361, he was attacked by the army of the Kusunoki clan from the Southern court and fled the capital. Before retreating, he hung a Buddhist painting flanked by two side paintings (脇絵) on the wall of the 6-mat *kaisho* (六間ノ会所) at his lodging. In front of the paintings he set out a flower vase, incense burner, kettle (罐子) and tray. In the desk-alcove, he displayed calligraphy by Wang Xizhi and a book by Kanyu (韓愈). He arranged the room so that when the victors entered the building, they would see a showy, formal arrangement that exuded extravagance.[126]

This description in the *Taiheiki* shows that the arrangements of objects in a feudal lord's *kaisho* and in the Ashikaga shogunal residences were similar. Sasaki Dōyo and Ashikaga Takauji were both famous for their fondness of *karamono*. It is unfortunate that the components of Ashikaga Takauji's residence are unknown and there is no evidence that his residence included a *kaisho*, but it does seem that owning and displaying *karamono* in their residences was common

[125] *Taiheiki* is the most representative source for the study of 14th century Japan. At the same time, the record's biased positive view of the Ashikaga has been the basis for arguments that it is limited as a historical source. It does not criticize Ashikaga Takauji's fondness for *karamono* but the record does describe the extravagant tastes of his warriors including Sasaki Dōyo. For a critical evaluation of *Taiheiki*, see. Thomas Donald Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol: An Age of Ritual Determinism in Fourteenth Century* (Oxford University Press, 2011): 9-13.
[126] *Taiheiki,* 1361. 12. 8. *Taiheiki* vol. 3 (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 2015): 46-47.

among warrior elites in the fourteenth century.[127] By the late fourteenth century, during the Nambokucho period, it seems that the use of *kaisho* as a setting for formal display had become common among warrior elites.

## 2.3    ASHIKAGA *KAISHO*

The *kaisho* was developed in order to create a new interior setting for social interaction between the warrior class and court elites at the Ashikaga palaces. Fujita Meiji argues that the popularity of *utage* (ceremonies) among courtiers and warriors may have promoted the development of *kaisho*. That is, new modes of social and political intercourse required new spaces for courtiers and warriors to gather and socialize, free from traditional court restrictions.[128]

Architectural scholars agree that the *kaisho* emerged as an independent building at the third shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu's Muromachi palace. They base this on the entry for the 29th day of the 2nd month of 1401 in *Kyōyōki*, which confirms that there was a *kaisho* (either near the pond or the *izumi dono*) at the Muromachi palace.[129] Matthew Stavros has recently raised an

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[127] Kawakami Mitsugu, based on his examination of primary written sources, explains that Ashikaga Takauji first had his residence in Kyoto in 1333 and lived there until 1336, when it was burnt. He also emphasizes the significance of Tōjiji 等持寺, arguing that Tōjiji was initially built as Ashikaga Takauji's residence and later became a temple. For more about Takauji's residence, see Kawakami Mitsugu (2002): 206-208. However, Stavros states that there is no evidence that he maintained a permanent residence in Kyoto until 1344. That palace was built in the northern district of *kamigyo*, burned in 1349, was rebuilt, but burned again in 1351. Matthew Stavros, *Kyoto: an Urban History of Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014): 115-116.

[128] Fujita Meiji 藤田盟児, "Zashiki to kenritsu 座敷と建立," *Setsuwa bungaku kenkyū* 説話文学研究 45 (July, 2012): 29-39; and "Uta awase kukan no jittai to sono henyō- chūsei kaisho no kigen ni kansuru kenkyū 歌合空間の実態とその変容-中世「会所」の起源に関する研究," *Nihon kenchiku gakkai keikaukei ronbunshū* no. 519 日本建築学会計画系論文集 (May, 1999): 263-270.

[129] Kawakami Mitsugu provides another written source, *Kanenobu kōki* 兼宣公記, that confirms a *kaisho* was an independent building at Yoshimitsu's Muromachi palace. See entry on the 8th day of the 1st month

objection to this because the date, 1401, is after Yoshimitsu left from his Muromachi palace to live in his new retirement villa, Kitayama dono. He argues that the *kaisho* was Yoshimochi's preferred venue for all social and political activities, not Yoshimitsu's.[130]

Unfortunately, we do not have more information about *kaisho* at Yoshimitsu's Muromachi palace, but the *kaisho* at Kitayama villa (present day Rokuon-ji), is better documented. I think that the use of the *kaisho* at Kitayama villa could be seen as the same as the *kaisho* at Yoshimitsu's Muromachi palace. Kitayama villa was built in 1397 and the three-storied Golden Pavilion near the pond was originally intended to be used as a Buddhist hall (*shariden*). Several records, including *Gaun nikkenroku* (臥雲日件録), mention that the *kaisho* at Kitayama villa was a two-storied building located near the pond, along with the *shariden* and *izumi dono*.[131] This *kaisho* was used as an official meeting place when Yoshimitsu received Ming and Joseon envoys and during the visit of Emperor Go Komatsu in the 3rd month of 1408, banquets were held in 15-mat rooms at the *kaisho* and the Chinese paintings and objects that were on display during the visit were presented to the emperor after the event.[132]

Shoguns Yoshimochi, Yoshinori, and Yoshimasa's palaces, which I will further discuss in the next chapter, all had *kaisho* buildings, and I would argue that Ashikaga shoguns, especially

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of 1401 in *Kanenobu kōki*: '抑太元法御御会所被行之, 阿闍梨光覚云云,' in Kawakami (2002): 212; also footnote 120.

[130] Stavros (2006): 11-12.

[131] Kawakami Mitsugu states that the *kaisho* building at Kitayama villa was called Tenkyokaku (天鏡閣). For more detailed information about Yoshitmitsu's *kaisho* building at Kitayama villa see Kawakimi (2002): 217-218. Miyakami Shigetaka also examines Ashikaga architecture focusing on Yoshimitsu's Kitayama villa and Yoshimasa's Higashiyama villa. For more detailed use of these buildings and their building history, see Miyamaki Shigetaka, "Ashikaga shogun dai no kenchiku bunka 足利将軍第の建築文化," in *Kinkauji, Ginkauji* 金閣寺・銀閣寺, *Nihon meikenchiku shashinsenshū* 日本名建築写真選集 vol.11 (Tōkyō : Shinchōsha 新潮社, 1992): 91-131.

[132] *Noritoki kyōki* and *Kitayama dono gyokō ki* records on this 1408 event of imperial visitation to Yoshimitsu's Kitayama villa. I will further discuss in length *kaisho* buildings and their formal display at Ashikaga shoguns in Chapter Three.

Yoshinori, had a central role in the development of the *kaisho* as an independent building for social gatherings. In this sense, and contrary to Stavros' skepticism that a *kaisho* was included in Yoshimitsu's Muromachi palace, I think it likely that Ashikaga Yoshimitsu's Mumomachi palace included a *kaisho* at the end of fourteenth century.

## 2.4     POSSIBLE ROUTES OF DEVELOPMENT OF FORMAL DISPLAY

### 2.4.1   From Abbot's Quarters to *Kaisho*

Abbot's quarters are important in the development of displays within *kaisho* at shogunal residences and are also architecturally important because of the proto-*shoin* elements of the buildings. Several medieval illustrated handscrolls provide clear visual evidence that the same ensemble of Chinese objects placed in abbots' quarters were used to decorate shogunal residences. The accepted arrangement in both cases was a central painting or calligraphy flanked by two side paintings hung in either the alcove or on the wall and offering vessels placed in front. These objects were used in the private setting of the abbot's quarters, but in shogunal residences the setting was more social and public. Objects that originally had had a Buddhist context had a shared commonality with objects placed in secular elite residences.

### 1)  Abbot's Quarters from *Boki-ekotoba*

One handscroll set that is especially important to the history of both Japanese architecture and interior design is the mid-fourteenth century *Boki ekotoba*, an illustrated biography of the

priest Kakunyo (覚如: 1270-1351).[133] Kakunyo was the great-grandson of Shinran (親鸞: 1173-1263), the founder of the Jōdo Shinshū sect of Buddhism, and the third caretaker (*rusushiki*) of the mausoleum at Ōtani in Kyoto where Shinran's ashes were interred.[134] Kakunyo had a large role in the development of Shinshū, and his second son Jūkaku (従覚: 1295-1360) compiled *Boki ekotoba* soon after Kakunyo's death in 1351.[135] Kakunyo's biographical handscroll consists of ten scrolls chronicling highlights of his life from his birth to his death.

### Kakunyo with the Priest Shūtō (宗澄)

The first scroll of *Boki ekotoba* depicts the interior of an abbot's quarters arranged with *karamono*. The scroll shows Kakunyo studying with the priest Shūtō, an Enryakuji priest who was a great Tendai scholar.[136] According to the text preceding the images, at the age of thirteen Kakunyo began to study under the guidance of Shūtō who resided near Shimogawara to the east of Hosshōji (法勝寺) in Kyoto. In the study area, a Chinese-style ink painting and bronze flower

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[133] The handscrolls were made in 1351, an earlier date than the *kaisho* building in Ashikaga Yoshimitsu's Muromachi palace.

[134] Kakunyo was born in 1270 (on the twenty-eighth of the twelfth month) at Zenbōbō (善法坊) at Sanjō Tominokōji (三条富小路), where Shinran died. In 1272, Shinran's daughter, Kakushinni (1221-1281) built the Ōtani mausoleum in Kyoto to house the ashes of her father, and in 1321 Shinran's great-grandson Kakunyo (1270-1351) converted it into Honganji. At Ōtani Honganji, Kakunyo began to develop the doctrine of Shinran into a coherent religious system. For more about Kakunyo and his role in the development of Jōdo Shinshū, see James C. Dobbins, *Jōdo Shinshū: Shin Buddhism in Medieval Japan,* (Indiana University Press, 1989): 79-98.

[135] A little later, on the 19th day of the 10th month in 1352, Kakunyo's disciple, Jōsen (乗専: d. 1352) wrote a supplementary biography of Kakunyo, the *Saishu kyōjū ekotoba* (最須敬重絵詞). *Saishu kyōjū ekotoba* consists of only text and is comprised of seven scrolls. (Third and fourth scrolls are missing.)

[136] Kakunyo spent his youth in diverse scholarly and religious pursuits. At the age of five, Kakunyo was sent by his father, Kakue (1239?-1307), to study with various learned priests in both Kyoto and Nara. Under their guidance Kakunyo received a classical education in Tendai, Kusha, Hossō, and Sanron doctrines. He also read secular classics (*geten*) and became accomplished in poetry composition. In 1286, at the age of seventeen, he underwent ordination. Dobbins, 81.

vase are seen in the alcove (*tokonoma, oshiita*).[137] The scene of Kakunyo and Shūtō sitting and facing each other is ornately decorated with sliding doors painted with bamboo and cranes over a gold background and an ink scroll of plum blossoms hanging on the wall. Placed in an alcove (*tokonoma*) is an archaic-style Chinese copper vase on a red lacquered base. A flower vase is filled with colorful red and white flowers. This scene gives visual evidence of the display of *karamono* in an abbot's quarters that is similar to descriptions in written sources of objects displayed at elite residences.

In addition to the display of *karamono*, this scene includes *shoin* architectural elements such as an alcove (*tokonoma*) and writing table (*tsuke shoin*). Between the half-opened *shoji* in the room adjacent to where Shūtō and Kakunyo are seated together a writing table and folding screens with fan paintings can be seen. The missing third *shoin* element is a set of staggered shelves.[138]

The 1351 date of the *Boki ekotoba* precedes by over a century the 1485 date of the oldest extant example of *shoin* style architecture, the Dōjinsai room in the Tōgudō of Jishōji built for Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1435-1490). Therefore, the importance of *Boki ekotoba* is that it provides evidence that a hanging scroll and a flower arrangement were the usual decorative components of a priest's living quarters by the mid fourteenth century.

The scroll set was originally produced in 1351, but the first and seventh scrolls were lost and later replaced in 1481. According to the text in the first scroll, *Boki ekotoba* was removed from Honganji temple at the request of Ashikaga Yoshimasa and kept by him for many years.

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[137] The *tokonoma* was originally called the *oshiita*. The *tokonoma* is one of four elements found in the main hall of a samurai residence and it is an area used to display objects. Nishi Kazuo and Hoizumi Kazuo, *What is Japanese Architecture: A Survey of Japanese Architecture,* 74-75.

[138] I think that this room could also have had staggered shelves but because of the composition of this illustration they are not depicted in the scene.

Rennyo, the eighth abbot of Honganji temple in Kyoto, found it difficult to convince Yoshimasa to return the scrolls when a project to replace them was undertaken. Through the help of Asukai Masayasu they were returned in 1481 and the first and seventh scrolls were replaced.[139]

The study scene of Kakunyo and Shūtō is in the later copy first scroll, which was made in 1481. Therefore, it could be argued that it shows sophisticated *shoin* elements because it is a fifteenth century painting. Although it does reflect the century when *shoin* elements had become more formulated, this scene is important to my discussion because of the *karamono* displayed in the abbot's quarters. In addition, I think it likely that the original copy in 1351 has *shoin* elements because the tenth scroll of *Boki ekotoba*, made in 1351 (not a later copy of 1481) depicts a second abbot's quarters containing a writing desk, which is one of the three *shoin* elements.

### Kakunyo and His Father Kukue

In the fifth scroll, Kakunyo and his father Kakue are talking as they sit facing each other. According to the text preceding the images, the scene is set in the northern residence (*yuizenbō* 唯善坊) at Ōtani. Directly next to the room is a space equipped with a writing desk on which is centered paper and a writing box flanked by a celadon bowls of sweet flag. This room with the desk seems to be a place for reading and writing. As far as I know, this is the only example of an indoor arrangement of plants in fourteenth medieval handscrolls, but later records, such as *Sendensho* (16th c.) and *Kundaikan sōchōki* (15th c.), record that sweet flag bonsai were placed on

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[139] The exact date that Ashikaga Yoshimasa borrowed *Boki ekotoba* is unknown. Chiba Jōryū infers that he might have borrowed it around 1460, when Ashikaga Yoshimasa retired. Chiba Jōryū, "Sōsetsu Bokie," in *Bokie, E keizu, Gensei Shōnin eden*, (Kyōto: Dōbōsha Media Puran, 1988): 202-204.

staggered shelves in *shoin* style architecture.[140] The room with Kakunyo and Kakue also has an area for tea braziers in the center. This illustration is another example showing early interiors with *shoin* elements and an abbot's quarters arranged with *karamono*.

### Abbot's Quarters from *Haizumi monogatari emaki*

The fifteenth century illustrated handscroll *Haizumi monogatari emaki* (Illustrated Tale of Haizumi) also highlights the importance of abbots' quarters in the diffusion of *karamono* displays as well as *shoin* elements. In the second scroll of *Haizumi monogatari emaki,* we can see a tonsure ceremony is taking place in a Buddhist hall, and ritual objects can be seen on the altars. Next to this is an abbot's quarter with an alcove on the east side decorated with ink landscapes and one Buddhist painting. The alcove holds a celadon incense burner on a lacquer tray, an arrangement similar to that in Kakunyo's study in *Boki ekotoba*. Additionally, there is an area in the center of the room with a hearth and a tea kettle and tea utensils similar to the scene of Kakunyo and Kakue's meeting in *Boki ekotoba*, and on the northern wall is another alcove with a large ceremonial drum on a stand.

### Kakunyo and his grandson

The everyday use of offering vessels can be seen in the eighth scroll where Kakunyo and Koyomaru (光養丸), Kakunyo's grandson and Jūkaku's son, are depicted in Kakunyo's quarters. Kakunyo stands beside the table and is carefully looking at flower branches and writing papers while his grandson sits in front of a writing table. In front of a wooden door is a low table on

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[140] According to *Kao pan yu shi* 考槃餘事, a record from the Ming dynasty, sweet flag was thought to drive out evil spirits, and a shallow container with sweet flag was an important element in literary culture in China.

which stand three objects--a candleholder (probably bronze) with a red candle, a celadon vase holding cherry blossom branches, and a round celadon incense burner. These vessels were commonly found on Buddhist altars in front of Buddhist paintings or sculptures and were used during Buddhist ceremonies. However, here in this illustration, there is no painting or statue behind the table.[141] The text that accompanies this image states that, on the second month of 1349, Kakunyo's grandson put cherry blossoms in the vase and composed poems for his grandfather. The papers attached to the cherry branches are the poems written by the grandson and in response to his grandson's poems, Kakunyo composed and recited a poem.[142]

Kagotani Makiko argues that, based on the content of the poem, Kakunyo arranged the cherry blossom branches. That is, the first phrase "たをりをく" The flowers, cut by hand" suggests that Kakunyo personally cut the flowers and put them into the vase. She adds that the head priests personally arranged offering flowers at Honganji Temple, citing Rennyo (蓮如 1415-1499), the eighth abbot of Honganji temple, as an example.[143] But whether Kakunyo or his grandson created flower arrangements is not the important point here. What is important is that three offering vessels were used in the priest's private quarters, not in the context of formal Buddhist ritual offerings. Here, instead of the traditional bronze offering vessels, a mix of both celadon and bronze objects were used for private or personal worship within his residence. Moreover, the basic rules of *tatebana* flower arranging for patterns and balance to complement the vase were followed, suggesting that these objects were used daily in the priest's private room.

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[141] Three objects of the same shape were also excavated from the Sinan shipwreck. There includes a combination of a large Chinese celadon vase, a Chinese celadon incense burner with three small legs, and a Chinese silver candle or oil holder.

[142] For the original Japanese text of the poem see *Bokie, E keizu, Gensei Shōnin eden*, Shinshū jūhō shūei, vol.10 (Kyōto: Dōhōsha Media Puran, 1988): 72.

[143] Kagotani Makiko, "Boki ekotoba ni miru bungei to hūshū," in *Boki ekotoba*. Zoku Nihon no emaki, vol. 9 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1990): 125-134.

The materials from which the objects are made differ between Buddhist and secular setting. The objects used in abbots' private quarters are typically celadon not metal. It is hard to pinpoint when celadon began to be used in ritual settings,[144] but in the pre-modern periods in China and Korea, there was a clear hierarchy of medium. Gold, silver and metal wares were ranked higher than celadon, and only metal ware was used for formal rituals.[145] In the Song China, celadon that mimicked the shapes of ancient metal vessels became popular, and this suggests the popularity of antique items in Song China and an increase in the economic base of its patrons.[146] It also suggests that these same vessels were followed in Japan.

**Kakunyo at His Death**

The tenth scroll of *Boki ekotoba* illustrates a more common use of the three offering vessels. One scene from the tenth scroll depicts an ill Kakunyo and a second shows him on his deathbed. According to the text, Kakunyo became ill on the night of the seventeenth day of the first month of 1351, and the next morning his condition had worsened.[147] In two scenes Kakunyo can be seen lying in a corner of the room where there is a low altar table in front of an Amida

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[144] It is hard to pinpoint when celadon began to be used in ritual settings in Japan, but according to the Butsunichian inventory discussed on page 14, the pairing of a celadon flower vase and censer together with bronze censers was displayed in Buddhist halls by the fourteenth century.

[145] The hierarchy of material value was similar in Japan. Chinese celadons were expensive and were a popular imported item in medieval Japan because celadons could be mass produced more easily than metal or lacquer ware. However, it was not until the sixteenth century that both porcelain and celadon was manufactured in Japan.

[146] We can also confirm this through the excavated objects from the Sinan shipwreck. Among the numerous objects found, there were many vases and incense burners that had the same shapes but were made of bronze, silver, and celadon. (Table 1) As for the popularity of antiques in Song China, see. Kim Sung-ah 김성아 "Sinansŏn chulto banggo donggi ŭi gihyung gwa yongdo 신안선 출토 방고동기의 기형과 용도," *Misul sahak* 미술사학 29 (2015): 103-134.

[147] Before he died on the nineteenth day of the first month in 1351, he composed a *renga* poem at his bed. 南無阿彌陀佛力 ならぬのりぞなき, たもつ心もわれとおこさず, 八十地あまり をくるむかへて此春の, 花にさきだつ 身ぞあはれなる.

Buddha painting. On a low wooden table are an incense burner, a vase with pine branches, and a candleholder. The three objects are identical to those seen in the poetry writing and death scenes. The only differences are where the objects are placed on the table and the use of pine rather than cherry branches. The fact that the exact same objects were in his room on two different occasions suggests that the incense burner, flower vase, and candleholder remained in Kakunyo's room and that flowers and paintings were changed according to the occasion and the season.

Chinese paintings and objects were used and stored in many temples in Kamakura and Kyoto. Such objects became popular as a direct result of the warriors' interests in Zen Buddhism and continental culture at the end of the Kamakura and Nambokuchō periods. Obviously, the function of the objects within a Buddhist setting differed from their secular use. But it was the warriors' interest in things Chinese and in Zen Buddhism that provided the conduit for the spread of ownership of these items among the elite.

### 2.4.2    Social Gatherings and the Development of Formal Display at *Kaisho*

#### 1)  Tea and Tea Gathering

The popularity of tea and tea gatherings was also significant in the development of displaying *karamono* in elite residences. The fourteenth century text *Traditions of Tea* (*Kissai Orari*), written by the Tendai monk Gen'e (d. 1350), is a record of tea practices of the time. The text enumerates in extraordinary detail how interiors of the building, tea house, (喫茶之亭 *kissa no tei*) were to be furnished with Chinese objects for tea gatherings. It is stated in the record that two Chinese Buddhist paintings were the central images on the main wall of the room for tea gatherings: on the left, a polychrome Shakyamuni Preaching by the Southern Song painter Zhang

Sigong and on the right, a monochrome Kannon by Muqi. Flanking them were paintings of the bodhisattvas Fugen and Monju and portraits of the Chinese Chan monks Hanshan and Shide. In front of the paintings was a bronze flower vase sat on a low table. A brass incense scoop and tongs were arranged on a brocade covered table. Red lacquer and carved lacquer incense cases were arranged on a stand and tea jars were covered with brocade bags woven with images of the Takao and Toganoo areas near Kyoto (known for their beautiful maples). On the west side, fruits were piled on a pair of shelves, and various scrolls were hung from a pair of screens along the north wall. Leopard skins covered the chairs for the guests and gold gauze was spread over the chair belonging to the master of the house.[148]

The early fifteenth century illustrated handscroll, *Fukutomi sōshi* (Illustrated Scroll of the Tale of Fukutomi) includes an interior scene of a display of *karamono* tea utensils. According to the text, this specific scene from *Fukutomi sōshi* depicts an interior of a nouveau riche elderly couple's residence. In it can be seen *shoin* elements of a *tokonoma* alcove and low shelves with Chinese tea utensils. On the shelf is a large celadon dish, a lacquer tray holding two *tenmoku* tea bowls with stands and a tea wisk (*chasen*), and another celadon tea bowl. On the small *fusuma* are plum paintings.

## 2) Poetry Gathering

Poetry gatherings are also important in the development of displaying *karamono* at *kaisho* in elite residences. The tradition began in the Heian period when poetry gatherings to

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[148] *Kissa ōrai* 喫茶往來 in *Nihon no chasho* 日本の茶書 (Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1972). For more detailed use of this tea house and tea practices and rituals, see Nakamura Toshinori, *Machiya no chashitsu* 町家の茶室 (Kyoto: Tankōsha 淡交社, 1981): 28-29. Figure 20 in Kawai Masatomo's article shows the reconstruction of the tea house interior based on this record. Kawai Masatomo, "Reception room display in medieval Japan," in *Kazari* (2002): 37.

either compose new poems or create anthologies of old poems were held at court and gained

popularity in the early fourteenth century when they were held in courtiers' residences and

temples.[149]

Written sources, such as *Mumyōshō* (無名抄), and *Shasekishū* (沙石集) from the

Kamakura period (thirteenth century), relate that poetry gatherings were often held among elites

in a *kaisho*. The text does not include descriptions of the interior displays for poetry gatherings

but the *Boki ekotoba does* provide an image of a poetry gathering.


**Poetry Gathering in *Boki ekotoba* (Mid Fourteenth Century)**

The scene in the fifth scroll of *Boki ekotoba* (mid fourteenth century) depicts a poetry

gathering held in Kakunyo's residence at Ōtani in Kyoto. Kakunyo's biography states that he

frequently officiated at or participated in poetry gatherings.[150] In the scene, Kakunyo is seated at

the right between two courtiers and is officiating at the gathering. Participating priests hold either

paper or a brush in their hands and are focused on composing their poems. Outside the room,

attendants are preparing food for this event.[151]

At the far end of the room hangs a scroll painting of the poet Kakinomoto no Hitomaro (fl.

ca. 680-700) flanked by smaller hanging scrolls of bamboo and a plum. In front of the paintings

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[149] Tani Tomoko 谷知子, *Chūsei waka to sono jidai* 中世和歌とその時代 (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin 笠間書院, 2004): 24-27.

[150] Both Kakunyo's biography and *Boki ekotoba* stress Kakunyo as a talented literati who enjoyed composing poetry. For instance, Kakunyo compiled the *Kansōshū* 閑窓集, a collection of 1,000 of his *waka* poems. The book was acclaimed by Emperor Fushimi when it was presented to him in 1413. Also, from other pictures and texts from *Boki ekotoba*, we learn that Kakunyo frequently officiated at or participated in poetry gatherings. The sixth scroll states that Kakunyo and his two sons attended a poetry gathering on the ninth day of the third month of 1322 at Kitano Shrine. He held a poetry gathering at Ōtani in the spring where Hino Toshimitsu and other courtiers also participated.

[151] For the ceremonies dedicated to Hitomaro, see Anne E. Commons, "The Canonization of Hitomaro: Paradigm of the Poet as God," (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2003): 144-192.

are a celadon incense burner in the center and two vases with arrangements of pine branches at each side. Paper and scrolls are placed on the lower table. The image we saw of Kakunyo on his deathbed had the same composition with three paintings and offering vessels. The only difference between the two is a portrait of Hitomarao and ink paintings were used here instead of Buddhist paintings.

Hitomaro was a prominent figure in the *waka* and *renga* culture of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and displaying his portrait during poetry gatherings seems to have been very common in pre-modern Japan. It is unclear when the portrait of Hitomaro was first displayed at poetry gatherings, but it is are recorded in the *Kakinomoto eigu ki* that in 1118 offerings were made to a portrait of Hitomaro (*Hitomaro eigu* 人麻呂影供).[152]

### Poetry Gatherings in the Fifteenth Century Written Sources

Two fifteenth century diaries, *Kanmon nikki* and *Sanetaka-kōki,* include detailed information about poetry gatherings and the Hitomaro portrait used in these gatherings.[153] In Sanetaka's diary (*Sanetaka-kōki),* it is stated that a portrait of Hitomaro was displayed and commemorated during poetry gatherings.[154] According to Sanjonishi Sanetaka (1455-1537), a poetry gathering was held in 1491 at Sōgi's residence to commemorate a new portrait of Hitomaro. Sōgi (宗祇: 1421-1502) was a *renga* poetry master who had commissioned Tosa

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[152] The proceedings of the first *Hitomaro eigu* (人麻呂影供), the ceremony in which offerings were made to a portrait of Hitomaro, are recorded in the *Kakinomoto eigu ki* from 1118. Ibid.

[153] Hitomaro portraits were frequently hung at poetry gatherings and were handed over, like certificates, when someone completed an initiation (*denju*) into the secret interpretations of the *Kokinshū* (*Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems,* tenth century). For more on the function of Hitomaro portraits, see Sugimoto Yoshihisa, "Hitomaro zō shinkō to sono kyōju: Gosho denju to no kankei o chūshin ni," *Bijutsushi kenkyū* (Waseda Daigaku Bijutsushi Gakkai) 36 (1998): 39-58.

[154] *Sanetaka-kōki* is the diary of Sanjonishi Sanetaka (1455-1537), an aristocrat in Kyoto.

Mitsunobu (土佐光信: 1434-1525) to paint a portrait based on an earlier example by Fujiwara no Nobuzane (1162-1241). Roughly one year later, Sōgi lent the painting to the courtier Konoe Masaie (1444-1505), and it was hung during a fifty-verse poetry gathering.[155] The nineteen men who participated in the gathering included warriors, renga poets, Buddhist monks, and the artist Tosa Mitsunobu.[156] This record suggests that a portrait of Hitomaro was the centerpiece at a poetry gathering where various classes of people participated and enjoyed the event together.

Sadafusa's diary, *Kanmon nikki* records more specific information about objects used at a poetry gathering.[157] This diary includes detailed information concerning interior display at various events, rituals and ceremonies such as tea or poetry gatherings, star festival (*tanabata*) ceremonies, Buddhist rituals (hō-e 法会), shogunal visits, court rituals (*mana hajime* 魚味始 and *maigoran* 舞御覽) and therefore is a significant historical document of medieval interior display.[158] It is also important because the another, Sadafusa (1372-1456), the father of Emperor

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[155] For original texts, see *Sanetaka-kōki,* vol.2, Edited by Takahashi Ryūzo (Tokyo: Zoku Bunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 2000): 572. Also, for more about Tosa Mitsunobu's painting and his role in medieval Japan, see Melissa McCormick, *Tosa Mitsunobu and the Small Scroll in Medieval Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009): 94-95.

[156] Iwasaki Yoshie transcribed all of the poems and reproduced a photograph of the manuscript. Iwasaki Yoshie, "Tosa Mitsunobu no bungei katsudō: Yōmei bunko zō 'Sanjūsshu' ka to renga," *Gobun* (Osaka Daigaku) 47 (1986): 44.

[157] *Kanmon nikki* records detailed information about numerous poetry gatherings and the offering sets used in these gatherings. *Kanmon nikki* 看聞日記 is a diary written in court Chinese by Prince Sadafusa (伏見宮貞成親王, 後崇光院 1372-1456), a grandson of Emperor Sukō (崇光天皇 1334-1398) and the leader of the Fushimi no miya 伏見宮, a branch of the imperial line. His son took the throne as Emperor GoHanazono (後花園天皇 1419-1471) in 1428. Sadafusa's diary records much of what he saw and heard in the Fushimi domain. It is comprised of 54 volumes and covers the period from 1416 to 1448. Matsuoka Shinpei 松岡心平, *Kanmon nikki to chūsei bunka* 看聞日記と中世文化 (Tokyo: Shinwasha 森話社, 2009): 306-309. As for the contents of *Kanmon nikki,* I referred to *Kanmon nikki* vol. 1-7 in *Zushoryō sōkan*, Tokyo: Kunaichō Shoryōbu, 2002.

[158] *Mana hajime* refers to the ceremony of the first feeding of solid grains or meats to babies. In the Heian period, it was held around the 20th month of the baby's life, and in the Muromachi period, it was around the 101th day after the baby's birth. *Maigoran* refers to ceremonies involving *bugaku* dances. For more about rituals or ceremonies in *Kanmon nikki*, see Matsuoka Shinpei, *Kanmon nikki to chūsei bunka* (Tōkyō: Shinwasha, 2009).

Go Hanazono (1419-1471, r. 1428-1464), visited Ashikaga Yoshinori's palace in 1437, and Sadafusa himself often visited shogun Yoshinori's palace and also received Yoshinori at his palace.[159]

According to Sadafusa, numerous poetry gatherings (both *renga* and *waka*) were held regularly as annual or seasonal events and, through these records, we can recreate the interior settings of early fifteenth century poetry gatherings. Sadafusa held monthly poetry gatherings. On the 15th day of the 6th month in 1419, for one monthly poetry gathering, Sadafusa removed one *shoji* from the four-mat room on the west and a second *shoji* from the daily place (*tsune gosho*) and placed two sets of folding screens in the larger eight mat room where the poetry gathering was held.[160] A calligraphy (天神名号) by Myōhōin (妙法院) was flanked by a plum painting on each side. In front of the paintings, a low table held a flower vase and an incense burner. Paintings of Hanshan and Shide were hung on the left side and a low table holding a flower vase was placed in front of these paintings.[161] On the eighth day of the tenth month in 1419 the same calligraphy and flanking paintings were used during a *waka* poetry gathering.[162] On the twenty-sixth day of the ninth month in 1419, the same ensemble of a portrait of Hitomaro with the two side paintings was repeated at a *waka* poetry gathering.[163]

At a poetry gathering at Sadafusa's residence a hanging calligraphy related to Sugawara no Michizane, a Heian poet, scholar, and politician famous for his excellence of composing Chinese

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[159] The diary includes the period both before and after his son became an emperor. He lived in a temporary place in Fushimi after his original residence was burned 1401. He then moved to a new residence in Kyoto in 1435. For more information on Sadafusa's Fushimi residence (Fushimi *dono*), see Kawakami Mitsugu, *Nihon chūsei jūtaku no kenkyū*, (Tokyo: Chūo Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan 2002): 191-195.

[160] It is because Sadafusa's temporary Fushimi villa was small. Ibid., 193-194.

[161] *Kanmon nikki* 1419. 6.15. *Kanmon nikki* vol. 1 in *Zushoryō sōkan*, (Tokyo: Kunaichō Shoryōbu, 2002): 281-282.

[162] *Kanmon nikki* 1419. 10.18. *Kanmon nikki* vol. 1 (2002): 307.

[163] *Kanmon nikki* 1419. 9. 26. *Kanmon nikki* vol. 1 (2002): 304-305.

poems was the center painting flanked by a plum painting on each side. The portrait of Hitomaro was also used as the center painting in place of the calligraphy. In all cases, although the center painting could change, a low table that held an incense burner and a flower vase was always placed in front of the three paintings.[164]

The poetry gathering depicted in the *Boki ekotoba* is similar to the poetry gatherings described in Sadafusa's and Sanetaka's accounts, although they differ in time period and place. The diaries document early to mid-fifteenth century poetry gatherings held in aristocrats' residences, while *Boki ekotoba* depicts a fourteenth century poetry gathering held in an abbot's living quarters.

*Boki ekotoba* is, therefore, significant because it provides the missing link between the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth century conventions and links earlier poetry gatherings with the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries warrior elites. Furthermore, we can see that the same objects were appropriate in both religious and secular settings. At poetry gatherings in an abbot's quarter, secular portraits or calligraphy and ink paintings were used rather than Buddhist paintings, but the offering set of an incense burner and flower vase were exactly the same.

Illustrated manuals in the sixteenth century supplement this information. Illustrations in the *Sendensho* (ca. 1530) and *Mon'ami kadensho* (ca. 1553), famous manuals for flower arrangements, show that groups of three paintings and three offering vessels flanked by two additional flower vases at both sides had become the standard arrangement. The illustrations include a crane-shaped candleholder and flower arrangements. The same basic ensemble is seen in *Boki ekotoba* (14th c. illustrated handscroll), *Kundaikan sōchōki* (15th c. shoguanl art manual), and *Sendensho* and *Mon'ami kadensho* (16th c. flower arrangement manual). Therefore, we can

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[164] The use of interior space and formal display at Sadafusa's residence at Fushimi is comparable to Ashikaga shoguns' residences. I will discuss in the next chapter.

assume that there was a repetition of objects in Buddhist and secular interior settings in the 14<sup>th</sup> century or earlier. Furthermore, I think that objects displayed in the *tokonoma* and offering vessels used daily in priests' living quarters provided the connection between aristocrats and shoguns.

### 3) *Tanabana* (Star Festival) Ceremony

**Display for *Tanabana* (Star Festival) Ceremony in *Kanmon nikki***

It is recorded in *Kanmon nikki* that nearly every year, beginning in 1416, a star festival (*tanabata*) ceremony was held on the seventh day of the seventh month. [165] The *tanabata* ceremony was introduced from China to the imperial palace in Kyoto during the Heian period. Although there are no records of the Heian-period celebrations, the calendar of annual court ceremonies includes poetry gatherings for the *tanabata* celebration. During the *tanabata* ceremony in 1416, five Chinese paintings were hung on screens and a table with flower vases and other objects was placed in front of the screens. On each side of the center table stood side tables holding flower vases. A portrait of Daruma (the founder of Chan Buddhism in China) was hung on the northern wall as the main image. [166] This record mentions that the events took place in the '*kaisho*'.

The displays for the *tanabata* ceremony became more elaborate over the years. In 1416, five paintings and five flower vases were used, in 1431 (Eikyō 3), 19 paintings and 53 flower

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[165] The star festival is still celebrated in present-day Japan. In the fourteenth century poetry gathering was included in this event, and in the Edo period it became popular as a public festival. For more about this tradition, see Kawamoto Shigeo 川本重雄, *Shinden-zukuri no kūkan to gishiki* 寝殿造の空間と儀式 (Tōkyō: Chuō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan 中央公論美術出版, 2005).
[166] *Kanmon nikki*, 1419. 7. 7. *Kanmon nikki* vol. 1 (2002): 47-48.

vases were used, and in 1434 (Eikyō 6), 25 hanging scrolls and 65 flower vases were used for the ceremony.[167] According to this record, in 1434, because they could not find enough flowers for 65 flower vases, they used artificial flowers.[168]

The displays for each *tanabata* ceremony are basically the same as those used during the poetry gatherings except for the number of objects. Also, the objects used during the *tanabata* are less consistent, since the main image of the poetry gatherings was a portrait of Hitomaro or a hanging calligraphy related to Sugawara no Michizane. Objects used during *tanabata* ceremonies were varied combinations, such as a calligraphy related to Sugawaro no Michizane and plum paintings in 1419, a portrait of Hotei combined with bird-and-flower paintings, or a portrait of Daruma or Monjū used as the central painting. In addition, *Kanmon nikki* records in detail the subjects of screen paintings. For example, in 1432 (Eikyō 4), gold screen paintings of four seasons of pine trees (金瑩付松四季) and a screen painting of a pine grove by the seashore (海船松) are mentioned, and in 1434 (Eikyō 6), one set of screen paintings depicting fans with scenes from the *Tale of Genji* (扇流源氏絵) were borrowed from the imperial family for this event.[169]

In the texts the terms '*kaisho*' or '*kaiseki*' (会席) were used for poetry gatherings and their displays, while '*zashiki*' or '*hanazashiki*' were used for *tanabata* ceremonies. It could be that displays for *tanabata* ceremonies were part of a more public, official event. Unlike monthly poetry gatherings or small private poetry gatherings, *tanabata* is an annual court ceremony. Displays for *tanabata* ceremonies were first set out on the 6th day of the 7th month and removed

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[167] *Kanmon nikki*, 1431. 7. 7. *Kanmon nikki* vol. 3 (2002): 301-302.
[168] *Kanmon nikki*, 1434. 7. 7. *Kanmon nikki* vol. 5 (2002): 8.
[169] Ibid.

around the 10<sup>th</sup> day of the 7<sup>th</sup> month. The longer number of days and also the greater number of objects suggests that these displays were intended for elegant formal entertaining.

**Display for *Tanabana* (Star Festival) Ceremony Depicted in *Sairei soshi***

One scene from the mid-fifteenth century illustrated Handscroll, *Sairei soshi* (Tales of Festivals and Observances 祭礼草紙) contains an interior view where *karamono* are used during a social gathering. Although the scroll set is incomplete and the few images are faded, it still provides significant visual clues for understanding medieval Japanese culture.

This specific scene from *Sairei soshi* is believed to depict the main reception room where the *hana zashiki* (花座敷) was held during the *tanabata* ceremony in the 7<sup>th</sup> month.[170] Featured in this image are flower vases of various shapes and *karamono* objects placed in two alcoves. The arrangement is very similar to those discussed in *Kanmon nikki*. In the alcove to the left are hung three ink paintings and six flower vases along with an incense burner paired with red or black lacquered trays are placed before the paintings. In the alcove to the right are seven flower vases. Because the image is somewhat faded it is hard to identify the subject of the three paintings, but we can clearly see that some of the flower vases are the same as the bronze or copper Chinese Jue (爵) and Gu (觚) that we saw from the Sinan shipwreck. Two large bonsai trays are on the table outside of the room. The interior is where men would gather to play games and enjoy each other's company, and the man wearing black robes and holding a folding fan is most likely the host of this event.

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[170] The room provided with a display of Chinese objects and flower arrangements for the star festival ceremony was called the *hana zashiki* (flower reception room).

To the left of this room, we can see a smaller room with a desk alcove and staggered shelves. A bowl, vases, and a red lacquered tray have been placed on the shelves. In the desk alcove, we can see black lacquered writing objects. To the left, a monk prepares either food or tea in front of a fire, and a boy carries a large tray with three different flower vases to the main reception room.

In sum, while poetry gatherings for the *tanabata* ceremony were performed as court rituals in the Heian period, the use of large numbers of paintings and flower vases in the residences of courtiers has no precedent before the Muromachi period. Based on these two scrolls, I suggest that warrior culture impacted the formulating formal displays at court around the mid-fifteenth century. During the reign of Ashikaga Yoshinori, formal displays and *kaisho* reception halls were well established. The Ashikaga shoguns adopted the court calendar and followed court traditions. But at the same time, their development of formal displays in the *kaisho* space also came to impact court traditions. The period when the display of objects during the *tanabata* ceremony became more elaborate is also the period when Ashikaga Yoshinori added *kaisho* to his palaces.

## 2.5    CONCLUSION

The above-mentioned examples, culled from both visual and written sources, are evidence of how *karamono* were favored in medieval Japan and displayed at elite residences, Zen temples, abbots' quarters, and in the Ashikaga palaces. They were a major component in Buddhist rituals, and at poetry and tea gatherings, at the *tanabata* ceremonies, and when receiving guests. All in all, *karamono* were central to the private and literary activities frequently held among elites.

The above-mentioned examples also provide evidence that collecting and displaying Chinese objects and paintings had gradually become more popular among warriors and courtier elites by the mid-fourteenth century. Among the warrior elite, in particular, an interest in Chinese objects was related to their interest in Zen Buddhism, and Chinese objects and paintings began to be circulated among warriors and courtier elites via Zen temples. In this process, objects and paintings as well as their way of arrangement placed in abbot's quarters were appropriated and spread to medieval elite residences.

I believe that the Ashikaga shoguns, active patrons of Zen Buddhism, began to actively utilize Chinese objects and Zen elements in their residences. The Ashikaga shoguns, though not the first to appropriate Chinese elements, were the most successful in integrating Zen and Chinese objects as a means of demonstrating their authority.

*Karamono* were imported from China, but there were no specific Chinese models or rules of display for *kaisho*, *shoin* architecture, and *shoin* elements. There already existed the Buddhist tradition of arranging the main central image (painting or sculpture) flanked by two side images and placing offering sets in front of the image. This arrangement was gradually mimicked in secular settings with secular images replacing Buddhist images. Along with the booming popularity of things Chinese and the new Zen culture, there was an increasing need for a new architectural component known as the *shoin* architecture where the ceremonies could be held. The *kaisho* provided an interior setting where warriors and courtiers could socialize and represents an integration of the earlier tradition in Japan of Buddhist and ritual contexts within secular settings.

The late fourteenth through early fifteenth century is the period of new and old traditions impacting each other among the newly emerging elites in Kyoto. During this period of unrest,

cultural and social elements underwent great change. A need for a new setting for social gatherings and aesthetic expression is the central characteristic of the development of formal display.

The Ashikaga shogun and their palaces played great roles in formulating rules and places for formal display. The new warrior architectural style was an amalgam of older *shinden* and the new *shoin* styles. The new warrior class' absorption and imitation of many court traditions and their promotion of many arts led to the new addition of *kaisho* at their palaces and villas. *Kaisho* became the setting where the dominance of the Ashikaga was publically displayed to courtiers and military alike in order to consolidate their cultural authority in their new capital at Kyoto.

# 3.0 POLITICS OF DISPLAY: SOCIO-POLITICAL MEANING OF FORMAL DISPLAY THROUGH IMPERIAL VISITS TO ASHIKAGA SHOGUNS

## 3.1 INTRODUCTION

The Ashikaga shoguns were avid patrons of the arts and known especially for their collections of Chinese paintings, ceramics, bronzes and lacquer objects (*karamono*) which they often displayed for their own enjoyment and during visits of eminent guests to their palaces. The Ashikaga ordered the production of inventories of their collections (*Gomotsu on-e mokuroku*) and instructions for their proper display (*Kundaikan sōchōki*).[171] Information and descriptions of the shogunal collections and their arrangements can be also found in the diaries of courtiers and priests. As discussed in the Introduction, Go Sukōin (1372-1456) and the monk Mansai Jugō (1378-1435) wrote of their impressions of the magnificent interior displays in *kaisho* buildings in shogunal palaces. (*Kanmon nikki, Mansai jugō nikki*)[172] It is clear from these diary entries that the interior setting of the *kaisho* had become a kind of 'showcase' where treasured objects were put on display. The diaries include scattered but significant references to the collections, their arrangement and, more significantly, the special events and ceremonies when they were

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[171] During the Muromachi period (1333-1573), numerous manuscripts that illustrated shogunal collections were produced. The texts describe arrangements, give guidelines for proper decoration and display, and inventory the collections. *Kundaikan sōchōki* and *Okazarisho* are representative examples, and there are approximately 150 extant copies of various time periods, formats, and with various orders of contents. I will critically examine the production of these manuals in Chapter Four.

[172] For more of these diary entries in detail, see pages 1-2 of the Introduction.

displayed. All of this evidence suggests that the formal display of luxurious objects held special significance for the Ashikaga shoguns.

Important records of the formal display and meaning of shogunal collections are documented in connection with imperial visits to Ashikaga shoguns. Emperor Go-Hanazono visited Ashikaga Yoshinori's newly rebuilt Muromachi Palace for seven days in 1437 (Eikyō 9) and the events are documented in *Eikyō kunen jūgatsu nijūichinichi gyōkōki* (永享九年十月二十一日行幸記), *Muromachi dono gyōkō ki* (室町殿行幸記), and *Muromachi dono gyōkō okazariki* (室町殿行幸御飾記).[173] It is this latter handscroll that I am primarily interested in because it is the earliest and only complete record of objects displayed at the Muromachi palace during Emperor Go-Hanazono's visit. Therefore, the *Muromachi dono gyōkō okazariki* is one of the most significant sources available to help us understand the meaning of formal display at the Ashikaga residence, not only for the emperor's visitation, but also for the production of additional manuals.

Although scholars have examined and written about the luxurious collections, the performative aspects for both patrons and viewers within the larger context of the complicated power structure in medieval Kyoto have been overlooked. This chapter will explore the socio-political meaning of formal display through the imperial visit to the Ashikaga shogun, one of the most important events in medieval Japan. In particular, I will focus on the elaborate formal display at the Muromachi palace of the sixth Ashikaga shogun, Yoshinori (義教 1394-1441,

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[173] *Eikyō kunen jūgatsu nijūichinichi gyōkōki* 永享九年十月二十一日行幸記 and *Muromachi dono gyōkō ki* 室町殿行幸記 record the details from the day of the emperor's procession to the Muromachi Palace to his return to the Imperial Palace. Included are specific events, attendees' names, and gifts given to the emperor. The records are reproduced in *Gunsho ruijū*. I referred to *Shinkō Gunsho ruijū* 2 (Tokyo: Meicho Fuyūkai 名著普及会, 1977): 438-475.

r.1429-1441) during the visit of Emperor Go-Hanazono (後花園天皇 1419-1471, r.1428-1464) as described in *Muromachi dono gyōkō okazariki*. Thorough examination of this record in conjunction with the socio-political meaning of imperial visits to the shogun will not only enable the reconstruction of the interiors of Yoshinori's Muromachi palace but also explore the performative aspects of the formal display in medieval Japan. Information from the previous chapter combined with a comprehensive analysis of visual and written primary sources from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries show that formal display was an integration of Buddhist and court traditions and played a pivotal role in the development and consolidation of Ashikaga legitimacy and ascendancy in fifteenth-century Kyoto.

### 3.1.1 Present Scholarship on Imperial Visits

Studies related to imperial visitations to Ashikaga residences and palaces can be divided into three types. First are those by historians who have focused on primary texts that describe imperial visits and discussed the relationship between shoguns and emperors as a means to understanding the power structure in medieval Japan. Several recent studies by Japanese scholars have reexamined medieval Japan by focusing on the broader contexts of these visits. For example, Ishihara Hīro has examined the relationship between shogun Yoshinori and Emperor Go-Hanazono and the underlying political meaning of the visit itself.[174] His detailed analysis is limited to the relationship between shogun and emperor, while scholars such as Hashimoto Yū

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[174] Based mainly on one textural source, *Eikyō kunen jūgatsu nijūichinichi gyōkōki* (永享九年十月二十一日行幸記), Ishihara Hīro focused on Yoshinori's position at this event. Ishihara Hīro 石原比伊呂, "Muromachi dono gyōkō ni miru Ashikaga Yoshinori no ichi tsuke 室町殿行幸にみる足利義教の位置づけ," *Aoyama shigaku* 青山史学 29 (2011): 1-19.

expanded the specifics of the event by placing the Ashikaga within a larger context of international relations between Japan and China.[175]

Second, architectural historians have added a new dimension to the discussion. Kawakami Mitsugu, Nakamura Toshinori, and Miyakami Shigetaka's reconstructions of the Ashikaga shogunal residences have provided locations and ground plans as well as timelines for their building projects.[176] These studies not only recreate the setting for the events but also make it possible to explain how the architecture functioned. Architectural historians Hosokawa Taketoshi and Takahashi Shinichiro have examined the relationship between warrior residences and *jisha* (temple-shrine complexes) to explain the socio-political structure of the Muromachi *bakufu*. Hosokawa has studied the meaning of the locations of three Ashikaga palaces and their family temples (*bodaiji*) and points out that the Muromachi *bakufu*, cannot be fully understood only through an examination of administrative systems based in textual sources alone. He emphasizes that spacial analysis of the locations of Ashikaga buildings and their relation to imperial buildings and temples in Kyoto needs to be considered.[177] Matthew Stavros, largely

[175] Hashimoto Yū 橋本雄, "Kōtei heno akogare: Ashikaga Yoshinoriki no muromachi dono gyōkō ni miru 皇帝へのあこがれ: 足利義教期の室町殿行幸にみる," *Ajia yūgaku* 122 (2009): 184-199; and *Chūka gensō: karamono to gaikō no Muromachi jidaishi* 中華幻想: 唐物と外交の室町時代史 (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan 勉誠出版, 2011): 91-125.

[176] Kawakami Mitsugu, in his publication on medieval Japanese residential architecture, examines residences from Ashikaga Takauji to Yoshimasa. Kawakami Mitsugu 川上貢, *Nihon chūsei jūtaku no kenkyū* 日本中世住宅の研究 (Tokyo: Bokusui Shobō 墨水書房, 1967). Reissued in 2002 by Chūo Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan 中央公論美術出版. Nakamura Toshinori and Miyakami Shigetaka have examined the record *Muromachi dono gyōkō okazariki* and reconstructed their own probable diagram of Ashikaga Yoshinori's three *kaisho* at his Muromachi palace. Nakamura Toshinori, *Machiya no chashitsu* 町家の茶室 (Kyoto: Tankōsha 淡交社, 1981): 25-31; and Miyakami Shigetaka 宮上茂隆, "Kaisho kara chayu zashiki e 会所から茶湯座敷へ," *Chadō shūkin* 茶道聚錦 7. *Zashiki to roji* 座敷と露地 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan 小学館, 1984): 46-81.

[177] Hosokawa Taketoshi 細川武稔, *Kyoto no jisha to Muromachi bakufu* 京都の寺社と室町幕府 (Tokyo: Yoshiwara kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 2010); Takahashi Shini'ichirō 高橋慎一朗, *Chūsei no toshi to bushi* 中世の都市と武士 (Tokyo: Yoshiwara kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1996).

influenced by Takahashi Shinichiro, further emphasizes that the location of Ashikaga residences and their sponsored buildings was one means that they used to establish their legitimacy.[178]

Lastly, when the handscroll *Muromachi dono gyōkō okazari ki* was first displayed in 1976 it aroused the interest of art historians.[179] Since the scroll contains detailed information about the objects on display, most studies have focused on the collection itself, that included numerous Chinese paintings and objects. In this context, two recent special exhibitions focusing on the Ashikaga collection (*Higashiyama gomotsu*) were held in Japan and are noteworthy because they set in motion new approaches to the subject. An exhibition titled *Muromachi shogunke no shihō o saguru* (*Finding the Ashikaga Shoguns' Treasures*) was held at the Tokugawa Bijutsukan in 2008. Shiga Tarō's (志下太郎) comprehensive essay in the catalogue examined the Ashikaga collection, and he argued for critical academic approaches to the collections.[180] A catalogue and special volume of *Shubi* were published in conjunction with the exhibition *Higashiyama gomotsu no bi: Ashikaga shogunke no shiho* (*Beauty of the Ashikaga*

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[178] He argues that Yoshimitsu's building of his new Muromachi palace at Kamigyō, Kyoto's elite district, in 1378, leaving his previous Sanjō bōmon palace, was a statement of his legitimacy in Kyoto. Matthew Gerald Stavros, "*Reading Ashikaga History in the Urban Landscape: Kyoto in the Early Muromachi Period, 1336-1467*," (PhD diss. Princeton University, 2005); "The Sanjō bōmon Temple-Palace complex," *Japan Review* 22, (2009): 3-18; and *Kyoto: an Urban History of Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014): 103-132.

[179] The handscroll records objects displayed during the emperor's visit in 1437. Two later copies have been found in a private collection and Sendai City Museum. According to the Tokugawa Art Museum records, the scroll had been in the collection of the Tokugawa family since the Edo period. It has only recently been made available for study, having long laid unrecognized among other documents in the museum's storage. Carla M. Zaine's research was the first to introduce the *Muromachi dono gyōkō okazari ki* in English and she explained the importance of the handscroll as an inventory of shogunal collections. Carla M. Zaine, "The Muromachi dono gyōkō okazari ki," *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 33. no. 1 (1978): 113-118.

[180] Essays in this catalogue also provide detailed information on supplementary sources regarding collections, such as seals, labels, and texts about repairs. *Muromachi shogunke no shihō o saguru* 室町将軍家の至宝を探る (Nagoya: Tokugawa Bijutsukan 徳川美術館, 2008).

*Collection: Treasures of the Ashikaga shoguns*) at the Mitsui Kinen Bijutsukan in 2014.[181] Both emphasize reception history of Chinese paintings and objects in Japan and focus on economic aspects as they pertain to cultural advisors (*dōbōshū*). Economic aspects of *karamono* in general and records of payment to *dōbōshū* will be discussed in Chapter Four.

These studies have made great progress in collection history and mark the beginning of Japanese scholars renewed interest in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. However, regardless of the profound accomplishments and insightful arguments of these studies, objects in the collections have neither been fully examined nor have they been discussed in regard to their socio-political meanings in the larger context of authority in medieval Japan.

In summary, both Japanese and Western historians have examined the Ashikaga shoguns' collections and display, but few studies have applied the complicated underlying power structure of Kyoto to this subject. Historians have discussed the relationships between emperors, Ashikaga shoguns, and influential court families through imperial visitations but have overlooked the importance of display or decoration in their discussions. It is my intention to address this lack through a more integrated approach that discusses the underlying meaning of display within the larger socio-political context of events and their performative aspects. This chapter will focus on the emperor's visitation to the shogun (*gyōkō*) and will explore the socio-political meaning of elaborate formal display at shogunal palaces. By focusing on the sixth shogun Ashikaga Yoshinori (1394-1441), I will explore the role played by formal display in the development and consolidation of the Ashikaga's legitimacy in fifteenth-century Kyoto.

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[181] *Higashiyama gomotsu no bi: Ashikaga shōgunke no shiho* 東山御物の美: 足利将軍家の至宝 (Tokyo: Mitsui Kinen Bijutsukan 三井記念美術館, 2014).

## 3.2    IMPERIAL VISITATIONS TO ASHIKAGA SHOGUNS

### 3.2.1    *Gyōkō* in the Muromachi Period

To explore the performative aspect of formal display, it is necessary to first examine the meaning of three imperial visits to the shogun. The term *gyōkō* refers to visits emperors made to places beyond their imperial palaces (*dairi* 内裏).[182] Imperial visits to temples, shrines, and retired emperors were common and often noted during the Heian and Kamakura periods. An imperial visit to a warrior who held an official rank lower than the imperial family did not occur until the Muromachi period when three imperial visits to shogunal palaces were recorded. The visits were Emperor Go'Enyu to Ashikaga Yoshimitsu's Muromachi Palace in 1381, Emperor Go Komatsu to Kitayama Villa in 1408, and Emperor Go Hanazono to Yoshinori's Muromachi Palace in 1437.[183]

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[182] Satō Toyozō defines several pre-modern Japanese terms regarding imperial visits to other places based on the Edo period text, *Teijō zakki* (貞丈雑記) by Ise Sadatake (1718-1784). According to *Teijō zakki*, *gyōkō* (行幸) refers to a reigning Emperor's visits and *gokō* (御幸) refers to a retired Emperor's visits. *Miyuki* includes both *gyōkō* (行幸) and *gokō* (御幸). When shogun visited other places, the term *onari* (御成) was used during the Muromachi and Edo periods. For Satō's article, see *Tokugawa shogun no onari* 徳川将軍の御成 (Nagoya: Tokugawa Bijutsukan 徳川美術館, 2012): 114-115.

[183] The emperor's visit to a shogun's palace happened only six times during the 700 years of the shogunate. Thus, they were very exceptional events. During the Kamakura period, when the *bakufu* was not in Kyoto, there were no imperial visits, but during the Muromachi period, when the *bakufu* moved Kyoto, there were three. During the Edo period, the emperor visited the shogun only once when the third shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu lived in the Nijō Palace in Kyoto. If we include Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who was not a shogun but a warrior ruler, there were two more imperial visits during his reign.

### 3.2.2 Backgrounds of Three Imperial Visits

In order to fully understand the performative aspects and socio-political meaning of formal display during Emperor Go Hanazono's imperial visit to Ashikaga Yoshinori in 1437, it is necessary to first examine the two previous visits hosted by Ashikaga Yoshimitsu. The question of why Yoshimitsu and Yoshinori, the most powerful shoguns during the Muromachi period, invited the emperor and what that act reveals about their relationship with the imperial court needs to be asked again.[184] Based on primary texts of each imperial visit and present scholarship, this section will discuss and compare the three events in order to understand their meaning and Muromachi *bakufu*'s intention behind their invitations.

### 1) Emperor Go Enyu's Visit to Yoshimitsu's Muromachi Palace in 1381

The first imperial visit to an Ashikaga shogun was made in the third month of 1381 when Emperor Go En'yu visited Yoshimitsu's Muromachi palace for six days.[185] This imperial visit to a warrior that had no precedent would provide the model for subsequent visits and held special

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[184] In the past the conventional answer was that the Muromachi *bakufu* intended to show off their power and to put pressure on the Emperor. This reflects the understanding that warriors were in a competitive relationship with the emperor. I will reconsider this later in this chapter.

[185] There are four primary texts pertaining to Emperor Go Enyu's visitation to Yoshimitsu's Muromachi palace in 1381. *Sakayuku Hana* さかゆくはな (author unknown)*, Muromachi tei gyōkō ki* 室町亭行幸記 by Kujō Noritsugu (九条教嗣 1362-1404)*, Muromachi dai gyōkō ki* 室町第行幸記 by Asuka Imasauji (飛鳥井雅氏, dates unknown)*, and Gukanki* 愚管記, Konoe Michitsugu's diary. Kuwayama Kōnen, in his examination of the 1381 imperial visit, has briefly introduced four of these primary records. Kuwayama Kōnen 桑山浩然, "Muromchi jidai ni okeru shōgundai gyōkō no kenkyū: Eitoku gannen no Ashikaga Yoshimitsudai gyōkō 室町時代における将軍第行幸の研究: 永禄元年の足利義満第行幸," *Kokushikan daigaku bungakubu jinbun gakkai kiyō.* 国士館大学人文学会紀要 36 (2003): 17-20. Matthew Stavros and Norika Kurioka have translated *Sakayuku hana*, one of four records of Emperor Go Enyu's visitation to Yoshimitsu's Muromachi palace in 1381. Matthew Stavros, Norika Kurioka "Imperial Progress to the Muromachi Palace, 1381 A Study and Annotated Translation of *Sakayuku hana,*" in *Japan Review 28* (2015): 3-46.

significance for Yoshimitsu's position and authority with the imperial family and Muromachi society in general. It is important to understand when and how this event was possible and how this event transformed Yoshimitu's position in Kyoto.

Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358-1408, r. 1368-1394) became the third shogun of the Muromachi bakufu in 1367 at the age of ten. Because Yoshimitsu was so young Hosokawa Yoriyuki (1329-1392), the shogun's deputy (*kanrei*), served as his chief minister and acted as guardian and counsel to the young Yoshimitsu from 1367 to 1379. Yoshimitsu was under the control of Hosokawa Yoriyuki until his lost power due to a political coup in 1379. During his tenure, Yoriyuki tried to consolidate his control of the shogunate in Kyoto. He strengthened the bafuku's control over lands through his half-tax policy and reorganized the system of important Zen temples (Gozan) in Kyoto and Kamkura to control the religious circles. Yoriyuki also had a role in the defection of Kusunoki Masanori (d. 1390), a key military commander of the Southern Court, to the bakufu. He dispatched Imagawa Sadayo (1326-1420) to take control of Kyushu, weakened the power of Southern court and, by doing so, solidified the power of the shogunate. However, his actions made him unpopular among Zen and Tendai religious circles as well as the elites, and Yoriyuki lost power in 1379 due to a political coup (*Kōryaku no seihen* 康暦の政変) led by *shugo* daimyo hardliners.[186] Following the coup, Yoshimitsu, at age 23, finally began to exercise his autonomy as a shogun. In 1378, Yoshimitsu began constructing his new palace and moved to the Muromachi palace. He was promoted to the court position of Provincial Major Counselor (*gon dainagon* 権大納言) in the third month and was again promoted to the court position of Commander of the Right (*udaisho* 右大将) in the eighth month of the same year.

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[186] For more on the roles of Hosokawa Yoriyuki's dictatorship and the Kōryaku political coup, see Ogawa Takeo 小川剛生, *Ashikaga Yoshimitsu: kūbo ni kunrinshita Muromachi shogun* 足利義満: 公武に君臨した室町将軍 (Tokyo: Chūo Kōron Shinsha, 2012): 15-45.

Three years later, in 1381, the visit of Emperor Go'Enyu to Yoshimitsu's palace in Kyoto occurred.

The unprecedented and unusual event of the Emperor's visit in 1381 was possible for several reasons as understood within the political situation in medieval Kyoto. First, it signified further weakening of the emperor's power that had begun to be eroded in the early Kamakura period when the emperor tried but failed to overthrow the *bakufu* regime in the Jōkyū Disturbance (1221). In the mid-Kamakura period the *bakufu* was called to intervene in the succession disputes within the imperial family resulting in a plan in which the emperors from the two fraternal lines would ascend to the throne in alternating succession. After the Muromachi *bakufu* was established, the court was divided into the Southern and the Northern Courts and one emperor from each court reigned for fifty years, a further weakening of the emperor's authority. The Southern Court kidnapped Emperors Go Kōmyō (1322-1380, r. 1336-1348), Sukō (1334-1398, r. 1348-1351), and Go Kōgon (1338-1374, r.1352-1371) of the Northern Court, causing further chaos. As a result, Emperor Go Kōgon handed over the throne to his son Go En'yu without issuing an imperial document to proclaim the decision, and his son ascended the throne without the three sacred emblems of the sovereign. This symbolic and real weakening of the imperial family's authority helped the warriors enter the circle of aristocratic court society and allowed them to organize the emperor's visit to the shogun's palace, an event which could only be dreamed of until that time.

Yoshimitsu's ancestry also allowed him to enter the aristocratic court society. Yoshimitsu's mother (Ki no Yoshiko) and the mother of Emperor Go En'yu, Sukenmon-in (Ki no Nakako), were the daughters of Ki no Michikiyo (紀通清) and Chisen Shōtsū (智泉聖通),

great granddaughters of the 84th Emperor Juntoku (1197-1242, r. 1210-1221). [187] Therefore, Yoshimitsu and Emperor Go En'yu were matrilateral cousins and fifth-generation matrilineal descendants of Emperor Juntoku. Imatani Akira suggests that Yoshimitsu's strong ancestry seems to have had a decisive influence on his behavior. Yoshimitsu, unlike previous shoguns Takauji and Yoshiakira, did not limit his status to only his position within the warrior group. In 1393 he elevated himself to the highest court position of Grand Chancellor (*dajō daijin* 太政大臣). Yoshimitsu's inviting the emperor to visit his palace could be understood in the context of his trying to enter the court society that was justified by his ancestry.

In addition, supporters of Yoshimitsu played a central role in assuring his success. Nijō Yoshimoto (1320-1388), a high-ranking court noble and former imperial regent (*sekkan*) seems to have had a significant role in planning, preparation and assistance during the ceremony. [188] The 1381 imperial visit symbolized Yoshimitsu's increased power and authority but without Yoshimoto's active involvement it would not have been possible.

### 2) Emperor Go Komatsu's Visit to Yoshimitsu's Kitayama Villa in 1408

Yoshimitsu increasingly consolidated his power following the 1381 imperial visit. After the visit Yoshimitsu's power had become stable enough that he was able to control courtier society, religious circles and warriors. He organized a private military unit (*hokoshū*) and

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[187] Emperor Go En'yu's mother, Sukenmon-in, was the adopted daughter of the Minister of the Left, Hirohashi Kanetsuna. Her birth father was Ki no Michikiyo, the highest-ranking priest who was in charge of clerical business at Iwashimizu Hachimangu shrine. Imatani Akira 今谷明, *Muromachi no ōken: Ashikaga Yoshimitsu no ōken sandatsu keikaku* 室町の王権: 足利義満の王権簒奪計画 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha 中央公論社, 1990): 37-38.

[188] Matthew Stavros explains that Yoshimoto wrote *Hyakuryō kun'yōshō* (百寮訓要抄) to instruct Yoshimitsu on proper court manners, practices, and etiquette. Stavros and and Kurioka, in *Japan Review* (2015): 5. Ogawa Takeo argues that Yoshimoto backed Yoshimitsu's rise in order to use Yoshimitsu's wealth and control over the *bakufu*. Ogawa Takeo, ibid., 70-95.

suppressed the powerful *shugo* daimyos.[189] He reorganized the courtiers under his control and, in the process, several influential families of the court aristocracy, such as Saionji family, fell from power and were reduced to the status of vassals. The result was that Yoshimitsu expanded his power base to include both the imperial court and the military.

The climax of this power shift was the unification of the Southern and the Northern Courts in 1392 when Emperor Go Kameyama of the Southern Court handed over the three sacred emblems of sovereign rule to Emperor Go Komatsu of the Northern Court. In 1393 Yoshimitsu abdicated as shogun and became Grand Chancellor (*Dajo Daijin*), the highest rank of the imperial court. In 1394 Yoshimitsu abdicated as Grand Chancellor and entered the Buddhist priesthood and his son Yoshimochi was appointed shogun. Tanaka Takeo argues that Yoshimitsu's resignation and taking the tonsure did not result in his retiring from politics but, rather, indicates his intention to further his control and domination free from a secular position.[190] Yoshimitsu was awarded the honorary rank of *jūsangō* (准三后) or *jūgū* (准后) in 1383, a title that allowed him to receive treatment similar to that of the emperor.[191] Chinese Emperor Jianwen (1377-1402, r.1398-1402) of the Ming Dynasty designated Yoshimitsu as "King of Japan" in 1402 for his opening of official trade between Japan and China. Yoshimitsu invited Go Komatsu to his Kitayama villa in 1408, when his power was at his peak.

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[189] Yoshimitsu suppressed the Toki family after the Mino war (美濃の亂) in 1390, the Yamano family after the Meitoku war (明徳の亂) in 1391, and the Ōuchi family after the Ōei war in 1399.

[190] Tanaka Takeo 田中健夫, *Chūsei taigai kankeishi* 中世対外関係史 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 東京大学出版会 1975): 59-61.

[191] *Jūsangō* (准三后), *jūsangū* (准三宮) or *jūgū* (准后) is an honorary rank granted to one of non-imperial descent, designating that they receive treatment comparable to an emperor.

The visit of Emperor Go Komatsu to Yoshimitsu differed from earlier imperial visits in the following ways.[192] Yoshimitsu launched the initiative and planned and directed every detail. It lasted twenty-one days, more than three times longer than the previous 1381 imperial visit. Yoshimitsu was not a reigning shogun because he had resigned in 1394. Yoshimochi, Yoshimitsu's son, had succeeded his father as shogun at age nine, but since he was so young Yoshimitsu held the real power.[193] The places of the two events were different; the 1381 imperial visit was held at the Muromachi palace and the 1408 visit was at the Kitayama villa. Finally, Yoshimitsu's son, Yoshitsugu, participated during the imperial visitation even though he did not have a high official court title. Yoshimitsu's eldest son, Yoshimochi, was the shogun at the time of the visit, but he was not present. However, Yoshimitsu's second son Yoshitsugu did participate.

### 3) Emperor Go Hanazono's Visit to Yoshinori's Muromachi Palace in 1437

Yoshimochi, Ashikaga Yoshinori's elder brother and predecessor as shogun, had died without designating a successor. In order to correct the break in succession, lots were drawn at the Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine and Yoshinori was named as sixth shogun in 1482. This irregular method of choosing a successor had a negative influence on Ashikaga Yoshinori's reign, and he had trouble with the court nobles when doubts regarding his legitimacy arose. Yoshinori,

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[192] *Kitayama dono gyōkō ki* (北山殿行幸記) by Ichijō Tsunetsugu (一条経嗣 1358-1418) and *Kitayama gyōkō ki* 北山行幸記 in the Kyoto National University Collection record about this 1408 imperial visit. There are two versions of *Kitayama dono gyōkō ki,* one is written in *wabun* (和文) and the other is written in *kanbun*. Both are reproduced in *Gunsho ruijū.* For original text, I referred to *Shinkō Gunsho ruijū* 2 (Tokyo: Meicho Fuyūkai 名著普及会, 1977): 399-437. *Kitayama gyōkō ki* in the Kyoto National University Collection has been digitized.
See http://edb.kulib.kyoto-u.ac.jp/exhibit/h055/image/01/h055s0001.html.
*Kanmon nikki* and *Noritoki kyōki* (Record of Lord Noritoki) also accounts this event.
[193] Yoshimochi was appointed shogun in 1394 but actually his rule as shogun began after Yoshimitsu's death in 1408.

however, was firmly convinced that the gods anointed his rule, and his belief was manifested in his decisions on political matters.[194] His belief gave him uncontested power by eliminating the need for a countersignature on matters of policy, leading to the perception that he was consolidating more and more power in his own hands. Yoshinori tried to consolidate his power by following his father Yoshimitsu's policies. He rebuilt Yoshimitsu's Muromachi Palace that had been destroyed during Yoshimochi's reign and after the building project was finished he invited Go Hanazono to his Muromachi palace.

### 3.2.3   Ceremonies and Events of the Imperial Visits

I will examine and compare three imperial visits taking into consideration the titles and status of shoguns, the locations of the three imperial visits, and the ceremonies and events during the visits. In particular, I will focus on the ceremonies and shogun's actions as a host during three imperial visits in order to understand the meaning of these imperial visits and compare the similarities and differences among the three. (Tables 2, 3)[195]

**The Procession**

When Emperor Go Enyu's visited Yoshimitsu's newly built Muromachi palace in 1381 for six days Yoshimitsu was reigning shogun and had been awarded the court title of

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[194] Yoshinori was the youngest of Yoshimitsu's four sons. He had not been expected to succeed as shogun and was serving as the Tendai abbot at Enryakuji.

[195] I constructed these tables to show the outline of events and ceremonies during the three imperial visits.

Commander of the Right (*udaisho* 右大将).[196] Yoshimitsu went to the imperial palace and accompanied the emperor in the procession. Yoshimitsu took the lead and served as guide, following the role of his court title, Commander of the Right. Warriors with ranks higher than *chujo* (中將) and imperial court nobles marched on both sides of the Emperor's palanquin. They were followed by the highest-ranking imperial court nobles (*kampaku* 関白) and other high-ranking court nobles all seated in palanquins. The procession did not take the direct route to Yoshimitsu's palace. Rather, it traveled through every corner of the northern area of Kyoto where the court nobles' residences were located. The gorgeous outfits of the royal families and the warriors were said to be a spectacle by all who witnessed the procession.[197] The spectacular procession was designed for its showy effect.

The second imperial visit to Yoshimitsu's Kitayama villa occurred in 1408 and lasted 21 days. At that time Yoshimitsu held no official titles. He had resigned from the position of shogun in 1393 and also given up his court title of Chancellor (*dajo daijin*) in 1394 and had entered the priesthood. He held the title "King of Japan" and had been awarded the honorary rank of *jūsangū* in 1383. During the visit he presented himself as a retired emperor, a rank higher than imperial court nobles. Accordingly, Yoshimitsu did not lead the grand procession during the second visit

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[196] *Udaisho* is abbreviation of *ukone no daisho* 右近衛大将. Paul Varley translates the title as "Captain of the Inner Palace Guard, Right Division" and Matthew Stavros as "Commander of the Right". H Paul Varley, *The Ōnin war: history of its origins and background with a selective translation of the Chronicle of Ōnin* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967): 224; and Stavros and Kurioka, in *Japan Review* (2015): 10.

[197] *Sakayuku hana* lists details of the events in the first two days of the imperial visit. The entries about the last four days are lost. For more about the details of the procession, the attendees, and their outfits and locations, see Stavros and Kurioka's annotated translation of this text. Stavros and Kurioka, 20-24.

in 1408.[198] He remained at his palace and sent his second son, Yoshitsugu to the imperial palace to escort the emperor and lead the procession.

In 1437 Yoshinori invited Go Hanazono to his newly built Muromachi palace for six days. Yoshinori was a reigning shogun and held the court title of Minister of the Left (*sadaijin*). He also held the title "King of Japan" because he had reopened foreign relations with China that had been discontinued by Yoshimochi. Yoshinori went to the imperial palace to escort the emperor. The procession was similar to that of the 1381 imperial visit in both scale and procedure. In the procession, Yoshinori assumed the position of Minister of the Left. Yoshinori's status as Minister of the Left was maintained through seating arrangements from the arrival of the emperor at the shogun's palace on the 21st day to his leaving to return to the imperial palace on the 26th day. Only Nijō Mochimoto (1390-1445), the imperial regent (*kampaku* 関白), was seated in the special seat on the east side of the Emperor, while Yoshinori and other high-ranking court nobles, were seated on the west side. During the whole period of the imperial visit Yoshinori acted as Minister of the Left.

Scholars often suggest that the 1437 imperial visit was similar to the 1408 imperial visit in that both Yoshimitsu and Yoshinori held the title of "King of Japan."[199] However, in terms of

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[198] Further evidence that he thought of himself as equal occurred when Yoshimitsu and the emperor sat on double tatami mats so that neither was elevated above the other. Imatani Akira points out that Yoshimitsu was seated in the same kind of tatami mat decorated with cloud hems (*ungen beri*) as the emperor during their official meeting and this is evidence of Yoshimitsu's position equal to a retired emperor. Imatani (1990): 165-168.

[199] There has been a controversy over the meaning of "King of Japan,". Several scholars explain that this shows the power of Yoshimitsu not only in Japan but also in foreign relations. They have emphasized that the fact that the shogun was designated as "King of Japan" means that Yoshimitsu held the real power and authority. Ogawa Takeo, *Ashikaga Yoshimitsu: kūbo ni kunrinshita Muromachi shogun* (2012): 205-235. Tanaka Takeo 田中健夫, *Chūsei taigai kankeishi* 中世対外関係史 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 東京大学出版会 1975): 59-61. Hashimoto Yū, on the other hand, believes that this should not be overemphasized for Japanese society as a whole. Hashimoto Yū 橋本雄, "Kōtei heno akogare: Ashikaga Yoshinoriki no muromachi dono gyōkō ni miru 皇帝へのあこがれ: 足利義教期の室町殿行幸にみる,"

the period, scale, and location of the event, as well as the fact that Yoshimitsu and Yoshinori both faithfully followed the court title and traditions, I think that the 1437 imperial visit is more similar to the 1381 imperial visit.

### Entertainment

During the imperial visits the program included entertaining events and ceremonies, such as *bugaku* dances, music performances, a kickball game (*kemari*), *waka* poetry gatherings, and boating all of which were intended to demonstrate the shogun's cultural refinement. Ceremonies and events during the 1381 imperial visit provided a standard for the later imperial visits.[200] (Table 3) These were common court events but what is important here is the way in which these court events were held and how the emperor and attendees participated in the events.

I want to point out three aspects of the events and ceremonies during the 1381 imperial visit. First, Yoshimitsu was the only member from the warrior class who participated; all others were court nobles. Second, Yoshimitsu assumed a conciliatory stance and chose to follow traditional court protocol. For example, Grand Counselor (*dainagon*) Mikohidari Tametoo (御子左爲遠) was charged with beginning the *kemari* game. But he was late and the ceremony was considerably delayed. The participants asked Yoshimitsu, as the host, to be in charge of starting

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*Ajia yūgaku* 122 (2009): 184-199; and *Chūka gensō: karamono to gaikō no Muromachi jidaishi* 中華幻想: 唐物と外交の室町時代史 (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan 勉誠出版, 2011): 105-110.

[200] Kuwayama Kōnen explains that the program of the emperor's visit to the Muromachi palace in 1381 was based on the official celebration marking retired emperor Go Saga's mother-in-law's 90th birthday held at Saionji in 1285. His discussion includes Inoue Muneo's annotation of this event in *Masukagami* stating that this is not just a celebration of her birthday but an important political gathering of the imperial court, the retired emperor, and the Saionji family. Kuwayama Kōnen, "Muromchi jidai ni okeru shōgundai gyōkō no kenkyū: Eitoku gannen no Ashikaga Yoshimitsudai gyōkō," (2003): 21-22. The Kitayama villa was built where the Saionji villa had been located in the Kamakura period. With the decline of Saionji family in the Nambokucho period, the building site was destroyed and Yoshimitsu built his retirement villa here. For a more detailed history, see Kawakami Mitsugu (2002): 213-214.

the game and to proceed with the ceremony. But Yoshimitsu declined and, deferring to traditional standards, waited for Tametoo to appear.[201] Third, Yoshimitsu's stand regarding the traditional court protocols allowed for exceptions. Because of the long delay, the game was ended early. Yoshimitsu asked the former regent, Konoe Michitsugu (1333-1387) and the other high court nobles to hold the game again the next day and they agreed.

The ceremonies of the 1408 imperial visit were also similar to that of the 1381 imperial visit when *bugaku* dances, music performances, poetry gatherings, *kemari* kick ball games and boating were enjoyed. The primary difference was the necessity to repeat performances because the visit lasted for 21 days. There were also some performances or banquets held only for the emperor's close associates. Yoshimitsu took part in several important events along with the emperor. Here again the deviation concerns Yoshitsugu. Although Yoshitsugu was young and able to recite only one poem among the one hundred poems in the *waka* poetry gathering, he was present at all significant major events where the Emperor and Yoshimitsu participated together.[202] During the *kemari* kickball game on the 16th day of the third month, the Emperor and Yoshitsugu were on the same side, and on the other were Yoshimitsu and Asukai Masayori (1358-1428). The other participants were all high court nobles and the emperor's close aids, such as the Minister of the Left (*sadaijin*) and the Inner Minister (*nadaijin*). Yoshitsugu was given special consideration during the 1408 imperial visit to Yoshimitsu's Kitayama Villa.

The ceremonies for the 1437 imperial visit were the same as for the two previous imperial visits. As seen in Table 2, we can clearly see the similarities between the 1381 and 1437

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[201] As for the event of the kickball game, I referred to Kuwayama Kōnen, ibid., 22-24.

[202] During the *waka* poetry gathering in the 23rd day of 3rd month Go Komatsu and Yoshimitsu both recited 16 poems each, Minister of the Left (*sadaijin*) and Grand Counselor (*dainagon*) 10, and other courtiers at least 7. However, Yoshitsugu only recited one poem. For waka poetry gathering during 1408 visit, see *Kitayama dono gyōkō ki* in *Shinkō Gunsho ruijū* 2 (Tokyo: Meicho Fuyūkai 名著普及会, 1977): 427-430.

imperial visits in terms of the length and the location of the event. The two imperial visits were also similar in that Yoshinori was the only warrior attending. The 1408 imperial visit was similar in that all ceremonies and events followed traditional court ceremonies. The big difference between the visit in 1437 and the visit in 1408 is that Yoshinori was not considered a retired emperor as Yoshimitsu had been. Also, perhaps because the period was rather short, there were no separate performances for close associates of the emperor in 1437.

Scholars have discussed the meaning of the 1408 visit as an indication of Yoshimitsu's power and political intentions after his abdication. Yoshimitsu had retired as shogun in 1394 and through his invitation to emperor Go-Komatsu to visit, he was mirroring the actions of a retired emperor.[203] During the 1408 imperial visit, when Yoshimitsu chose to pass the cup first to his young son Yoshitsugu, he elevated his young son above the other elite participants of the gathering.[204] The act went against protocol because the emperor indicates at official events that the regent is second in command by passing a sake cup to him before the other participants. However, when circulating the sake cups (*tenbai*) or when composing poems, Yoshimitsu raised his young son Yoshitsugu to the status of regent. Scholars have discussed the meaning of this and point out that Yoshimitsu was demonstrating his prominence to his imperial audience by symbolically raising his son to the status of regent.

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[203] For more information, see Imatani Akira, *Muromachi no ōken: Ashikaga Yoshimitsu no ōken sandatsu keikaku* 室町の王権: 足利義満の王権簒奪計画 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha 中央公論社, 1990): 165-168.
[204] Bestowal of heavenly cups is one of main events not only during the imperial visits to shoguns but also during court events when the emperor praised the host through the bestowal. Ishihara Hiro argues that the bestowal of heavenly cups during the imperial visits to the shogun was intended to show the closeness between the emperor and the shogun. He points out that *kawarake,* an earthenware cup used only when the emperor granted the sake cup to Ashikaga Shoguns, symbolized the direct relationship between emperor and the Ashikaga shoguns. For more discussion, see Ishihara Hiro (2004): 11-14.

My focus here is not to investigate all the details of imperial visits and compare their differences but I examined the outlines of three imperial visits and tried to understand the meaning of these imperial visits. Although the three imperial visits have some differences in their details, it is clear that these events were designed to show the political and economic power and authority of the Ashikaga. The visits were carried out in the context of their consolidating power and authority in medieval Kyoto**.** The next section will consider space and display in *kaisho* during these the imperial visits.

## 3.3 *MUROMACHI DONO GYŌKŌ OKAZARIKI* AND FORMAL DISPLAY AT ASHIKAGA YOSHINORI'S MUROMACHI PALACE

In the tenth month of 1437 Yoshinori invited emperor Go Hanazono to his palace for six days. This third imperial visitation is particularly important for art historians because a handscroll that records the objects on display (*Muromachi dono gyōkō okazariki*), as well as two official records of this event (*Eikyō kunen jūgatsu nijūichi-nichi gyōkō ki* and *Muromachi dono gyōkō ki*), are available to us today.[205] It is the handscroll that I am primarily interested in because it the earliest complete record of the objects displayed during Emperor Go-Hanazono's visit.[206] Therefore,

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[205] *Eikyō kunen jūgatsu nijūichinichi gyōkōki* 永享九年十月二十一日行幸記 and *Muromachi dono gyōkō ki* 室町殿行幸記 record details from the day of the emperor's procession to the Muromachi Palace to his return to the Imperial Palace, including specific events, names of attendees, and gifts for the emperor. As for the original text, I referred to *Shinkō Gunsho ruijū* 2 (Tokyo: Meicho Fuyūkai 名著普及会, 1977): 438-475.

[206] Two exhibition catalogues on the Ashikaga collection (*Higashiyama gomotsu*) from the Nezu Museum and the Mitsui Memorial Museum include a complete transcription (*honkaku* 翻刻 version) of this handscroll. See *Higashiyama gomotsu* (Tokyo: Nezu Bijutsukan, 1976): 160-162; and *Higashiyama gomotsu no bi: Ashikaga shogunke no shiho* (Tokyo: Mitsui Kinen Bijutsukan, 2014): 181-185.

*Muromachi dono gyōkō okazariki* is one of the most significant sources available for understanding the meaning of formal display at the Ashikaga residence during the emperor's visitation. In this section, I will examine the content of this record in detail both to understand and reconstruct the arrangements.

### 3.3.1   Understanding the Handscroll *Muromachi dono gyōkō okazariki*

*Muromachi dono gyōkō okazariki* handscroll lists the objects on display when Emperor Go-Hanazono visited the newly rebuilt Muromachi Palace of Ashikaga Yoshinori in 1437. The beginning of the scroll is labeled "In the time of Emperor Go-Hanazono, 1437, 10th month, 26th day, at the residence of the Minister of the Left, a record of formal display for the imperial visitation, as recorded by Nōa." ('*Go-Hanazono-in, Eikyō kunen jūgatsu nijūrokunichi, Sadaijinke, Gyōkō Okazari ki, Nōa ki.*) A colophon at the end of the scroll indicates that this version was compiled by Nōa (Nōami) in 1437, copied into this form by his successor Sōa (Sōami), and transcribed by Shino Sōon in 1530.[207]

It is not clear who ordered the scroll to be made but Nōami (1397-1471) is named as having produced the handscroll. Therefore, the displays described in the handscroll were likely the work of Nōami as well. Nōami is also known for compiling *Gomotsu on-e mokuroku* (御物

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[207] Shino Sōon is a son of Shino Sōshin, founder of the Shino family. Shino Sōshin is famous for his kōdō 香道, "way of fragrance," and working for Ashikaga Yoshimasa. For more about Shino Sōon and the Shino family, see Satō Toyozō's article in the exhibition catalogue *Higashiyama gomotsu*. Satō Toyozō 佐藤豊三, "Muromachi dono gyōkō okazariki to zakashitsuin 室町殿行幸御飾記と雑華室印," in *Higashiyama gomotsu:"zakashitsuin"ni kansuru shin shiryō o chūshin ni* 東山御物:「雑華室印」に関する新史料を中心に (Tokyo: Nezu Bijutsukan 根津美術館 and Nagoya: Tokugawa Bijutsukan 徳川美術館, 1976): 110-111.

御画目録), an inventory of paintings in the Ashikaga collection. Although little is known about Nōami, several records such as *Inryōken nichiroku* hint that he was a member of the *dōbōshu*, the group who took care of decorations and displays as well as shogunal collections in the 1430s.[208]

Before examining the detailed contents of the record, I will briefly examine the architectural setting for the visit by Emperor Go-Hanazono. Nakamura Toshinori reconstructed a putative ground plan of Yoshinori's Muromachi palace as it existed around 1437.[209] The building project was begun in 1431. Yoshinori moved there during the 12th month of 1431 and continued to construct and refurbish buildings and gardens every year. When Emperor Go-Hanazono visited in 1437, the complex consisted of an official palace for rituals and ceremonies (*shinden*), private living quarters for the shogun (*tsune-gosho*), the building for the shogun's wife (*sho-gosho* or *ko-gosho*), a Kannon hall, and three guest halls (*kaisho*).[210]

The design of this new palace-residence complex follows the design of previous palaces with the *shinden* complex in the center and additional buildings to its north and northeast. What is noteworthy are the three independent *kaisho* buildings at either end of the garden. Two *kaisho* are located north of the pond facing south and the third *kaisho* is located south of the pond facing north. I will refer to these three *kaisho* buildings as: 1) South-facing Kaisho, 2) North-facing

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[208] For more on the broad roles of *dōbōshū*, see Murai Yasuhiko 村井康彦. *Buke bunka to dōbōshū: seikatsu bunkashiron* 武家文化と同朋衆: 生活文化史論 (Tokyo: Sanjūichi Shobō 三一書房, 1991). I will further discuss the roles of *dōbōshu* in detail in Chapter Four.

[209] I referred to the ground plan reconstructed by Nakamura Toshinori. Matthew Gerald Stavros redrew the ground plan based on Nakamura. Nakamura Toshinori, *Machiya no chashitsu* 町家の茶室 (Kyoto: Tankōsha 淡交社, 1981): 25; and Matthew Gerald Stavros, *Kyoto: an Urban History of Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014): 123.

[210] For detailed history of construction process of Yoshinori's Muromachi Palace and the use of each building, see Kawakami Mitsugu (2002): 229-240.

Kaisho, and 3) New Kaisho in the order of their construction dates.[211] As explained in Chapter Two, *kaisho* seems to have been an independent building common in shogunal residences since Yoshimitsu. However, previous shoguns had only one *kaisho* not three.

All decorations and displays recorded for Emperor Go Hanazono's visit in *Muromachi dono gyōkō okazariki* were contained in these three *kaisho* buildings. According to the record, there are eleven rooms in the New Kaisho, nine in the North-facing Kaisho and eight in the South-facing Kaisho. More than a thousand objects are listed and cataloged according to where they were displayed in twenty-eight different areas of the three *kaisho* buildings.

Under the name of each room or area each arrangement and display is listed in *Muromachi dono gyōkō okazariki* along with its specific location; the objects are specified according to their placement. Since each room does not have a specific name, the record defines the area by its mat size or features.[212] For example, it lists a six-mat room, a seven-mat room on the west side, and a room named Hashidate (*hashidate no ma* 橋立之間).[213] Additional detailed descriptions of each object include the artist's name, painting subject, and medium or materials used.

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[211] South-facing Kaisho 南向会所 was built first in 1432 (Eikyō 4), the North-facing Kaisho 北向会所 (泉殿) in 1433 (Eikyō 5), and the New Kaisho 新会所 in 1435 (Eikyō 7). Ibid., 231-235.

[212] These are the 28 area names of three *kaisho* buildings. See also Appendix C, D, and E.
〔南向会所〕South-facing Kaisho
御會所九間 東之御六間 西御七間 西之御所 北之御落間 北之御茶湯所 雑華室 御眠床 北御五間
〔北向会所 泉殿会所〕 North-facing Kaisho (Izumi dono Kaisho)
北向之御四間 御四間 御六間 御四間 御三間 住吉御床間 墻盡之御間 赤漆之御床間
〔新造会所〕 New Kaisho
橋立之御間 御三間 御二間 御五間 南御間 西之御間 北御くつかたの御間 北向御四間 南御四間 小鳥之御床間 御十二間

[213] I think this refers to a room with the sliding door paintings of *hashidate*. I will this room arrangement discuss at length on pages 110-112.

To give an example the scroll begins with the following:[214]

<div style="border:1px solid">

*Hashidate no ma* (橋立之間)

Three paintings of portrait of Hotei, fisherman, and boatswain: Muqi's paintings

Three ritual objects (*mitsugusoku*): gift from Yusa (遊佐), on one side: object with no pattern, table: made of ivory, other side: same, and an incense case with orchid pattern

Above the alcove (*tokonoma*): two hanging scrolls of dogs by Li Di

      Shelf (made of ivory)

          On the top shelf, cloisonné flower vase and a tray

          On the middle, cloisonné *tsurukubi* (specific type of gourd bottle) and a carved lacquer tray

          On the bottom shelf, cloisonné medicine case (*yatsuki,* a case with cover) and a tray

On the attached desk (*tsuke shoin*): an inkstone, brush holder [carved with] dragon decoration, ivory brush, sword, water bottle, red lacquer table screen, handscroll with Xia Gui's (Kakei) calligraphy, square shape cloisonné tray, seal case (*inrō*) [carved with] dragon decoration, cloisonné tray, and a pair of cloisonné flower vases, flower [carved] tray and Pillar decoration with a small bell.

On the north side has a sword and bronze objects.

In front of alcove area (*oshiita*) and east of the room, facing north, places a red lacquer table.

Staggered shelf on the west: *Tenmoku* (*yuteki*) stand with a red lacquer tray, a pottery and a flower decorated tray, and a set of cloisonné flower vases with a tray, and a case with cover

</div>

橋立之御間

御繪半身布袋舩主漁父 三幅各牧溪

御三具足 遊佐進上 脇 無文 卓 新調 象牙

脇 同 御香合 ひし蘭

御床上 御繪二輻犬李迪

　御棚 象牙

　　上之重 御花瓶 七寶 盆

　　中重 鶴頸 七寶 盆 ひし剔紅 角もよふ入

　　下重 藥器 七寶 盆 翠仙花

御書院

　御硯 あふむ 筆駕 二蛟龍 大小 筆 象牙

　墨と、め 犬 蟬 刀 たいまはさみも、そえてか、りてあり

　水入 牛 はうわう かしらあり 翰盤中龍 　はたハくわりん

　硯屏 剔紅 軸物 夏圭 刑部進上 七寶方盆

　印籠 蛟龍 盆 七寶 御花瓶一對 七寶

　盆 歸花 喚鐘 蛟龍 御注餝 北鏡 とうしやくかきハくしやく

　同南 刀 火打袋二 鳥子なり 胡銅物

　押板下北方東よりに御卓おかる 堆紅 此卓小おかる

西御違柵

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[214] Two exhibition catalogues on the Ashikaga collection (*Higashiyama gomotsu*) from Nezu Museum and Mitsui Memorial Museum include a complete transcription (*honkoku* 翻刻 version) of this handscroll. As for the translation of this section, I referred to *Higashiyama gomotsu* (1976): 160; and *Higashiyama gomotsu no bi* (2014): 181.

御油滴 臺 蛟龍 盆 堆紅もん蓮
御壺 城入道百貫なすひ 盆 歸花
雙花瓶 七寶 まるし 盆 同 御食籠剔 紅 角
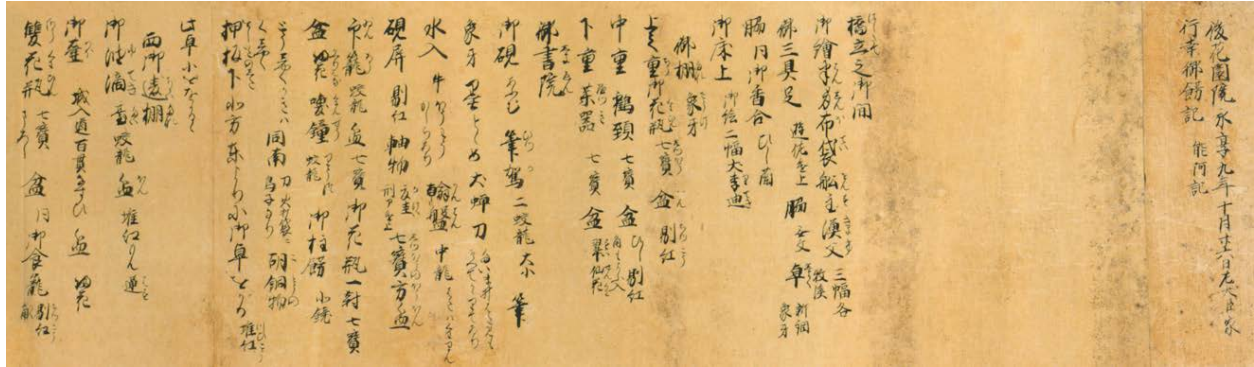


**Figure 1.** Hashidate no ma in *Muromachi dono gyōkō okazariki*

At first reading, the entry seems to be little more than an inventoried list of various objects on display. However, if we look at the details in the handscroll along with contemporary illustrated records, it is possible to reconstruct the building's interior. The handscroll begins with the room named Hashidate (*Hashidate no ma*). Thanks to Nakamura Toshinori and Miyakami Shigetaka's reconstructed ground plans of the three *kaisho* buildings at Yoshinori's Muromachi Palace, we can see the room known as *hashidate* in the New Kaisho (Appendix C). The reference to *hashidate* as a specific room probably indicates that the subject painted on its sliding doors was *Amanohashidate*, an area in Miyazu Bay in northern Kyoto Prefecture that was famous for its scenic view of a bridge-like sandbar in the bay.[215]

The record first lists three paintings by the famous Song painter Muqi and specifies that the subjects are Hotei in the center flanked by paintings of fishermen and boatswain at each side. The handscroll also lists three Buddhist ritual objects (*mitsugusoku*) that were gifts from Yusa,

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[215] This is one of the three most scenic spots in Japan. There are several paintings, which depict a bird's-eye-view of the famous scenery of Amanohashidate. See for example Sesshu's painting of *Amanohashidate* is now in the collection of the Kyoto National Museum.

objects without decoration at each side, an ivory table, and an incense case.[216] It does not specify

what the three objects and objects at each side were but it is highly possible that they were a

flower vase, incense burner and candleholder with two additional flower vases on each side were.

The fifteenth-century *Kundaikan sōchōki* and sixteenth-century illustrated handscroll, *Zashiki*

*kazari emaki* both illustrate a similar arrangement of three paintings along with a flower vase,

incense burner, and candleholder flanked by flower vases similar to Yoshinori's display.

The record then mentions an alcove area where two paintings of dogs by Li Di were hung.

It also states that an ivory shelf held two different kinds of vases with saucers, one bowl with a

cover, and red lacquered saucers. This room also has a writing desk (*shoin*) area, an element

common to *shoin* architecture. The record lists various writing objects such as an ink stone, ink

stick, brush, brush holder, water bottle, table screen, and seal case, as well as a handscroll of

calligraphy by Xia Gui (Kakei) were place on this desk. A small bell is listed as a pillar

decoration. On the west is another shelf with a *Tenmoku* (*yuteki*) stand holding a saucer, pottery,

a lacquered saucer, and a set of flower vases and saucers.

Illustrations from *Kundaikan sōchōki* and *Ogawa gosho narabi higashiyama dono*

*okazarizu* (late fifteenth century) show shelf and *shoin* area arrangements and help us to

understand the room arrangement. Each of theses illustrations shows a writing desk with various

writing objects and above the desk a small bell is hung from the ceiling. There also show

staggered shelves with various tea objects. In addition, several paintings that include either

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[216] *Mitsugusoku* originally referred to three ritual objects placed on a Buddhist altar. When displayed in
residences, *mitsugusoku* are an incense burner, a candleholder, and a flower vase placed on a table or in
an alcove. It is not clear when these became a fixed set and the arrangement of the objects seems to have
been flexible during the Muromachi period because medieval illustrated handscrolls depict various
combinations. The *Boki e* contains two scenes of an abbot's quarter. In one scene two flower vases flank
the center incense burner and in the second an incense burner in the center is flanked by a flower vase and
candleholder.

Yoshimitsu or Yoshinori's seals are now preserved at museums and can be matched with the objects listed give us an even better understanding of the original display. For example, the Hotei portrait with Yoshimitu's seal from the Tokugawa Museum and Li Di's dog painting with Yoshimitsu's seal from a private collection match those mentioned in the alcove area of the room named *Hashidate* and almost certainly were those displayed in his Muromachi palace *kaisho*.

In this way, the record is more than a list of objects on display because it also provides a means to reconstruct the interior displays of *kaisho* at Yoshinori's Muromachi palace. Considering that this is only one of the twenty-eight areas inventoried in the handscroll, we can easily imagine how impressive each room and each *Kaisho* must have been during the imperial visitations. The most elaborate, luxurious, sophisticated, and exquisite objects were put on display in accordance with the significance and scale of the emperor's visit.

### 3.3.2 Yoshinori's Political Background and the Meaning of His Muromachi Palace

To better understand the meaning of the elaborate display in the context of an imperial visit, it is important to understand Yoshinori's background as shogun and the meaning of his new building project where these displays were located. Though Ashikaga Yoshinori became the sixth shogun in 1428, he actually had not been expected to succeed as shogun and, because he was the youngest of four sons, he was serving as the Tendai abbot at Enryakuji, when, in 1425 the fifth shogun Yoshikazu (1407-1425) died after serving for only two years and Yoshimochi filled the

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position but without taking the title.[217] When Yoshimochi died in 1428, his younger brother

Yoshinori (1392-1441) was chosen by lottery as the sixth shogun.[218]

Yoshinori began his rule from a weak position due to an unstable succession. He tried to

consolidate his power by reverting back to his father Yoshimitsu's system throughout his reign

and, in the end, he actually became one of the strongest of the first six shoguns. There were

several issues that Yoshinori had to deal with. For example, after his sudden succession to power

in Kyoto the anti-bakufu attitude of the eastern deputy (*Kantō kubō* or *Kantō kanrei*) Ashikaga

Mochiuji rose to the surface.[219] Mochiuji's uncle, Ashikaga Mitsunao, had a conflicted

relationship with Mochiuchi and asked Yoshinori for military support. Yoshinori ordered

Hatakeyama Mitsuie (1372–1433, Kyoto *kanrei*), his deputy in Kyoto, to dispatch military troops,

but Hatakeyama insisted on first hearing all opinions. Yoshinori successfully reconciled with

Ashikaga Mochiuji in 1431 and solved the problem by eliminating the role of deputies as

mediators between daimyo and the shogun, thereby creating a more effective and direct means of

controlling the daimyo.[220]

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[217] During the Muromachi period, brothers, sons and daughters of Ashikaga shoguns often became abbots of temples.

[218] For more background about Ashikaga Yoshinori, see Imatani Akira 今谷明. *Kujibiki shōgun Ashikaga Yoshinori* 籤引き将軍足利義教 (Tokyo: Kōdansha 講談社, 2003); Kawaoka Tsutomo 川岡勉, *Muromachi bakufu to shugo kenryoku* 室町幕府と守護権力 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 2002); Ishihara Hīro 石原比伊呂, "Ashikaga Yoshinori to Yoshimitsu, Yoshimochi: chōsei gyōji k ni okeru kōdō no bunseki kara 足利義教と義満・義持: 朝政行事における行動の分析から," *Rekishigaku kenkyū* 歴史学研究 852 (2009): 21-31.

[219] *Kantō kubō* is also called as *Kamakura kubō*. For more about the history of *Kantō kubō*, see Jeffrey Mass, *The Bakufu in Japanese History* (Stanford University Press, 1985); Kubota Jun'ichi 久保田順一. *Uesugi Noriaki* 上杉憲顕 (Tokyo: Ebisu Kōshō Shuppan 戎光祥出版, 2012).

[220] Fushiminomiya Sadafusa, Go Sukōin (伏見宮貞成親王, 後崇光院 1372-1456) writes of Yoshinori's political position in his diary, *Kanmon nikki* (看聞日記). In an entry in 1431 (Eikyō 3), Sadafusa describes Yoshinori's reign as a precarious period and in 1435 (Eikyō 7) writes everyone was terrified (万人恐怖) [of Yoshinori]. *Kanmon nikki* vol. 5 in *Zushoryō sōkan*, (Tokyo: Kunaichō Shoryōbu, 2002): 137-139.

Yoshinori strengthened his authority not only by reorganizing policies controlling *shūgo* daimyo, but also by broadening economic resources through the reopening of foreign trade that had been discontinued by Yoshimochi. In 1432, trade and diplomatic relations between Japan and Ming China were restored and, in 1434, Yoshinori dispatched official trade ships to Ming China.[221] The official purpose was to re-open diplomatic relations with China but, in reality, Yoshinori was interested in economic profit from trade with China.

According to *Mansai Jugo Nikki* (満済准后日記), the position of *Tosen-bugyō* (唐船奉行), the official manager of Japanese trade, was established in 1434 to mediate Japan's overseas trade. Because the trade with China was based on tally trade (勘合貿易), the purpose of the *Tosen-bugyō* was to controll such administrative matters, including defending trading ships in Japanese waters, procuring export goods, mediating between the Muromachi shogunate and shipping interests, and managing record keeping. The Muromachi shogunate was the first to appoint warriors to high positions as executive officers in its diplomatic trade.

Yoshinori completed the building project of his palace during the same time period when he was organizing his political and international control and consolidating his power. When Yoshinori became the sixth shogun, he lived first in his older brother Yoshimochi's Sanjō bōmon Palace (三条坊門殿). After Yoshimochi's wife, Hino Eiko (日野栄子), died in the 7th month of 1431, Yoshinori began building a new palace at the same location as his father Yoshimitsu's

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[221] For more about foreign relations between Japan and Ming China, see Hashimoto Yū 橋本雄, *Muromachi "Nihon kokuō" to kangō bōeki : naze, Ashikaga Shōgunke wa Chūka kōtei ni "chōkō" shita no ka* 室町"日本国王"と勘合貿易: なぜ, 足利将軍家は中華皇帝に「朝貢」したのか, (Tokyo: NHK Shuppan, 2013); and Ogawa Takeo*Ashikaga Yoshimitsu: kūbo ni kunrinshita Muromachi shogun* 足利義満: 公武に君臨した室町将軍 (2012): 205-235.

Muromachi palace.[222] (Map 1)[223] He began to reside there in the 12th month of 1431 and continued to build and refurbish the buildings and gardens every year. It was after the construction was completed in 1437 that he invited Go-Hanazono to visit the palace. The building project, coupled with the act of inviting Emperor Go-Hanazono, indicates more than Yoshinori simply moving to his new place of residence. It signals the real beginning of Yoshinori's control that was now free from that which had been established by previous shoguns.

### 3.3.3   Yoshinori's Muromachi Palace and Three *Kaisho*

Mansai Jugō (1378-1435), abbot of the Sanbō-in at Daigoji temple in southeast Kyoto, had a close relationship with Yoshimitsu and seems to have often visited Yoshinori's Muromachi Palace.[224] According to his diary, *Mansai jugō nikki,* he often attended poetry gatherings held in the South-facing Kaisho north of the pond, and he also noted his admiration for it during his visit when it was newly made in 1433. He recorded in his diary that, of all the *kaisho* guest halls he had seen since the time of Yoshimitsu's Kitayama Villa, none were as fine as this, and the beauty of the display of Chinese objects was beyond words.[225]

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[222] Hosokawa Taketoshi, *Kyoto no jisha to Muromachi bakufu* (Tokyo: Yoshiwara kōbunkan, 2010); Kawakami Mitsugu (2002): 231-235; and Stavros, *Kyoto: an Urban History of Japan*, 109-111.

[223] Map 1 shows the location of important Ashikaga residences in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Kyoto. Stavros, ibid.

[224] In the Introduction, I also examined Mansai's impression after his visit to Yoshinori's newly built *kaisho* building at Sanjō bōmon palace. See page 1-3 of the Introduction.

[225] '悉御座敷拜見驚目了. 尽善尽美. 言詞難覃. 北山殿以來多御会所等一見処. 超過先了' *Mansai jugō nikki,* 8. 15. 1433 (Eikyō 5). *Mansai jugō nikki* in *Kyoto teikoku daigaku bunka daigaku hen* 京都帝國大學文科大學編 vol. 3 (Kyoto: Rokujō Kappan Seizōjo, 1920): 663-664.

Based on *Muromachi dono gyōkō okazariki*, I will try to reconstruct the interiors of three

*kaisho* at the Muromachi palace during the imperial visit of 1437.[226] As I explained on page 24

with the putative ground plan, the design of Yoshinori's Muromachi palace follows same idea of

previous palaces, with the *shinden* complex in the center and other buildings located in the north

or northeast. Here my focus is on three independent *kaisho* buildings because the decorations

recorded in the *Muromachi dono gyōkō okazariki* handscroll were all displayed in these three

*kaisho* buildings. Nakamura Toshinori and Miyakami Shigetaka reconstructed ground plans of

the three *kaisho* based on several primary sources including *Muromachi dono gyōkō okazariki*.

The shape of the rooms in Nakamura and Miyakami's ground plans are slightly different but the

location of the buildings and the order of each room is the same. I referred to both ground plans

in order to examine the interior arrangement of 28 areas of each *kaisho*, and my diagrams in

Appendixes C, D and E are based on Miyakami's ground plans.[227]


1)  **South-facing Kaisho (*Minami Kaisho*)**

South-facing Kaisho*,* earliest among the three, was built north of the pond in 1432.

*Muromachi dono gyōkō okazariki* records that objects displayed in this building were divided

among the nine rooms. (Appendix C)[228] There are three rooms in the south, a central nine-mat

room *kaisho* (御會所 九間), a seven-mat room in the west (西七間) and a six-mat room in the

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[226] For reconstructions of three *kaisho* in this section, I translated the handscroll and referred to the transcriptions (*honkaku* 翻刻 version) of the handscroll: *Higashiyama gomotsu* (1976): 160-162; and *Higashiyama gomotsu no bi* (2014): 181-185.

[227] Appendix C is the South-facing Kaisho, Appendix D is the North-facing Kaisho, and Appendix E is the New Kaisho.

[228] See Appendix C for the name of each of the 9 rooms with a diagram of the South-facing Kaisho.

east (東之六間) and five rooms in the north, including the room named *Zakashitsu* (雜花室), Yoshinori's pen name, which appears on his connoisseur's seal.

The nine-mat room in the center of the South-facing Kaisho could have been the main area of this building.[229] On the northern wall hung a portrait of Lu Dongbin (呂洞賓), a famous Tang Chinese scholar and poet, flanked by paintings of a dragon and a tiger. There is a notation that reads "Senryuji" in small characters next to these paintings and they could have been borrowed from the temple. In front of the paintings was a table holding five ritual objects (*gogusoku* 五具足).[230] On the east and west walls hung a set of four landscape paintings named *hanri kausan* (万里高山 はんりかうさん).[231] I cannot clarify Manri kōzan but the same title is listed in the *Gomotsu on-e mokuroku* (御物御画目録) inventory and attributed to Muqi.[232] In the center of the room there is a table that holds an incense burner (御香爐) and case (藥器). There is a set of Zen chairs (曲録 *kyoroku*).[233] Next to the name of this room are small characters that state Toku'ami and Nōami (出御之時侍香燒申両人 (徳阿/能阿) were responsible for burning incense in this room.

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[229] This nine-mat sized area is also named as *kaisho* in the record (御會所 九間). *Kaisho,* which literally means gathering place, was used to refer both a room and a building in the Muromachi period. In this section, I will call this room nine-mat room to avoid confusion.

[230] *Gogusoku* literally means five objects and refers to a censer in the center, a pair of flower vases and a pair of candleholders.

[231] Contemporary reading of these characters is Manri kōzan, but *furigana* in small characters next to the name of these paintings reads Hanri kausan (万里高山 はんりかうさん).

[232] For the paintings list in *Gomotsu on-e mokuroku,* I referred to Satō Toyozō. Satō, ibid., 113-115.

[233] *Kyoroku* refers to lacquered chairs used by Zen abbots during Buddhist ceremonies. The exact location of these chairs are not clear in the record, but considering the interior of the room, I think that they were in front of three paintings and three objects and at each side of the table in the center.

Miyakami Shigetaka points out that the reconstructed ground plan of the South-facing

Kaisho resembles abbot's quarters (*hōjo* 方丈) at Zen temples.[234] He explains that three rooms in

the south compare to guest halls (*gyakuden*) at abbot's quarters. He also points out that the nine-

mat room arrangement is the same as was used in the main area of the abbot's quarters in

Kenninji and that this shows the impact of Zen Buddhism on *Kaisho*. This specific interior of

Kenninji shows an annual tea ceremony (*sarei* 茶礼) being performed at the abbot's quarters.[235]

We can see hung on the wall a portrait of Eisai (宋西 1141-1215), the founder of Kenninji, who

is credited with bringing powdered tea from China to Japan, flanked by paintings of a tiger and

dragon. Three objects are placed in front of these paintings and a table holding a celadon incense

burner is placed in the center of the room. Except for the central portrait of Eisai instead of Lu

Dongbin, the arrangement of objects in these two areas is the same. Nakamura Toshinori further

suggests that similar tea ceremonies were held in this central nine-mat room because the

decoration and display are similar to those of the tea ceremonies held at Kenninji (建仁寺).

Nakamura also argues that Toku'ami and Nōami acted as *jikōshū* (侍香衆) and were responsible

for burning incense during ceremonies held in the room.[236] Hata Yasunori suggest that this room

was used as a meeting place (*go taimensho* 御対面所) for Yoshinori and Go Hanazono.[237] I

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[234] Miyakami (1984): 52-53.

[235] Every year, on the 20th day of 4th month, Eisai's birthday, Kenninji held annual tea ceremonies. Here my use of tea ceremony is not the same as entertainment without rigid rules that I examined in Chapter Two. Here I mean more ritual like tea ceremonies which include ritual offerings and have strict rules. For more about tea ceremonies at Kenninji, see Nakamura, ibid., 27-29.

[236] Nakamura Toshinori argues that Tokuami and Nōami, as *jikōshū* (侍香衆), were responsible for burning incense during ceremonies. Nakamura, ibid., 27-28.

[237] Hata Yasunori 畑靖紀, "Muromachi jidai no nansō intaiga ni taisuru ninshiki o megutte 室町じだいの南宋院体画に對する認識をめぐって," *Bijutsushi* 美術史, 156 (2004): 427-443. However, Miyakami Shigetaka suggests that the meeting was held in the west seven-mat room next to this nine-mat room. Miyakami, ibid., 52-53.

think that it is highly likely that it was the main meeting room because the South-facing Kaisho was built first, and this room is the largest and includes a wide veranda facing the pond.

In the adjacent six-mat room to the east, small paintings of *Eight Views* (八景 小) by Chinese painter Zhang Fangru (張芳汝 dates unknown, Yuan dynasty) were hung on the east and the west walls. Since *Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang River* by Zhang Fangru is listed in the Ashikaga painting collection *Gomotsu on-e mokuroku,* scholars usually identify this painting of *Eight Views* as *Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang River.*[238] This is the only time in the text when we are told that the use of the room was for poetry readings after boating ceremonies.[239]

In the west seven-mat room, *Eight Views* by Chinese painter Yujian (玉澗) were hung on the east and west walls. On the north wall hung two paintings of dragons and a set of chairs (*kyoroku*) were in front of the paintings. There is a three-tired shelf on the south side holding a tea bowl on a saucer, a pot with a saucer, and incense burner with tray and case. The *shoin* area has a desk with various writing objects such as an ink stone, ink screen, brush, brush holder, water bottle similar to the room named *Hashidate*. Difference here is the handscroll (*emakimono*) of Liang Kai's painting of clothing and food (衣食) rather than a handscroll (*emakimono*) of calligraphy by Xia Gui (Kakei).

Five areas located south of this South-facing Kaisho seem to be private places for the shogun or his guests. The area named west *gosho* (西之御所), located just north of the west

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[238] Richard Stanley-Baker believes this is a copy of Mu Qi's *Eight views of Xiao and Xiang River.* Richard Stanley-Baker, "Mid-Muromachi Paintings of the Eight Views of Hsia and Hsiang," (PhD Diss. Princeton University, 1979): 60-65.

[239] Next to the name of this area, the handscroll records, "於此御座敷三船之詩御披搆あり廿五日夜時御繪卷申." This part clearly corresponds to the entry "御舟楽果. 御会所東之端之御座席据. 釣殿准詩歌之披搆有" from *Eikyō kunen jūgatsu nijūichinichi gyōkōki.* There were poetry readings at night in the 25th day after the boating ceremonies in this area.

seven-mat room, contained bedding (枕), a clothing hanger (衣駕), and various Chinese objects.

The adjacent room to the north, named *ochima* (北之御落間), contained a wash basin (清面鉢).

There is a bedroom (*minshō* 眠床) and the handscroll lists a priests robe (禪衣), two kinds of

belts (帶), two round fans (團扇), a box (箱) and two silk beddings. There is a table in the center

holding a metal dish (鐵鉢) in this room. Various bronze vessels including the objects from

Southeast Asia (*namban mono* 南蛮物) are also listed in the text.[240]

There is a tearoom in the north with a shelf holding eight tea bowls and various tea

utensils. Next to this is a room named *Zakashitsu,* Yoshinori's pen name, which contained a

writing table with various writing objects such as a brush, brush holder, ink stone, and a shelf

holding various books.[241] In the center of the room there is a table that held an incense burner

(御香爐) and case (藥器). In the adjacent north five-mat room there is a red lacquered three-tiered

shelf holding various objects and a two-tiered shelf with tea utensils. In the room also was a table

with a wash basin (清面鉢). Miyakami believes that this room could be used as an area for

*dōbōshū* to wait or prepare tea during the event.[242]

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[240] The text does not specify what this *namban mono* is, but just states bronze objects. Considering there was an international maritime trade between Japan and Southeast Asia, this could be a bronze or metal object imported from Southeast Asia.

[241] Satō Toyozō believes this room was a Zen-influenced study room (*shoin*) for Yoshinori. He suggests that this kind of Zen-influenced study room was first included in shogunal palaces beginning with Yoshinori's Muromachi palace. Satō Toyozō 佐藤豊三, "Muromachi dono gyōkō okazariki to zakashitsuin 室町殿行幸御飾記と雑華室印," in *Higashiyama gomotsu:"zakashitsuin"ni kansuru shin shiryō o chūshin ni* 東山御物:「雑華室印」に関する新史料を中心に (Tokyo: Nezu Bijutsukan 根津美術館 and Nagoya: Tokugawa Bijutsukan 徳川美術館, 1976): 115-116.

[242] Miyakami, ibid., 53.

### 2) North-facing Kaisho (*Izumi dono Kaisho*)

Appendix D shows North-facing Kaisho, built south of the pond in 1433. This building is also called the Izumidono Kaisho, perhaps because it seems to have elements in common with the guest hall (*izumiya*) at traditional court residences. *Muromachi dono gyōkō okazariki* records the objects displayed in this North-facing Kaisho divided into eight rooms. [243] In the reconstructed ground plan there are a three-mat room, a four-mat room, a six-mat room in the south and five rooms in the north that include the north-facing four mat room in the center and an adjacent four mat room.

In the north-facing four-mat room (北向之四間), a painting of a court lady (宮女図) by the Song painter Qian Xuan (銭選: 1235-1305) was hung. There were screens with paintings of the *Eight Views* by the Yuan-period painter Liu Yaoqing (劉耀卿, dates unknown).[244] In the center of the room there is a table that holds an incense burner (御香爐) and a case (藥器). At each side is a table (臺子) that holds writing objects and tea objects. The room also has a shelf with tea bowls and utensils and one with various Chinese objects.

In the adjacent three-mat room (三間) there were four landscape paintings by an emperor. The scroll, *Muromachi dono gyōkō okazariki,* states only "am emperor (皇帝)" as the painter, but, because the inventory of the Ashikaga painting collection, *Gomotsu on-e mokuroku,* lists four landscape paintings by Huizong, scholars usually identify these four paintings as having

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[243] See Appendix D for the name of each area and their arrangement in the North-facing Kaisho.
[244] Liu Yaoqing was a Chinese painter from the Yuan dynasty and known for following the style of Ma Yuan and Xia Gui.

been painted by Huizong and collected by Yoshimitsu. In the room named *Kakitsukushi no ma* (墻盡之間) Huizong's paintings of *Pigeons and Quails* (鳩鶉図) were hung.[245]

The north-facing four-mat room (北向之四間) in the center of the North-facing Kaisho was most likely the main room. (Appendix D) Shimao Arata argues that this room could have been used for displaying gifts presented to the Emperor. Shimao believes that the set of screens with Chinese paintings (御屏風一双　唐絵) recorded in *Eikyō kunen jūgatsu nijūichinichi gyōkōki* presented to the emperor were the screens with *Eight Views* by the Yuan-period Chinese painter Liu Yaoqing (劉耀卿) that were placed in this room.[246]

### 3)　New Kaisho (*Shinjo Kaisho*)

Appendix E shows the New Kaisho built north of the pond in 1435. *Muromachi dono gyōkō okazariki* records that objects displayed in this New Kaisho were divided into eleven rooms.[247] In the reconstructed ground plan, there are seven areas in the south, including three-mat room, two-mat room, five-mat room and four areas in the north including a twelve-mat room.

The largest twelve-mat room (十二間) is next to the room named *Hashidate* that I examined in great detail on pages 108-111. On the northern wall of the twelve-mat room,

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[245] Art historians, in particular, have focused on the meaning of Chinese emperor Huizong's paintings in the Ashikaga collection that were displayed during imperial visitations. For more about these paintings, see Hata Yasunori, "Muromrachi jidai no nansō intaiga ni taisuru inshiki o megutte 室町じだいの南宋院体画に對する認識をめぐって," *Bijutsushi* 美術史, 156 (2004): 437-438; and Itakura Masaaki, "Biishiki de miru higashiyama gomotsu," in *Shubi* (2014): 11-23.

[246] Shimao Arata (2006): 147-148.

[247] See Appendix E for the name of each of the 11 area with a diagram in the New Kaisho.

paintings of *Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang Rivers* by Xia Gui (Ka Kei) are hung above the *oshiita*.[248] On the east and west walls, landscape paintings of *Eight Views* by Muqi were hung.

In the north-facing four-mat room (北向之四間), *Pictures of Agriculture* by Liang Kai were likely painted on sliding doors.[249] A portrait of Hotei by the Southern Song painter Liang Kai was hung on the small wall above a shelf in the northwest corner of the room. In the five-mat room named *Kotori no go tokoma* (小鳥之御床間) there was a Liang Kai painting of *Shaka Coming Down the Mountain* (出山釈迦図) flanked by his winter landscapes (雪景山水図). Three ritual objects were placed in front of the paintings.

In the five-mat room in the south there were five paintings by Muqi including *Shaka Coming Down the Mountain* (出山釈迦) hung in the center. (The text does not state what other four paintings are.) In front of these paintings are three ritual objects and a set of flower vases at each side. Four paintings of birds and fish (すなとり漁) by Zhang Fangru were hung from the north and south rafters (*nageshi*). There is a table in the center holding an incense burner and red lacquered case, and in the south and north ends of the room are a set of tables holding various other utensils including a brazier. This arrangement was similar to the display in the nine-mat room in the South-facing Kaisho.

Nakamura and Miyakami both interpret this five-mat room as the main area of the New Kaisho. Shimao Arata points out that this room shows a Zen-style arrangement similar to the display in the nine-mat room (九間) in the South-facing Kaisho. In both cases the Buddhist

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[248] *Oshiita* literally translates as a "portable board" and refers to a portable board or table placed in front of a wall to hold objects. The *oshiita* was the proto type of the attached built-in alcove (*tokonoma*) component of residences in the late Muromachi period.

[249] Shalmit Bejarano discusses the political role of *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*. Shalmit Bejarano, "*Picturing Rice Agriculture and Silk Production: Appropriation and Ideology in Early Modern Japanese Painting*," (PhD diss. University of Pittsburgh, 2010).

paintings in the center were flanked by two or four paintings and several offering objects were placed in front of the paintings. He also argues that this room was used to display gifts that were presented to the emperor during his visit. He believes this to be the case because in *Eikyō kunen jūgatsu nijūichinichi gyōkōki* the paintings listed as gifts are one central painting and four side paintings (本尊一幅 (和尚), 御絵四幅 (和尚/鶴)).[250] I agree with Shimao because this is the only room where a set of five paintings with a central Buddhist painting is mentioned. Although the text does not clarify the subject of four side paintings, the painting of *Shaka Coming Down the Mountain* (出山釈迦図) flanked by four paintings displayed in this room could have been gifts for the emperor.[251]

In this section, I tried to reconstruct the interiors of the three *kaisho* based on the handscroll *Muromachi dono gyōkō okazari ki*. I could not list all of the over one thousand objects, but we can clearly envision the elaborate and eye-catching aspects of these displays. As I examined each of the 28 areas in the three *kaisho* buildings recorded in the handscroll, I saw that some objects were likely Japanese and some were imported from Southeast Asia, but most had been imported from China.[252] There were Chinese paintings and calligraphy by famous Southern and Northern Song painters, such as Muqi (牧谿 1210?-1269?), Liang Kai (梁楷 c.1140-c.1210), Li Di (李迪 c.1163-1197), Xia Gui (夏珪 1195-1224), and the Northern Song Emperor Huizong (1082-1135). Various Chinese metal and lacquer wares and ceramic objects that included an

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[250] *Eikyō kunen jūgatsu nijūichinichi gyōkōki* lists various objects as presents to the emperor, including a set of five paintings, three ritual objects, Chinese tea bowls and tea objects, a set of screen paintings, Korean paper etc. *Eikyō kunen jūgatsu nijūichinichi gyōkōki*, in *Shinkō Gunsho ruijū* 2 (1977): 462-463.

[251] Shimao Arata, "Kaisho to Karamono 會所と唐物" in *Shirīzu toshi, kenchiku, rekishi 4.* シリーズ 都市・建築・歴史 4. *Chūsei bunka to ba* 中世の文化と場, (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai 東京大学出版会, 2006): 147-148.

[252] The record does not identify where every object was produced. I found that there were two *namban mono* (objects from Southeast Asia) bronze objects.

incense burner, flower vase, incense case, tea bowl, pottery and tea utensils are listed as being placed on the tables or shelves. Some of them are noted as having carved patterns, such as dragons or flowers, and the materials are also included.[253] The choice of the most elaborate, luxurious, sophisticated, and exquisite objects put on display was directly influenced by the significance and scale of the emperor's visit.

None of the records tell how each area in the three *kaisho* was used during the imperial visit. The exception is information that the six-mat room of the South-facing Kaisho was used for poetry readings. Nevertheless, we can speculate how the emperor, shogun, and attendees used some these spaces during the imperial visit based on the arrangements and the objects displayed. Clothing, fans, swords and gold or silver objects suggest it is possible that a room could have been where objects were presented to the emperor. Some rooms could have been used as an official meeting place, for poetry gatherings, and for displaying gifts while others would have been used as the bedroom for the emperor.

From my examination of *Muromachi dono gyōkō okazariki*, I can offer the following observations on display. First, paintings were either hung in an alcove or on sliding doors in most of the rooms. The number of paintings in a room varied from one to five but the most common arrangement was three paintings hung on the wall facing the entrance. In front of the paintings there were usually Chinese objects arranged on a small table. If there were three or five paintings, then there always were three or five objects in front of paintings. One or two paintings were hung in the alcove area. Second, three or five Chinese objects were placed in front of three or five paintings on the main wall but the combinations differed. Often an incense burner, flower vase, and candleholder comprised the three objects but other arrangements consisted of an incense

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[253] Writing objects as well as Zen Buddhist texts (*Muchūshū* 夢中(問答)集, 月庵法語) are listed in the *shoin* area.

burner with two flower vases. Third, the record describes shelves with three levels where flower vases, incense burners or tea objects were placed. Fourth, if the room did have a writing table, like at the Dōjinsai room in Tōgudō at Jishōji, various writing objects were to be placed on the table (*tsuke shoin*).[254]

It is hard to clarify who began to first use sets of Buddhist objects in their own residences, but the fourteenth and fifteenth century sources referred to in Chapter Two provide circumstantial evidence that the popularity of Chinese objects (*karamono*) and paintings had spread among warriors and courtiers by the late fourteenth century. Among the warrior elite, in particular, an interest in Chinese objects and its permeating elite culture seems to have been related to their interest in Zen Buddhism. Chinese objects began to be circulated among the warriors at the end of the Kamakura period when members of the court also absorbed new Zen and Chinese elements into their traditional settings. The Ashikaga shoguns, active patrons of Zen Buddhism, created in Kyoto the Gozan Zen temple system modeled after the Kamakura Gozan Zen organization and began to actively adopt and use Chinese objects and Zen elements in their residences. I think that the Ashikaga shoguns, though not the first to appropriate Chinese elements, were the most successful in integrating Zen and Chinese objects as a means of demonstrating their authority.

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[254] Jishōji (present day known better known as Ginkakuji, silver pavilion) was Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1435-1490)'s retirement villa and Tōgudō building built in 1485 has remained at this site. Dōjinsai is a room in this building, known as the oldest extant example of *shoin* style architecture.

## 3.4    SOCIO-POLITICAL MEANING OF FORMAL DISPLAY IN THE EARLY FIFTEENTH-CENTURY KYOTO

The political relationship between the Muromachi shoguns and the emperor is the main issue historians have highlighted when discussing imperial visitations during the Muromachi period. A more nuanced context can be achieved by focusing again on the specific event itself in order to answer the question of why the Ashikaga shoguns undertook new building projects and the meaning of elaborate displays of objects within the *kaisho*.

Yoshinori most likely had the emperor's visit to his father's palace in mind when he invited Emperor Go-Hanazono to visit. After all, he had built his own palace at the same location where, in the third month of 1381, Emperor Go-Enyu had visited Yoshimitsu's Muromachi Palace. Yoshimitsu also invited Emperor Go-Komatsu (1377-1433) to his Kitayama retirement villa in the third month of 1408. Yoshimitsu was the first shogun who purposely showed off his political, economic, and cultural leadership directly to the emperor and courtiers in Kyoto. The 1408 visit was famous because of Yoshimitu's political intentions. He had retired as shogun in 1394 and, through his invitation to emperor Go-Komatsu to visit the Kitayama Palace, Yoshimitsu was mirroring the actions of a retired emperor.[255] Yoshinori likely sought to confirm his own political and economic power by mimicking his father's earlier magnificent and successful event. But a more fundamental question still remains. How are these sophisticated decorations at this highly political event related to the authority and legitimacy of the shogun?

To fully discuss this question, we need to examine the way in which palaces and *kaisho* buildings were used throughout the duration of the emperor's visitation and fully compare all

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[255] I discussed this at length earlier in this chapter. See pages 96-98, and 104 of this chapter.

three cases. Due to the limitations of the primary sources and the differences between the three events, it is challenging to draw a comparison between them. However, I can say that all of the main events including the grand procession on the 21st day, a traditional court dance performance (*bugaku-mai no goran* 舞御覧) and a poetry gathering (*waka no gokai* 和歌御会) on the 23rd day, and a kickball game (*kemari no kai* 蹴鞠会) on the 25th day, were held in and around the *shinden*.[256]

There is far less information about what events took place at the *kaisho*. During the 1408 imperial visit, *sarugaku noh* (猿楽) on the 10th day and music performances and Yoshitsugu's playing flute on the 11th day were performed at the *kaisho*. Renga poetry gatherings and boating ceremonies (*mibune shikai* 三船詩会) were held and boats (御座船) decorated with phoenix sailed on the pond.[257] The records state that in 1437, there were poetry readings in the six-mat room at South-facing Kaisho at night on the 25th day after the boating ceremonies.[258] At this event the emperor was seated facing north in the six-mat room and attendees were seated to his east and west sides. This is the typical seating at *renga* poetry gatherings and, unlike the poetry gathering held at the *shinden*, attendees are gathered together in one room regardless of their different status. In addition, we know that a specific area of the *kaisho* was elaborately decorated with five Chinese hanging scroll paintings, as well as an incense case, incense burners, food

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[256] Shimao Arata, "Kaisho to Karamono 會所と唐物" in *Shirīzu toshi, kenchiku, rekishi 4.* シリーズ 都市・建築・歴史 4. *Chūsei bunka to ba* 中世の文化と場, (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai 東京大学出版会, 2006): 123-154; and Ishihara Hīro (2011): 1-19.

[257] For boating ceremonies, I referred to Kuwayama (2003): 22-24.

[258] *Eikyō kunen jūgatsu nijūichinichi gyōkōki* as well as *Muromachi dono gyōkō okazariki* states this event at *kaisho*. See footnote 242.

boxes, tea bowls, ink-stones, a sword, and gold ornaments that were to be gifted to the emperor when he departed.[259]

On one hand, the above evidence shows that the *shinden* was used for traditional court events, such as *bugaku* dances, *waka* poetry gathering and the *kemari* kickball games traditionally played by court males. On the other hand, the *kaisho* were decorated with Chinese objects and were used for Noh performances and *renga* gatherings, new pastimes associated with warrior culture. There could be a dichotomous understanding of *shinden* vs. *kaisho*, Japanese vs. Chinese, and court tradition vs. new warrior customs.[260] While, in some sense, this is true, I think we need to look further to fully understand these new phenomena.

**Ashikaga Yoshinori's Dual Strategy**

I think that the dichotomy of *shinden*/court and *kaisho/*warrior suggests that the Ashikaga shoguns were using the dual strategy of both conforming to court traditions and developing their own legitimacy. That is, they strictly followed the traditional court rituals at the *shinden* while freely displaying their new and elaborate cultural appreciation through the display of expensive Chinese objects at the *kaisho.*

I think that Yoshinori used the emperor's visits to emphasize two critical points. First, the main purpose of the imperial visit was to make clear to the public Yoshinori's closeness to the emperor and, second, it was intended to clarify that they were not in a competitive relationship.

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[259] *Eikyō kunen jūgatsu nijūichinichi gyōkōki* records various items as presents, including Chinese paintings, gold and silver objects, lacquer wares, writing objects, Korean papers, gold or silver decorated swords, clothings, silks, etc. The record also states all three *kaisho* were used for presenting these gifts. For the original text, see *Eikyō kunen jūgatsu nijūichinichi gyōkōki*, in *Shinkō Gunsho ruijū* 2 (1977): 462-463.

[260] Japanese art historians interpret this with the dual structure of *wa* (Japan) and *kan* (China). Shimao Arata further articulates complicated layers of *wa* and *kan* in medieval Japan providing his own diagram in the article. Shimao Arata (2006): 130-136.

When scholars have discussed the relationship between the shogun and the emperor during an imperial visit, many argue that the visit was the means by which the shogun showed off his wealth and power and displayed his authority as being equivalent to or higher than that of the Emperor.[261] Emphasizing that both Yoshinori and Yoshimitsu received the title of "King of Japan" through their diplomatic relations with China, as well as the implication of the display of Emperor Huizong's paintings in the Ashikaga collection, scholars have believed that the shogun emphasized his relationship to Chinese emperors in order to show off his power.[262] However, it should not be overlooked that the relationship between the emperor and the shogun in the Muromachi period was a mutually complementary symbiotic relationship rather than a confrontational one. Claiming superiority over the emperor was not important to the shogun. Rather, establishing clear lines to the emperor was a more useful, effective, and important means to maintain his political legitimacy.[263]

Yoshinori's intention of creating a line to the emperor becomes clear when we examine Yoshinori's actions during imperial visits. By performing traditional court ceremonies and following court events in the *shinden*, Yoshinori was acting in the role of his official title, the

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[261] Imatani Akira, ibid.; Richard Stanley Baker focused on 1408 imperial visit to Kiayama villa and argued that Yoshimitsu states his cultural legitimacy in opposite to traditional court culture. Richard Stanley-Baker, "Muromachi jidai no zashiki kazari to bunkateki shudōken 室町時代の座敷飾りと文化的主導権," *Nihon bijutsu zensh*ū 日本美術全集 11 (Tokyo: Kōdansha 講談社, 1990): 168-173.

[262] Hata Yasunori focuses on the Song Emperor Huizong's paintings, as well as Liang Kai and Xia Gui's paintings in the shogunal collection that were displayed during the imperial visit. Xia Gui and Liang Kai were famous court painters who painted for the emperor. Emphasizing the fact that paintings of the Chinese emperor and for the Chinese emperor were displayed during the imperial visits, Hata argues that these show Yoshinori's intentions to show off his political authority vis-à- vis China. Hata Yasunori, "Muromachi jidai no nansō intaiga ni taisuru ninshiki o megutte," *Bijutsushi*, 156 (2004): 437-438. Hashimoto Yū questions this argument, criticizing art historians' attitude of overemphasizing the meaning of "Chinese emperor's paintings." He explains that the image of Huizong in the Ashikaga period was one of Chinese emperors who had particular cultural interests and political implications cannot be overemphasized. Hashimoto Yū, *Chūka gensō: karamono to gaikō no Muromachi jidaishi* (2011): 111-121.

[263] As I examined earlier in this chapter in the background section, Yoshimitsu and Go En'yu are matrilateral cousins. See pages 95-96 of this chapter.

Minister of the Left (*sadaijin*), that he had been given in 1437 under the *ritsuryo* system.[264]

During the procession and at court events such as *bugaku, waka* readings, and the *kemari* game Yoshinori sat at the traditional position for the Minister of the Left and when passing the sake cup he also acted as the Minister of the Left. During the 1408 ceremonies at Kitayama Palace Yoshimitsu positioned his young son Yoshitsugu, who did not yet have an official title, above the regent and other elite members of the gathering. Compared to Yoshimitsu's actions in 1408, Yoshinori faithfully followed traditional precedents during the event. I think this shows Yoshinori's dependency on the emperor's authority since his political legitimacy was less stable than that of previous shoguns.

Yoshinori needed to make clear to the attendees his closeness to the emperor, his cultural legitimacy and his socio-political authority as a de facto ruler. The Muromachi period was a time of a complicated balance between the *shugo* daimyo, imperial court, and the *bakufu*. The warrior faction based in Kyoto needed to assert its political authority but it was equally important that they establish their cultural authority in order to further legitimate the Ashikaga shoguns' ascendancy. The emperor's visit was the perfect arena where members of the court and warrior society could gather and keep their eyes on the shogun.

In this sense, I think that *kaisho*, elaborately decorated with sumptuous Chinese paintings and objects, played a significant role in confirming the shoguns cultural legitimacy. Elaborate displays of Chinese objects not only showed their economic power, but also attracted interest from the elite because of the association of these objects with Zen Buddhism, the tea ceremony, and advanced Chinese culture popular at time. The displays not only expressed power-based

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[264] From Yoshimitsu's reign, shoguns were given official court titles by the emperor; Ashikaga Yoshinori was promoted and awarded the title of Minister of the Left in 1437.

authority, but also established a new culture equivalent to the traditional culture of the Kyoto court.

## 3.5    CONCLUSION

An imperial visitation to the shogun's new residential complex must have been important for the highest level of Kyoto society. During this highly choreographed event more than a thousand Chinese objects were displayed in the *kaisho* and, through them, Ashikaga Yoshinori not only emphasized his closeness to the emperor but also showed his cultural legitimacy to the elite attendees. Furthermore, by conducting a formal meeting at the *kaisho* and gifting some displayed objects to the emperor and courtiers, the Ashikaga shoguns blurred the traditional cultural leadership and boundaries of the court. At the same time, they were elevating their own culture through their elaborate display of luxurious collections of paintings and objects that overwhelmed viewers with their quantity and quality.

The roles of the Ashikaga shoguns in the development of the formal display of numerous Chinese paintings and objects should be placed within a socio-political context. Ashikaga Yoshimitsu initiated the use of formal display in order to state his political and cultural authority, Yoshimochi expanded the idea, and Yoshinori further systemized formal settings at Ashikaga residences. Ashikaga shoguns, though not the originators of appropriating Chinese objects for display, did integrate Zen, the imperial court, and Chinese objects as a means of demonstrating their authority. The value of formal display was in the process of accumulating. When Yoshimitsu first sponsored Ze'ami (世阿弥) and Kan'ami (観阿弥) and the performance of *sarugaku noh* at his *kaisho*, he was criticized by court members because Noh drama was looked

upon as an inferior cultural activity. But by the time of Yoshinori and later, Noh had gained a high cultural status. *Renga* was also thought of as having lower status than *waka* court poetry but, through the patronage of the Ashikaga, it became greatly popular among the elite in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the same way, negative reaction to Chinese objects as useless or flamboyant slowly changed and, again through Ashikaga patronage, they became highly valued as advanced cultural components not just expensive and extravagant objects.[265]

Focusing on the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the period when formal display was established and systemized, the previous chapter examined the development through primary documents. This chapter focused on the socio-political meaning of formal display through imperial visits to the Ashikaga. As such, this chapter has refuted the existing focus on the decorative aspect of formal display that neglected the original socio-political context of their development. This chapter has examined how the elaborately organized formal display of Chinese objects and paintings during emperor Go Hanazono's visit to Yoshinori's Muromachi palace were linked with the ruling power of the Ashikaga and their cultural legitimacy.

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[265] As seen in *Taiheiki*, the fourteenth century war tale, which I examined in Chapter Two, *karamono* was often mentioned when describing the warrior elite's flamboyant tastes and their fondness for luxurious imported objects. In *Tsurezuregusa* (徒然草), an essay written by Yoshida Kenkō in 1332, the author criticizes *karamono* Chinese objects, except medicines, as useless and only showing flamboyant taste. "唐の物は、薬の外は、なくとも事欠くまじ。書どもは、この国に多く広まりぬれば、書きも写してん。唐土舟のたやすからぬ道 に、無用の物どものみ取り積みて、所狭く渡しもて来る、いと愚かなり。……遠き物を宝とせずとも、また、得 がたき貨を貴ま." *Tsurezuregusa* (徒然草) was translated into English by T. Wakameda in 1914 and by Donald Keene in 1967, second edition in 1998. *The Idle Thoughts from the Recluse: Being a Translation of the Tsurezuregusa,* translated by T. Wakameda (Tokyo: Taiheikwan, 1914): 106; *Essays in Idlenss: the Tsurezure gusa of Kenkō,* translated by Donald Keene (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998): 101.

# 4.0 FROM AUTHORITY TO COMMODITY: SOCIO-ECONOMIC MEANING OF FORMAL DISPLAY IN *KUNDAIKAN SŌCHŌKI*

## 4.1 INTRODUCTION

*Muromachi dono gyokō okazariki*, the focus of the previous chapter, is a record of formal display during a specific imperial Go Hanazono's visit to Ashikaga Yoshinori's Muromachi palace in 1437. *Kundaikan sōchōki*, on the other hand, is a more generalized and didactic illustrated treatise. While the *Muromachi dono gyokō okazariki* lists only the names and characteristics of the objects and paintings displayed in each room of the three *kaisho* at Yoshinori's palace, *Kundaikan sōchōki* is an illustrated record of three types of information: 1) names of Chinese artists accompanied by short commentatries and qualitative ratings; 2) general ideas of display and arrangement with illustrated guides; 3) descriptions, names, and illustrations of *karamono* objects (e.g., tea utensils, incense cases). *Kundaikan sōchōki* is an illustrated manual that contains rules or guides for the proper display and arrangement of various *karamono* objects and *kara-e* paintings.

According to its colophons, the extant *Kundaikan sōchōki* were copies of original texts that had been compiled either by Nōami (1397-1471) or Sōami (?-1525). Because there is no original of *Kundaikan sōchōki*, the manual examined here is a compilation of copies that had

been organized either by Nōami or Sōami. [266] Numerous copies of the original *Kundaikan sōchōki* text were made in the early sixteenth century. There are also approximately 150 extant Edo period (1615-1868) copies. Although these manuals are very complicated to approach, due to the complex organization of the text and the existence of numerous extant copies, I believe that they are essential to understanding the meaning of formal display. The texts provide an additional means for understanding the culture of formal display as it applied to the Ashikaga shoguns and are evidence of shared and circulated knowledge from the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when the Ashikaga impacted medieval Japanese culture.

This chapter will discuss the socio-economic meaning of formal display focusing on a broad category of documents called *Kundaikan sōchōki*. The first part of the chapter investigates the content and organization of several representative examples, including the oldest copies of the texts, and explores possible reasons for the initial production of such documents. The second part deals with the question of why numerous copies were made, identifies those factors that caused the changes in the production of the illustrated manuals, and examines the various roles of *dōbōshū* who were employed by the shogun. The numerous extant copies, I believe, were produced during the Warring States period (Sengoku Period, 1467-1573) after the Ōnin War (1467-1477) and are related to the fall of the Ashikaga as well as the *dōbōshū's* loss of financial support. Also, I will show how numerous copies produced during the Warring States Period

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[266] The most comprehensive study of the Ashikaga shogunal art manuals appeared in Yano's *Kundaikan sōchōki no sōgō kenkyū* in 1999. The volume *kenkyū hen* includes scholary texts and the *ēin hen* reproduces the illustrations of various copies. Yano Tamaki has examined all 150 copies related to *Kundaikan sōchōki* and reproduced the illustrations of 74 different copies. Through data analysis he classified and categorized the 150 copies according to their time period. Yano Tamaki 矢野環, *Kundaikan sōchōki no sōgō kenkyū: chabanakakō no genten Edo shoki Ryūei gyobutsu no kettei* 君台観左右帳記の総合研究: 茶華香の原点江戸初期柳営御物の決定 (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan 勉誠出版, 1999).

prove that the value of formal display (*zashiki kazari*) changed from being an indication of authority to an economic commodity.

### 4.1.1   Present Scholarship on *Kundaikan sōchōki*

The detailed information and illustrations of proper interior display in the manuals have long attracted the attention of both art and architectural historians and, since the Meiji period, they have been understood as a record of criteria for formal display. At the same time, large numbers of extant texts have elicited complicated discussions regarding authorship and provenance among Japanese scholars. Today there are still ongoing problems surrounding the meaning and the production of the manuals. Yano Tamaki noted in his comprehensive study of extant copies that it is difficult to organize the records because numerous compilations or edited copies contain similar content but have different dates and names.[267] Furthermore, there are often small errors or changes among existing copies. Therefore, issues of authorship of the original, the chronology of the copies, and the meaning of the texts are still unresolved.[268]

There have been two categories of scholarship on these manuals. First, is Japanese scholarship that focused primarily on the detailed content, authorship, and production dates.[269]

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[267] Ibid, 13-16.

[268] Each version of the text has been discussed among scholars and most agree that Nōami and Sōami made the originals. However, Shimao Arata proposes that Nōami had no reason to compile this kind of manual and Sōami would have been the person who took charge. Shimao Arata 島尾新, "Suibokuga: Nōami kara kanoha e 水墨画: 能阿弥から狩野派へ," *Nihon no bijutsu* 日本の美術 no. 338 (1994): 17-80.

[269] Suzuki Makoto 鈴木恂, "Okazarisho no kōsatsu 御飾書の考察," in *Kenchikushi kenkyū* 建築研究, no.33 (1963):1-13; Nakamura Tanio 中村渓男, "Gomotsu on-e mokuroku no sensha Nōami ni kansuru ikkōsatsu," in *Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan kiyō* 東京国立博物館紀要 7 (1971): 161-193; Hayashi

From the early twentieth century, Japanese publications reproduced several copies with short explanations or annotations.[270] Detailed annotated transcriptions of several copies facilitated scholars' scrutiny. Japanese art historians have mainly focused on the list of Chinese artists with qualitative grades and utilized the manuals to study reception of Chinese paintings in medieval Japan.[271] Japanese architectural historians have focused on the second part with illustrations of interior display in order to recreate Ashikaga Yoshimasa's Higashiyama villa and to trace the development of *shoin* style architecture.[272] Scholars outside of Japan have followed the lead of Japanese scholars and used the *Kundaikan sōchōki* as a primary source in order to examine the shoguns' cultural tastes, tea ceremonies, and the relationship between Japan and China.[273] Although these studies have resulted in a better understanding of the manuals, they are still fragmented so that the intended function and social, economic and cultural contexts in which the manuals were produced have not been fully explored.

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Samae 林左馬衞, "Kundaikan sōchōki to Okazarisho no denki 君台観左右帳記と御飾書の伝記," in *Higashiyama gomotsu:"zakashitsuin"ni kansuru shin shiryō o chūshin ni* 東山御物:「雑華室印」に関する新史料を中心に (Tokyo: Nezu Bijutsukan 根津美術館 and Nagoya: Tokugawa Bijutsukan 徳川美術館, 1976): 146-159. Yano Tamaki also deals with authorship and production date issues by briefly introducing previous arguments. Yano, 1-17. I critically examined current scholarship on *Kundaikan sōchōki* in the Introduction. See pages 6-10 for the detailed study.

[270] *Kundaikan sō chōki* 君台観左右帳記 (Tokyo: Koten Hozonkai 古典保存会, 1933).

[271] Several scholars have conducted studies of the lists of Chinese artists and paintings inventoried in the manuals and extant Chinese paintings with the Ashikaga seals were used to establish either the Japanese taste for or the reception of Chinese paintings during the Muromachi period. See Itakura Masaaki, "Biishiki de miru higashiyama gomotsu," in *Shubi* (2014): 11-23 and Yamamoto Yasukazu, "Ashikaga Yoshimitsu jidai no zen'ami to kanjōin ni tsuite," in *Muromachi shogunke no shihō o saguru* 室町将軍家の至宝を探る (Nagoya: Tokugawa bijutsukan 徳川美術館, 2008): 170-189.

[272] I critically examined current scholarship by Japanese architectural historians in the Introduction. See pages 14-16 for the detailed study.

[273] Scholars consider *Kundaikan sōchōki* as 'secretly transmitted texts' (*hidensho*) without examining their meaning or how they functioned as *hidensho*. Gail Capitol Weigl, "The reception of Chinese painting models in Muromachi Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 35, no. 3 (1980): 257-272; Kawai Masatomo, "Reception room display in medieval Japan," in *Kazari: decoration and display in Japan 15th-19th centuries* (New York: Japan Society, 2002): 32-41. Nicolas Fiévé, "Le livre des ornementations en usage à la retraite des collines de l'est." *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 54, no. 3/4 (1994): 296-326. I will discuss their scholarship later in this chapter.

Although the texts differ in dates, formats, and organization, and the question of authorship is still unanswered, they are central to understanding formal display in Ashikga palaces and their collections of *karamono* objects and *kara-e* paintings. I believe that the original and the numerous copies produced during the Warring States Period (Sengoku Period, 1467-1573) after the Ōnin War (1467-1477) further suggest that the value of formal display changed from an indication of authority to an economic commodity. My focus on a broader context that places the manuals within socio-economic changes rather than on the detailed contents of each text will provide a more nuanced understanding of display in the late Muromachi period.

## 4.2    UNDERSTANDING KUNDAIKAN SŌCHŌKI

*Kundaikan sōchōki* (君台観左右帳記, 君臺観左右帳記) may be translated as "The record of formal display in a shogunal palace with illustrations" or "The manual of the Attendant of the Shogunal Residence." The texts are organized as follows: 1) a list of Chinese artists (mostly from the Song and Yuan dyansties) divided into three qualitative groups, 2) illustrated guides and descriptions of the proper display of objects and paintings, and 3) illustrated descriptions and names of Chinese objects.[274]

Shimao Arata points out that it is unknown when the title *Kundaikan sōchōki* was first used and it is unclear when the texts were made and by whom.[275] Several extant texts are clearly titled *Kundaikan sōchōki* but others are untitled. The texts *Ogawa gosho narabi higashiyama okazarizu* (小河御所并東山殿御餝図) and *Okazarisho* (御飾書) have similar content but

[274] The order of the contents and formats are varied in extant versions of texts.
[275] Shimao (1994): 28.

different titles.[276] In this chapter I will use *Kundaikan sōchōki* when referring to texts that are copies regardless of their title.[277] *Ogawa gosho narabi higashiyama dono okazarizu*, *Okazariki*, and *Okazarisho* will be included because of their similar content. When referencing a specific version of *Kundaikan sōchōki* I will refer to the Tokyo National University version of *Kundaikan sōchōki* or the Tokugawa Museum version of *Ogawa gosho narabi higashiyama dono okazarizu*.

### 4.2.1 Representative Works of *Kundaikan sōchōki*

The numerous *Kundaikan sōchōki* can be divided into two groups based on the colophon stating that they were copies of the originals that had been compiled by either Nōami (1397-1471) or Sōami (died 1525). The *Gunsho ruijū* (群書類従) version dated the 3rd month of 1476 is the oldest among Nōami's versions. The oldest among Sōami's versions is in the Tohoku University Library Collection and the colophon states it is compiled in the 1st month of 1559 based on Sōami's 1511 original.

Though doubt remains as to when the copies were finalized and who compiled them, they provide insights into display of *karamono* in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. There are about one hundred fifty extant copies, but my intention is not to list and compare the similarities or differences among extant copies. Rather, I will discuss representative works in

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[276] Satō Toyozo suggests that the title *Kundaikan sōchōki* was first used only for the list of Chinese paintings because *Kundaikan sōchōki* is included as a subtitle in front of the Chinese artists and next to the description on Ogawa Palace and Higashiyama Villa in *Ogawa gosho narabi higashiyama dono okazarizu* 小河御所并東山殿御餝図. For more detailed discussion, see Satō Toyozo 佐藤豊三, "Shōgunke 'onari' ni tsuite 3 将軍家 '御成'について (三)," in *Kinko sōsho* 金鯱叢書 vol. 3 (1976): 511-536.
[277] For classification of *Kundaikan sōchōki* I will follow Yano Tamaki. Yano, *Kundaikan sōchōki no sōgō kenkyū* (1999).

order to understand the reason for and process of making the texts and discuss the socio-economic contexts of production. I will first introduce the three versions of *Kundaikan sōchōki*, one version of *Ogawa gosho narabi higashiyama dono okazarizu* (小河御所并東山殿御餝図) and one version of *Okazarisho* with some translations to give examples of the detailed information recorded in the text.

### 1) Tohoku University Library Collection *Kundaikan sōchōki*

The *Kundaikan sōchōki* (1559) held at the Tohoku University Library Collection is considered to be the most reliable among the numerous extant texts.[278] The colophon states that the original was made by Sōami who then gave it to Genji Yoshitsugu (源次吉繼, dates unknown) in the 10th month 16th day of 1511. It is recorded that Enshin (圓深, dates unknown) made a copy in the 12th month of 1526 and that someone unnamed made the Tohoku University copy in 1559 (Eiroku 2).[279] If we believe the colophon, Sōami made the original in 1511 and the Tohoku University Library version was made in 1559.

The handscroll is divided into three sections: first, a list of 177 Chinese artists divided into three large groups (上,中,下) and sub-grouped into eight qualitative groups (上上上, 上上, 上中, 上, 中上, 中, 下上, 下); second, descriptions and illustrated guides for the proper display of objects or paintings; and third, illustrated descriptions and a catalogue of Chinese objects.

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[278] This version has been widely reproduced with annotations. I referred to the following to translate this version. *Kundaikan sō chōki* 君台観左右帳記 (Tokyo: Koten Hozonkai 古典保存会, 1933). Murai Yasuhiko includes an annotated translation of the Tohoku Library version *Kundaikan sōchōki* and *Okazarisho.* Murai Yasuhiko 村井康彦, *Chanoyu no koten* 1. *Kundaikan sōchōki. Okazarisho* 君台観左右帳記. 御飾書 (Tokyo: Sekai Bunkasha 世界文化社, 1983).

[279] For more detailed information on the Tohoku University version, see Murai Yasuhiko, ibid., 18-24.

The second section includes descriptions and illustrated guides for proper display using architectural devices such as the alcove area (*oshiita* 押板), writing desk (*tsuke shoin* 出文机), and staggered shelves (*chigaidana*).[280] The second section starts with the following instructions for alcove areas:[281]

- When hanging three or five scrolls as a set on the wall above the table (*oshiita*), three objects (*mitsugusoku*) should be placed in front of the main image on the folding table (折卓 *orijoku*) and the table height adjusted by folding or unfolding the legs according to the length of hanging scrolls.[282] On the table, place a candle holder (燭台 *shokudai*), a flower vase (花瓶 *kabing*), an incense burner (香爐 *kōrō*), an incense utensil holder (香匙臺 *kōjidai*),[283] and an incense case (香合 *kōgō*). If flower vases are placed on each side, place them on the tray (盆 *bon*) or the table (卓 *taku*).
- When arranging a "*morokazari* (諸飾),"[284] a flower vase and candleholder are used as a set with an incense burner in the center. Place an incense burner and an incense case in the same manner as in the three objects display. This group is also called *itsukazari* (五飾 five object display). The flower vase can be made of either bronze/metal (胡銅 *kodon*) or celadon (青磁 *seiji*).[285]

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[280] *Oshiita* literally translates as a "portable board" and refers to a portable board or table placed in front of a wall to hold objects. The *oshiita* was the proto type of the attached built-in alcove (*tokonoma*) component of residences in the late Muromachi period. In this text, the *oshiita* could indicate either a portable table or a built-in alcove. The text also uses the term "*oki oshiita*" that specifically designates a portable table. The *oshiita* was shallower than the later *tokonoma*. The height was usually 20 or 30 cm above the floor, width was around 50 cm, and the length was either one or two tatami mats. The oldest extant *oshiita* is at Yoshino shrine and it is a two-mat length. (二間押板).

[281] For original record on this section, see ibid., 98-114.

[282] *Orijoku* is a table with folding legs.

[283] The text itself includes supplementary explanation on the *kōjidai* as "here place *kōji* 香匙 and *koji* 香箸." *Kōji* 香匙 is a spoon for incense and *koji* 香箸 is chopsticks for incense so in this case *kōjidai* could be translated as an incense utensil holder.

[284] *Morokazari* literally means "all things displayed" and here it refers to the name of a specific display with five objects.

[285] See appendix for the translation of the entire section of Tohoku University Library Collection *Kundaikan sōchōki.*

The text specifies the proper way to hang three or five scroll paintings and the arrangement of three objects (*mitsugusoku*) in the alcove area, all without illustrations.[286] The text also includes instruction for the writing desk area containing both a text and illustrations of writing objects such as a brush and ink stone placed on the desk. The section regarding the staggered shelves also includes illustrations of one shelf with tea utensils and a second with flower vases.

### 2) *Gunsho ruijū* version *Kundaikan sōchōki*

Nōami is named as the author in the colophon of the *Gunsho ruijū* version, and it also states it was given to Ōuchi Masahiro (大内政弘 1446-1495) in 1476.[287] Although this version has the oldest date, 1476, and Nōami is credited as the author, there is disagreement as to when the text took its final form and who compiled it, as Nōami died in 1471.[288]

Like the Tohoku University Library version, *Gunsho ruijū* is divided into three categories with a few differences. First, the list of Chinese artists with three qualitative grades totals 156 not 177 as in the Tohoku University version. Second, The Tohoku University version does not include Ming dynasty artists but the *Gusho ruijū* version does. The remaining two

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[286] *Mitsugusoku* originally referred to three ritual objects placed on a Buddhist altar. When displayed in residences, *mitsugusoku* are an incense burner, a candleholder, and a flower vase placed on a table or in an alcove. It is not clear when these became a fixed set and the arrangement of the objects seems to have been flexible during the Muromachi period because medieval illustrated handscrolls depict various combinations. The *Boki e* contains two scenes of an abbot's quarter. In one scene two flower vases flank the center incense burner and in the second an incense burner in the center is flanked by a flower vase and candleholder.

[287] *Gunsho ruijū* vol. 8 (Gunsho ruijū kanseikai, 1932): 119-130.

[288] Murai Yasuhiko considers the *Gunsho ruijū* version as Sōami's and Tohoku University Library version as Nōami's the two most reliable copies of *Kundaikan sōchōki* in terms of their contents and organization. However, Shimao Arata argues that *Kundaikan sōchōki* was made by Sōami, not by Nōami. Shimao, (1994): 28-29.

categories in the *Gusho ruijū* version are similar but with fewer illustrations and descriptions than are in the Tohoku University version.

### 3) Tokyo National University Collection *Kundaikan sōchōki*

According to the colophon of the Tokyo National University collection, Murata Jukō (1423-1502) first received the text from Nōami and passed it to his son Murata Soshu (宗珠 dates unknown). In the third month in 1523, Soshu made the Tokyo National University version copy of *Kundaikan sōchōki* and gifted it to an unknown party. There is still no sure evidence as to when the text took its final form and who compiled it. The text is divided into what appears to be the accepted three categories but the order is changed. It begins with 172 Chinese artists combined with 3 qualitative grades then describes and illustrates various objects. The third section is the explanation and illustrative guide for arrangements and display of objects.

### 4) *Ogawa gosho narabi higashiyama dono okazarizu* (小河御所并東山殿御餝図)

*Ogawa gosho narabi higashiyama dono okazarizu* (Illustrated record of Ogawa Palace and Higashiyama Villa) housed in the Tokugawa Museum collection contains information specific to Yoshimasa's Ogawa Palace and Higashiyama Villa. The colophon at the beginning first states the title then that it was compiled by Sōami (Sōa ki, 相阿 記). At the end of the colophon, it records a date of the 12th month of 1523.[289] The contents include: 1) descriptions of specific interior views within Ogawa Palace and Higashiyama Villa with 12 illustrations; 2) illustrations and names of 21 tea pots (抹茶壺図); 3) a list of 153 Chinese artists with three

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[289] "大永三年十二月 吉日 松雪斎鑑岳真相(花押) 過剋斎 玉床下" This record had been known fairly early among scholars because *Kogabiko* (古画備考), a dictionary of Japanese paintings and artists made in the nineteenth century, mentions this record on the section of Sōami.

qualitative grades; 4) explanations of the types and features of objects described in the first part. It also includes five illustrations of the objects.[290]

*Ogawa gosho narabi higashiyama dono okazarizu* also contains information on Chinese artists but, unlike the previous copies of *Kundaikan sōchōki* that are general descriptions, *Ogawa gosho narabi higashiyama dono okazarizu* is specific to Yoshimasa's two residences, Ogawa palace and Higashiyama villa. Ogawa Palace and Higashiyama villa were two important late fifteenth century shogunal buildings. Ogawa Palace was used as a shogunal palace after the Muromachi Palace burned in 1476 and Higashiyama Villa was a retirement villa for shogun Yoshimasa that he used from 1482 to 1490.

Yoshimasa's places are important in order to better understand this record. Yoshimasa became the eighth Ashikaga shogun in 1443 (1443. 7. 23) following his older brother Yoshikatsu's sudden death and reigned for 24 years. He retired in 1473 and died in 1490. He utilized four residences throughout his lifetime. He lived at the Karasumaru Palace (烏丸殿), the residence of Karasumaru Suketō (烏丸資任, 1417-1483), from 1449 to 1459.[291] He then moved to the newly built Muromachi Palace in 1459 where he remained until 1476 when it was destroyed by fire. Yoshimasa next moved to the Ogawa palace in 1476 and lived there until 1481.[292] Finally, Yoshimasa began building Higashiyama as his retirement villa in 1482 and

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[290] Exhibition catalogue on Higashiyama collection (*Higashiyma gomotsu*) from Nezu Museum and Tokugawa Art Museum includes a Hayashi Masae's annotated transcription (*honkaku* 翻刻 version) of *Ogawa gosho narabi higashiyama dono okazarizu.* See Hayashi Masae in *Higashiyama gomotsu:"zakashitsuin"ni kansuru shin shiryō o chūshin ni* 東山御物：「雑華室印」に関する新史料を中心に (Tokyo: Nezu Bijutsukan 根津美術館 and Nagoya: Tokugawa Bijutsukan 徳川美術館, 1976): 169-197.

[291] Karasumaru Suketō was the cousin of Ashikaga Yoshinori's wife Hino Shigeko (1411-1463).

[292] Ogawa palace was originally built by Hosokawa Katsumoto (細川勝元, 1430-1473) in 1471.

moved there in 1483.[293] Today, all that remains of the Higashiyama villa are Ginkaku (銀閣) and

Tōgudō (東求堂) at Jishōji.


The following entry is specific to the Ogawa Palace:[294]

- There is a five-mat size meeting place/chamber (対面所) in Ogawa Palace. In the room, there is an *oshiita* of two mats length, facing south. [On the wall above the *oshiita*] three hanging scroll paintings are hung together. Three objects (*mitsugusoku*) are placed on the table. At each side of the three objects are a pair of flower vases on the table. On the east [of the *oshiita*], a shelf of one mat length is arranged like this [Illustration].



**Figure 2.** Detail of *Ogawa gosho higashiyama dono okazari ki*
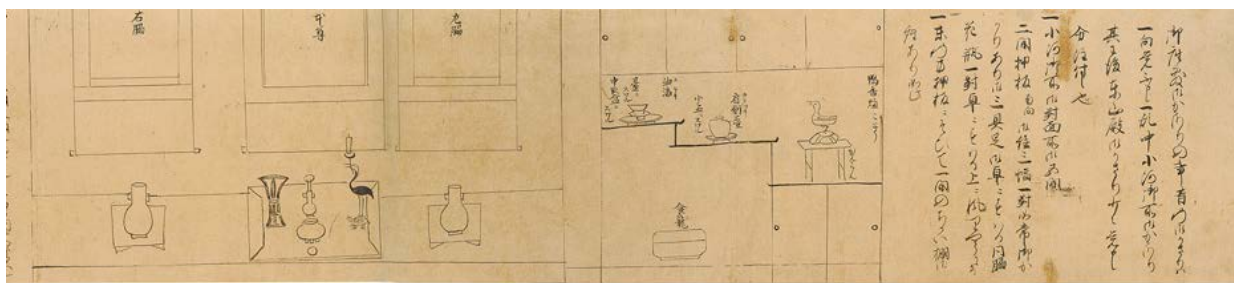

Since the text is more like a short memo, the accompaning illustrations of the shelf and

alcove area provide more specifics of the display in the meeting room at the Ogawa Palace. Next

to the illustrated objects placed on the shelf are written names such as "bird-shaped incense

burner" (鴨香炉) and "tea pot (肩衝壺) on a small tray" (小盆). To the left of this shelf

illustration is an alcove display with three hanging scrolls. In front of the central scroll is a square tray with three objets-- a Chinese Jue-shaped flower vase on the left,[295] a small round incense burner in the center, and bird-shaped candle holder on the right. On the tray, is a small round case (probably an incense case) and incense spoon and chopsticks with a holder. On each side of this tray are flower vases placed on trays in front of the left and right hanging scroll paintings.

The following is the first part of the description specific to the Higashiyama Villa:[296] (This part has no illustrations)

- [In the Higashiyama Villa] there is a nine-mat room named Saga no ma (嵯峨の間) at *kaisho*. In the northeast side of this room, there is an alcove/low table (*oshiita*) of two-mat length. There are paintings hung [on the wall] and [in this alcove] are placed three ritual objects (*mitsugusoku*) and a pair of flower vases at each side, as usual. Above this are hung wind chimes (*fūrin* 風涼). In front of the alcove/low table and in the center of this room, there is a carved lacquer (*tsuikō* 剔紅) table. On the table are a metal incense burner and a flower decorated incense case. From the 10th month to the end of 3rd month, there should be a cloisonné brazier (*hibachi* 火鉢) with a tray on the table.[297] Cloisonné fire utensils (*hikaki* 火箸 攬)[298] are used.

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[295] Jue 爵 refers to a specific shape of Chinese bronze ware. Chinese bronzewares excavated from the Sinan shipwreck are examples of this. Also see page 47 in Chapter Two, where I discussed these shapes of Chinese objects from the Sinan shipwreck.

[296] Translation by the author.
御会所九間嵯峨の間. 北東二間,押板.御絵,御三具足,脇花瓶 以下,つねのごとし. 上に, 風涼かかる. おし板の前に,中央の卓堆紅をかるる.上に,香炉胡銅すべり,前に,帰花のやつき一,をかるる. 十月 より御火鉢七宝琉璃をかるる.台にすわる.同火箸も,七宝るりなり.三月尽まで.
This is only the first section of the descriptions for the Higashiyama Palace. The record includes more information of displays at this building. For the complete record, see *Higashiyama gomotsu* (1976): 169-197.

[297] *Hibachi* (火鉢) is a "fire bowl" or brazier.

[298] *Hikaki* (火箸) are utensils for fire. The Tohoku Library version records this characters as *hikaki* (火攬, 火撹.)

The text also includes detailed explanations of other rooms and buildings in Higashiyana Villa with and without illustrations.[299] The record includes detailed descriptions of the types of objects and paintings that were displayed in specific buildings and rooms in the shogunal palace complex. The information included styles and subjects of the paintings, such as Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers and Paintings of Rice Production, famous Chinese artists Kakei and Baen, and materials of the objects, such as wood, celadon, and copper. Comparisons are also made to objects in the Ogawa Palace and Higashiyama villa. Although the Higashiyama Villa was not a palace but a retirement villa, the text shows that the kinds of objects and ways of decorating its interior were similar as those at Ogawa Palace.[300] Compared to the *Kundaikan sōchōki,* the big difference in *Ogawa gosho narabi higashiyama dono okazarizu* is that it does not record didactic or general guides for display and is only centered on descriptions of displays at Yoshimasa's Ogawa Palace and Higashiyama Villa.

### 5) *Okazarisho*

There are several versions of *Okazarisho* and the colophons all credit Sōami as the author, including the Daitōkyū kinen bunko (大東急記念文庫) version.[301] The postscript of

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[299] Based on this record, Miyakami Shigetaka and Nakamura Toshinori reconstructed the floor plans of Kaisho at Higashiyama villa.

[300] Ogawa Palace was used as a palace during Yoshimasa and Yoshihisa's reigns. Originally it was Hosokawa Katsumoto's (1430-1478) villa, but due to the conflict between Ashikaga Yoshimasa and Hino Tomiko, Yoshimasa moved to Ogawa Palace in 1471. In 1476, after the Muromachi Palace burned down, Hino Tomiko and Yoshihisa both lived in Ogawa Palace. A few days later, Yoshimasa moved again to Ise Sadamune's villa and Yoshihisa stayed in Ogawa Palace. In 1482, Yoshimasa began to construct his retirement villa and moved there in 1483, where he remained until his death in 1490. For the building's history, refer to Kawakami Mitsugu 川上貢, *Nihon chūsei jūtaku no kenkyū* 日本中世住宅の研究 (Tokyo: Bokusui Shobō 墨水書房, 1967). Reissued in 2002 by Chūo Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan 中央公論美術出版. Kawakami Mitsugu (2002): 362-367. See also, Nicolas Fiévé (1994): 297-298.

[301] The author's translation of this version into English from the original text relies on Murai Yasuhiko's Japanese and Nicolas Fiévé's French translations. For original text, see Yano Tamaki (1999): 112-116.

*Okazarisho* states that the original handscroll was made by Sōami and the scroll was dedicated to the tenth shogun, Ashikaga Yoshitane (1466-1523); it reads as follows: "This record, comprised of one scroll, is written for Ashikaga Yoshitane without any omission of information as far as I know. It should not be shown to others. It is my greatest honor to dedicate this scroll to the shogun. Taiei 3 (1523), 11th month, Kangaku Shinsō (Sōami)."[302] In addition, the colophon also notes that an anonymous person published this in 1660. Notes from the beginning added to the 1660 version of *Okazarisho* mention: "I (unknown) made a copy of this secret tranmission *hisho* (*okazarisho*) in my childhood, and it includes all the decorative manuals and descriptions used by Sōami. For this reason, I (unknown) published it on this 10th day of 7th month in 1660."[303] This same postscript also lists the objects and decorations in Yoshimasa's Higashiyama Villa described in the *Okazarisho* that had survived the Ōnin War.[304]

The content of *Okazarisho* is a mixture of *Ogawa gosho narabi higashiyama dono okazarizu* and *Kundaikan sōchōki* but closer to *Ogawa gosho narabi higashiyama dono okazarizu.* The three sections are: 1) descriptions of specific interior decorations within

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See also, Murai Yasuhiko (1983): 154-196; and Nicolas Fiévé, "Le livre des ornementations en usage à la retraite des collines de l'est." *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 54, no. 3/4 (1994): 296-326.

[302] Murai, ibid., 194-195.

[303] For original text, see Yano (1999): 117-127. See also, Murai, ibid., 160-161 and Fiévé, ibid., 303.

[304] Because the date of Sōami's original text (11th month, 1523) is after Ashikaga Yohitane's (1466-1523) death in the fifth month of 1523, several scholars including Noji Shūsa argue that *Okazarisho* is a later forgery. However, Suzuki Makoto refutes the forgery argument. After comparing the *Okazarisho* with the Tokugawa Art Museum version *Ogawa gosho narabi higashiyama dono okazarizu,* Suzuki suggests that the original *Ogawa gosho narabi higashiyama dono okazarizu* was made first and the Tokugawa Art Museum version second. He concludes that the *Okazarisho* was based on the Tokugawa Museum version. In his examinination of Ogawa Palace, Kawakami Mitsugu also questions the argument that *Okazarisho* is a forgery through his architectural analysis comparing *Kanmon nikki*, *Inryōken nichiroku,* and *Rokuon nichiroku.* Yano Tamaki also confirms that *Okazarisho* is a variation of the copies and not a forgery. Recent scholars consider *Okazarisho* as a later copy. For more detailed discussion, see Noji Shūsa 野地修左, *Nihon chūsei jūtakushi kenkyū* 日本中世住宅史研究 (Tokyo: Nihon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai 日本学術振興会, 1955); Suzuki Makoto 鈴木恂, "Okazarisho no kōsatsu 御飾書の考察," in *Kenchikushi kenkyū* 建築史研究 no.33 (1963):1-13; Kawakami (2002): 255-261; and Yano (1999): 83-101.

Yoshimasa's Ogawa Palace and Higashiyama Villa similar to the *Ogawa gosho narabi higashiyama dono okazarizu*;[305] 2) general descriptions of alcove, staggered shelves and writing desk displays similar to the second part in *Kundaikan sōchōki*; 3) explanations and lists of specific objects, such as tea utensils or flower vases, that are accompanied by illustrations.

The following is a specific description of the Higashiyama Villa in the first section of *Okazarisho*:[306]

- In the west [of Higashiyama Villa], there is a tearoom. On the northwest side of the tearoom is a shelf (*tana*) of one mat length and the objects placed on this shelf are the same as those in the Ogawa Palace. Kakei (Xia Gui) and Baen (Ma Yuan) styles of ink landscape paintings are on the sliding doors (*fusuma*).
- In the sleeping chamber (御寝所) of the shogun's residential quarter (*tsune no gosho* 常御所), Baen-style figure and landscape paintings are on the sliding doors. In the storage room (*nando*), there is a staggered shelf (*chigaidana*) but without specific objects.
- On the south of the shogun's residential quarters (*tsune no gosho*), there is a room, the *Hakkei no ma* (room with paintings of Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers). On the northwest side of this room is a staggered shelf (*chigaidana*). On the top shelf is a writing box (*suzuribako*) made of special Chinese wood (*karaki*) and the second shelf holds *shioge* (塩笥)[307] and various kinds of celadon ware.

In the second section, there are both general and specific instructions for decorating different areas and the correct arrangement of specific objects. Some instructions are illustrated and others are not. An example of the text with accompanying illustrations reads:

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[305] The content of the first section is very similar to *Ogawa gosho narabi higashiyama dono okazarizu*, but in a slightly different order and there are also added charcters.
[306] Translation by the author. Murai, 162-163.
[307] *Shioge* 塩笥 refers to a specific type of small earthenware.

- *Morokazari*[308]: This kind of arrangement is excluded for common or frequent guests. It is reserved for special guests, such as *onari.*[309] In addition to this [illustrated display], placing a flower vase at each side is also appropriate.

In the illustration named *morokazari* there are three hanging scroll figure paintings hung on the wall. A square tray placed in front of them holds an incense burner, an incense case, and incense chopsticks with the holder in the center. At each side are placed a pair of flower vases and a pair of bird-shaped candle holders.

Another example of an illustrated text reads:

- When displaying four paintings [on the wall in the alcove area], the "three objects" (*mitsugusoku*) are not placed in front of these paintings. As this [illustration shows], a pair of flower vases are placed at each side [on the alcove shelf]. [Instead of *mitsugusoku*] place a large flower vase or a large incense burner in the center. These are the rules of display for arrangement with four paintings. It is the same whether the alcove (*toko*) length is two or three mats.

 The text without illustrations reads as follows:

- In front of a pair of hanging scroll paintings [on the wall], placing a flower vase in the center is not applicable [on the low table/alcove]. In this case [of a pair of paintings] place a pair of incense burners, one in front of each painting.
- It is not necessary to change the decorations according to the season.
- When hanging the scrolls, if there are three, place the first in the center, the next on the left and then the right. If there are four paintings, the order should start from left to right.[310]

There are also lists and illustrations of specific tea utensils and flower vases. For example, one list includes an incense container shaped like a ginko leaf (*hisakōbako*), a flower vase

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[308] *Morokazari* is recorded as a kind of name of the illustrated specific display.
[309] *Onari* refers to visits by shogun or important elites to temples, shrines, or residences.
[310] Author's translation of original text. For original text see Yano (1999): 112-116.

decorated with a dragon (*ketsuryō kabin*), tea pottery (*ruisa*), the cover of an incense burner (*hiyakōro*), and a flower vase with handles (*mimikuchi kabin*).

The content of *Okazarisho* is a mixture of specific descriptions of display at Ogawa Palace and Higashiyama Villa and illustrated guides and rules for the proper display of paintings and objects associated with alcove areas, staggered shelves and writing desks.

### 4.2.2    Meaning of Production of Shogunal Art Manuals

As examined in the above representative examples, extant copies show varied combinations of contents and arrangements. Although each text contains detailed and similar information, because of date and character errors and the slight differences of contents and order, there has been controversy among scholars as to the chronology and authors. But it seems obvious that they are based on the same or similar originals and some errors occurred because the texts evolved as they were edited again and again.

In my examination of the above examples, I found that the guides became more specific over time. I think that this shows the process of their accumulating knowledge and organizing standards for display. During the Muromachi period, built-in architectural devices and Chinese paintings and objets arranged in them were introduced. With the increase of collections and private and official events, manuals with greater detail became necessary.

The two most important issues that surround the originals of *Kundaikan sōchōki* are who compiled the manual and why was it necessary to have such a record. Since the contents are specific to the Ashikaga collection and its display, I would suggest the following reasons for why the manuals were compiled. First, illustrated manuals were produced at the shogun's command

in order to have a complete record of their collections. As their collections increased, and as public and private events or gatherings were held more frequently, they needed illustrated manuals to document their collections. I think that Nōami's *Gomotsu on-e mokuroku* (御物御画目録), an inventory of the shogunal 279 paintings supports this argument. The colophon states that the list includes the shogunal collection compiled after Yoshimitsu. Yoshimitsu had begun to compile Chinese paintings and the final inventory was made when Yoshinori expanded his father's collection. Second, Nōami and Sōami made the manuals for themselves as a record of their specialized skills and accumulated knowledge and intended that they would be shared among members of the *dōbōshū* and passed on to the next generation. According to the *Kitano shake nikki* (Record of the Shōbaiin at Kitano Tenmangu from 1449 to 1627), Nōami was asked about the display for Yoshimasa's 1458 visit to Kitano shrine and Sōami was asked for advice on the specific arrangement in the alcove area in 1493.[311] Nōami and Sōami would have compiled the instructional guides as a repository for their exclusive knowledge. Third, because many collections and buildings were lost after the Ōnin war, exclusive knowledge became more valuable during the Warring States period. Both shoguns and *dōbōshū* members would need records to restore the collections and buildings to their original state before the war. Although we cannot clarify the exact dates of the original texts, I think that the above-mentioned discussion answers the questions of by whom, when, and why these texts were first made.

However, there still remains the issue of why numerous copies of these manuals were made, borrowed, and remade. Various recension records from different versions list known or unknown recipients suggesting these texts were not only exclusively for shoguns or *dōbōshū*

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[311] *Kitano shake nikki* in *Zoku gunsho ruijû*: hoi 24 (Tokyo: Gunsho Ruijû Kanseikai, 1972-73): 188-189.

members. To fully discuss these issues, I think that we need to critically examine the group of cultural advisers and their roles in shaping the shogunal collections during the Muromachi period.

## 4.3    *DŌBŌSHŪ* AND THEIR ROLES IN THE MUROMACHI PERIOD

Nōami and Sōami, the compilers of the *Kundaikan sōchōki*, were both *dōbōshū*. The term *dōbō* literally means "companion" and, in English scholarship, *dōbōshū* have been defined as cultural advisors or attendants working for the Ashikaga shoguns.[312] To better understand the issues regaring the socio-economic meanings of formal display and *Kundaikan sōchōki*, it is essential to understand the roles and tasks of *dōbōshū* as handlers of Ashikaga collection and how their roles were changed or diversified during the Muromachi period.

### 4.3.1    Studies on *Dōbōshū*

There has been considerable research on *dōbōshū*, and Japanese scholars have examined the origins and the formation of the group of attendants known as *dōbōshū.* Yoshikawa Kiyoshi, Kanai Kiyomitsu, Kosai Tsutomu, Hayashi Tatsusaburo, Murai Yasuhiko, and others have examined the *dōbōshū*. Although their focus differs, they agree that *dōbō*shū were originally

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[312] The use of *dōbō* and *dōbōshū* is unclear. Scholars have used *dōbōshū* to refer to the group of individual members, but art historians, such as Shimao Arata, caution that careful use of these terms is necessary. *Dōbō* not *dōbōshū* should be used to refer to the members. For Shimao's argument, that *dōbō* refers to an individual belonging to the group*.* see Shimao, ibid.,14. Ietsuko Tomoko points out how much the use of *dōbōshū* are still varies in meanings among scholars and their fields of study. Ietsuka Tomoko 家塚智子. "Dōbōshu no sonzai keitai to hensen 同朋衆の存在形態と変遷," *Geinōshi kenkyū* 藝能史研究 136 (1998): 35-40.

monks who were ordained independent of the state sanctioned ordination system.[313] All known *dōbō* adopted the suffix name "*ami*" and were *dōbōshū* who served the shogun.[314]

Although previous studies have provided a better understanding of *dōbōshū* and their roles, the larger picture is still unclear. For example, in the art history field, because Nōami (1397-1471), Geiami (1431-1485), and Sōami (? – 1525) are famous for their cultural or artistic activities, *dōbōshū* are often defined by their artistic output. This skewed understanding ignores many who were recorded in sources as having more varied roles and carried out miscellaneous works. Also, some *dōbōshū* were independently employed by the shogun.

Moreover, since it is not until the late Muromachi period that the *dōbōshū* were officially recognized, it is hard to know when and how they became employed by Ashikaga shoguns. It is generaly believed that they served the Ashikaga with their specialized skills or talents in cultural activies. It is even more difficult to clarify the institutional aspects because it is unknown how the shoguns appointed *dōbōshū*, how they were trained, whether they were a hereditary group, exactly when the system began, and their social status in medieval Japan. It is also unknown why they chose "*ami*" as their suffix name.

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[313] Yoshikawa Kiyoshi, Hayashi Tatsusaburo, Kanai Kiyomitsu, Kosai Tsutomu, and Murai Yasuhiko are representative scholars who have researched *dōbōshū*. Yoshikawa Kiyoshi and Hayashi Tatsusaburo discuss the relationship between *dōbō* and the Ji sect believers who adopted the suffix name "*ami*." Hayashi argues that *dōbō* such as Zeami and Kan'ami had to join the Ji sect in order to work in the *dōbōshū* because their low status meant that they could not associate with the shogun or warrior elites. Questioning the validity of the argument of their relationship to the Ji sect, Kosai Tsutomu examined *dōbōshū* through textual sources. His focus is specific to Zeami who, he argues, did not work for the *dōbōshū*. Kosai points out that they were independently ordained priests who did miscellaneous good works. They were not all talented artists. Murai Yasuhiko discusses the general impact of the *dōbōshū* on the warrior culture of the Muromachi period. He does not specify the relationship between Ji sect believers and *dōbōshū* but does provide a broader picture of their artistic, literary, and cultural impact on the Muromachi warrior culture. See Yoshikawa Kiyoshi, *Jishū ami kyōdan no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Ikeda Shoten, 1956); Kanai Kiyomitsu, *Jishū bungei kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1967); Kosai Tsutomu, *Zeami shinkō* (Tokyo: Wan'ya Shoten, 1962-70); Hayashi Tatsusaburo, *Kodai chūsei geisutsuron* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1973); Murai Yasuhiko, *Buke bunka to dōbōshū* (Tokyo: Sanjūichi Shobō, 1991).

[314] The suffix name "*ami*" which refers to Amida Budda, originally marks they are priest of the Ji sect of Pure Land Buddhism, but by the fifteenth century it used more widely.

In this regard, scholars caution against making the assumption that every individual with the suffix name "*ami*" was a member of the *dōbōshū*.[315] Because all known *dōbōshū* members have the suffix name "*ami*," it is easy to assume that individuals who adopted the name "*ami*" were *dōbōshū* employed by the shoguns. When, in fact, there were many individuals who used the suffix name "*ami*" but did not work for the shoguns.

Japanese art historians are cautious in their use of "*ami*", *dōbō*, and *dōbōshū* when they discuss Nōami or Sōami, who are famous for their cultural or artistic roles. Shimao Arata suggests the use of only *dōbō* not *dōbōshū* to refer these individuals. He points out that because there are various roles for *dōbō*, from artistic activities to miscellaneous and administrative works not related to shogunal circles, the use of *dōbōshū* is misleading as it places every individual in the institutional group under the Ashikaga.

Recent scholarship has made progress in understanding *dōbōshū*. However, there still needs to be a more comprehensive approach to reach a better understanding. Ietsuka Tomoko suggests that a thorough reexamination of historical sources will make the issues even clearer. She criticizes previous scholarship that has focused on famous individuals who are representative of specific cultural disciplines; for example, Zeami - No Theater, Sōami and Nōami - painting, Ryuami - flower arrangement, and Senami - tea ceremony. To focus only on famous individuals is misleading in understanding of *dōbōshū*. Rather than a narrow focus on individuals, she has tried to place them within a larger framework of status, kinship, lineage, and where they worked and lived.[316]

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[315] Imaizumi Yoshio 今泉淑夫, **"Shunami: saiken danshō 春阿弥--阿弥再見断章,"** *Nihon no bijutsu* no. 338 (1994): 85-91. For more about this discussion, see Shimao Arata's article. Shimao (1994): 28-19.

[316] Ietsuka Tomoko, "Dōbōshū no shokumu to ketsuen 同朋衆の職務と血縁," *Geinōshi kenkyū* 藝能史研究 141 (1998): 84-95; Ietsuka Tomoko, "Dōbōshū no sonzai keitai to hensen 同朋衆の存在形態と変

In this section, my focus is not to provide answers regarding the origins or institutional and organizational aspects of *dōbōshū.* Rather, in order to understand the production of *Kundaikan sōchōki* and the socio-economic meaning of formal display, it is critical to re-examine the roles of individuals, including Sōami and Nōami, as they are related to the Ashikaga collection. Also, it is important to determine if their roles changed, and, if so, how. I will discuss the various roles of these members as seen in priest and courtier diaries and temple documents. In this section Nōami and Sōami will be the central figures of my research although I will refer to other members who had similar roles.

### 4.3.2   Analyzing Various Roles of *Dōbōshū* from the Written and Visual Sources

Muromachi period *dōbōshū* like Nōami and Sōami can be understood as being equivalent to curators in the contemporary art world. Curators manage museum collections, organize and curate special and regular exhibitions, make decisions about additions to the collection, and evaluate donated objects. *Dōbōshū* had similar roles with the Ashikaga shoguns and their collections. The museum space for the Ashikaga exhibition was the *kaisho* at shogunal palaces, and it was the *dōbōshū* who made decisions about displays for private gatherings and special events. Here I will examine the various roles of *dōbōshū* from the written and visual sources as they relate to the Ashikaga shogunal collections and how their roles changed.

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遷," *Geinōshi kenkyū* 藝能史研究 136 (1998): 35-57; Ietsuka Tomoko, "Muromachi jidai ni okeru karamono no juyō: dōbōshū to karamono 室町時代における唐物の受容--同朋衆と唐物 (Higashi ajia o meguru kinzoku kōgei: chūsei, kokusai kōryū no shinshiten)," *Ajia yūgaku* 134 (July 2010): 208-223.

### 1) Arranging Formal Display

One of many roles of *dōbōshū* was arranging objects for display. As seen in the previous chapter, it is stated in *Muromachi dono gyokō okazariki* that Nōami was in charge when Emperor Go Hanazono visited Yoshinori's Muromachi palace in 1437. The separate official record of the imperial visit does not state that he was in charge but since Nōami compiled the text it can be assumed that he oversaw the displays during the visit. During the imperial visits to Yoshimitsu's Muromachi palace in 1381 and to Yoshimitsu's Kitayama villa in 1408, however, it is not known who arranged the formal displays at the shogunal buildings.

*Kitano shake nikki* (a record from 1449 to 1627 of the Shōbaii administrative office at Kitano Tenmangu) further states that Nōami and Sōami's roles were as specialists who arranged formal displays and acted as consultants. On the 5th day of the 10th month in 1458, Ashikaga Yoshimasa visited Kitano Tenmangu, and officers from the Shōbaiin asked Nōami about formal display at the shrine during the shogun's visit.[317] The entry of the 19th day of the 4th month in 1493 states that Sōami was asked about the proper objects that should be placed in an alcove area in the *kaisho* at Kitano shrine.[318] Sōami replied saying that when hanging three paintings it is proper to have three objects with flower vases on each side.[319]

In these entries from *Kitano shake nikki*, Nōami was asked for information about display during the shogun's Kitano visit in 1458. Sōami was also consulted regarding arrangements for an alcove area but, since a specific event was not mentioned, the arrangements would have likely

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[317] *Kitano shake nikki*, 1458 (Chōroku 2) 10. 5. *Kitano shake nikki* vol.1 in *Zoku gunsho ruijû*: hoi 24 (Tokyo: Gunsho Ruijû Kanseikai, 1972-73): 34-35.
[318] *Kitano shake nikki*, 1493 (Meiō 2) 4. 19. *Kitano shake nikki* vol.4 (1972-73): 72.
[319] It is not clear if the *kaisho* at Kitano refers to an independent building or an independent room but there was a shoin element mentioned in the account.

been for everyday use. In both cases, it is clear that they were treated as specialists who knew the rules for proper display and temples or shrines.

One of the earliest instances of arranging formal displays is found in the dairy of Priest Mansai (*Mansai jugō nikki*) where he states that shogun Yoshinori was scheduled to visit Daigoji for flower viewing on the 17th day of the 3rd month in 1430. The entry on the 16th day, one day before Yoshinori's visit, states that Ryuami (立阿弥, dates unkown) delivered to the temple several objects from the shogunal collection-- seven paintings, a bronze object, and three offering vessels-- and arranged the display in the *kaisho* at Kongorin-in of Daigoji.[320] The head priest, Mansai paid Ryuami twenty *kanmon* (二十貫文) for his services.[321] It is unclear how often and when *dōbōshū* arranged displays at temples. Also, I am not sure if there was a hierarchy within the *dōbōshū* that would have determined who was responsible for significant events at shogunal palaces and who was sent to temples for special events. However, there are two elements of this account that are notable. First, although Ryuami worked for the shogun he was in charge of arranging objects from the collection at the temple, and second, the temple gave Ryuami twenty *kanmon*.

*Go kaisho okazari chumon* (御会所御飾注文) in the collection of Daigoji further supports the example of Ryuami's arrangement at Daigoji temple for Yoshinori's visit in *Mansai*

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[320] *Mansai jugō nikki,* 3. 16. 1430 (Eikyō 2)
*Mansai jugō nikki* 滿濟准后日記 in *Kyoto teikoku daigaku bunka daigaku hen* 京都帝國大學文科大學編 vol. 3 (Kyoto; Rokujō Kappan Seizōjo, 1920): 42.
[321] Thomas Conlan explains that a total of 170 kanmon (17,000 *hiki*) were required for one five-altar ritual at Daioji in 1372. A *hiki* had the purchasing power of ten US dollars, while one hundred *hiki* equaled one kanmon. 100,000 *hiki* = a thousand kanmon = one million dollars. Thomas Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol: An Age of Ritual Determinism in Fourteenth Century,* (Oxford University Press, 2011): 161.

*jugō nikk.*[322] The document lists several Chinese or Chinese-style objects including bronzes and three objects that were used during Yoshinori's visitation to Daigoji and it clearly corroborates the objects from the entry from *Mansai jugō nikk.* Kawakami Mitsugu has examined the document and verified that Ashikaga Yoshinori did send the document to Daigoji.[323] Regarding the unsual statement of the amount of money in the diary, scholars understand the above incident as the Daigoji temple having borrowed objects from the shogunal collections for proper display during the shogun's visit and that Ryuami was given twenty *kanmon* in exchange for the objects and for his service.[324]

Shiga Tarō suggests a second interpretation. He states that the twenty *kanmon* was a payment for items sold to the temple. Shiga's argument is largely based on the text *Go kaisho okazari chumon.*[325] He questions why the temple kept the *chumon* document and proposes that the document is a certificate that lists items Ashikaga Yoshinori sold to the temple. He does not arrive at his answer by relying only on *Go kaisho okazari chumon* and *Mansai jugō nikk*: but expands his argument to include *Gomotsu chumon* (御物注文) prepared for Ashikaga Yoshitane's (1466-1523) visit to the Kitano shrine the 5th day of the 11th month in 1490. There are several records of the preparations at Kitano Tenmangu for Yoshitane's visit, including a list of several objects along with added commentary. For example, under the listing of a specific type of tea bowl known as *kenzan*, it records that it is decorated with silver lines. Shiga has examined both records and he suggests that since *Gomotsu chumon* identifies specific details of

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[322] *Chumon* refers to a document that lists objects sent from one institution to another. Therefore, *Go kaisho okazari chumon* is translated as "a documents of objects for display in the *kaisho*." *Jidaibetsu kokugo daijiten Muromachi jidai hen* 3 (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 2000): 293-294.
[323] Kawakami Mitsugu, "Yoshinori no Muromachi dono," in *Nihon chūsei jūtaku no kenkyū* (2002): 371-373.
[324] Shimao (1994): 21-22, Kawakami (2002): 371.
[325] For more details about Shiga Tarō's argument, see Shiga Tarō, "Gaisetsu Muromachi shogunke no shihō o saguru," in *Muromachi shogunke no shihō o saguru*, (Tokugawa Bijutsukan, 2008): 163-165.

decoration it was compiled by workers (*chōsei* 長生) in charge of one of the shogun's warehouses and then sent to priests at Kitano Tenmangu.[326] Shiga also points out that twenty *kanmon* was too high a payment for either Ryuami's display or for borrowing the objects from the temple, and suggests that Ryuami compiled the first draft of the *chumon* and presented it to Yoshinori. Then it was sent to Mansai after it was approved. When Ryuami visited the temple, Mansai compared the objects with those listed in the document and then paid Ryuami for them.

However, I am skeptical of Shiga's interpretation. There are 60 years between Yoshinori's visit in 1430 and Yoshitane's visit in 1490 and the circumstances were not the same. After the Ōnin War, both imperial and shogunal collections held in storehouses were often sold to temples or daimyo. Also, in the late 15th century, payment to the *dōbōshū* was unequal. Therefore, we cannot interpret the two cases in the same way. I think it is more likely that money was given to Ryuami for borrowing and displaying the objects from the shogunal collections.

For a clearer interpretation of the payment to Ryuami, we need more information on the economic base of the *dōbōshū*. Because many of the institutional and organizational aspects of the *dōbōshū* are not clear, I do not have definitive answers for their economic base and their early relationship to the Ashikga shoguns. For example, we do not know if they were employed only by the Ashikaga shoguns or if they were free agents who worked for the shoguns as well as temples. I will discuss the economics and activities of these members later in this chapter, but here I want to point out that Ryuami was in charge of arranging objects at Daigoji for the shogun's visitation although it is unclear how often and when *dōbōshū* arranged displays at temples. Also, it is unclear if there was a hierarchy within the *dōbōshū* that would have determined who was responsible for significant events at shogunal palaces and who was sent to

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[326] *Gomotsu on-e mokuroku* also contains *chōsei* characters next to a painting of Hotei.

temples for special events. But several members were likely responsible for formal displays at temples and palaces, and the above entries confirm that Nōami and Ryuami were responsible during Yoshinori's time and Nōami and Sōami during Yoshimasa' time.

### 2) Appraising Chinese Paintings and Connoisseurship

With the popularity of things Chinese (paintings and objects), it would have been important to establish whether paintings were actually Chinese. *Dōbōshū* also filled the important role of connoisseurs of Chinese paintings. *Noritoki kyōki* (Record of Lord Noritoki) by Yamashina Noritoki (1328-1409) is important in that it shows an early example of a *dōbōshū*'s role as a connoisseur in the early 15th century. The entry on the 2nd day of the 8th month in 1406 states that Hino Shigemitsu (1374-1413) had given the painting titled "Sennyo-e" (仙女絵) to Yamashina Noritoki to commemorate the 1st day of the 8th month (*hassaku* 八朔), and that Yamashina loved and treasured this painting.[327] The entry on the 5th day of 8th month of 1406 states that Yamashina asked Kane'ami to evaluate the painting and Kane'ami replied that it was a Japanese Chinese-style painting, not a *kara-e* painting imported from China.[328] According to the record, Kane'ami (金阿弥) managed Ashikaga Yoshimitsu's collection at one of his warehouses (御倉預).[329] He had traveled to Ming China in the 7th month of 1405 and returned to Japan in 1406, an experience that would have qualified him to appraise Chinese paintings in the collection.

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[327] *Noritoki kyōki* 1406 (Ōei 13) 8. 2. *Noritoki kyōki* vol.1 (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1970): 211.
[328] *Noritoki kyōki* 1406 (Ōei 13) 8. 5. Ibid., 213. Ietsuka Tomoko (2010): 210-211.
[329] *Noritoki kyōki* 1406 (Ōei 13) 6.10. It states that in the 6th month in 1406 Kane'ami was on the continent. Therefore, his brother Shiki'ami was managing the storage for his brother. *Noritoki kyōki* vol.1, (1970): 179.

A second example involves Nōami who was also asked to appraise a Chinese painting. *Kanmon nikki* records that on the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of the 8<sup>th</sup> month of 1443, Fushiminomiya Sadafusa (1372-1456), Emperor Go Hanazono's father, asked Nōami to appraise his falcon painting. Nōami replied that he did not know the artist of the painting but did certify that it was Chinese.[330] It appears that it was important to establish if a painting was or was not Chinese. *Inryōken nichiroku* also states that on the 17<sup>th</sup> day of the 7<sup>th</sup> month of 1458, Nōami was consulted about a Chinese painting of Twenty Four Paragons of Filial Piety (二十四孝絵).[331]

Kane'ami and Nōami's role as connoisseurs was to appraise whether a painting was either Chinese or in the Chinese style. In the same manner, Sōami was mentioned in discussion about whether a portrait of Hotei could be attributed to Muqi. *Inryōken nichiroku* (Dairy of Inryōken, a cloister within the Rokuōn'in at Shōkokuji temple) records detailed discussions among Yoshimasa, Kisen Shūshō and Sōami involving Yoshimasa's inquiry regarding a Hotei portrait flanked by two monkey paintings by Muqi. Yoshimochi had donated these paintings to Shōkokuji, and Yoshimasa was interested in whether or not the Hotei portrait could be credited to Muqi.[332] Yoshimasa asked Kisen Shūshō if the painter was Muqi and Kisen replied that he was and that he also painted the two monkey paintings. Yoshimasa seemed eager to know more detailed information on the attribution of Muqi because he says that it is not enough to conclude that the painting is by Muqi just because everyone says so. Yoshimasa also asked several Zen priests and, finally, he asked Sōami to appraise and check the painting and its outer label (*gedai*

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[330] *Kanmon nikki* 1443 (Kakitsu 3) 8.3. *Kanmon nikki* vol. 7 in *Zushoryō sōkan* (Tokyo: Kunaichō Shoryōbu, 2002): 42.
[331] *Inryōken nichiroku* 7.17.1458 (Chōroku 2)
*Inryōken nichiroku* vol.1 in *Zōho zoku shiryō taisei* vol.21 (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1967): 180.
[332] As for the long discussion on the portrait of Hotei, I referred to Shimao Arata's article. Shimao (1994): 26-27.

外題).[333] Sōami replied that the painting had the name of Muqi. Here, Sōami is a reliable specialist on Chinese paintings able to determine if a portrait of Hotei could be attributed to Muqi.

### 3) Painting Consultants for Large-scale Painting Projects

### Discussion of the Painting Project at Tōgudō, Higashiyama villa (東山殿持仏堂障壁画)

*Inryōken nichiroku* details discussions between Yoshimasa, Kisen Shūshō, Kano Masanobu, and Sōami regarding the styles and subjects of Yoshimasa's commission of a set of ten paintings for the sliding doors at the Amida hall at Higashiyama Villa. Yoshimasa was concerned about the quality, subject, and style of the images and changed his mind so often that several drafts and messages had to be circulated among the four men.[334]

Sōami is mentioned in the entry of the 2nd day in the 11th month of 1485 during a discussion of whether Li Gonglin's or Ma Yuan's style was more appropriate for these paintings.[335] Kisen Shūshō reports that Kano Masanobu requested access to Li and Ma paintings from the collection to use as models for his paintings. He was told that Sōami was in charge of the collections but was mourning the death of his father, Geiami, and would not be available until the tenth day of the next month.

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[333] *Gedai* is a label that noted the title of the painting and was usually affixed to the outside of the scroll or its storage box.

[334] Although the paintings have disappeared, the Amida Hall still stands, and its Dōjinsai room is famous for having proto *shoin* elements. According to *Inryōken nichiroku*, the painting project began on the twenty-ninth day of the tenth month and continued through the twelfth month of 1485. *Inryōken nichiroku* 10. 29. 1485 (Bunmei 7). *Inryōken nichiroku* vol.2 in *Zōho zoku shiryō taisei* vol.22 (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1967): 260-261. Quitman Phillips also discusses this painting project. Quitman Phillips, *The Practices of Painting in Japan, 1475-1500* (Stanford University Press, 2000): 98-106.

[335] *Inryōken nichiroku* 11. 2. 1485 (Bunmei 7). *Inryōken nichiroku* vol.2 in *Zōho zoku shiryō taisei* vol.22 (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1967): 261.

An entry from the next month shows that Yoshimasa relied on Sōami's knowledge and insight regarding Chinese paintings and their appropriate display. Masanobu stated on the 6th day of the 12th month that his drafts were ready for Yoshimasa's approval. Yoshimasa and his advisors determined that they should be sent to Sōami because his evaluation of objects held in the collection was highly valued.

**4) Travel to China and Selection of *Karamono/Kara-e* Imported from China**

*Inryōken nichiroku* was kept by the head priest of Inryōken, a cloister within the Rokuōn'in of the great Kyoto Zen temple Shōkokuji. It survives today in extensive fragments of entries by two priests Kikei Shinzui (from 1435.6.1 to 1441.7.6) and Kisen Shūshō (from 1458.1.10 to 1466.9.5). *Inryōken nichiroku* is of particular importance because it enumerates the duties of close advisors and important representatives of the shogun in matters ranging from monastic administration to the arts.[336]

The entry for the 19th day of the 7th month of 1464 references Sen'ami and Nōami, along with illustrated lists (求大唐之諸器其模様図) of desirable Chinese objects that were to be given to envoys before their departure on the 4th official trade ship from Kyoto to China.[337] The record does not specify who compiled the illustrated list, but most likely it was Sen'ami and Nōami. Kane'ami and Nōami's role as connoisseurs of Chinese paintings was premised on their

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[336] *Inryōken nichiroku* is an essential source to examine the roles of *dōbō* but we need to be careful in interpreting the records. There are more detailed descriptions by Kisen Shūshō than Kikei Shinzui in *Inryōken nichiroku*. Kikei Shinzui recorded official events without great detail but his successor Kisen Shusho recorded more detail about official events and private discussions with the shogun. Therefore, there is more detailed information on Sōami and Ashikaga Yoshimasa than for Nōami.

[337] *Inryōken nichiroku*, 1464 (Kanshō 5) 7. 19. *Inryōken nichiroku* vol.1 in *Zōho zoku shiryō taisei* vol.21 (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1967): 482-483.

knowledge and abiblity as Chinese paintings specialists and their illustrated lists of *karamono* relied on that knowledge.[338]

A more detailed description of the process of discussing and deciding on items imported from China is found in entries dated to 1488.[339] Sōami, Kano Masanobu, and Kisen Shūshō discuss the silk patterns that will be used for mounting scrolls, as well as the subjects and styles of several Chinese paintings that will be added to Yoshimasa's collection. The list of desired paintings is very specific, including detailed information of the subject, artist, and colors of both paintings owned by Yoshimasa and additional paintings they would be imported from China to create the best combinations. The record states that they needed four side paintings to flank a Muqi Kannon ink painting already owned by Yoshimasa. They also needed one painting that would be flanked by two Gekkei (月渓) paintings of Court Ladies (官女) and one painting that would be hung between two Muqi bird paintings. Their discussion concerns the best paintings to combine with Muqi and Gekkei paintings from the collection that would comprise a set of either five or three paintings. Yoshimasa appears to have preferred triptych arrangements, since on the 7th day of the 4th month of 1487 he also ordered that paintings hung in the abbot's quarters (*hōjō*) at Shōkōkuji be arranged as a triptych, and issued the same order on the 16th day of the 6th month of 1487 regarding paintings at Rokuōn'in.[340]

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[338] *Chikamoto nikki* (親元日記) 1465 (Kanshō 5) 6. 2.
Also in *Chikamoto nikki* it was recorded that on the 2nd day of the 6th month of 1465, Nōami made an illustration of a stand for a bowl/cup. The record does not specify why he made the illustration but it also shows Nōami's role as *karamono* specialists.
[339] *Inryōken nichiroku* 1488 (Chōkyō 2) 5. 8. *Inryōken nichiroku* vol. 3 (1967): 156.
[340] Shiga Tarō (2008): 162. Hashimoto Yū also suggests Yoshimasa's preference of triptych arrangements with his examination of Ōuchi Masahiro's presentation to Ashikaga Yoshimasa of 10 sets of 32 Chinese paintings. Hashimoto Yū 橋本雄, *Chūka gensō: karamono to gaikō no Muromachi jidaishi* 中華幻想: 唐物と外交の室町時代史 (Tōkyō: Bensei Shuppan 勉誠出版, 2011): 131-133.

## 5) **Managing the Shogun's Storehouses and Collection:** *Kubo mikura* (公方御倉) **and**

### *Dōbōshū*

During the Muromachi period there were several *dōbōshū* members controlling and managing shogunal collections stored in several storehouses. Items held in storage were under one financial branch of the Muromachi *bakufu* and the manager (*kubo mikura* 公方御倉) was in charge of incoming revenue and expenditures.[341] *Noritoki kyōki* states that Kane'ami managed one of Yoshimitsu's storehouses. Satō Toyozo points out that *dōbōshū*, such as Sen'ami, managed objects that had been gifted to the Ashikaga shoguns. Satō explains that the collections included those objects that would be retained in the Ashikaga collection, those that were exchanged for cash, and those used to pay for rituals at shrines and temples, and it was the role of *dōbōshū* to divide the objects into three groups.[342]

*Inryōken nichiroku* details the roles of *dōbōshū* members regarding their managing the collections held in storage and how the objects from the shogunal collection were removed for payments for rituals. The entries on the 25th and 27th days of the 2nd month of 1461 state that the shogun ordered Shun'ami (春阿弥) to remove several objects from storage in order to pay (*karumono* 軽物) thirty *kanmon* (三十貫) required for the annual memorial service of the 5th Ashikaga shogun Yoshikatsu (1434-1443).[343] In the entry for the 14th day of the 2nd month of 1463, the shogun Yoshimasa ordered Shun'ami to inform the storage manager, Momi (籾井),

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[341] There has been little research on the number and location of storehouses, but several were located in Kyoto. Suzanne Gay discusses how aristocrats entrusted their valuables to merchant and temple storehouses. The shogunate employed moneylenders as their financial agents. She translates *kubo mikura* as the shogun's storehouse keepers. Suzanne Gay, *The Moneylenders of late medieval Kyoto*, (University of Hawai'i Press, 2001): 84-85.

[342] Satō Toyozo 佐藤豊三, "Shōgunke 'onari' ni tsuite (4)" 将軍家 '御成'について (四)," in *Kinko sōsho* 金鯱叢書 vol.4 (1977): 559-576.

[343] *Inryōken nichiroku,* 1461 (Kanshō 2) 2. 25 and 1461 (Kanshō 2) 2. 27. *Inryōken nichiroku* vol.1 (1967): 292.

that three thousand *hiki* (三千疋) would be needed to pay for Yoshikatsu's annual memorial service.[344]

The entry for the 21st day of the 2nd month of 1465 details that Sen'ami (千阿弥), Shun'ami's successor, removed red lacquer dishes (堆紅の盆) and an incense case (桂漿の食籠) from storage to pay three thousand *hiki* (三千疋) for Yoshikatsu's annual memorial service.[345] The entries on the 20th and 21st days of the 6th month of 1465 related to Yoshinori's memorial service states that Yoshimasa ordered Sen'ami to sell objects, including a handscroll and a sword, in order to pay three hundred *kanmon* (三百貫) to Fukōin (普広院), a subtemple of Shōkokuji[346] for the ceremony marking Yoshinori's 25th death anniversary.

Objects from storage were often used as payment for rituals and ceremonies due to the unstable economic situation of the Ashikaga *bakufu* after Yoshinori's reign. After the end of Yoshinori's reign, the *bakufu* suffered serious economic problems and could not afford fees for their rituals. Sakurai Eiji has done research on objects from the shogunal collections that were used and sold as payment for such rituals.[347]

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[344] *Inryōken nichiroku* 1463 (Kanshō 4) 2.14. *Inryōken nichiroku* vol.1 (1967): 356-357. For cash conversion of *hiki* see footnote 324.

[345] *Inryōksen nichiroku* 1465 (Kanshō 6) 2.21. *Inryōken nichiroku* vol.2 (1967): 9.

[346] *Inryōken nichiroku* 1465 (Kanshō 6) 6.20. *Inryōken nichiroku* vol.2 (1967): 27.

[347] Sakurai Eiji discusses that the Muromachi *bakufu*'s economy depended on the gifting of their collections. Sakurai Eiji, "Gomotsu no keizai: Muromachi bakufu zaisei ni okeru zōyo to shōgyō 御物の経済：室町幕府財政における贈与と商業" in *Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan kenkyū hōkoku* 国立歴史民俗博物館研究報告, vol.92 (2002):113-130.

**6) Appraisal and Evaluation of Monetary Value (*daitsuke*)[348]: Sōami**

It is notable that there are several records of Sōami's establishing the monetary value of Chinese paintings and objects. Sōami and his grandfather Nōami were often asked to appraise *kara-e* paintings and *karamono* objects, but there is no record of Nōami establishing monetary values. Because of limited sources, it is hard to document the change of roles, but I think there are obvious differnces.

The earliest example of Sōami's evaluation of objects occured on the 24th day of the 5th month of 1487 on Yoshimasa's orders.[349] Yoshimasa instructed Kisen Shūshō to send six *karamono* objects including two cloisonné incense burners, one flower vase, one water jar, one chopstick holder, one *tsuishu* lacquer ware to Sōji'in (総持院) at Koyasan. Keijō Shūrin (景徐周麟 1440-1518), a Rinzai Zen priest, took the objects back to Kisen Shūshō who informed Sōami that Yoshimasa requested from him a monetary value for the objects. Sōami attached his appraisal to the objects and sent them back to Kisen Shūshō.

Kisen Shūshō also asked Sōami's opinion on the value of *karamono*. The entry on the 13th day of the 11th month of 1490 states that Kisen Shūshō asked for an evaluation of a *Kenzan* tea bowl and a stand (*takusu*).[350] Eight days later, the entry on the 21th day of 11th month records that Sōami replied that the *Kenzan* tea bowl had silver trim and was worth two hundred fifty *hiki* (二百五十疋) and the stand had a gold design on red ground and was worth five hundred *hiki*

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[348] In an exhibition catalogue from the Tokugawa Museum the term *daitsuke* is translated as "establishing the price of an object" or "folded paper certificate of appraisal." *Muromachi shogunke no shihō o saguru* (2008): 227-228.
[349] *Inryōken nichiroku* 1487 (Bunmei 19) 5.24. *Inryōken nichiroku* vol.2 (1967): 489.
[350] *Inryōken nichiroku* 1490 (Entoku 2) 11.13. *Inryōken nichiroku* vol.4 (1967): 217.

(五百疋).[351] Kisen bought the *Kenzan* tea bowl for three hundred *hiki* (三百疋). Clearly, Sōami's opinion as to the value of objects was relied on when objects were bought and sold.

I think that it is also notable that the dates of Kisen's asking Sōami's appraisal (1490 11.13) was after Yoshimasa's death in the 1st month of 1490. Sōami seems to have attributed monetary values more often after Yoshimasa's death, perhaps related to the dispersion of the shogunal collection due to the declining finances of the bakufu. Several extant Chinese paintings and objects with Sōami's certification of value attached support this. For example, the thirteenth-century Chinese painting "Cattle in an Autumn Field" (秋野牧牛図) attributed to Yan Ziping (閻次平, ? - ? Song Dynasty) in the collection of the Sen-oku Hakuko Kan, has Sōami's valuation and outer label (*gedai*).[352] The text is a short description of the painting subject, the artist's name (山水牛 一幅 閻次平筆), the value of six hundred *hiki* (六百疋), the date and Sōami's name (二月十四日相阿(花押)). The record gives only the date of the 14th day of the 2nd month, without the year. We cannot clarify if this painting was from the Ashikaga collection, although it is highly possible. I think that Soami's evaluation was a certificate of the value of the painting when it was sold or bought.

A similar example is the sixteen thirteenth-century Chinese paintings of Arhats, hanging scrolls by Lu Xinzhong, now in the collection of Shōkōkuji temple in Kyoto. They also have Sōami's 's valuation of three thousand five hundred *hiki* (三千五百疋), the date 1524, outer label (*gedai*) by Sōami, the date Ōei 4. 9. 7 and Sōami's name (大永四九月七日 二相阿(花押)). I think that Sōami's adding monetary values closely related not only to the declining economic

[351] *Inryōken nichiroku* 1490 (Entoku 2) 11.21. *Inryōken nichiroku* vol.4 (1967): 222.
[352] *Gedai* is a label that noted the title of the painting and was usually affixed to the outside of the scroll or its storage box. To better organize and manage the collections, *dōbō* were also asked to write the labels of the paintings. Sometimes they included only the title and other times they added the artist's name.

situation of the Muromachi *bakufu* but also to Sōami's instability when he lost his great sponsor, Yoshimasa, who died in 1490. There are several examples of Sōami's evaluations after Yoshimasa's death and before Sōami died in 1525. I think this suggests that Sōami needed to assign monetary value of objects for a broader range of patrons.

Writing the outer label (*gedai*) and evaluating the objects were not new responsibilities for *dōbōshū* members. There are several extant *gedai* attributed to both Nōami and Sōami.[353] In addition to the above-mentioned examples of Soami's monetary evaluations, Chinese objects in the Tokyo National Museum collection include Soami's evaluation without a monetary value. Specific examples are the thirteenth fourteenth century Chinese *tenmoku* tea bowl and red lacquer stand carved with a peony flower design. Sōami's text does not include a monetary value but describes the teabowl as *tenmoku* with an ash glaze (*tenmoku haikatsuki* 天目はいかつき) with the date and his name. (霜月十五日相阿(花押)) I think that assigning monetary values was a new task that shows that the dispersion of collections was related to the economic situation of the bakufu and the instability of Soami's economic base.

### 4.3.3   Changing Roles of *Dōbōshū* after the Ōnin War

In order to discuss the socio-economic meaning of formal display and the production of *Kundaikan sōchōki*, I have examined the various roles of the *dōbōshū* as they related to shogunal collections through priests' and courtiers' diaries, temple documents, paintings and tea objects. I

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[353] For more about Nōami and Sōami's outer labels (*gedai*), see Shiga Tarō, "Nōami, Sōami hitsu to tsutaerareru gedai ni tsuite," in *Muromachi shogunke no shihō o saguru*, (Tokugawa Bijutsukan, 2008): 179-189.

have divided their roles into six categories: 1) arranging formal displays at *kaisho*; 2) appraising Chinese paintings and connoisseruship; 3) as painting consultants for a large-scale painting projects; 4) overseeing the importation of Chinese objects and paintings; 5) managing shogunal collections and storehouses; and 6) determining the monetary value of objects and paintings.

Since the institutional and organizational aspects of *dōbōshū* are not clear, in particular during the 15th century, I do not have all the answers about their economic base and their early relationship to the Ashikga shoguns. It is not known if they were employed only by the Ashikaga shoguns or if they were free agents who worked for shoguns as well as temples. But I think that several individuals appear to have worked for and became an organized group during Yoshimitu's time, but eventually functioned more as free agents.

*Dōbōshū* employed by shoguns advised, managed, and arranged their collections. Their roles were based on their specialized knowledge of Chinese paintings and objects. As seen in the 1406 case of Kane'ami recorded in *Noritoki kyōki,* some had gained specialized knowledge during their visits to China that gave them the expertise to appraise *kara-e* paintings. Yoshimitsu employed them for their individual talent and accumulated experience, as well as their skill and knowledge about objects and display.

During Yoshinori's time, as the number of objects and paintings in the shogunal collection increased so did the need for inventories like those made by Nōami. In *Gomotsu on-e mokuroku*, an inventory of shogunal collections, 279 paintings are listed with their subjects or titles and artists names and organized in terms of their medium (paper, silk), size and format (two paintings, small two paintings, or four paintings as a set). The colophon of *Gomotsu on e mokuroku* states that the list inclues the shogunal collections since Yoshimitsu (Rokuonin dono).

Yoshimitsu had begun to compile his *karamono* collection in earnest, and Yoshinori then expanded his father's collection and ordered an organized inventory of their collection.

Elite or imperial collectors frequently asked for appraisals by *dōbōshū* members, suggesting that many Chinese-style paintings were produced in Japan and that *dōbōshū* were skilled in classifying the paintings. In the case of Nōami as cited in *Kanmon nikki*, although details of his comments are not recorded in the entry, it is clear that Nōami was relied on as an expert in Chinese paintings when he appraised the falcon painting. The Sōami example in *Inryōken nichiroku* shows he was consulted for the best combination and style of paintings for Yoshimas's Higashiyana villa project.

*Dōbōshū* members established the criteria for arranging objects at shogunal palaces based on their accumulated experience, skill, and knowledge. Yoshimitsu and Yoshinori advertised their power, authority, and wealth through *karamono* displayed during imperial visitations to their palaces. The shogun, as well as priests at temples and shrines, all sought out the opinions of the *dōbōshū*. Nōami was in charge of formal display at the Muromachi palace for the imperial visit. Ryuami was consulted about the *kaisho* display at Daigoji temple for Yoshinori's visit. Nōami was consulted about the *kaisho* display at Kitano shrine for Yoshimasa's visit. Sōami was asked for advice regarding an alcove display at Kitano shrine. I examined the socio-political meaning of formal display in the previous chapter, and concluded that such displays were related to Ashikaga authority. I think that during Yoshinori's and Noami's times, the rules of display became more organized.

The issues surrounding proper combinations and arrangements continued to flourish and became more sophisticated during Yoshimasa's rule. Yoshimasa was very interested in Chinese paintings and continued to collect and display them even after the political and economic power

of the bakufu had deteriorated. Although Yoshimasa also benefited and relied on advisors, compared to previous shogus, Yoshimasa had a more active role and interest in decisions of decorating and displaying paintings. His inquiry about the artist of a Hotei portrait shows that establishing attributions for Chinese painting was important and both Zen priests and Sōami were asked to verify the painter. Detailed discussion on styles and subjects of the painting project at his Higashiyama Villa was recorded in *Inryōken nichiroku*. Chinese paintings in shogunal collections were managed by *dōbōshū* members and were accessible to artists involved in painting projects. There is also a record of imported paintings considered to be the best combinations for pairing with Muqi and Gekkei paintings.

The roles of the *dōbōshū* became both diversified and formalized during Yoshimasa's time. After the Ōnin War, the political and economic power of the *bakufu* began to dissolve and the status of the *dōbōshū* destabilized. There also seem to have been changes in their roles connected with evaluating objects and paintings. Initially the *dōbōshū* were asked to evaluate the artistic qualities of objects and paintings in the collections but, by 1490, they were asked to attach a monetary value to the objects. When collections were dispersed, it was necessary to place a monetary value on objects before they were sold. I think that this is closely related not only to the declining economic situation of the Muromachi *bakufu* but also to Sōami's own financial instability when the *bakufu* was dissolved and he lost his great sponsor Yoshimasa. Consequently, following Ashikaga Yoshimasa's death in 1490, there are more records of Sōami's making paintings and objects evaluations during the 1500s to compensate for the work he once did for Yoshimasa.

Since the institutional and organizational aspects of *dōbōshū* are not clear, in particular during the 15th century, the answers of their economic base and their early relationship to the

Ashikga shoguns are not clear. It is not known if they were employed only by the Ashikaga

shoguns or if they were free agents who worked for the shoguns as well as temples. But I think

that in the Muromachi period several individuals appear to have worked for the Ashikaga

shoguns during Yoshimitsu's time, became an organized group by Yoshinori's time, but over

time functioned more as free agents. Sōami's assigning monetary values to Chinese paintings

and objects can be understood in this context.


## 4.4    SOCIO-ECONOMIC MEANING OF *KUNDAIKAN SŌCHŌKI*


The various roles of *dōbōshū* related to shogunal collection are predicated on their specialized

skills and knowledge of Chinese objects and paintings. As specialists assisting Ashikaga shoguns

in overseeing their collections and arranging displays, members needed manuals or references

listing practical and specific information, such as names of Chinese painters and their rankings,

illustrations of objects, and a guide for their proper display. Considering that there were no

precedents that *dōbōshū* could refer to before this time, it is understandable that their skills and

knowledge were highly valued in the Muromachi period.

As for the question of when these manuals were first compiled, it is not known whether

the manuals were produced before or after the Ōnin War. However, it is not difficult to assume

that Nōami arranged displays during imperial visits and shared and transmitted his knowledge to

his son Geiami and his grandson Sōami before the Ōnin War. I believe that compiling

information in texts and manuals began in earnest after the Ōnin War when Sōami was in charge.

Before the Ōnin War exclusive knowledge circulated among *dōbōshū* but there was not an urgent

need to produce illustrated texts. However, after the Ōnin War, when the buildings and collections were destroyed, exclusive knowledge became more valuable.

Similar but still different contents of extant copies form a chronological progression of the texts. I think that the initial form of the text was close to that of *Ogawa gosho narabi higashiyama dono okazarizu*. This text contains very specific descriptions of displays in Yoshimasa's Ogawa Palace and Higashiyama Villa, while the basic *Kundaikan sochoki* is a general and didactic treatise of proper display. Before the Ōnin War, they had compiled and organized rules of display. After the war the need was for a complete record of the collection. As the economic and political situation further deteriorated, shogunal collections were dispersed and a need was created for didactic manuals.

The period during and after the Ōnin War was a time of continuous wars, uprisings, and natural disasters that devastated the capital Kyoto, and the Ashikaga suffered from extreme political and social instability. (Appendix F)[354] Records show that during and after the Ōnin War shogunal and imperial palaces and important temples and shrines were demolished, moved, or rebuilt.[355] For example, according to *Chikanaga-kyō ki* and *Tokikuni-kyō ki*, on the 13th day of the 11th month of 1476 the Muromachi Palace burned down and objects belonging to generations of shoguns were lost. Ashikaga Yoshihisa and Hino Tomiko moved to the Ogawa Palace, and on the 5th day of the 4th month of 1477, building of the residential quarters (*tsune no gosho*) was begun. According to *Sanetaka kō ki*, on the 18th day of the 5th month of 1490 the Ogawa Palace

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[354] Since there are so many complicated events, I have listed several significant historical events and architectural changes to provide an overview. The list is based in part on *Genshoku zuten Nihon bijutsu shi nenpyō*, edited by a team led by Ōta Hirotaro and on the chronology by Quitman E. Phillips in *The Practices of Paintings in Japan, 1475-1500*. I have expanded the two sources and created this chronology in order to understand how various wars, uprisings, fires, demolitions, and subsequent rebuilding caused architectural changes.

[355] In addition, after Yoshimasa's death in 1490, the original configuration of the Higashiyama Villa was altered when it was converted into a temple.

was demolished and, according to the *Inryōken nichiroku*, lumber from the Palace was donated to Jōzaikōji.[356]

Unstable social and political situations further elevated the value of a manual when collections were in jeopardy and buildings had been destroyed. Ironically, even as the power of the Muromachi *bakufu* waned, warrior elites and provincial lords embraced their cultural accomplishments. Social upheaval, political intrigue, and military conflict continued during the Warring States (Sengoku Period 1467-1603) and the instability led to the dispersion of the Ashikaga collection, thus creating the need for knowledge regarding the proper arrangement of objects. The exclusive knowledge found in instructional guides known only by specialists made the manuals more valuable.

Before the Ōnin War and into the Warring states period provincial lords (*shūgo daimyo*) resided in Kyoto. However, after the war they returned to their home provinces and continued the cultural pursuits they had learned during their stay in Kyoto. Within this context, there arose a need for manuals like the *Kundaikan sōchōki. Dōbōshū* were in demand because of their accumulated professional skills and expertise.[357] For example, according to the colophon of the *Gunsho ruijū* version of *Kundaikan sōchōki*, Nōami compiled the text and it was given to Ōuchi Masahiro (1446-1495) in 1476. I think that this example shows that manuals began to be copied for important elites.

Ōuchi Masahiro, a representative of the Ōuchi family was an important and powerful provincial governor (*shugo*) and a member one of the most powerful and important families during the reign of the Ashikaga shogunate. The Ōuchi controlled the western end of Honshū,

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[356] Ibid., 178.
[357] Takemoto Chizuru points out that *Kundaikan sōchōki* was extensively copied during the Eishō (1504-1521) and Daiei eras (1521-1528) and that many daimyo and tea people owned copies of *Kundaikan sōchōki.*

large parts of Shikokoku, and eastern Kyūshū. The Ōuchi and Hosokawa families monopolized

trade between China with the Ashikaga and the Ōuchi also carried out engaged in extensive trade

with Joseon Korea. In 1481, Ōuchi Masahiro presented to Ashikaga Yoshimasa various Chinese

objects (*karamono*) and 10 sets of 32 Chinese paintings.[358] Hashimoto Yū interprets these gifts

of Chinese objects and paintings from Ōuchi to Yoshimasa as a means intended to gain favor

with Yoshimasa in order to send a trade ship to Ming China.[359] Quitman Phillip explains that the

domain of the Ōuchi family was an influential regional cultural center due to their power and

relationship to the Ashikaga.[360]

The value of this new specialized skill and information contained in the manuals could

explain why the manuals were desired among elites. We already saw several written sources that

support the rarity of information and that Nōami and Sōami were valued consultants and

specialists in the Muromachi Period. *Kitano shake nikki* states that in April 1493 Sōami was

asked about the objects to be placed on an alcove.[361] The value of new, exclusive information

contained in the manuals is also related to changes in architectural styles that had been adopted

for shogunal residences. It is unclear exactly when and how *shoin*-style architecture was

introduced and used in shogunal palaces because there are no extant palaces from the Muromachi

period. Nonetheless, scholars agree that by Yoshimasa's time the mature *shoin* style had been

adopted and used in shogunal residences.[362] Alcoves, staggered shelves, and built-in furniture

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[358] In *Chikamoto nikki* (親元日記), the entry of the 10th day of the 7th month in 1481 records the details of the 10 sets of 32 Chinese paintings. As for the orginal text, I referred to Hashimoto Yū, *Chūka gensō: karamono to gaikō no Muromachi jidaishi* (Tōkyō: Bensei Shuppan, 2011): 132-133.

[359] Hashimoto, ibid., 130-133.

[360] Quitman (2000): 36-37.

[361] *Kitano shake nikki* in *Zoku gunsho ruijû*: hoi 24 (Tokyo: Gunsho Ruijû Kanseikai, 1972-73): 188-189.

[362] Matthew Gerald Stavros, *Reading Ashikaga History in the Urban Landscape: Kyoto in the Early Muromachi Period, 1336-1467*, (PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 2005): 170-177; Yasuyuki Tasaka, "Muromachi-ki Kyoto no toshi kūkan to bakufu," In *Nihon-shi kenkyū*, 436 (Dec. 1998): 50-61.

such as the attached desk, were new architectural interior devices and rules of display required very specialized skills and information that few would have possessed. By the early sixteenth century, *shoin* elements of architecture became more prevalent in temples and elite residences. The exclusive knowledge found in instructional guides known only by specialists made the manuals more valuable.

The *Dōbōshū*'s changing economic situation also impacted on the production of manuals. The colophon of the Tokyo National Museum version of *Kundaikan sōchōki* tells that Ōuchi Yoshioki (大内義興 1477-1528) payed three thousand *hiki* (従左京様三千疋拝領) for the text. It is not mentioned who compiled the copy and to whom Yoshioki payed the money but I think that it is highly possible this money was paid to one of the *dōbōshū* memebers.

*Dōbōshū* such as Sōami needed additional economic resources or new patrons after the death of Yoshimasa. Sōami's evaluations of and attaching monetary value to objects can be understood within this context. I have discussed previous examples of *dōbōshū* being asked to evaluate the artistic qualities of objects in the collections, but it was Sōami who was given the new task of attaching a monetary value to the objects. Sōami died in 1525 and his life in the 1500s had to have changed significantly.

Sōami's *fusuma* landscape paintings at Daisen'in, a subtemple of Daitokuji, painted ca. 1513 could further support this situation. During and after the war Daitokuji had acquired new merchant patrons such as Owa Sōrin (尾和宗臨) and experienced a revival. Ikkyū Sōjun (一休 宗純 1394-1481) was appointed chief abbot because of his seniority and the resources of his followers in the port city of Sakai. This economic prosperity allowed the temple to reconstruct buildings and commission painters to paint *fusuma* at sub-temples of Daitokuji that included Oguri Sōtan's (小栗宗継 1413-1481) at Yotokuin (養徳院), and Kano Motonobu (1476-1559)'s

at Daisenin. They were all professional painters who executed large *fusuma* paintings rather than small scroll paintings. Sōami painted *fusuma* at Daisenin and was likely paid for the project. Nōami and Gei'ami were also known for their painting skills and there are several paintings by them, but it is unknown if they were paid.[363] I think this shows the different situations and status of *dōbōshū* before and after the Ōnin war.

Takemoto Chizuru points out that *Kundaikan sōchōki* was extensively copied during the Eishō (1504-1521) and Daiei eras (1521-1528) and that many daimyo and tea people owned copies. Along with the increasing popularity of the tea ceremony and tea culture, new patrons welcomed illustrated manuals of displays in new architectural settings. In the process of dispersing copies to the daimyo, the original context disappeared and only the decorative aspects and aesthetics remained and were emphasized.

Sixteenth century illustrated handscrolls of flower arrangements (*ikebana*) are an example of the spread of rules of display and how manuals were adjusted for specific use. According to the colophon, this scroll was copied in 1559 from a version first authored by the *ikebana* specialist Mon'a (Mon'ami) in 1522. Compared to the illustrated guides in *Kundaikan sōchōki*, the basic format, organization, and content regarding the arrangement of paintings and objects presented on staggered shelves or in alcove areas are the same. Although the guide is without text, it does include beautifully colored depictions of elaborate flower arrangements on staggered shelves that are divided according to the four seasons starting with spring. Rather than showing only the placement of specific objects on the staggered shelves and in the alcove areas as in *Kundaikan sōchōki*, here there are beautifully colored depictions of flower arrangements.

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[363] Shimao Arata discusses painting practices of Nōami, Gei'ami and Sōami and how they related to Kano artists. Shimao Arata, "Suibokuga-Nōami kara kanoha e 水墨画：能阿弥から狩野派へ," *Nihon no bijutsu* 日本の美術 no. 338 (Tokyo: shibundō, 1994): 17-80.
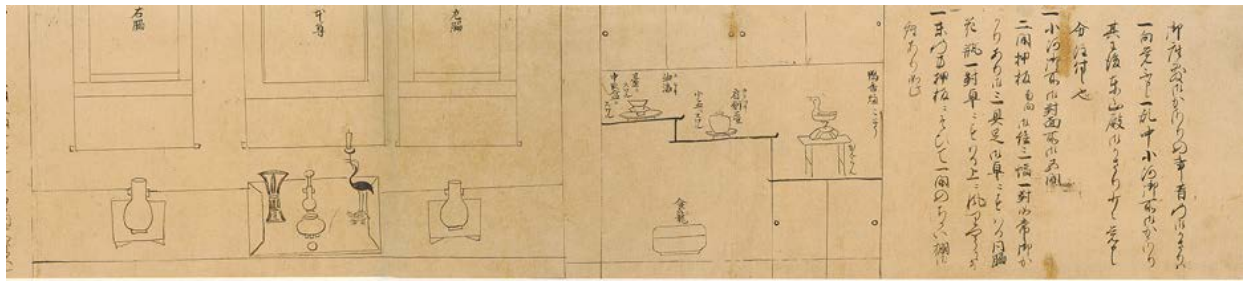
**Figure 3.** Detail of *Ogawa gosho higashiyama dono okazari ki*

**Figure 4.** Detail of *Zashiki kazari emaki*

### 4.4.1 Restrictive Access, Exclusivity, and Copies of *Kundaikan sōchōki*

The postscript added to the 1660 copy of *Okazarisho* (1523 by Sōami), which I examined earlier, states that it was a "secret text (*hisho*)."[364] Although the term '*hisho*' first appeared in the 1660 copy, Sōami's original also includes rigid restrictions of access, suggesting that it was circulated only among limited members. Therefore, these texts can potentially deepen our understanding of issues of secrecy in medieval Japan. Here I want to discuss the meaning of secrecy in these manuals as a way to further explore their socio-economic meaning.

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[364] I examined the text earlier in this Chapter on pages 147-151.

Studies defining 'secrecy' in medieval Japan have focused mainly on its religious context involving *hibutsu* or other religious objects.[365] In religious circles, the practice of objects being hidden or kept secret from the public was related to enhancing the sacredness of the objects and of the religion itself.[366] In contrast, exclusive knowledge and the restriction of access to shogunal art manuals indicates the authority or power of the owners (patrons)—the shoguns.

The special meaning of secrecy in these shogunal art manuals could be more easily understood if we compare them with similar practices in Buddhism. Sutras (*kudensho*) were either kept secret or shared through a restricted system of transmission that was based on lineage. In the same way that the practice of restrictive transmission based on lineage was applicable to sutras (*kudensho*), shogunal patrons and owners of this *hisho* are more important than the *dōbōshū* who compiled them. It is in this sense that I believe the prestige of the shogunal art manuals was based on their secrecy in medieval Japan.

This example of shogunal authority becomes clearer when we compare the secrecy of the shogunal art manuals in the Muromachi period with that of the manuals in the Edo. The original copies from the Muromachi period were in handscroll formats but the numerous Edo period copies were woodblock prints. The makers of the later copies are still unknown, but they were likely descendants or members of the *dōbōshū* group.[367] No matter who reproduced or was responsible for making the numerous extant published copies in the Edo period, the meaning of secrecy was totally changed. The information on decoration and display was now used as an

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[365] Bernhard Scheid and Mark Teeuwen. *The Culture of Secrecy in Japanese Religion.* London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2006.

[366] Fabio Rambelli, "Secret Buddhas: The Limits of Buddhist Representations," *Monumenta Nipponika*, vol. 57, no. 3 (Autumn 2002): 271-307.

[367] Shūsa Noji suggests that postscript of 1660 version of *Okazarisho* was written by a priest at Shôkokuji, the temple responsible for administrative records for Jishôji (Higashiyama villa after Yoshimasa's death). Shūsa Noji, *Nihon chūsei jūtakushi kenkyū*, (Tokyo: Maruzen, 1955): 290-296.

advertising tool for the cultural advisor groups. *Dōbōshū*, like other artisan groups, emphasized the value of skill and technique by designating those texts that had been written only for the shogun as *hisho* in order to enhance their social status and wealth.

The secrecy attached to *Kundaikan sōchōki* added to the value of other manuals as copying became more and more popular after Sōami died. Numerous copies made in the sixteenth century and throughout the Edo period emphasized the text as *hisho* and their relation to the Ashikaga shoguns in the postscript. Secrecy was emphasized for sales purposes, because any association with the name Nōami or Sōami and sphere of the Ashikaga increased their value by referencing traditions that had flourished during the Muromachi period. As the copies were disseminated, the original context or significance of political authority disappeared and only the decorative aspects and aesthetics contained in the texts were maintained and further emphasized.

# 5.0    EPILOGUE: THE SPREAD OF FORMAL DISPLAY

In the previous chapters I examined the meaning and significance of formal display for Ashikaga shoguns through several perspectives—first, the value of *karamono* in medieval Japan, second, imperial visits to shoguns, and third, shogunal art manuals, such as *Kundaikan sōchōki*. Here, rather than summarize my results, I will discuss the spread of formal display through the visitations of shoguns (*onari* 御成) to other elites' residences during the Muromachi period. In particular, I will show how these visits are related to the spread of Ashikaga formal display and consider whether the practice of *onari* is related to the production of manuals in the late Muromachi period. Finally, I will discuss directions for future research on the subject of formal display.

The term *onari* refers to shogunal visits to the residences of other elites, temples, or shrines. Here, I will focus on shogunal visit to the residences of other elites.[368] Two types of *onari*—regular and special—were observed during the Muromachi period. Regular *onari* (*tsune no onari* 常の御成) were annual visits by the shoguns to the residences of important warrior elites usually in the first month of the year. Special *onari* (*shikisho no onari* 式正の御成) occurred whenever there was a special reason for a visit, and it seems that there were more special *onari* after the Ōnin war.

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[368] The term *onari* (御成) was used during the Kamakura, Muromachi and Edo periods when shoguns visited other places. Also see footnote 185 in Chapter Three.

There is no evidence of when the shogunal visits to other elites in the first month became an annual ceremony, but scholars generally agree that it was around 1414 (Ōei 21), after Yoshimitu's death.[369] This argument is based on several written sources from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For example, *Mansai jugō nikki* records that the Ashikaga shogun visited the residences of Shiba Yoshinori (斯波義教) on the 12th day of the first month of 1413 (Ōei 20), Hatakeyama Mitsuie (畠山満家) on the 13th day, Yamana Tokihiro (山名時熙) on the 20th day, Hosokawa Mitsumoto (細川満元) on the 23rd day, and Kyōgoku Takamitsu (京極高光) on the 26th day in 1413. In the next year, 1414 (Ōei 21), *Mansai jugō nikki* records shogunal visits to Hatakeyama Mitsuie on the 5th day, Shiba Yoshiatsu on the 12th day, Akamatsu Yoshinori on the 20th day, Yamana Tokihiro on the 22nd day, Hosokawa Mitsumoto on the 23rd day, and Kyōgoku Takamitsu on the 26th day. The shogunal visit to Akamatsu was added to the entries of 1414.[370] The record of annual ceremonies of the Muromachi *bakufu* after the Chōroku era (1457-1461), *Chōroku irai nenju gyoji* (長禄以来年中行事), which was written after the Ōnin war, lists dates of shogunal visits during the first month that are similar to those written in *Mansai jugō nikki*. Therefore, scholars believe that shogunal visit to the residences of important warrior elites (*shugo daimyo*) became an annual ceremony for the Muromachi *bakufu* around 1414 (Ōei 21).[371]

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[369] Detailed information on this annual *onari* is not known. Visits first occurred during Yoshimitsu's time, but like most of the other annual ceremonies of the Muromachi *bakufu*, they became further organized and systemized. During Yoshimitsu's time, the shogun's visit to the residence of the shogun's deputy (*kanrei*) on the 2nd day of the 1st month every year was known as *onari hajime*. After Yoshimitsu's death, shogunal visits to other important warrior elites also became a part of the annual ceremonies.

[370] In addition to these shogunal visits to important elites, the Ashikaga shogun usually visited the residence of the deputy (*kanrei*) on the 2nd day. In 1414 and 1415, the shogun also visited the deputy Hosokawa Mitsumoto on the 2nd day.

[371] For the regular *onari*, I referred to Satō Toyozō 佐藤豊三, "shōgunke 'onari' ni tsuite 3" 将軍家 '御成'について (三)," in *Kinko sōsho* 金鯱叢書 vol.3 (1976): 511-536; *Tokugawa shogun no onari* 徳川将軍の御成 (Nagoya: Tokugawa Bijutsukan 徳川美術館, 2012); Futaki Ken'ichi 二木謙一, *Chūsei buke girei no kenkyū* 中世武家儀礼の研究 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1985).

Futaki Kenichi suggests that the shogunal visits to the residences of Shiba, Hosokawa, Hatakeyama, Akamatsu, Yamana and Kyogoku became an annual ceremony because the visits were used to make their relationship visible.[372]

The Muromachi *bafuku* was initiated by Ashikaga Takauji and peaked during the time of the third shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu. However, unlike the Kamakura *bakufu* that was based on centralized control and powerful kinship, the Muromachi *bakufu* was based on a balanced power alliance between warrior leaders (*shugo daimyo*). The shogun's control over the *daimyo* was weaker than that of later shoguns of the Edo *bakufu*, so the Ashikaga, in order to maintain their power, had to maintain a constant balance between the *kanrei* and several important *daimyo*. The power of the *daimyo* stemmed from their support of the shogun, but that power could always pose a threat to the shogun's power.

Following Futaki Kenichi, I agree that within this unstable power structure shogunal visits to other elites could have been one way to maintain and keep the balance of power. The Ashikaga tried to consolidate power by seeking to become part of the court society. In this context, the Ashikaga shoguns and the *bakufu* mimicked and followed many court events and rituals, and even devised some of their own. I believe the shogunal visits to important elites was an annual ceremony that shared the same idea as imperial visits and included similar ceremonies and events.

In order to deepen our understanding of the meaning of shogunal visits to other elites and the spread of formal display, we need to focus also on the special *onari* (*shikisho no onari* 式正 の御成) that occurred whenever there was a specific reason for a visit. For example, Iio Yukitane invited the shogun Yoshimasa to his residence on the twenty-fifth day of the second

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[372] Futaki Ken'ichi (1985): 35-50.

month in 1466 to celebrate his appointment as a member of secretaries to the shogun (*naidanshu* 内談衆).[373] In 1524, Hosokawa Tadakata (細川尹賢) invited the Ashikaga shogun to his residence when he built a new *shinden*.[374] Special *onari* occurred when warrior elites had a particular reason or intention for inviting the shogun to their residence and they seem to have occurred more often after the Ōnin war.

*Iiotaku onariki* (飯尾宅御成記), the oldest extant text of a shogunal visit, now in the collection of National Archives of Japan (国立公文書館), provides more detailed information on special *onari*. The text describes the visit of Ashikaga Yoshimasa and his wife Hino Tomiko (日野富子) to Iio Yukitane on the 25th day of the 2nd month in 1466. According to the postscript, the original text was written two days after the visit in 1466, and this text is a 1560 copy of the original text.[375] The text records the organization of the shogunal visit and lists gifts including a sword (*tachi* 太刀) given to the shogun and programs of Noh performances. *Saito Chikamoto nikki* (斎藤親基日記) also states that Iio Yukitane invited Yoshimasa to celebrate his being appointed to *daishoe goke bugyo* (大嘗会御禊奉行), a part of Muromachi *bakufu* secretaries to the shogun (*naidanshū* 内談衆).[376]

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[373] *Iiotaku onariki* (飯尾宅御成記) is a record of this special *onari* and the oldest extant text of *onari*.

[374] *Hosakawa tei onariki* (細川亭御成記) is a record of this special *onari* in 1524. The text records that on the 6th day of the 3rd month of 1524, Hosokawa invited the Ashikaga shogun when he built a new *shinden* in his residence.

[375] The postscript states that the original was written by a person named Miyoshi Sūren (三善数連) two days after the shogunal visit and copied several times in 1503 by Iio Genkō (飯尾元行), in 1538 by Ōdate Tsuneoki (大館常興), in 1554 by Matsuda Fujihiro (松田藤弘)and finally in 1560 by a person named "Mitsutoshi (光俊)."

[376] *Daishoe goke bugyo* refers to specific tasks given to a member of *naidanshū. Daishoe goke* 大嘗会御禊 is a traditional annual imperial ceremony when the emperor first offered the first fruits of the year to the Gods and then he consumed them. During the Muromachi it was held on the 23rd day of the 11th month at the Kamo River but later in the Edo period, after the capital was moved from Kyoto to Edo, it
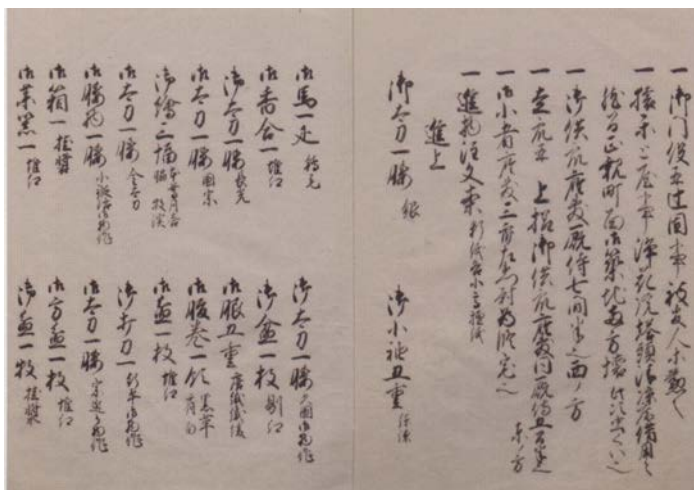
**Figure 5.** Detail of *Iiotaku onariki* (Record of Ashikaga Yoshimasa's visit to Iio Yukitane in 1560)

*Miyoshi Chikuzen no kami Yoshinaga ason-tei e onari no ki* (三好筑前守義長朝臣亭<sup>江</sup> 御成之記) records the visit of the 13<sup>th</sup> shogun Ashikaga Yoshiteru (義輝) to *shōbanshū* (相伴衆), officials who accompany the shogun, Miyoshi Yoshinaga (三好義長) on the last day of the 3<sup>rd</sup> month of 1561.[377] The last part of the text also includes the visit of the 12<sup>th</sup> shogun Ashikaga Yoshiharu (義晴) to Ise Sadatada (伊勢貞), chief officer of the Administrative Office (*Mandokoro shitsuji* 政所執事).[378] According to the postscript, the original text was made separately in 1523 and in 1561, then copied in 1562. The text records details of the event from Miyoshi's welcoming of the shogun Yoshiteru, who had departed from his palace around 2 pm (未刻) to his return around 10 am (巳刻) on the next day. The text is also important because it includes a diagram of the main building and mentions that Miyoshi had built the door

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was held at the imperial palace. Satō Toyozō, "shogun ke no onari 将軍家の御成," in *Tokugawa shogun no onari* (2012): 114-115.

[377] *Shōbanshū* refers to officials of high rank who accompany the Ashikaga shogun in his travels. Scholars believe this title was organized and systemized during the Yoshinori's time and only the members from the important warrior elites were appointed at this position.

[378] The *mandokoro* (Administrative Office) had originally handled the shogunal household administration and the Ise family held the hereditary office of chief officer called *shitsuji*.

(*kabukimon* 冠木門) of his residence and part of the roof (*hafu* 破風) on the main building (*shuden* 主殿).[379]
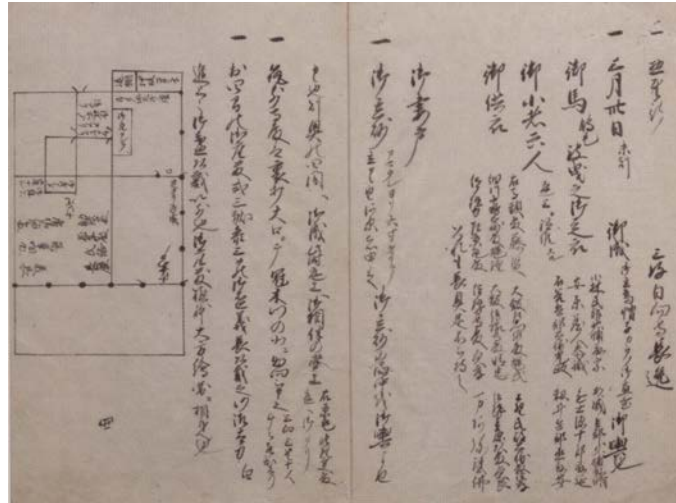


**Figure 6.** Detail of *Miyoshi Chikuzen no kami yoshinaga asontei e onari no ki* (Record of Ashikaga Shoguns' visit to the residence of Miyoshi Yoshinaga)

When we examine extant records of special *onari*, it is clear that they exhibit the same ideas and organization as an imperial visit to a shogun. Special *onari* lasted for two days and one night and typically started around 2 pm on the first day and ended at 10 am the next morning. They consisted of two main parts—official rituals held in the *shinden* and banquets and ceremonies held in the *kaisho*. Noh (*sarugaku noh*) was performed during the banquets and

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[379] The text is significant because of the diagram and because its relation to later records of shogunal visits in the Edo period. The text mentions details of the events with the places of these events. For example, it states that Miyoshi Yoshinaga went to the door of his residence (*kabukimon* 冠木門) to welcome the shogun. Main events of banquets (*shikisankon* 式三献) and his presenting the gifts of a sword (*tachi*) and a horse was held at the four-mat room of *zashiki* (四間の御座敷). The shogun looked at the horse standing at the door of the building (*tsumado* 妻戸) and then there were additional banquets and the presentation of gifts to the shogun at the nine-mat room of *zashiki* (九間の御座敷). Places mentioned are the *kabukimon* 冠木門, four mat room of *zashiki* (四間の御座敷), and nine-mat room of *zashiki* (九間の御座敷) that are believed to become the *onarimon* (御成門), *onari shoin* (御成書院), and *ohiroma* (御広間) in Edo period residences. There are additional texts of shogunal visits in the Edo period with and without diagrams. In particular, *Onari shoin toko kazari sono hoka no ki* 御成書院床飾 其他之記, which records Toyotomi Hideyoshi's visit to the residence of Maeda Toshiie in the 8th day of the 4th month of 1594 with 23 illustrations of the visit is comparable to this record.

ceremonies in the *kaisho*. Just as sake cups were circulated during the banquets from the emperor to shogun and to other attendees held at the *shinden* during an imperial visit to the shogun, the same rituals (e.g., *shikisankon* 式三献) and banquets comprised the main part of this event.[380] That is, by circulating sake cup from the shogun (invitee) to the host (*daimyo*) the event clarifies their relationship. Also, the host presented gifts to the shogun, and the shogun gave a sword to the host. Then the entertainment ceremonies are held in the *kaisho*, which had been decorated with Chinese paintings and objects (*kara-e* and *karamono*).

Satō Toyozō proposed the interesting possibility that shogunal art manuals were produced and copied to teach and guide elites in the proper way of display when hosting shoguns at their residences.[381] Regular *onari* during the first month became an annual ceremony around 1414, and there were special *onari* after the Ōnin war and in the sixteenth century when copies of the manuals were made. His suggestion provides one reason for the production of copies. However, I think the text is not just for shogunal visits, but also for use during many other social gatherings, such as tea or flower ceremonies.

*Hosokawa dono okazari* (細川殿御餝) is a significant source for understanding the spread of formal display. The text records the objects on display for Ashikaga Yoshitada's (足利義尹) visit to Hosokawa Takakuni (細川高国) on the 16th day of 4th month in 1512 (Eishō 9).[382] The postscript states that Sōami wrote the original record in 1512, and Mon'ami made a copy of this 'secret text' (*hisho*) in 1533 (Tenbun 2). Like *Muromachi dono gyōkō okazariki*, which

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[380] *Shikisankon* (式三献) literally means "rituals of offering three times" and it was held during the banquet.

[381] Satō Toyozō, "shōgunke 'onari' ni tsuite 3" (1976): 534-535.

[382] Tani Shin'ichi published the *honkaku* version of this record, *Hosokawa dono okari* in *Bijutsu kenkyū*. Tani Shin'ichi (谷信一), "Hosokawa dono okazari 細川殿御餝," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 美術研究 52 (1936): 39-43.

records objects and paintings displayed during Emperor Go'Hanazono's visit to Yoshinori in 1437, *Hosokawa dono okazari* shows exactly the same concept regarding arrangement and display, although the building and space were much smaller. While *Muromachi dono gyōkō okazariki* describes objects and their arrangement in twenty rooms of the three *kaisho*, the displays in *Hosokawa dono okazari* seem to be planned for several rooms in one building. The text does not specify the name of the building, but the interior spaces are similar to a *kaisho*. The text shows exactly the same idea of display for interior spaces with built-in architectural devices. There is a shelf or a staggered shelf with various objects, an alcove area displaying three paintings hung behind *mitsugusoku* (three ritual objects), and the *shoin* (writing desk) with various writing objects. We can see how the same principle of formal display with Chinese paintings and objects was followed in Hosokawa's residence for a shogunal visit. The same architectural structures and formal display, with Chinese paintings and objects arranged at the *kaisho* in shogunal palaces, were followed at Hosokawa's residence for a shogunal visit.

I believe that the text provides clear evidence of how the same idea of Ashikaga formal display, once formulated for the palaces of Yoshinori and Yoshimasa, was followed in the residences of warrior elites. In addition, this provides one example that clearly shows the process of dissemination of formal display from the shogunal palace to other elites, through the hands of Sōami. The postscript of the text mentions that it was first written by Sōami in 1512. As examined in Chapter Three, I believe Nōami, who wrote *Muromachi dono gyōkō okazariki,* was the person who arranged the formal display at Yoshirnori's Muromachi palace in 1437. In the same way, I also believe Sōami, who wrote *Hosokawa dono okazari,* likely arranged the formal display at the Hosokawa residence for Ashikaga Yoshitada's visit in 1512. Furthermore, as

discussed in Chapter Four, this could be related to the changing economic status of Sōami, who once worked for shoguns, now also possibly worked for Hosokawa.

While shogunal annual visits to important warrior elites during the first month were initiated to make their closeness to the shogun clear and as a way to maintain and keep the power balance among powerful families, these shogunal visits were designed from a shogunal perspective. On the other hand, special *onari*, which occurred more often after the Ōnin war, show more of the host's perspective. They invited the shogun either for a particular reason or with a particular intention. I believe that, in the same way a shogun hosted an imperial visit, the inviting *daimyo* host wanted to show off his power through this event. Not everyone could invite the shogun, so hosting the shogun in their residences would have shown both the power of the host as well as their closeness to the shogun.

## 5.1    CONCLUSION

This dissertation explored the significance of elaborate formal display during the Muromachi period through an integrated and synthesized approach, combining discussion of the Ashikaga collection of Chinese paintings and objects, their arrangement, and the *kaisho* buildings where they were displayed. The topic has previously been fragmented across the most famous collections or examples of architecture. In previous chapters, I examined the meaning and significance of formal display for Ashikaga shoguns through the value of *karamono* in medieval Japan, imperial visits to shoguns, and the production of shogunal art manuals, like *Kundaikan sōchōki*.

My fundamental query was to critically examine the development of interior space in Japanese residences, particularly the development of the so-called *shoin*-style of architecture, which features built-in staggered shelves, writing desks, alcoves, and painted sliding doors, and to explore the relationship between formal display and the identity of the owner. As discussed in Chapters Two and Three, I believe that formal display developed in concert with *shoin*-style architecture, more specifically the room with built-in furniture. The matured form of this architectural style, as well as their ways of arranging objects and paintings, were formulated at the Ashikaga palaces in conjunction with the Ashikaga shoguns' interest in collecting Chinese paintings and objects. That is, in order to arrange and display Chinese objects and paintings properly and permanently in a secular setting at Ashikaga residences, the built-in form of furniture was devised. In this process, the Ashikaga shoguns skillfully combined Japanese court and Buddhist traditions with continental culture for their elaborate display of their collections as a means to consolidate their own political and cultural authority. Also, as discussed in Chapter Four, the formal display gradually spread among elites' with the dispersion of the collections and the decline of the *bakufu*.

Therefore, this dissertation makes several contributions. First, it has methodological significance in its way of approaching the Ashikaga collection and *kaisho* buildings as integrated topics combined within the idea of formal display. I highlighted the importance of the concept of *kazari,* the pre-modern idea of decoration, and applied this to my examination of formal display in medieval residences. In this way, I broadened the relationship between the Ashikaga collection and the development and use of interior space. In addition, as discussed in the introduction, through critical theretical framework that I borrowed from the ideas of Appadurai's global life of things and Clunas' concept of material culture, I could validate the significance of

the objects and paintings of the Ashikaga collection and their use as well as its changed meanings over time during the Muromachi period. Second, I examined primary written and visual sources throughout the dissertation to trace the precedents of formal display and to discuss the imperial visits and shogunal art manuals, neither of which has been adequately discussed or examined in English scholarship. As mentioned earlier in the Introduction, many scholars have shown interest in *Kundaikan sōchōki* but most of these studies, particularly those written in English, merely cite parts of these sources as support for their arguments. There has been no previous close examination of their content or the meaning of production and extant copies. Also, *Muromachi dono gyōkō okazariki,* which includes the *kaisho* display for the 1437 imperial visit to Ashikaga Yoshinori, has never been examined or discussed as a main subject. Accordingly, this dissertation represents a meaningful beginning towards further discussion of the various meanings of Muromachi visual culture.

While my dissertation addresses and answers some questions, many more questions regarding formal display and shogunal art manuals still remain. This dissertation represents the start of a long-term exploration into this subject, so I would like to point out several problems that call for further research.

### Sinan shipwreck, maritime trades, and their material culture

More research on the Sinan ship and maritime trade between Japan and the continent would deepen our understanding of *karamono* display in medieval Japan. Chapter Two provides detailed information on the excavations and some of their recovered objects. However, the Sinan shipwreck and recovered objects have not been adequately examined or studied—or even properly introduced in English scholarship. Furthermore, with the exception of articles by

ceramic specialists, scholars in Asia have not closely examined the recovered objects. A huge number of objects are still in the process of being cataloged, and I think scholars should turn their attention toward these items, as they are an essential resource to understand the material culture of medieval Japan and Northeast Asia. Academic research on the material culture of the Sinan shipwreck and maritime trade is still in its nascent stages and more detailed case studies of the discovered objects and integrative studies among Chinese, Korean, and Japanese scholars are urgently needed.

### Annual ceremonies of the Muromachi *bakufu* and their use of interior spaces

In addition, more detailed research on the Ashikaga annual ceremonies and other events would offer a broader understanding of the socio-political meaning of formal display as well as the imperial visits to shoguns. Although my research focused on formal display during the imperial visits, I found that there is a dearth of studies on the subject. In English scholarship nothing has been written on these imperial visits, with the one exception of Matthew Stavros's recent annotated translation of *Sakayuku hana*.[383] In Japanese scholarship, several historians have taken an interest in these events but most of their focus is on politics and the power relationship between the shogun, the emperor, and important families. Accordingly, few scholars have examined the imperial visits themselves, and even fewer have explored the specific ceremonies or rituals and the use of space during the events and ceremonies. A small but significant number of records of the imperial visits are available, and further academic attention on this topic would certainly be fruitful.

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[383] Matthew Stavros, Norika Kurioka "Imperial Progress to the Muromachi Palace, 1381 A Study and Annotated Translation of *Sakayuku hana,*" in *Japan Review 28* (2015): 3-46. Matthew Stavros also mentioned that scholarship in North America and Japan on imperial visits to shogun is lacking.

I observed that many court rituals were borrowed, followed, and gradually adjusted by the warrior society and, as the need arose, the architecture of the building was also revised and refined. The Ashikaga borrowed from court traditions, Zen Buddhism, and the continent. In addition, the annual ceremonies organized during the Muramachi *bakufu* were further codified, which had an impact during the Edo period. Therefore, more study of the annual ceremonies or events during the Muromach period is needed. For example, circulating sake cups during the banquet and poetry gatherings were important parts of imperial and shogunal visits during the Muromachi period, but we do not know how they are similar or different in their use of spaces. Further research on these ceremonies would allow for a more in depth discussion, not only on the meaning of formal display, but also about the function of *kaisho* buildings at shogunal palaces.

### The Ōuchi family and Ōuchi residence in Yamaguchi

More in-depth studies on the Ōuchi family, the remains of their residences in Yamaguchi, and their roles in the international trade between Japan and the continent would deepen our understanding of formal display and the production of these manuals. Since I focused on Kyoto and the Ashikaga palaces, I did not examine the Ōuchi family in detail. However, I found when I examined the texts and postscripts of *Kundaikan sōchōki*, Ōuchi Masahiro (大内政弘 1446-1495) was mentioned as the recipient of the *Gunsho ruijū* version: the colophon of the *Gunsho ruijū* version of *Kundaikan sōchōki* says Nōami compiled the text and it was given to Ōuchi Masahiro (1446-1495) in 1476. Another copy of *Kundaikan sōchōki* from the Tokyo National Museum collection states that Ōuchi Yoshioki (大内義興 1477-1528) paid three thousand *hiki* (従左京様三千疋拝領) for the text. These statements suggest a strong connection between the Ōuchi and the production of manuals.

The Ōuchi, one of the most powerful and important families during rule of the Ashikaga, became a powerful clan during the Nambokucho period (1336-1392) based on their military power, flourished during the Muromachi period, based on their accumulated wealth through international trade, and during the fourteenth century controlled the major port cities of Hakata and Sakai. There are archaeological excavations in Yamaguchi that suggest the great power of Ōuchi family in the Muromach period. The Ōuchi family based the city planning of Yamaguchi on the model of Kyoto. A fourteenth-century map of Yamaguchi and recent excavations both prove that the city was both well planned, was as large as Kyoto, and was once called 'west Kyoto.' In Yamaguchi, there are the remains of an Ōuchi residence site and the ground plan of the residence that measured 200 x 200 meters, making it one of the largest medieval Japanese residences. Archaeological excavations found a huge cache of clay dishes and pots from the pond site that is believed to have been used for banquets, and Chinese and Korean ceramics were recovered from the residence. At Kōryūji, the Ōuchi clan temple, 89,000 Ming Chinese and Joseon Korean coins were found. These recoveries represent the Ōuchi's active trade with the continent, and more research on both Korean and Japanese sources would be fruitful. The buildings have been destroyed and we cannot see the interiors or the use of spaces, but more comparative studies of the Ōuchi residence and the Ashikaga palaces would contribute profoundly to further discussion on the production of manuals and the spread of Ashikaga formal display.

**Lists of Chinese artists in the manuals and references to China**

Also, in my examination of the manuals, I focused mainly on the second and third parts that cover formal display and objects. However, further research that integrates the first part,

which lists the names of Chinese artists and commentaries, could further elucidate the meaning of the manuals. In particular, I would like to compare these lists to relevant Chinese texts, such as inventories of Song imperial collections. As the Ashikaga collection includes some paintings by Huizong and many famous Chinese court painters, I think that it is important to consider why the Ashikaga collected Chinese objects and paintings and if the idea of making their collections and producing inventories of the collections could have been borrowed from the Song, or more broadly from China. Further comparative research on this section with the Chinese sources would add to a discussion on the Chinese impact on Japanese manuals.

Comparative research on the Ashikaga collection and Chinese precedents is also important to further discussion on the birth of the tastes and identity of the patrons, shoguns, and later other elites. Understanding the lists of Chinese paintings and their qualitative ratings in the manuals that were not followed by a Chinese reference but were made by cultural advisors would clarify their choices and evaluations. Due to a dearth of primary sources, I could not fully develop discussions on the Ashikaga collection, its economic value, and its relations to the issues of tastes and identities. However, it would be very interesting to discuss how and why some imported Chinese paintings and objects were selected for inclusion in the shoguns' collection and others were circulated as a sort of currency within the medieval barter system. Also, I hope to delve more into the process of how the fame of this treasured Ashikaga collection became consolidated throughout the Edo period, after the decline of the Ashikaga.

# APPENDIX A

# SUMMARY OF THE THREE IMPERIAL VISITS

**Table 2.** Summary of the Three Imprial Visits

| date | Emperor | Shogun (host) | Titles of the Host | Place |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1381 (Eitoku)<br><br>3.11 - 3.16 | Go En'yu | Ashikaga Yoshimitsu | Shogun 將軍, Junior First, Commander of the Right (*Juichii Udaisho* 從一位 右大將) | Muromachi Palace |
| 1408 (Ōei 15)<br><br>3. 8 - 3.28 | Go Komatsu | Ashikaga Yoshimitsu | Buddhist priesthood, *Junsangō* (准三后), King of Japan (*Nihon kokuō* 日本國王) | Kitayama Villa |
| 1437 (Eikyō 9)<br><br>10.21 - 10.26 | Go Hanazono | Ashikaga Yoshinori | Shogun 將軍, Junior First, Minister of the Left (*Juichii Sadaijin* 從一位 左大臣), King of Japan (*Nihon kokuō* 日本國王) | Muromachi Palace |

# OUTLINE OF THE EVENTS AND CEREMONIES DURING THE 1381 AND 1437 IMPERIAL VISITS

**Table 3.** Outline of the Events and Ceremonies during the 1381 and 1437 Imperial Visits

| **1381 Imperial Visit** |
|---|
| 3.11 departure, procession, arrival, celebratory rites of the first day, banquet |
| 3.12 entertainment, *bugaku* dances |
| 3.13 indoor banquets (because of the rain, *kemari* kickball game canceled) |
| 3.14 *kemari* kickball game, waka poetry gathering |
| 3.15 waka poetry gathering, banquets after *kemari* kickball game, boating (poems and music) at night |
| 3.16 presenting the gifts, (scheduled to return to the imperial palace but because the banquets continued, the return delayed to the early morning next day) |
| 3.17 rites of returning back to the imperial palace |
| **1437 Imperial Visit** |
| 10.21 departure, procession, arrival, celebratory rites of the first day, banquet at night |
| 10.22 entertainment, *bugaku* dances, *waka* poetry gathering |
| 10.23 *bugaku* dances |
| 10.24 because of the rain, there was no boating, indoor banquets |
| 10.25 *kemari* kickball game, boating at night |
| 10.26 Yoshinori presenting the gifts to emperor and to other court nobles, rites of returning back to the imperial palace |

# APPENDIX C

## SOUTH-FACING KAISHO
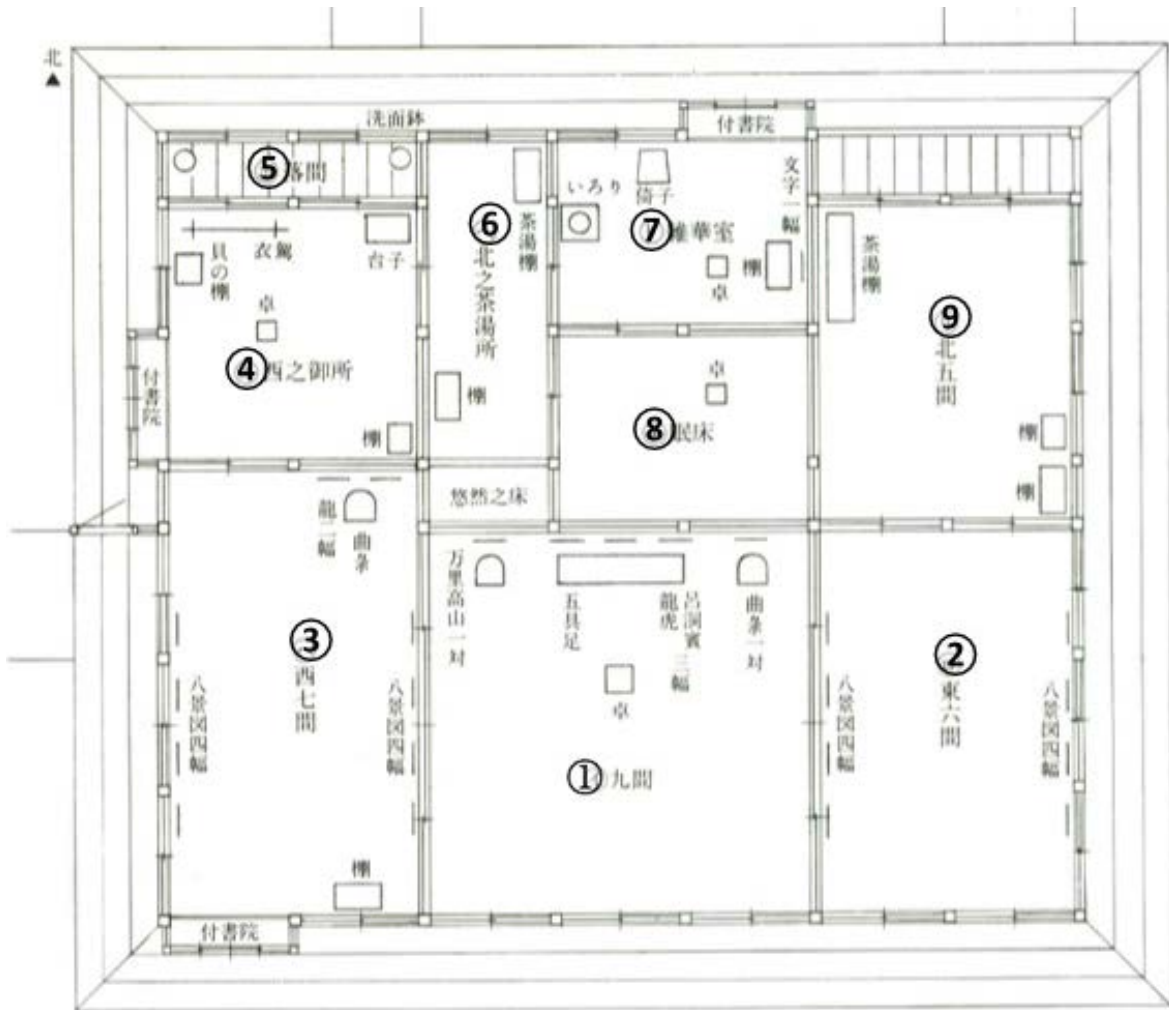


**Figure 7.** Reconstructed Diagram of South-facing Kaisho at Yoshinori's Muromachi Palace

① Nine-mat room *kaisho* (御會所 九間)

② East six-mat room (東之御六間)

③ West seven-mat room (西御七間)

④ West *gosho* (西之御所)

⑤ North *ochima* (北之御落間)

⑥ North tea room (北之御茶湯所)

⑦ *Zakashitsu* (雜花室)

⑧ Bedroom *Minshō* (御眠床)

⑨ North five-mat room (次北御五間)

**APPENDIX D**

**NORTH-FACING KAISHO**
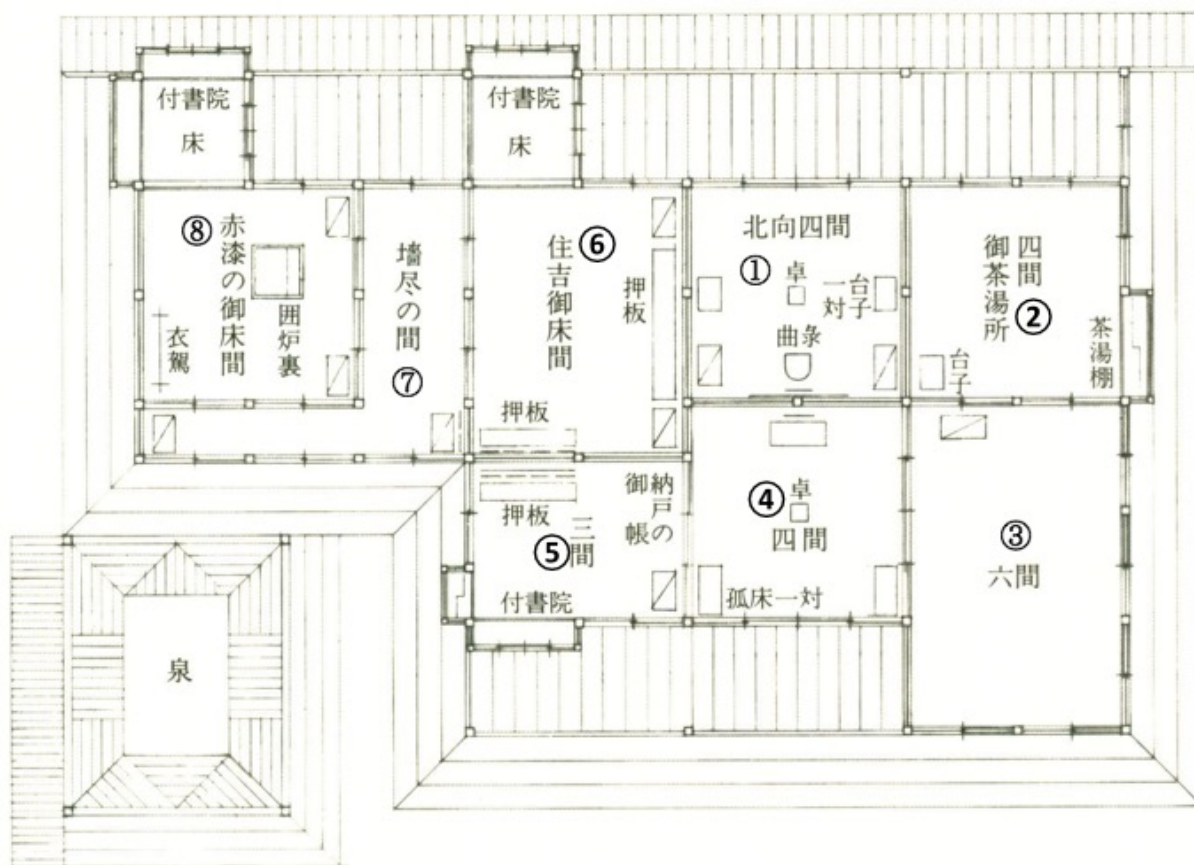


**Figure 8.** Reconstructed Diagram of North-facing Kaisho at Yoshinori's Muromachi Palace

① North-facing four-mat room (御 北向之御四間)

② Four-mat room (次御四間 御茶湯所之御違棚)

③ Six-mat room (次之御六間御棚)

④ Four-mat room (次御四間)

⑤ Three-mat room (次御三間)

⑥ Sumiyoshi tokoma 住吉御床間

⑦ *Kakitsukushi* no ma (次墻盡之御間 くつかた)

⑧ Red-lacqured room (Aka-urushi no tokoma 赤漆之御床間)
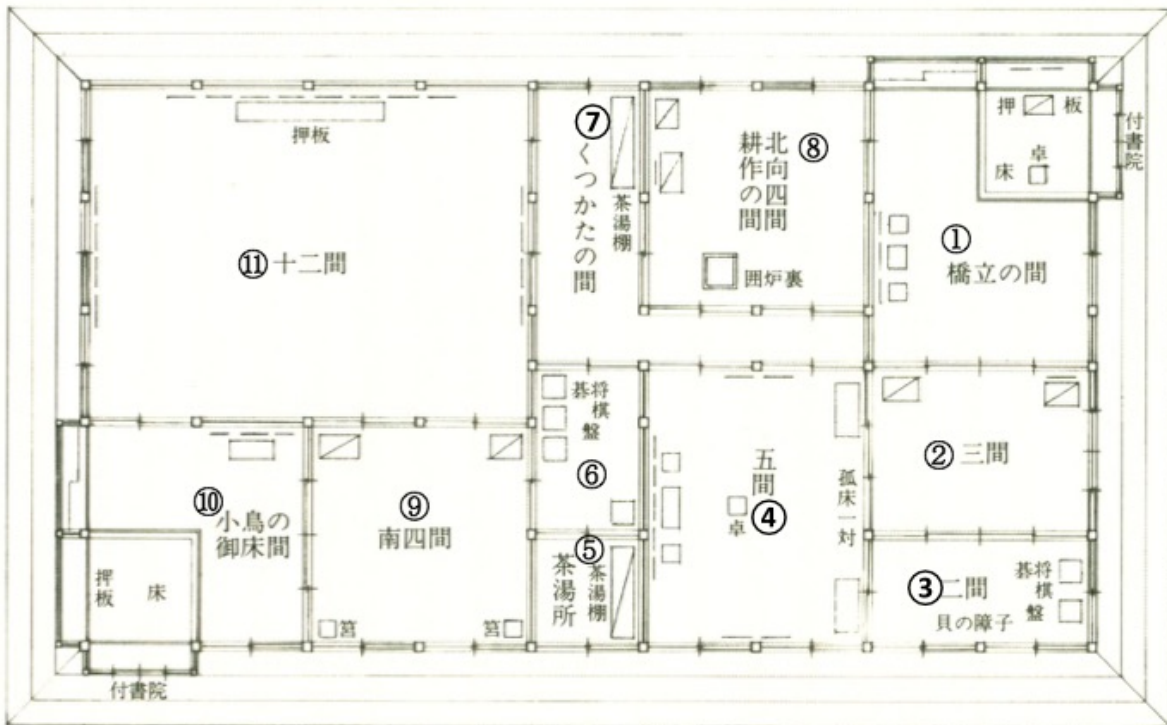
## NEW KAISHO



**Figure 9.** Reconstructed Diagram of New Kaisho at Yoshinori's Muromachi Palace

① *Hashidate* no ma (橋立之御間)

② Three-mat room (次御三間)

③ Two-mat room (次御二間)

④ Five-mat room (次御五間)

⑤ South Tea room (次南御間 御茶湯棚)

⑥ Adjacent west room (次之西之御間)

⑦ North Kutsukata no ma (次北御くつかたの御間)

⑧ North-facing four-mat room of Paintings of Agriculture (北向御四間 耕作 梁楷 様之御間)

⑨ South four-mat room (次南御四間)

⑩ Kotori no tokoma (小鳥之御床間)

⑪ Twelve-mat room (御十二間)

# APPENDIX F

## LIST OF SIGNIFICANT HISTORICAL EVENTS AND ARCHITECTURAL CHANGES AFTER THE ŌNIN WAR

| | |
|---|---|
| 1467-1477 | Ōnin War |
| 1476.6.7 | Daitokuji burns [*Sanetaka kō ki, Jinson Daisōjo ki*] |
| 1476.11.13 | Muromachi Palace burns and the treasures of the shoguns are lost. [*Chikanaga-kyō ki*; *Tokikuni-kyō ki*] |
| 1477 | Ōnin War ends |
| 1477.4.5 | Tsune no gosho of Ogawa Palace is built [*Genshoku zuten Nihon bijutsu shi nenpyō*] |
| 1477.11.11 | Sentō gosho and other buildings burn [*Sanetaka kō ki*] |
| 1477.11.26 | Myōshinji is rebuilt [*Genshoku zuten Nihon bijutsu shi nenpyō*] |
| 1479.9.29 | The newly built hōjō at Shōkokuji burns [*Sanetaka kō ki*] |
| 1479.12.7 | Tshuchimikado Palace repairs are completed and the emperor returns [*Gohōkōin kanpaku ki*] |
| 1480.9 | Tokusei uprisings (Kyoto) |
| 1480.10 | Ashikaga Yoshimasa investigates sites for a villa [*Jinson Daisōjo ki*] |
| 1482.2.4 | Ashikaga Yoshimasa commences building Higashiyama Villa [*Gohōkōin kanpaku ki*] |
| 1483.6.27 | Ashikaga Yoshimasa moves into the newly built Higashiyama villa [*Chikanaga-kyō ki*] |
| 1485.4.10 | Ashikaga Yoshimasa moves into the Saishian of Higashiyama Villa [*Inryōken nichiroku*] |
| 1485.8 | The Yamashiro uprising begins and lasts eight years |
| 1486 | The moving of Ogawa Palace begins. [Jinson Daisōjo ki] |
| 1486.1.17 | Tōgudō of Ashikaga Yoshimasa's Higashiyama Villa is half completed [*Inryōken nichiroku*] |
| 1486 | Tokusei uprising erupts |
| 1487.11.4 | Kaisho at Higashiyama villa is completed and Ahikaga Yoshimasa moves in |

[*Gohōkōin kanpaku ki; Oyudono no ue no nikki*]

| 1488.5.8 | Sōami and Kano Masanobu discuss paintings to import from China |
|---|---|
| | [*Inryōken nichiroku*] |
| 1489.2.21 | Sōami copies Liang Kai's scroll depicting scenes of farming and sericulture |
| 1489.3.26 | Yoshihisa death |
| 1489.4.14 | Ashikaga Yoshimi and his son Yoshiaki enter Kyoto from Mino |
| 1489.4 | Yoshimasa decreed that Higashiyama Villa will become Jishōji after his death |
| | [*Inryōken nichiroku*] |
| 1490.1.7 | Yoshimasa death |
| 1490.3.21 | Kitano Shrine burns [*Sanetaka kō ki,* etc.] |
| 1490.5.18 | Ogawa Palace is demolished [*Sanetaka kō ki*] |
| 1490.7.6 | Lumber from the Ogawa Palace is donated to Jōzaikōji |
| | [*Inryōken Nichiroku*]. |
| 1496.5.20 | Hino Tomiko's death |
| 1498 | Peasant uprisings surround Kyoto, resulting in battles with the shoguns |
| 1500.9.2 | A great typhoon causes extensive damage in Kyoto and at Ise Shrine |

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