

【特別講義】

A Dis-Integrated Urban Landscape : Making Kyoto Medieval

中世京都のなりたち

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Introduction

This essay⁽¹⁾ attempts to characterize the defining spatial traits of Kyoto's medieval urban landscape and then explores how early Ashikaga shogunal leaders interacted with the cityscape and its paradigms. To begin, we must ask the question, "what was 'medieval' about medieval Kyoto?" Like the era itself, there is an inclination to characterize the medieval city as being in a state of transition between its less ambiguous counterparts, the classical-era imperial city of Heian-kyō 平安京 on the one hand, and Kyoto's manifestation as an early-modern castle town on the other. Both the classical city and the castle town exhibited spatial traits that reflected distinctly the social and political circumstances of their respective periods. In the case of Heian-kyō, the centrality of the imperial palace, the regularity of the rectangular grid-road system, and the overall symmetry, all bespoke the city's role as the seat of a strong, centralized, emperor-centric government, based upon Chinese imperial models. On the other hand, early-modern Kyoto's centrally located castle (Nijō-jō 二条城) and its status-based zoning scheme were both characteristics indicative, respectively, of the Tokugawa period's (1603-1868) warrior domination and strictly codified status system.

The first section of this chapter outlines Kyoto's spatial transformation from the unified, mononuclear city of the classical era, into what, by the medieval era, is perhaps best characterized as a loose conglomeration of disparate nodes of urban development. The grid-road system began to break down in the tenth century when the western half of the old city, Ukyō 右京, failed to thrive and was eventually converted almost entirely into farm land. Concurrently, the eastern half of Sakyō 左京 enjoyed rapid population expansion, eventually leading to urban sprawl extending to the north and east beyond the boundaries of the original city. It is possible to trace from about this time the formation of two distinct residential districts

in the east, each with its own unique sociopolitical flavor. Kamigyō 上京, in the north, was home to the capital's civil aristocracy as well as several successive reigning and retired emperors. In the south was Shimogyō 下京, where clustered the homes, business, and workshops of the city's many commoners. From the twelfth century, the capital's original spatial structure underwent further change with the emergence of private institutions of wealth and power (*kenmon* 権門). Many of these *kenmon*, including retired emperors, temples, and eventually, warriors, built large bases of power on the city's outskirts. Thriving communities formed around these centers of wealth, and in time, the people of each came to orient their lives more toward their respective *kenmon* centers than to the capital itself.

The existence of a single, unified political core during the classical-era had inspired the planning of a well ordered, mononuclear city. The weakening of state institutions and the rise of "*kenmon*-centric" politics during the medieval era, however, gave rise to a phenomenon referred to in this work as "nodal" urban development. What is significant about nodal development is how it so vividly reflected the state of pluralistic and privatized authority that characterized medieval history.

The disintegration of the original capital grid and the emergence of large centers of *kenmon* authority on the city's outskirts necessitated the articulation of new ideas about what constituted capital space. Members of the court aristocracy sought to maintain an area where public authority was supreme, a "capital" in the traditional sense of the word. It was this conservative impulse that led to the creation of the notion of *rakuchū* 洛中, meaning the "inner capital," and, by association, *rakugai* 洛外, the "outer capital." The creation of the concept of *rakuchū*, it will be argued in the second section of this essay, was indicative of the resilience of traditional, classical-era ideals regarding the importance of maintaining a base of public authority, one unsullied by the influence of temples, warriors or any of the other emerging bodies of private influence. What is perhaps most significant about *rakuchū* as a spatial concept is how its eventual penetration by warriors in 1333 can be read as marking the final death of Kyoto's classical-era urban ideals and, I would argue, the birth of "medieval" Kyoto, an inherently dis-integrated urban environment.

Section three of this essay explores the ways early Ashikaga leaders and their vassals responded to Kyoto's spatial construction and how many aspects of their rule were articulated with careful consideration of traditional urban spatial paradigms. Analysis of where in the greater Kyoto basin warriors built homes and important urban monuments reveals a distinct deference on the part of shogunal leaders to traditional spatial themes and even a limited ability

to infringe upon the land rights of commoners. Here, I point out that, although early Ashikaga leaders and their vassals did indeed succeed in moving into Kyoto's developed commercial district of Shimogyō, they remained very much relegated to that area's margins.

Finally, I will discuss Ashikaga Yoshimitsu's 足利義満 urban legacy to demonstrate the extent to which this seemingly all-powerful figure was, it appears, beholden to spatial dictates embedded into the culture of the premodern capital. Here, I will point out that all of Yoshimitsu's important architectural projects were located north of Ichijō avenue 一条大路, outside the boundaries of what had been the classical-era city. No matter how much Kyoto had ceased to resemble Heian-kyō, many of the capital's original spatial paradigms remained valid into the medieval era. In this light, the significance of Yoshimitsu's building north of Ichijō becomes apparent. While Yoshimitsu was able to effect tremendous physical change in Kamigyō, he remained either unable or unwilling to violate the capital's most traditional spatial principles.

The Emergence of Nodal Development

Heian-kyō was not originally planned to be a center of commerce or culture, nor was it ever meant to accommodate a large and diverse population. In fact, the original capital was conceived as an inert venue of imperial bureaucracy and administration, one not exhibiting many of the characteristics typically associated with a city today. By the late-eleventh century, however, Heian-kyō had largely lost its idealized character as it evolved into a center of trade, business, and, artisanship. Interestingly, concurrent to its becoming a full-fledged urban entity, the name Heian-kyō went out of use, replaced by a variety of names, only one of which was "Kyoto."⁽²⁾ Evolution of the city's character and function took place parallel to dramatic changes in its overall physical appearance. The disintegration of Heian-kyō has been treated extensively in secondary scholarship.⁽³⁾ A brief recapitulation here should be sufficient to set the stage for discussion of a more significant development: the formation of Kamigyō and Shimogyō.

Whereas Heian-kyō's urban grid and expansive, centrally located imperial palace are physical traits that loom large in the historical image of classical-era Kyoto, there is no textual or archeological evidence that the city's ambitious layout was completed according to plan. In fact, evidence suggests Heian-kyō began to depart dramatically from its idealized model immediately after its founding in 794. The literary journal of nobleman Yoshishige Yasutane, *Chitei-ki* 池亭記, confirms that by 982 the capital bore little resemblance to its classical-era model. The text describes how Ukyō had been largely abandoned by an urban population that migrated to Sakyō, where the elevation was higher and the summer air tended to be cooler.⁽⁴⁾ The imperial

palace compound, the *daidairi* 大内裏, gradually fell into disrepair as the organs of imperial government atrophied. By the time fire swallowed up the compound in 1177, the most important bureaucratic offices of state had already relocated to the private homes of the court nobility. The imperial compound, perhaps the most emblematic monument of the classical-era capital, was never reconstructed.⁽⁵⁾

By the twelfth century, what had become the urbanized portion of the capital, a matrix roads sandwiched roughly between the Kamo river 鴨川 in the east and Ōmiya avenue 大宮大路 in the west, came to exhibit two distinct nodes or “islands” where urban development was most dense: Kamigyō in the north and Shimogyō in the south. The formation of Kamigyō and Shimogyō was indicative of the emergence of plurality in the socio-political structure of the capital. Each node had a distinct demographic composition and functional identity, a situation far different than the ideal of the classical-era city where the orderly grid was indicative of socio-political homogeneity inspired by the existence of a strong central authority. Exploring the history of Kamigyō and Shimogyō’s formation serves as a useful entrée to examining the broader phenomenon of nodal medieval development.

Kamigyō and Shimogyō

Chitei-ki’s author expresses dismay over urban sprawl that extended outside the area of the original Heian-kyō grid-road system. In particular, he speaks of court families who built homes and retreats in the east, just north of Ichijō avenue, the northern boundary of the old city (Figure 1). This area was favorable for two reasons. First, the land there is of a higher elevation than the rest of the basin, making it somewhat cooler and drier. Second, land outside the old city was not subject to the strict imperial codes and dictates of the capital proper. People were freer to build structures of their liking without concern for official or customary prescriptions on architectural styles and functions. In time, to meet the demands of development north of Ichijō, roads such as Ōmiya and Horikawa 堀川小路, which had originally been confined to the original grid, were extended northward where they were eventually interlaced by the newly created byways of Mushanokōji 武者小路, Kitanokōji 北小路, and Itsutsuji 五辻. Development was further promoted by the conversion of numerous aristocratic mansions into private family temples. This phenomenon was the result of the heightened popularity of a concept known as *zōji-jōbutsu* 造寺成仏, “build a temple, become a Buddha,” a promise of salvation for those who could afford such architectural extravagance.⁽⁶⁾ Before the modern era, it was customary for emperors and members of the imperial family to designate a temple into which they would

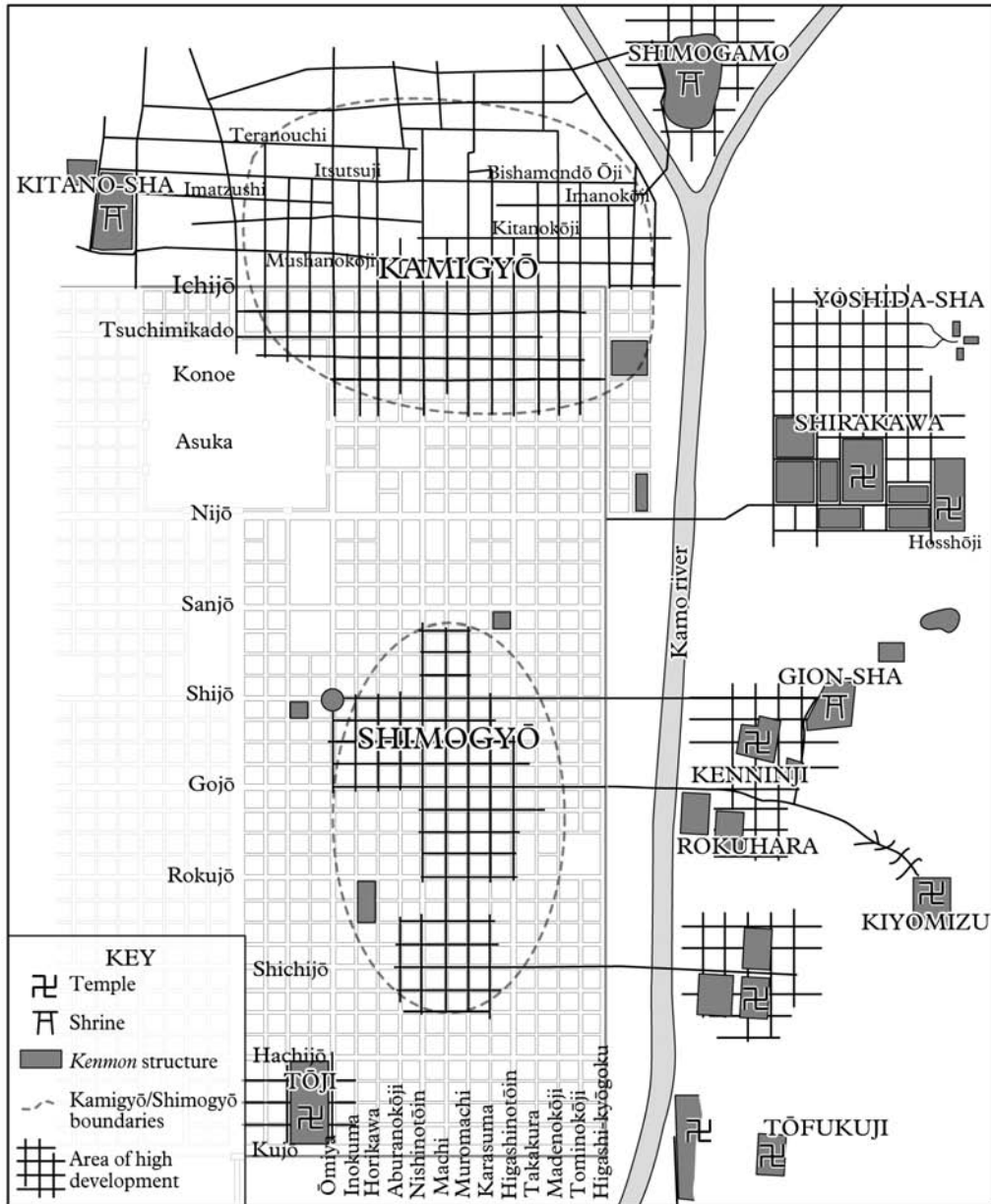


Figure 1. Kyoto in the 11th and 12th centuries; highlighting “new towns,” islands of development that formed around sites of *kenmon* authority.

retire. Until the fourteenth century, many of these so-called *monzeki* 門跡 temples were located northeast of the old city. Furthermore, with the original imperial palace compound in ruins, emperors were frequently left to take up residence in retreat palaces, or *sato-dairi* 里内裏. These too tended to be located in the same northeastern area. In all, the north of Sakyō—land essentially straddling Ichijō avenue—became an enclave of elite members of Kyoto society.

From the thirteenth century, documents begin to refer to the area with increasing frequency as Kamigyō, meaning “upper capital,” a name that captures, at once, its higher elevation, its northern position, and perhaps even the relative status of its residents.⁽⁷⁾

Concurrent to the formation of Kamigyō in the north was the formation of Shimogyō in the south. Shimogyō took shape around the intersection of Shijō 四条大路 and Machi avenues 町小路, a location that corresponds roughly to the site of Heian-kyō’s original state-sanctioned eastern market. The appearance of an independent merchant-artisan class here follows a clear pattern of evolution, from an early condition in which the members of the noble aristocracy were very much the masters of commercial activity, to one in which they became its parasitic beneficiaries. Originally in Heian-kyō, skilled craftsmanship was performed by state-maintained artisans who based themselves around corresponding eastern and western markets (*Higashi no ichi* 東市 and *Nishi no ichi* 西市). As the physical markets of Heian-kyō disintegrated, however, so too did the mechanism by which the court maintained and administered the production, sale, and distribution of goods. In the twelfth century, artisans began forming guilds (*za* 座) by which lower-ranking members of the nobility interceded between the court and the various commercial and service groups. By the end of the Kamakura period 鎌倉時代 (1185–1333), the imperial house and noble families had begun to serve as patrons for such groups, offering protection and receiving compensatory dues in return.⁽⁸⁾

Economic stimulus gave rise to a growing urban population and a distinct culture of commerce. Under a Heian-period system whereby provincial lands were placed under the proprietorship of aristocratic families or large temple and shrine communities (*shōen kōryō-sei* 荘園公領制), goods and services from these estates flowed into Kyoto as payment to their proprietors who were based in and around the city. In time, this brought to the area anyone wanting to take part in the advanced economy of the capital.⁽⁹⁾ By the thirteenth century, the population of Kyoto is estimated to have been as high as one-hundred thousand, placing it among the largest cities in the world at the time.⁽¹⁰⁾ The influx of people and products augmented a freer market economy, one not dependent upon the supply needs of the court alone. As a result, townspeople flourished and a dynamic culture was born among the neighborhoods of Shimogyō.

Besides the reliable patronage of the Kamigyō elite, Shimogyō’s commercial success was also related to its proximity to the Gion shrine 祇園社. As the main approach leading up to the shrine’s gate, Shijō avenue enjoyed a steady flow of pilgrims and visitors throughout the year. These people provided a constant source of capital for area merchants. In time, development mushroomed as Shimogyō and the Gion shrine began to share a mutually beneficial relationship:

townspeople paid offerings to the shrine and in return, received guarantees of safety and exemption from certain forms of taxation.⁽¹¹⁾ Attesting to their prosperity as well as their relationship to the shrine, each summer, Shimogyō townspeople would construct extravagant floats and ceremoniously parade them from their respective neighborhoods, down Shijō avenue and through the gates of Gion shrine. This annual tradition lives on today in the spectacle of the Gion Festival held each July.

Despite the degree to which Kamigyō and Shimogyō came to possess distinct identities—one as the elite district, the other as the commercial district—there remained a strong symbiotic relationship between the two. The Kamigyō elite and the bureaucratic institutions of the state provided Shimogyō with legal and fiscal protections as well as commercial markets in which to sell their wares. Shimogyō, on the other hand, kept the elite fed, clothed, and provisioned in the style to which they were accustomed.⁽¹²⁾ Stated simply, theirs was a mutually beneficial patron-client relationship. The next section will examine similar relationships that matured within urban communities that took root and prospered on the capital's outskirts from the late-Heian period.

“New Towns” in the Late Heian Period

Despite Kamigyō's expansion north beyond Ichijō, Kamigyō and Shimogyō's most dense urban development took place within the area that had originally been Sakyō, the eastern half of the classical city. Outside this, in the fields and hills that surrounded the city, nodes of urbanization began to appear from the late-eleventh century. This section explores the emergence of these “new towns” and how their development as islands of autonomous authority contributed to a transformation in the way space was perceived and defined in the medieval capital.⁽¹³⁾

The earliest example of significant urban development on the capital's outskirts is perhaps the community that formed around the palace-temple complex commissioned by retired emperor Shirakawa 白川上皇 (1053–1129) in 1077. Located east of the Kamo river (Figure 3), the core of this community, which itself came to be known as Shirakawa, was the temple of Hosshōji 法勝寺, an esoteric monastery whose opulent central structures and towering nine-storied, eight-sided pagoda stood as a monument to the power of the retired emperor.⁽¹⁴⁾ The most important political institution within Shirakawa was the office of the retired emperor, *in no chō* 院庁. It was through this bureaucratic body that the retired emperor not only came to enjoy almost complete control over courtly institutions, he institutionalized the mode by which

successive retired emperors exercised hegemony over court affairs throughout the next century. Shirakawa fast became an enclave of artisans, craftsmen, sake brewers, and other commoners who were drawn to its concentration of wealth. The opportunity to provision the retired emperor and his entourage generated powerful centripetal force. Some indication of the extent to which Shirakawa had developed by the mid-thirteenth century is given in the *Tale of Heike* 平家物語. When it became clear that the Taira 平 had lost the capital, fleeing foot soldiers prosecuted a scorched earth campaign. Book seven of *Heike* speaks of the burning of as many as “forty or fifty-thousand” structures in the vicinity of Shirakawa.⁽¹⁵⁾ Even if these numbers are exaggerated, as they undoubtedly are, the account provides some sense for the extent to which Shirakawa had become an urbanized community of substantial size.

Nodal urban development strikingly similar to that of Shirakawa also took place south of the capital, at a site that came to known for its most lavish patron, retired emperor Toba 鳥羽上皇 (1103–1156). Just like Shirakawa, Toba comprised a palace-temple core around which clustered a large community of vassals and commoners. Besides the commercial potential that arose from the material demands of the retired emperor and his entourage, the community’s prosperity was further spurred by its strategic location at the crossroads of the capital’s most important southern trade routes leading to the inland sea and the port of Naniwa 難波.⁽¹⁶⁾

The emergence of more “new towns” in the vicinity of the capital was stimulated by a boom in religious interest and activity during the Kamakura period. From about the twelfth century, temples of broad popularity began springing up throughout the eastern and northern hills. Texts refer to waves of people of both high and low status flocking to these sites for worship and sightseeing.⁽¹⁷⁾ Merchants who set up shops along roads leading to temple gates made a brisk business selling their wares to the many pilgrims. In time, lively commercial communities grew up around these flourishing religious centers. In documents from the period, these appear most frequently as *monzen-machi* 門前町, meaning literally, “town in front of the gate.” By the thirteenth century, many of these communities had matured into permanent islands of urbanization that, in terms of developmental patterns, closely resembled Shirakawa and Toba. Each consisted of a population of officials, servants, and commoners who clustered around a monastic core to constitute a discrete urbanized community.⁽¹⁸⁾

Distance from the capital’s urban center did not signify a reduction in power potential. On the contrary, documents suggest, for example, that the powerful temple and shrine communities located in the hills around the city enjoyed their detachment from the capital proper. *Kenmon* in their own right, these institutions had long been absentee proprietors of

estates located throughout the country. By the Kamakura period, however, as their control on provincial lands began to slip, they tightened their grip on the lands they controlled directly, which tended to be those immediately surrounding their properties. Being located in the hills outside the city afforded them a degree of autonomy they would not have enjoyed had they been located in the urban center where state institutions remained most influential. Itō Takeshi has identified patterns of jurisdiction that show outlying temple communities exercising almost unfettered authority over their surrounding lands and the people who resided within them. Autonomy extended to matters of crime and punishment, areas of jurisprudence usually associated with court, or later, shogunal authority.⁽¹⁹⁾ An image emerges of these new towns as autonomous islands of authority.

A rise of the influence of the Taira family in the late-eleventh century contributed to the formation of Rokuhara 六波羅, a cluster of administrative offices and warrior homes located along Gojō avenue 五条大路, just east of the Kamo river. Rokuhara's development into a flourishing urban community mimicked the growth of temple-based "new towns" in that it too drew to it commoners attracted by the promises of commercial potential and protection. The major difference was that the nucleus of the community in this case was secular rather than religious or imperial. The site maintained its warrior identity even after the fall of the Taira. When the Kamakura shogunate began functioning in 1185, Rokuhara became a liaison office for representatives of the warrior regime. After a plot hatched by retired emperor Gotoba 後鳥羽上皇 to overthrow the shogunate was foiled in 1221 (referred to by historians as the Jōkyū Disturbance (*Jōkyū no ran* 承久の乱)), Rokuhara was made into a major satellite office of the Kamakura shogunate. Staffed at any given time by two constable officers (*Rokuhara tandai* 探題) appointed from a pool of warrior families (*gokenin* 御家人) loyal to the Hōjō family of Kamakura regents, Rokuhara was charged with administering shogunal affairs in the western province and, more important, sniffing out anti-shogunal sentiment within the imperial institution.⁽²⁰⁾ Throughout the Kamakura period, Rokuhara was a center of warrior administration as well as a flourishing urbanized community.

Nodal development continued apace following the establishment of the Ashikaga shogunate 足利幕府 in 1336. Tenryūji 天龍寺, founded in 1339 as a memorial to emperor Godaigo 後醍醐天皇 who had died that year, quickly became the core of a dynamic religious and commercial community. An illustration of the temple and its surroundings dated to 1347, only eight years after its founding, depicts as many as 150 minor temples, a dozen sake retailers, and countless other businesses. The sprawling *monzen-machi* was integrated through an elaborate system of

roads.⁽²¹⁾

The word *monzen-machi* is useful conceptually for characterizing the broader phenomenon of nodal urban development leading to the formation of “new towns.” “*Monzen-machi*” appears in medieval documents referring not only to temple-based towns but more generally to any community that developed in relationship to, and contingent upon, the existence of a central hub of power and wealth: a *kenmon* base. In the broadest terms, for example, Kamigyō, can be described as the *monzen-machi* of the imperial palace (in this case, “the town before the gate of the palace”). Likewise, Shimogyō was the *monzen-machi* of Kamigyō (and, to a lesser extent, the Gion shrine). The powerful *kenmon* (temples, shrines, or palaces) welcomed and encouraged the growth and prosperity of their respective *monzen-machi*. Originally, these communities arose naturally, prospering as a result of the economic and political power of their *kenmon* hubs; there arose a symbiotic relationship between the two. By the middle of the Muromachi period (1336–1573), however, the role of *monzen-machi* had changed to become that of economic base to their host *kenmon*. A relationship was established whereby *monzen-machi* provided steady income to its taxing *kenmon* host while that host, exercising direct administrative control over these communities, provided a degree of official protection.⁽²²⁾ Figure 2 shows many of these urbanized *monzen-machi*, or “new towns,” that grew up around the capital between the twelfth and mid-fourteenth centuries. Those that boasted the most substantial *monzen-machi* included Kitano shrine 北野社, Yoshida shrine 吉田社, Shirakawa, Toba, Rokuhara, Shimogamo shrine 下鴨社, and the temples of Tōji 東寺, Kiyomizu 清水寺, and Kenninji 建仁寺. The greatest concentration of *monzen-machi* were located east of the Kamo river, mainly in the Higashiyama hills 東山.⁽²³⁾

By the twelfth century, the grid-road system that had characterized Heian-kyō was a thing of the past. Instead, dense nodes of urbanization had condensed around aristocratic mansions, large religious compounds, and commercial districts. The formation of these “new towns” effected a profound spatial transformation whereby the capital became a composite of urban islands, each with its own unique identity and each enjoying a high degree of political and economic autonomy. While we may be inclined to envisage it as a single urban unit, medieval Kyoto is perhaps best characterized as a “compound city” (*fukugō toshi* 複合都市), a conglomeration of urban islands, associated more by proximity than a unified identity. The structure of the city had become a homology of the socio-political condition of the medieval era: space, like authority, was fractured, privatized, and pluralistic.

The appearance of Kyoto following the destructive Ōnin War stands as a powerful

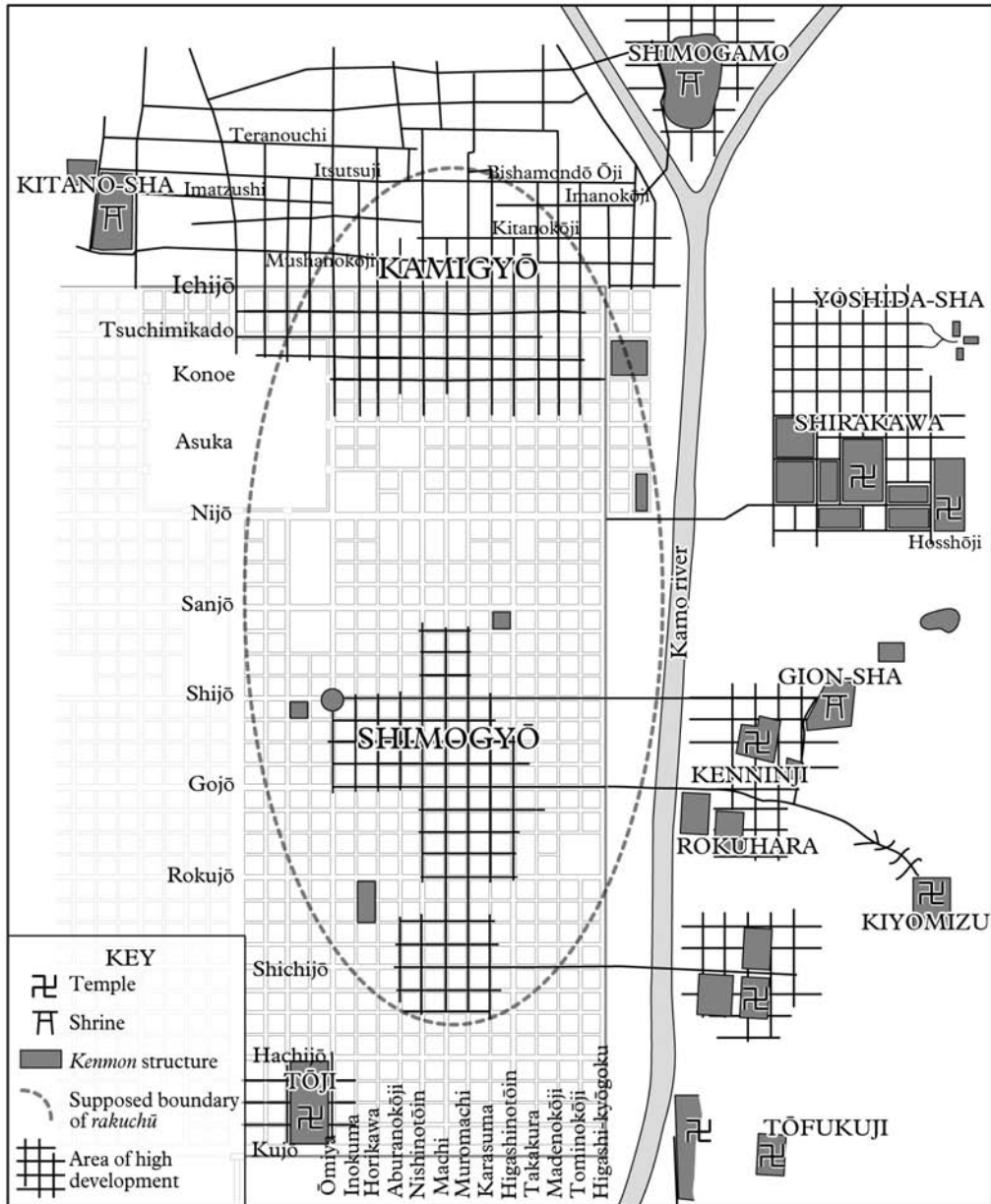


Figure 2. *Monzen-machi*, with indication of the approximate boundary of *rakuchū* in the mid-14th century.

indicator of the congruency between political and physical fragmentation (Figure 3). During this conflict that destroyed large portions of Kyoto between 1467 and 1477, urbanites reorganized their lives into fortified urban compounds. The largest of these compounds corresponded to the centers of Kamigyō and Shimogyō (which remained attached by the north-south artery of Muromachi avenue 室町小路), but numerous others formed around the

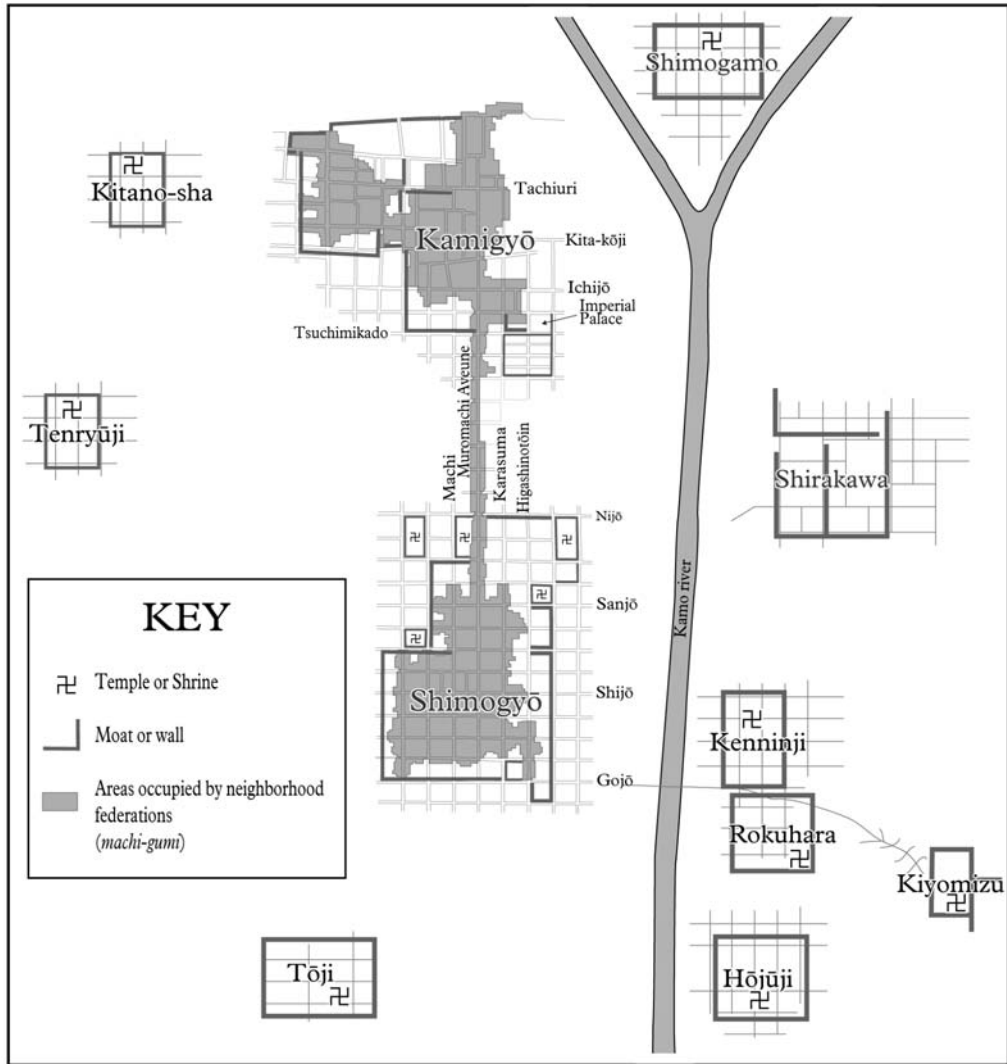


Figure 3. Post-Ōnin War Kyoto, circa 1530. Based on map by Yamada Kunihiko.

powerful kenmon temples and shrines on the city's outskirts. Post-Ōnin Kyoto was a skeletal version of its pre-war self. Kyoto's medieval spatial structure was defined by nodal development that began as early as the tenth century.

Rakuchū-Rakugai: Redefining “Capital” Space

In a landmark essay on Kyoto's medieval history and culture, Yoshie Akio explained that the whole of medieval Kyoto was divided into two main parts, *rakuchū* 洛中, the “inner capital,” and *rakugai* 洛外, the “outer capital.”⁽²⁴⁾ Anyone acquainted with either premodern Japanese history or popular geography in contemporary Kyoto will likely be familiar with these spatial

appellations. During the late-medieval and early-modern periods, they together, as “*rakuchū-rakugai*,” came to signify the capital basin with greater regularity than perhaps any other word. This section outlines the emergence of the concept of *rakuchū* with the objective of explaining its significance as a salient spatial notion in premodern Kyoto.

The words *kyōchū* 京中 and *hendo* 辺土 came into use during the early Kamakura period.⁽²⁵⁾ *Kyōchū* connoted the land within the traditional boundaries of Heian-kyō, the combined areas of Ukyō and Sakyō; *hendo* signified the land immediately surrounding the old city, meaning literally the “surrounding land.” As discussed, however, Ukyō, the western half of the old city, had been abandoned from early on. Therefore, *kyōchū*, in practical terms, signified only the area of Sakyō, the eastern half of the city within the boundaries of what had been Heian-kyō. “*Rakuchū*” initially indicated this same area.

The word *rakuchū* came into use originally in the early Heian period, during the reign of emperor Saga, at which time the western half of the city was stylized Chōan 長安 (Ch. Ch’ang-an) and the eastern half, Rakuyō 洛陽 (Ch. Luoyang). Both names derived from capitals of T’ang-period China.⁽²⁶⁾ The word *rakuchū* emerged to mean, literally, “within the area of Rakuyō,” which, of course, was synonymous with the area of Sakyō. *Rakugai* simply meant, “the area outside of *rakuchū*,” extending outward toward the capital’s surrounding mountains to end where the province of Yamashiro 山城国 began.

The famous thirteenth-century literary work of Kamo no Chōmei, *Hōjō-ki* 方丈記, provides some indication of how contemporaries envisioned the capital’s concentric spatial construction. In his account of the devastating famine of 1181, Chōmei wrote :

Within the capital (*kyō no uchi* 京のうち)—[the area] south of Ichijō, north of Kujō, west of Kyōgoku, and east of Suzaku—the number of dead [counted up] along the roadside numbered more than 42,300... If we include those [counted] in the outlying areas (*henchi* 辺地) such as Shirakawa, the banks of the Kamo river, and the western part of the capital, there would be no limit to the number.⁽²⁷⁾

In this entry, a clear conceptual differentiation is drawn between the area within the capital, *Kyō no uchi*, and the outlying area, *henchi*. The distinction was ultimately one of jurisdiction and identity. Documents written over the course of the next several decades indicate with increasing explicitness that the “inner capital” was a realm where traditional public authority maintained its original efficacy; it was an area where the emperor and the

court still exercised direct administrative authority. In other words, the “inner capital,” appearing more and more as “*Rakuchū*,” had come to mean the “capital” in the original, idealized sense of the word. It should be noted here that the area that constituted *rakuchū* evolved over time. Whereas *rakuchū* had originally been synonymous with the area of Sakyō, by the mid-fourteenth century, it apparently consisted of the combined areas of Kamigyō and Shimogyō, which means it was extended several hundred meters to the north of Ichijō to include residential development that had taken place there (Figure 2).⁽²⁸⁾

The concept of *rakuchū* was likely devised by members of the traditional civil aristocracy in response to what Amino Yoshihiko has called a “crisis of kingship,” a sense that the efficacy of classical institutions was being dangerously eroded or even swept away by the rising tide of *kenmon* influence. They likely sought out ways to clearly define an area within which traditional state authority ruled, unfettered by *kenmon* interference. Unlike Heian-kyō, where capital space was clearly delimited by the urban grid, medieval Kyoto lacked a discrete border. This situation might not have become an issue had not powerful *kenmon*-based communities grown up in close proximity to the city. The absence of a clearly defined physical realm of public authority, a “capital,” constituted a threat to the viability of the imperial institution. Warriors, who resided in significant numbers just across the Kamo river in Rokuhara, posed a particular threat to court influence and, as a result, documents suggest special care was taken to physically exclude them from the newly-redefined “capital.” It was this goal of *kenmon* exclusion that helps explain the creation of the notion of *rakuchū*.

Some early examples of the distinction between *rakuchū* and *rakugai* provide a sense for the nature of the spatial division. In 1185, for example, when the sacred mirror (*shinkyō* 神鏡), one of three imperial regalia, was being returned ceremoniously to the capital under armed escort following the battle of Dannoura 壇ノ浦, it was decreed that soldiers, upon entering *rakuchū*, were to dismount their horses and walk.⁽²⁹⁾ At that point, the procession was met by a special detachment of imperial police (*kebiishi* 檢非違使) whose sole duty it was to patrol the outer border of *rakuchū*.⁽³⁰⁾ An entry in a court diary from 1311 explains that these court military officers were permitted to carry arrows only when accompanying the emperor north of Ichijō. Such weapons were apparently banned within the boundaries of the old city.⁽³¹⁾

Enforcement of the *rakuchū* boundary was not limited to the emperor and the court. The Kamakura shogunate, in fact, also took steps to observe discrete spheres of influence. For example, it was standard practice of the shogunate to confiscate and destroy the homes of criminals guilty of the crime of gambling. Outside *rakuchū*, this form of punishment was carried

out by shogunal deputies with impunity. In cases where a criminal's home was located within *rakuchū*, however, shogunal codes explicitly proscribed direct action by military deputies. Instead, an appeal was to be sent to the imperial police *requesting* that they mete out commiserate punishment.⁽³²⁾

Following the Jōkyū Disturbance of 1221, warrior incursion into the capital increased with the establishment of policing stations known as *kagariya* 篝屋.⁽³³⁾ Warrior residence within *rakuchū*, however, remained strictly proscribed, as were certain forms of status-based comportment. In 1240, for example, the shogunate drew up a code banning warriors from riding ox carts within the city.⁽³⁴⁾ Since the ox cart (*gissha* 牛車) was the prescribed mode of transportation for a noble of high court status, this particular ordinance functioned to prevent the blurring of status lines while it underscored the definition of capital space.

Despite strict limits on Kamakura authority within *rakuchū* throughout the Kamakura period, for many, the mere presence of warriors in the imperial capital was unacceptable. Graffiti scrawled on the walls of the palace of the retired emperor in 1260 enumerated the “infelicitous things” taking place in the city. Listed among those things that “should not be occurring but, alas are,” was “warriors within the capital (*kyōchū bushi* 京中武士).”⁽³⁵⁾

The emergence of increasingly influential *kenmon*-based communities in the capital basin from as early as the twelfth century was perhaps the most powerful stimulus behind the articulation of the concept of *rakuchū*. With the rise of warriors in particular, it became necessary for the emperor and the court to define an area, however small, where traditional, public authority remained preeminent. Throughout the Kamakura period, despite significant incursions into capital affairs by the shogunate and warriors in general, there remained clear boundaries between what was the “capital,” and what was not. The difference was one of jurisdiction: the land within the capital was the exclusive realm of the court; that outside of the capital could be held and controlled by private interest groups. It should be noted that the formation of Kamigyō and Shimogyō was probably not seen as a threat to traditional authority or the capital's physical integrity because of the symbiotic relationship that existed between the two districts. Furthermore, in terms of official sanctions and policing rights, both districts remained very much under the control of state institutions such as the imperial police and capital administrators (*kyōshiki* 京職).⁽³⁶⁾

In institutional terms, these findings support a case for arguing the resilience of the imperial institution throughout the Kamakura period. As long as *rakuchū* retained its status as a realm of unsullied imperial authority, a trace of the classical order remained alive. This

notwithstanding, when we back up and consider the spatial structure of the greater capital basin, a distinctly “medieval” picture emerges. By the close of the Kamakura period, the Kyoto basin had become a composite of nodes of urban development, each with its own unique identity and each enjoying a high degree of political and economic autonomy. *Rakuchū* was only one among several of these.

Each of Kyoto’s medieval urban nodes comprised two elemental parts: a powerful *kenmon* base (either a temple, aristocratic palace, or a warrior headquarters), and a settlement of vassals and/or commoners located either around or adjacent to the former. In each case, the two constituent parts coexisted in a balanced, symbiotic relationship. What is most significant about nodal urban development of this sort is how it reflected so well the contemporaneous social and political situation. With the rise of *kenmon*, power became fractured, privatized, and pluralized. State institutions embodied in the court and the emperor had become only one source of official sanction, police protection, or commercial patronage. As people moved to orient their lives around specific *kenmon*—physically, economically, and legally—the capital underwent a transformation from its classical-era ideal of a mononuclear city centered on the imperial palace, to a compound city of urban islands that were associated more by proximity than any unifying political institution.

As touched upon above, a case could be made that, as long as the organs of traditional imperial authority maintained their preeminence within a specified area, however small, the classical order remained alive. Throughout the Kamakura period, *rakuchū* had, indeed, remained largely the purview of the imperial state. Warriors were not permitted to reside within the city and shogunal codes had little, if any, binding force there.⁽³⁷⁾

Recognizing this situation supports those current historiographical arguments that favor locating the origins of Japan’s medieval world in the fourteenth century, at the end of the Kamakura period rather than the beginning.⁽³⁸⁾ In contrast to earlier periodization schemes that tended to focus on the rise of warrior authority and its erosion of the imperial system, the newer “medieval origins” thesis is concerned mainly with the question of when the classical order finally died out. Several scholars have examined an array of social and political institutions to reach the conclusion that it was the disastrous failure of emperor Godaigo’s 1333 restoration that finally broke the back of the old order and opened the way for a radically new, “medieval,” world. If we apply the same periodization criteria to the current examination of the urban landscape, the results largely support the “origins” thesis. Whereas *rakuchū* had maintained its

identity as a realm of imperial control throughout the Kamakura period, one largely free of the presence and influence of warriors, emperor Godaigo, upon proclaiming his new government in 1333, inadvertently destroyed the fundamental premise upon which the *rakuchū* ideal had been founded. By declaring that the entire country was now under direct imperial rule, the *rakuchū* distinction, naturally, lost its relevance.⁽³⁹⁾ Had the restoration succeeded, there would have been little need to maintain contrived spatial notions about the geographic boundaries of imperial authority.

Godaigo's policy of direct imperial rule held that all orders, rewards, and any form of formal recognition were to come directly from the emperor himself. Provincial warriors seeking confirmation for services rendered in the war against Kamakura or those who wished simply to be recognized by the new imperial order were, therefore, compelled to make the journey to Kyoto personally. Large-scale migration forced the greater capital basin to accommodate a sudden and dramatic influx of warriors, and by no means were the newcomers excluded from *rakuchū*. Godaigo himself granted prime residential land adjacent to the imperial palace to prominent generals such as Kusunoki Masashige 楠木正成 and Nawa Nagatoshi 名和長年.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Former proscriptions on warrior residence within the original boundaries of Heian-kyō had no meaning in the new order. Again, this development would not have constituted a threat to imperial authority had Godaigo's regime succeeded. In fact, it might have signified an even stronger imperial order, one able to accommodate and dominate *kenmon*. But alas, within three years of its proclamation, the restoration came crashing down. By 1336, the institutions of Godaigo's imperial state were fractured and in decline ; the emperor himself eventually fled the capital. At the point when order was restored by the armies of the Ashikaga later that year, Kyoto had become a cityscape infused with warriors and *kenmon* influence. Notions of imperial exclusivity within *rakuchū*, or any other area, has been all but erased. Ironically, it was the next warrior regime that attempted to restore them.

The Early Ashikaga Shogunate and Kyoto Space

This section explores how early Ashikaga leaders responded to Kyoto's spatial paradigms and how warrior interaction with the urban landscape was influenced, and sometimes limited, by traditional socio-political valences attached to specific areas of the capital. Despite the shogunate's success in eventually seizing control over almost every aspect of urban governance, spatial analysis reveals that warriors were limited in their ability to secure residential land within the capital's most developed areas.

The establishment of the Ashikaga shogunate within the capital was an extreme measure justified by the state of war that existed between the Northern and Southern courts (*nanbokuchō* 南北朝). Early shogunal authority was predicated upon the mandate to protect the interest of the Northern court, a role that carried with it the implication of safeguarding the traditional capital order. Accordingly, early shogunal policy was dedicated almost exclusively to the rectification of matters related to court and aristocratic entitlement. Among these, one of the most urgent was the issue of land rights within the city that had been disrupted not only by Godaigo's recent and disastrous experiment with direct imperial rule but also by the preceding Kamakura shogunate.

Article 5 of *Kenmu Formulary* (*Kenmu shikimoku* 建武式目), the regime's foundational legal document, addresses the vacant land in Kamigyō that had been confiscated by Kamakura deputies from members of the nobility who were implicated in the 1221 plot to overthrow the shogunate (the Jōkyū Disturbance).⁽⁴¹⁾ Referring to the "need to return vacant lots within the capital (*kyōchū* 京中) to their former owners," this article was a gesture to those noble families who had been disenfranchised by the former warrior polity. It sent a message to the emperor and the court that the current administration was not hostile to the traditional capital elite. Also, whereas the Ashikaga were hardly about to limit their own presence within the city, Article 5 conveyed a recognition, in principle, of the notion of *rakuchū* (called "*kyōchū*" here) as a realm of imperial, non-warrior, power.

Restoring land to commoners in Shimogyō was likewise a matter that received early shogunal attention. The massive influx of warriors that occurred after 1333 caused the displacement of thousands of commoners. The following account of warrior migration from *Taiheiki* 太平記 gives some sense for the scale of the problem:

Once the eastern and western provinces were calm, the [warrior] houses of Shōni, Ōtomo, Kikuchi, and Matsuura came to the capital aboard more than 700 large boats. Nitta Sanmanosuke and his younger brother, Hyōgonosuke, arrived [leading] more than 7000 cavalry. From all the other provinces too, it was as if not one had been left behind, Kyoto and Shirakawa had become utterly inundated by warriors.⁽⁴²⁾

Most of the newcomers who arrived in the wake of Godaigo's restoration found accommodations in Shimogyō through a sanctioned quartering system called *shitaku tenjō* 私宅点定, which permitted them to temporarily commandeer the homes of commoners. Despite

codes meant to ensure the right of return for those who were displaced, the practice resulted in the sudden and forced eviction of thousands of people indefinitely.⁽⁴³⁾ *Shitaku tenjō* is often sited as one of many ill-conceived policies of the Godaigo regime that led to widespread dissatisfaction with the new order. As a first step toward addressing the problem, Article 4 of *Kenmu Formulary* specifically prohibits the commandeering of private homes by warriors. The article's stated concern for the former residents of houses "built by the diligent application of slender means" was as much a gesture to Shimogyō commoners as it was to the Kamigyō elite, many of whom had vested proprietary interests in Shimogyō. Moreover, Kamigyō very much depended upon the symbiotic economic relationship it had shared with Shimogyō up until 1333.

For the shogunate, restoring and protecting land rights within the capital faithfully meant, at times, putting the interests of traditional land owners ahead of their own. A land dispute that unfolded between a shogunal deputy and the noble house of Nakahara 中原 in 1367 is indicative of the kinds of problems the Ashikaga faced. In the autumn of that year, a top shogunal general named Kogushi 小串 began construction of a residential facility in Shimogyō on the block of land immediately to the south of shogun Yoshiakira's 義詮 new headquarters. Kogushi later claimed he had been given orders by Yoshiakira to build in the vicinity of the new shogunal palace. The project was put on hold, however, when Nakahara Moroshige 中原師茂, the head of the Nakahara family, lodged a complaint with Yoshiakira's office stating that the block of land in question had been under the proprietorship of the Nakahara family for generations. "So vital is this particular plot to our family," Moroshige explained in a letter to the shogun, "we [the Nakahara] are sometimes referred to as the 'Record Keepers of Sanjō,'" an honorific that apparently derived from the site's location along Sanjō avenue 三条大路. "We are talking about land with a name attached to it," Moroshige argued.⁽⁴⁴⁾ The contest ended in victory for the Nakahara whose traditional proprietary rites apparently trumped shogunal orders.

Scholars who have considered warrior movement into the capital after 1336 are quick to point out how both the first shogunal headquarters and most vassal residences were located in the district of Shimogyō.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Not until the third shogun, Yoshimitsu, moved to Kamigyō in 1378 do we find any significant warrior presence in that elite district. The prevailing argument holds that land in Shimogyō was relatively easy for warriors to acquire because the predominantly commoner population did not constitute a significant obstacle to warrior settlement.⁽⁴⁶⁾ The argument implies that Kamigyō, with its mainly aristocratic population, would have been much more difficult to break into. With regards to Shimogyō, however, it should be remembered that urban commoners in the fourteenth century did not own the land they occupied. Rather, in most

cases, they were tenants who leased plots from aristocratic or temple proprietors, the former of which often lived in Kamigyō.⁽⁴⁷⁾ As we can see in the above case of Kogushi versus Nakahara, these aristocratic land owners were not only intent upon preserving their hold over Shimogyō property, in most cases, they were exceedingly successful at it. With this in mind, it becomes necessary to reconsider the Ashikaga shogunate's early gravitation toward Shimogyō. After all, when we recall that one of the earliest policy objectives of the new regime was to roll back the advances of warriors made in Shimogyō prior to 1336, how then do we explain large-scale Ashikaga settlement there after 1336?

Answering this question requires careful consideration of where, precisely, Ashikaga and their vassals settled in the city. Figure 4 is a map of Kyoto in the 1350s showing the distribution of sake brewers, pawnbrokers, and oil retailers, commercial entities that constituted the capital's economic backbone. Not only was Shimogyō clearly the commercial and economic center of the city, it was also home to the greatest concentration of warriors. But let us reexamine the map, this time paying attention to the locations of warrior residences vis-à-vis the district's most developed commercial core. It becomes immediately apparent that the Sanjō-bōmon shogunal headquarters (*Sanjō-bōmon dono* 三条坊門殿) as well as the several known residences of high-ranking shogunal vassals were all located on Shimogyō's periphery; none stood within the most developed area along Muromachi avenue between Sanjō in the north and Gojō in the south.

The extent to which warrior residences were marginalized in Shimogyō is highlighted by an examination of the district's size during the succeeding Age of Warring States (1467–1580s). During this era of protracted warfare, the urbanized portions of both Shimogyō and Kamigyō shrank and retreated into fortified islands that were surrounded by walls and moats. Within these makeshift urban fortresses, townspeople organized neighborhood federations (*machi-gumi* 町組) through which they exercised a degree of self-government in what had otherwise become a largely ungoverned city.⁽⁴⁸⁾ The areas of the city represented by neighborhood federations, indicated by the shaded area on Figure 4, were the parts of Kyoto that had, against terrible odds, retained their commercial and residential viability.⁽⁴⁹⁾ This information accentuates the degree to which early warriors were physically marginalized. Only one of the sixteen known residences of prominent warriors built in the 1350s was located within the part of Shimogyō that would retain its viability in the succeeding era.

As mentioned, it is commonly held that the early Ashikaga and their vassals settled in Shimogyō because of the relative ease of displacing that area's commoner population. The

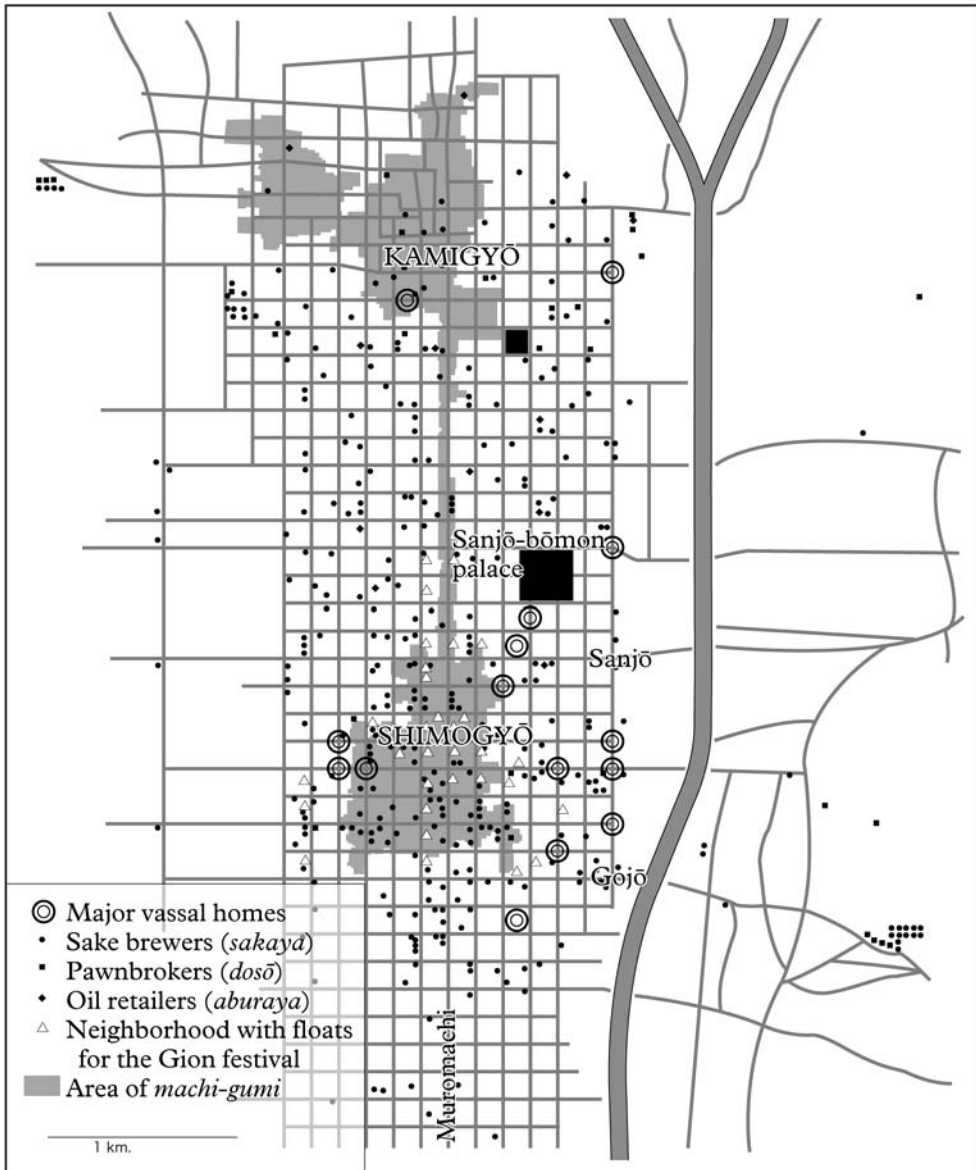


Figure 4. Kyoto in the 1350s with indication of the areas of the city represented by neighborhood federations (*machi-gumi*) that formed after the Ōnin War.

findings of this section demonstrate, however, that there were substantial limits on where within Shimogyō warriors could settle. The early shogunate's policy of restoring and protecting land rights within the city meant, in certain cases, putting the interests of traditional land owners ahead of their own. The property dispute between Kogushi and Nakahara illustrates well that much of the land in Shimogyō was, in fact, under the proprietorship of members of the Kamigyō aristocracy. Their ability to successfully limit warrior residence in Shimogyō helped

guarantee the district's continued commercial viability, a situation that benefited them and commoners alike. Spatial analysis shows that whereas warriors did indeed settle in Shimogyō more than any other single district in the capital basin, they did not penetrate the district's central area. It appears that they were very much relegated to the margins.

Yoshimitsu and Heian-kyō

One of the most commonly cited testaments to the unprecedented political success of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu is his 1378 move to Kamigyō. Built in close proximity to the emperor on a plot of land that dwarfed the imperial palace, Yoshimitsu's Muromachi-dono palace-headquarters is pointed to as a monument to the shogun's success in infiltrating the realm of traditional capital authority.⁽⁵⁰⁾ But if we are to read location as a marker of relative authority, we should be attuned to the subtle and often overlapping spatial and locational paradigms to which contemporaries were responding. By no means was the relationship between space and power in medieval Kyoto simply a matter of "uptown" versus "downtown," "elite district," versus "commoner slum." Complex and variegated spatial notions converged and overlapped to create a cityscape embedded with rules and customs that influenced peoples' actions. We should also be careful not to assume that authority permitted a degree of aloofness to spatial rules. On the contrary, it seems to be the case that the higher one's status, the more they were expected to know and respond to dominant spatial paradigms.

It is for this reason that we need to reexamine Yoshimitsu's move to Kamigyō as well as his other important contributions to Kyoto's medieval urban landscape. What emerges is not the narrative of a climber who was able to use his unprecedented military and economic might to forcefully infiltrate the realm of the traditional elite. On the contrary, Yoshimitsu's actions in Kamigyō and elsewhere convey a deep awareness of, and deference to, spatial dictates that were embedded into the cultural landscape of the premodern capital. Yoshimitsu adhered to traditional spatial paradigms, even when doing so meant accepting limitations to his own actions. This section explores Yoshimitsu's urban legacy to demonstrate how this seemingly all-powerful figure was either unable or unwilling to violate Kyoto's most traditional spatial dictates, those that date back to the founding of Heian-kyō in the eighth century.

Yoshimitsu's move from the Shimogyō to Kamigyō in 1378 is said to have been indicative of the rising status of the shogunate vis-à-vis traditional bodies of capital power. In a well known essay, Kurokawa Naonori wrote that the building of the Muromachi-dono 室町殿 put Yoshimitsu into a position where he could easily "host, house, and keep watch over the

emperor.”⁽⁵¹⁾ Whereas the proximity of the Muromachi-dono to the imperial palace may indeed have had certain logistical relevance, it is important not to assume that, within the contemporaneous setting, proximity was a salient element of political significance. On the contrary, with regard to spatial interrelationships between two or more sites, factors such as axial alignment and relative locational pedigree appear to have been of far greater importance.⁽⁵²⁾

Whereas the building of the Muromachi-dono in Kamigyō did bring the shogun and the emperor closer together in physical terms, there remained between them at least one important spatial distinction. It is critical to note that the palaces were located in two entirely distinct areas of the city. They were both in Kamigyō but recall that Kamigyō, as a defined spatial notion, had been superimposed over a much older, more traditional spatial paradigm : that of the classical city of Heian-kyō. The imperial palace was located south of Ichijō avenue ; it was within the boundaries of the old city. The Muromachi-dono was not. (Figure 5) Clearly, that classical boundary still impacted decisions about where warriors lived, even those with great power.

When we consider the degree to which Kyoto had, by the fourteenth century, evolved physically from its earliest manifestation as Heian-kyō, it is surprising to find that any classical-era spatial prescriptions remained valid through the ages. Some, however, were observed right up until the nineteenth century. One of the most important among these was the requirement that the imperial palace be, without exception, located within the boundaries of Heian-kyō.⁽⁵³⁾ The degree to which contemporaries took this rule seriously was evident on the few occasions when circumstances forced the rules to be bent or broken. The following account of the enthronement ceremony of emperor Goen'yū 後円融天皇, held in 1371 at a nobleman's residence located outside of the area of the old city, is illustrative :

There is to be an imperial succession ceremony today. It is to be held at the Yanagihara palace, the residence of Hino Tadamitsu. Is there no precedence for the holding of a succession ceremony outside the boundaries of Heian-kyō (*jōgai* 城外) ? We have been concerned about this for several days but because there is no appropriate palace within the capital [the ceremony is to go forth at the Yanagihara palace, outside the old city].⁽⁵⁴⁾

Immediately following his enthronement, emperor Goen'yū, citing “precedence,” promptly moved back to the Tsuchimikado palace 土御門御所, located well within the old boundaries of Heian-kyō.⁽⁵⁵⁾

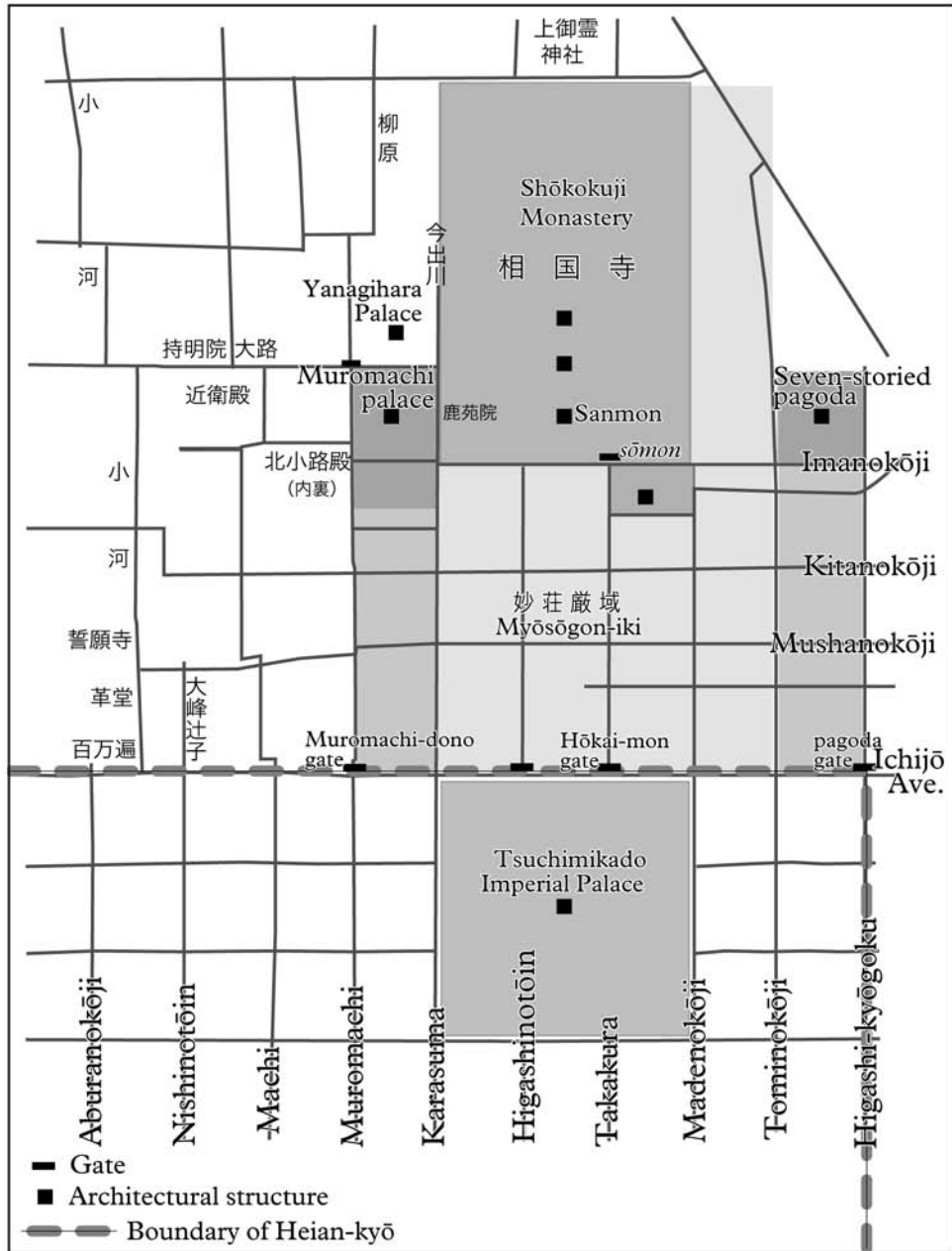


Figure 5. Kamigyō, circa 1399, highlighting development north of Ichijō avenue.

Whether or not Yoshimitsu would have been able to build his Muromachi-dono within the area of the old city is a question that cannot be answered with extant sources. It may have been the case that the shogun preferred land north of Ichijō for the same reasons court aristocrats did when they began gravitating toward the area in the ninth century: land outside the old city was

not subject to the strict codes and customs of the capital proper. There, people were freer to build what they wanted, how they wanted, while paying much less regard to protocol or precedent. The Muromachi-dono, covering two whole city blocks in Kamigyō and possessing two complete and independent residential complexes (including a north and south *shinden* 寝殿), was massive by any standard. One wonders if a palace of this size and ostentation would have been condoned within the old city, regardless of who the owner was. Circumstantial evidence suggests not. Note that while there were several other palaces in Kamigyō that were larger than a single block, not one of these was located south of Ichijō. Ritsuryō law specifically apportioned residential land to the capital's aristocrats based on imperial rank. Those of the highest rank were allowed to occupy only a single city block.⁽⁵⁶⁾ In this light, Yoshimitsu's move to Kamigyō begins to look more like an escape from the old capital than a move to be near the emperor.

Let us consider Yoshimitsu's other major building projects in Kamigyō, the Zen monastery of Shōkokuji 相国寺 and the Shōkokuji seven-storied pagoda 相国寺七重塔. As introduced in my previous work, the building of the monastery was a deeply disruptive affair for the residents of Kamigyō.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Take for example the journal entry of nobleman Ichijō Tsunetsugu who lamented the seizure of over twelve city blocks for the temple's construction: "There has been no greater example of a relocation of both the high and low of this scale since the capital was transferred to Fuku-hara [in 1168]"⁽⁵⁸⁾ We have no records of hardship caused by the building of the pagoda but there can be little doubt that it too, occupying another whole block of prime real estate in Kamigyō, was not a welcome newcomer. For as much strife as these two projects caused, it is important to note that both, like the Muromachi-dono, were located north of Ichijō. Recall that it was one of Heian-kyō's founding principles that temples were to be excluded from the city.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Small, private or family chapels called *midō* 御堂 had emerged within residential compounds from the ninth century but the proscription against large, sectarian temples remained in force throughout the premodern era. Yoshimitsu was either unable or unwilling to change this.

Kamigyō came into existence organically through the gravitation of elite members of Kyoto society to northern Sakyō, the land straddling Ichijō avenue. Because it came to have such a high concentration of civil and temple aristocrats, we can be sure that there existed in Kamigyō customs regarding proper comportment and precedence that impacted what and where people built and how they lived.⁽⁶⁰⁾ But alas, Kamigyō's spatial dictates were based upon custom alone. The same cannot be said about Heian-kyō, where building styles, property sizes, and an array of

rules based upon principles of geomancy and cosmology, were specifically codified under Ritsuryō imperial law (Ritsuryō 律令).⁽⁶¹⁾ In this light, the significance of Yoshimitsu's building north of Ichijō becomes apparent. While he had come to enjoy the power to uproot members of the nobility and to seize vast expanses of land in the elite district, Yoshimitsu was either unable or unwilling to violate the capital's most traditional spatial principles. No matter how much Kyoto had ceased to resemble the classical-era city, many of Heian-kyō's spatial paradigms remained valid into the medieval era.

Just how much authority Yoshimitsu had to take action or formulate policy that might go against spatial traditions remains a complicated question. In light of how much authority he enjoyed among the capital's several spheres of power, it is hard to imagine him being limited in any way. Still, evidence strongly suggests that spatial paradigms could constitute a significant obstacle for Yoshimitsu. Indeed, it is possible to question his authority over land in the capital altogether.

Conclusion

We shall conclude this essay by introducing a series of entries from the journal of court nobleman Sanjō Kimitada who, in the summer and autumn of 1381, was trying desperately to acquire a piece of land in Shimogyō that could provide income to his financially strapped family. The events described by Kimitada require no commentary. They illustrate with striking clarity the limits of Yoshimitsu's authority over land within the capital. They also highlight the complexity of the relationship between the emperor and the shogunate during this period:

12th day [1381/8]: There has been much impropriety on our provincial lands... Because of this, we are up to our necks in poverty. I sent a messenger to the Muromachi-dono with an appeal requesting that a block of land in Shimogyō at Shijō-bōmon be deeded to our family and that the surrounding streets be made into thoroughfares. The reply [from Yoshimitsu] was as such: "Land in the capital (*Kyōto no chi* 京都地) is the concern of the emperor (*kōke* 公家).⁽⁶²⁾ I, therefore, cannot grant your request. Shall I convey your desires to court?"

I sent another messenger off to deliver a response [to Yoshimitsu]. I wrote: "I am fearfully grateful to have received your reply. With this letter, I hereby request that you convey my desires to court."

Some time passed before word was sent [from Yoshimitsu to the court]. Then, Lord Madenokōji, the court's shogunal liaison, delivered to me an imperial document that read :
"So there shall be no ambiguity, you must lodge your petition with the court directly."

I sent my servant along with Lord Madenokōji accordingly. He is to go to court now and convey my desire for the block of land in Shimogyō.⁽⁶³⁾

20th day : About the land. Yesterday, because no reply had yet arrived from the court, I inquired again with the shogunate. I submitted a letter conveying my hope that Yoshimitsu press the court for a decision. My letter was passed on to Lord Madenokōji who took it to the palace in the early evening. I expressed my hope that my concerns be conveyed quickly.⁽⁶⁴⁾

22nd day : About the land. I have yet to receive the imperial reply from Lord Madenokōji. The emperor's will, however, was secretly conveyed to my daughter who is currently serving as an attendant in the imperial palace. I understand that the answer boils down to this : "In the end, the land within the capital is the business of the court. This goes without saying. Lodging your initial appeal with the shogunate was a profound impropriety. Because there is someone (else) who has shown interest in this land before you, we [the court] must take care of that request first. It has become necessary to explain this complication to the shogunate."

Outrageous! The emperor is upset. It can't be helped.⁽⁶⁵⁾

24th day : About the land. Again, the emperor's will has been conveyed to my daughter : "In the end, because your appeal was initially made to the shogunate, it is now necessary to issue an imperial decree to address the matter. A scribe was commanded to write the letter on behalf of the emperor. The reason no action has yet been taken [the reason we have not simply rejected your appeal out of hand] is because it seems to go against the wishes of the shogunate. Regarding the imperial attendant [your daughter], from now on, she shall no longer function as a go-between and she shall no longer come face to face with the emperor."

How unfortunate this is! It was naturally absurd of me to have used the shogunate for a matter that is entirely the concern of the court. Nevertheless, it is not as if there is no precedent. But now, the entire situation is blown out of proportion. It is not as if I have turned my back on the emperor. And why should a child be blamed for a father's faults? The emperor's thoughts on this issue are beyond reason. Our family is dreadfully poor. I just wanted some good luck via the shogunate [just wanted to gain some good luck by using a shogunal route].⁽⁶⁶⁾

11th month, 17th day: I requested that my petition for the property at Shijō be retracted. At any rate, I hear that the emperor will order all land within the capital (*Kyōto no chi*) be returned to its original proprietors (*honshu* 本主) in the coming days. All concerned officials have been notified... Because of Yoshimitsu's intervention, the land of Nijō Yoshimoto and myself will be spared. Nevertheless, it is the emperor's wish that I give up the land anyway. If I don't retract my request, it will create a situation of bad timing for my daughter. She was the one who first urged me to retract my request. The Shimogyō plot is poor land anyway, inappropriate to someone of my status. Still, words cannot capture the thoughts of the emperor...⁽⁶⁷⁾

Notes

- (1) The research presented here is part of a larger book project on Kyoto's premodern urban history.
- (2) "Kyoto" is used in this study loosely to signify the urbanized portion of the Kyoto basin, an area that was constantly in flux. "Kyōto" was only one of many terms that emerged to signify the capital city, including Miyako 京, Kyōchū 京中, and Kyōnai 京内.
- (3) Kyōto-shi, ed. *Kyōto no rekishi*. 10 vols. Tōkyō: Gakugei Shorin, 1968–1976, hereafter cited as *KR* 2: 15–116; Takahashi Yasuo, et al., *Zushū Nihon toshi-shi*, 64–65. In English, see John W. Hall, "Kyoto as Historical Background," and William H. McCullough's "The Capital and its Society."
- (4) *Chitei-ki* is included in Kuroita Katsumi, ed., *Koku-shi taikei (shintei zōho)*, vol. 29ge [下], as well as *Nihon koten bungaku taikei*, vol. 69.
- (5) See Kishimoto Fumiaki, *Heian-kyō chishi*.
- (6) On urban development north of Ichijō in Sakyō, an area appearing in early documents as "*hokuhen*" 北辺, see Takahashi Yasuo, *Kyōto chūsei toshi-shi kenkyū*, 147–75.
- (7) See *KR* 3: 29–32 for a detailed discussion on the earliest appearance in documents of words indicating the "upper" and "lower" capital.
- (8) John W. Hall, "Kyoto as Historical Background," 26.
- (9) Niki Hiroshi, *Kūkan, ōyake, kyōdōtai—chūsei toshi kara kinsei toshi e*, 33.
- (10) *KR* 1: 245.
- (11) Itō Takeshi, "Chūsei toshi to jūin," 22.
- (12) *KR* 2: 264–66.

- (13) “New towns” is not an historical term. It is coined here to describe the nodal urban development that took place in and around the city.
- (14) On Hosshōji and its surrounding five temples (constituting “Risshōji” 六勝寺 or “six temples”), see several essays by Tomishima Yoshiyuki.
- (15) *Heike monogatari*, book 7.
- (16) Inoue Mitsurō, “Insei-ki no Kyōto, Shirakawa to Toba.”
- (17) Itō Takeshi, “Shūkyō toshi no kūkan,” 55–56; Takahashi Yasuo, “‘Chōdō’ to ‘sentō’ to hitobito,” 38.
- (18) In a later period, many of these temple-based communities would begin appearing in documents as “temple-towns” (*jinai-machi* 地内町).
- (19) Itō Takeshi, “Chūsei toshi to jūin,” 22.
- (20) On the *Rokuhara tandai-fu*, see Takahashi Shin’ichirō’s *Chūsei toshi to bushi*.
- (21) See the illustration *Rinsenji-ryō Ōi-gōhan ezu* in Takahashi Yasuo, et al., *Zushū Nihon toshi-shi*, 92–93.
- (22) *Kenmon* enjoyed three specific rights/duties to their land holdings: collect taxes or dues, execute police, judicial, and military functions, and perform ceremonies of state. *Kenmon* offered their monzen-machi protection from undue taxing and justice proceedings in the case of crimes. Itō, “Chūsei toshi to jūin,” 18–22.
- (23) Itō Takeshi, “Shūkyō toshi no kūkan—chūsei Kyōto—Higashiyama o chūshin ni.”
- (24) Yoshie Akio, “Chūsei zenki no toshi to bunka.”
- (25) This outline of the emergence of the concepts of *rakuchū* and *rakugai* is based largely on Shimonaka Kunihiko, ed., *Kyōto-shi no chimei*, 44–51. Recent research has made possible a very different interpretation, which will be presenting in my forthcoming book.
- (26) On Chōan and Rakuyō, see *KR* 1: 243–267.
- (27) *Hōjō-ki*, verse 19.
- (28) Scholarship that ponders the physical boundary of *rakuchū* is limited. Most studies focus on the political or jurisdictional distinction between *rakuchū* and *rakugai*. For consideration, see Takahashi Yasuo’s *Rakuchū-rakugai: Kankyō bunka no chūsei-shi*, and his “Muromachi-ki Kyōto no kūkan kōzō to shakai.”
- (29) Kujō Kanezane, *Gyokuyō*, Genryaku 2 (1185) /4/23.
- (30) The special detachment was known as *Yamashiro kokanshi* 山城拒捍使. For discussion, see Gomi Fumihiko’s “Shichō no kōsei to bakufu.”
- (31) *Kinhira kōki*, Enkei 4 (1311) /3/25.
- (32) *Kamakura bafuku tsuika-hō*, no. 100. In Satō Shin’ichi and Ikeuchi Yoshisuke, ed., *Chūsei hōsei shiryō-shū*, vol. 1, *Kamakura bakufu-hō*. For discussion of the destruction of criminal property, see Takahashi Shin’ichirō, *Chūsei no toshi to bushi*, 109.
- (33) On *kagariya*, see *KR* 2: 421–26.
- (34) *Kamakura bafuku tsuika-hō*, no. 136.
- (35) The graffiti (*rakugaki* 落書) may have been on paper that was plastered onto the palace walls. Text included in *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, “Kama,” 11–8462.
- (36) Taxation and policing for Shimogyō remained the responsibility of the *Kyōshiki* and the *Kebiishi-chō* respectively. See Takahashi Shin’ichirō, *Chūsei toshi to bushi*, 108.
- (37) Warriors did own homes within *rakuchū* but imperial decree prevented those homes from being made primary domiciles. See Takahashi Shin’ichirō, *Chūsei no toshi to bushi*, chapter 4 for discussion of the limits of warrior authority within the capital during the Kamakura period.
- (38) The “medieval origins” thesis is summarized in Jeffrey Mass ed., *The Origins of Japan’s Medieval*

World.

- (39) Some scholars have called Godaigo's political vision one of "civil and warrior unification," *kōbu ittō* 公武一統. For a full discussion of Godaigo's restoration, see Andrew Goble, *Kenmu: Godaigo's Revolution*.
- (40) See Uwayokote Masataka's article in Nagazumi Yasuaki, et al., *Taiheiki no sekai—henkaku no jidai o yomu*, 220.
- (41) For *Kenmu Formulary* in English, see Grossberg, Kenneth A., ed., *The Laws of the Muromachi Bakufu: Kemmu Shikimoku (1336) & Muromachi bakufu tsuikahō*. In Japanese, see Satō Shin'ichi and Ikeuchi Yoshisuke, eds., *Chūsei hōsei shiryō-shū*, vol. 2, *Muromachi bakufu-hō*.
- (42) *Taiheiki*, book 12.
- (43) *Takeuchi Fumihira-shi shōzō monjo*, in *Gunma-ken shiryō hen* 6, no. 603, includes documents on *shitaku tenjō*. See Satō Shin'ichi's *Nihon no rekishi 9—Nanbokuchō no dōran*, 150 for comments on the severity of the quartering policy and its role in turning the population against Godaigo's regime.
- (44) This dispute over the property at Sanjō—Madenokōji is chronicled in the diary of Moroshige's son, Nakahara Moronao. See his *Moromori-ki*, hereafter cited as *MMK* 10: 172, Jōji 6 (1367) /9/26. Discussed in Tasaka Yasuyuki, "Muromachi-ki Kyōto no toshi kukan to bakufu," 49–51.
- (45) For warrior movement into Shimogyō, see the various work of Takahashi Yasuo, Tasaka Yasuyuki, and Niki Hiroshi. Also see articles in *KR* vol. 3.
- (46) Wakita Haruko's *Nihon chūsei toshi-ron* discusses the early semi-privatization of land in Shimogyō. Other scholars have read this as the buying and selling of land among commoners when, in fact, most transactions were between the aristocracy. Scholarship that cites warrior gravitation to Shimogyō due to the relative ease of seizing land there is numerous. Representative work includes: Takahashi Yasuo, et al., *Zushū Nihon toshi-shi*, 86–87; Yamada Kunikazu, *Chūsei toshi Kyōto no henbō*, 90–98; Niki Hiroshi, *Kukan, ōyake, kyōdōtai—chūsei toshi kara kinsei toshi e*, 49–54.
- (47) Wakita Haruko, *Nihon chūsei toshi-ron*. Temples such as Tōji also possessed large landholdings in Shimogyō.
- (48) Representative scholarship on *machi-gumi* includes: Akiyama Kunizō and Nakamura Ken, *Kyōto 'machi'no kenkyū*, chapter 6; Akiyama Kunizō, *Kinsei Kyōto machigumi hattatsu-shi*, chapter 1; Imatani Akira, *Tokitsugu-kyōki* (1980), chapter 4; Mary Elizabeth Berry, *The Culture of Civil War in Kyoto*, chapter 6; *KR* 3: 564–68.
- (49) The area of the post-Ōnin city that was represented by *machi-gumi* (plural) came to light through the work of Takahashi Yasuo. See his *Kyōto chūsei toshi-shi kenkyū*, chapter 4, and especially the pullout map between 372 and 373. This map has been reproduced in the publications of many other scholars.
- (50) Hayashiya Tatsusaburō with George Elison, "Kyoto in the Muromachi Age," 19–20; *KR* 3: 45; John W. Hall, "Kyoto as Historical Background," 28; Takahashi Yasuo, et al., *Zushū Nihon toshi-shi*, 86–87.
- (51) Kurokawa Naonori's essay, "Chōtei to bakufu," is in *KR* 3: 42–71.
- (52) On locational pedigree, see Matthew Stavros, "Locational Pedigree and Warrior Status in Medieval Kyoto: The residences of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu."
- (53) In *Heian-kyō chishi*, Kishimoto Fumiaki discusses traditional spatial prescriptions and proscriptions at length. See also, Shinoda Bun'ei, ed., *Heian-kyō teiyō*.
- (54) Sanjō Kimitada, *Gogumai-ki*. 4 vols. Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensan-jo, ed. *Dainihon kokiroku*, hereafter cited as *GMK* 2: 14, Ōan 4 (1371)/3/23.
- (55) *GMK* 2: 19.
- (56) Ashikaga Kenryō, ed., *Kyōto rekishi atorasu*, 32; *KR* 1: 259–63.

- (57) Matthew Stavros, "Locational Pedigree and Warrior Status in Medieval Kyoto: The residences of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu."
- (58) *Kōryaku*, Eitoku 2 (1382)/11/2, quoted in Imaeda Aishin, *Chūsei Zenshū shi no kenkyū*, 476.
- (59) *KR* 1: 220–242; John W. Hall, "Kyoto as Historical Background," 10.
- (60) Many aspects of elite comportment north of Ichijō conformed to traditional Heian-kyō norms. Among them were architectural styles (namely, the use of *shinden-zukuri*) and directional taboos (*katatagae* 方違).
- (61) See Kishimoto Fumiaki, *Heian-kyō chishi* and Shinoda Bun'ei, ed., *Heian-kyō teiyō*.
- (62) 「京都ノ地ハ公家ノ御計ライナリ」. *Kōke* can be variously translated as "emperor," "court," or the "statutory state." I do not believe that this mention refers to *kuge*, meaning "the aristocracy" or "nobility."
- (63) These several entries are from *Gogumaiiki*: *GMK* 3: 34–35.
- (64) *GMK* 3: 40.
- (65) *Ibid.*
- (66) *GMK* 3: 40–41.
- (67) *GMK* 3: 46.