Kōetsumura: Of Rhythms and Reminiscence in Hon'ami Kōetsu's Commune

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Historical cycles, widely used as organizational expedients in Chinese political history ("dynastic cycles"), have also been applied to rhythms of political change in Japan. The life of eclectic artist Hon'ami Kōetsu spans the cyclic rise and fall of several periods and political regimes: the warring states or *sengoku* (mid 15th c.–late 16th c.), the Azuchi-Momoyama (1568–1600), and the "Great Peace" of the Tokugawa period (1600–1868). Though an iconic presence within Kyoto's resurgent *machishū* establishment, Kōetsu nonetheless defies easy placement within this paradigm of cyclical change.[2] This article considers what cyclical history might contribute to the study of Kōetsu and interprets the disempowerment of Kyoto's *machishū* following the establishment of the Tokugawa regime through a discussion of Kōetsumura, an autonomous commune established by Kōetsu in Takagamine in 1615.[3] Scholarship has labeled Kōetsu a Heian revivalist for his role in the development of the Rinpa school. The label points to his relationships with elite warriors and courtiers, and to the decorative, nativistic features of his art as evidence of nostalgia for classical courtliness. This essay posits that cyclical history affords an alternative interpretation of Kōetsu: as an anachronism—not a revivalist—responding in self-defensive ways to recent events that threatened *machishū* culture and the Hon'ami house in particular.[4]

Keywords: HON'AMI KŌETSU, RINPA, MOMOYAMA, TOKUGAWA, EDO, *MACHISHŪ*, CYCLIC HISTORY

Introduction

Hon'ami Kōetsu's 本阿弥光悦 (1558–1637) inherited family profession, the polishing, sharpening, appraising, and authentication of swords, can be traced to the first Ashikaga shogun, Takauji 尊氏 (1305–1358), whose sword expert took the name Hon'ami. The suffix *ami* 阿弥 demonstrated devotion to Amida Buddha, but was also variously conferred upon commoner specialists known as *dōbōshū* 同朋衆 in service to the shogun. As a select group of accomplished painters, performers, tea masters, poets, and craftsmen, *dōbōshū* enjoyed a

privileged standing among commoners. The Hon'ami, subsequently, were so successful in sustaining their reputation as unrivaled authorities of sword connoisseurship that Kōetsu's father Kōji 光二 (1524–1603) received the patronage of Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534–1582), Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537–1598), and Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1542–1616), the three supreme military rulers of his day. Maeda Toshiie 前田利家 (1538–1599), lord of Kaga 加賀 (present day Ishikawa prefecture), also bestowed on him a two hundred koku 石 stipend as sword expert. When Kōji died, Kōetsu inherited the Maeda stipend as a retainer of the Maeda house.[5]

Kōetsu was also one of the most eclectic and accomplished artists of his day. Though a commoner, he was later designated one of the Kan'ei no sanpitsu 寛永の三筆, the Three Great Calligraphers of the Kan'ei period (1624–1644).[6] He was among Kyoto's most innovative devotees of painting, book making, ceramics, painted lacquerware (*makie* 蒔絵), garden design, and tea ceremony. This eclecticism and versatility placed him at the forefront of what has been styled a "renaissance" in artistic practice: a flourishing of literary and artistic themes, forms, and technical innovations enthusiastically patronized by aristocrats, warriors, and townsmen in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[7] Cultural activity at this time was driven largely by Kyoto's *machishū* 町衆, a vague designation that originally referred to wealthy townspeople, particularly merchants. Prominent artisans were then included, presumably to recognize important contributors like Kōetsu and merchant-turned-painter Tawaraya Sōtatsu 俵屋宗達 (d. 1640s). But this limiting definition did not recognize these individuals as artists, or, in the case of Takuan 沢庵 (1573–1645), as priests. It became clear that the term *machishū* referred to the culture represented and fostered by these individuals rather than a social status itself, a point that necessitated the inclusion under that rubric of artistically minded nobility, and even Emperor Go Mizunoo 後水尾天皇 (1596–1680; r. 1611–1629). By the time Kōetsu's and Sōtatsu's generation became active, the meaning of *machishū* had shifted from the holders of economic capital to the custodians of cultural capital, regardless of social class or occupation. It was cultural accomplishment, then, that was largely responsible for grounding the relatively free and egalitarian relations among the merchants, artisans, and nobles that constituted the sixteenth and early seventeenth century *machishū*.[8]

Kōetsu is well studied, but always from the same small handful of primary sources. In contrast to the sizable corpus of Kōetsu's surviving calligraphy, ceramics, and lacquerware, nearly the only substantial documents providing authoritative insight into his thoughts, views, and family relations are the *Hon'ami gyōjōki* 本阿弥行状記 (Annals of the Hon'ami family), a collection of biographical accounts written by his grandson Kōho 光甫 (1601–1682); his collected letters; and the *Nigiwaigusa* にぎはひ草 (Musings on Prosperity, 1682), a *zuihitsu* compendium of observations by Kōetsu's pupil and nephew Sano 佐野 (or Haiya 灰屋) Jōeki 紹益 (1607–1691).[9] These form the starting (and often ending) point for all of Kōetsu's biographers, and through them he is rendered a known quantity with little potential for reinterpretation. The dearth of primary materials able to illuminate Kōetsu's personality and internal life has encouraged the view that he reflected the alleged classicism characterizing his art. Bernard Leach encapsulates this interpretation of Kōetsu and his *machishū* contemporaries as revivalists of Heian aristocratic tastes and arbiters of a cultural renaissance. Leach contends that, concurrent with the shift of power to the Tokugawa bakufu, "nobles were thrown back to cultural activities, and the taste of Kyoto reverted to the Heian period and its traditions of refined pleasure. It was in this environment that Kōetsu and Sōtatsu worked."[10] Kōetsu's stylistic

eclecticism, his decision to relocate to Takagamine, and his continuing attraction to family ethico-religious traditions, however, reveal him as more than a revivalist. And while we are unable to document fully the administrative, economic, and social operations of Kōetsumura 光悦村 between its establishment in 1615 and its dissolution in 1679, this extraordinary commune was not merely a temporary site for religious retreat and artistic collaboration, as much scholarship on Kōetsu and his art would have it.[11] Placed in historical context, the commune emerges as emblematic of certain defensive reactions that ultimately preserved aspects of sixteenth century *machishū* culture long after its presumed extinction.

Endings and beginnings of power regimes can appear to supersede each other rhythmically, driven by seemingly predictable cycles of causal interplay between social forces—culture and politics in this case. They are observable at the global, national, and regional levels, and within multiple aspects of civilizational history: demographics, warfare, religion, creativity, millennialist trends, and economic and technological development. Although dating back to historians like Herodotus (c. 484–c. 431 BC) and Thucydides (460–395 BC) who endeavored to investigate history's precipitating events, cyclical history itself is no anachronism. For, though disproved easily enough as reductive, contextual, and non predictive by events distinctive to each historical era, the observable nature of recurring patterns between fundamental social forces continues to attract interest. Even the challenges of recent decades leveled against the teleological aspects of Marxist and modernization theories have left cyclical history relatively unscathed. It survives as a fringe theory whose utility, appropriately, seems to be cyclically rediscovered by each generation.

The Rise and Fall of Civilization: An Inquiry into the Relationship between Economic Development and Civilization (1951), Shepard B. Clough's modernist view of socioeconomic history, identified cultural developments tied to rhythms of economic growth and decline. Endings and beginnings, Clough found, hinge on economic surplus stimulating increased interest in education and the arts, which in turn result in less energy placed on sustaining economic strength, finally resulting in economic decline.[12] With regard to the relationship between politics and culture, then, periods of cultural autonomy reflect social and economic surpluses whose anarchistic tendencies elicit a period of heightened vigilance. Recently Gerard N. Magliocca has applied a generational model of historical change to the Jacksonian years as a case study of constitutional and legal cycles, and particularly its rhythms of resistance. Such undulations are "fueled by the fact that each generation goes through a unique set of collective experiences that sets its views apart from its predecessors."[13] They consist of reformers righting abuses of power and establishing consensual rule; their reforms in turn create conditions that incite resistance elsewhere. As cells of resistance aggregate, a new reformist majority emerges to overturn the now "traditionalist" power structure. "During the reign of a particular generation, the first principles applied by all branches are sustained by the control of one political party based on some unique collective experience," Magliocca concludes.[14] It is common experience, then, that guides the confrontational relations between rulers and reformers and fuels the cyclical rise and fall of political regimes.

Interpreters of Japanese history, perhaps following the paradigm of dynastic cycles long utilized by Chinese historians, have also found utility in cyclical theory. Hayashiya Tatsusaburō 林屋辰三郎 has identified cultural developments—aesthetics of strangeness (*ki* 奇) and madness (*kyō* 狂), for instance—as common to the final years of the Kamakura, Muromachi, and Tokugawa regimes.[15] Conrad Totman identifies in medieval and early modern Japan "cyclical

phasing" consisting of developmental and transformational patterns, each of which "persisted until fundamental changes finally undermined it and gave rise to forces capable of establishing a new historic epoch."[16] H. D. Harootunian's observation that the established relationships between rulers and ruled, public/official and private/unofficial, were insufficient as a means of organizing the increasingly complex and pluralistic realities of urban life in the late eighteenth century is equally applicable to late sixteenth century Kyoto.[17] Ascribing this development to "social surplus," Harootunian argues that the practices and potentialities permitted of commoners at the end of the era exceeded the capacity of the ideological structures erected by the architects of the Tokugawa order. In much the same way, *machishū* life in Momoyama Kyoto allowed for multivalent forms of self-making that exceeded the comparatively one-dimensional selves tolerated under military authority.

Kōetsu was born during just this sort of ending: an era of economic surplus, autonomy, class mobility, and artistic practice relatively liberated from politics. He died during a beginning: a century had elapsed since the culmination of *machishū* power and autonomy in Kyoto; about seventy years had passed since Oda Nobunaga had entered Kyoto, initiating the Momoyama unification and the reestablishment of military control; and cultural custodianship had been steadily expropriated from the *machishū* and redeployed for the purpose of validating Tokugawa rule. As such, Kōetsu's lifespan makes him an especially fitting subject for the sort of analysis of interest to cyclical theory. By what means did Kōetsu respond to this period of regime change, and how might his actions problematize recent interpretations of him and his commune? Of particular interest will be the relative positionality of actors: discerning how parties reinvented themselves *vis-a-vis* each other as they vied for survival during endings, and how they staked out self-interested positions during beginnings.

The Old Map

Though geographically adjacent to the capital, Kōetsumura was excluded from Kyoto's social milieu for several reasons. One was Takagamine's location outside the capital's northern border.[18] Concealed between hills and overlooking the city, it was strategically important in war and among the sites selected by Hideyoshi for the construction of earthen embankments (*odoi* 御土居) meant to protect the city's center. Built in only five months in 1591, the *odoi* were 22.5 km long, over three meters high, and separated central Kyoto (*rakuchū* 洛中) from the outside (*rakugai* 洛外). While only one kilometer from Kinkakuji 金閣寺, one of Kyoto's premier landmarks, Takagamine 鷹ヶ峰 lay outside the *odoi* and as such was administratively separate from the capital. This jurisdictional divide accentuated its remoteness.

A second reason for Kōetsumura's isolation was its newness. From the mid sixteenth century, urban space started to be visually represented through paintings like the *rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu* 洛中洛外図屏風 (screens of the capital and its surroundings). Such representations were subsequently enhanced by maps, *meisho ki* 名所記 (accounts of famous places), and *meisho zue* 名所図会 (illustrations of famous places) in the seventeenth century.[19] These documents ostensibly designated and defined local tourist attractions by providing information about select urban sites and advertising their celebrated features. Takagamine was not included as one of these. It received no mention in the *Kyō warabe* 京童子 (The Child of the Capital, 1658) or the *Miyako suzume* 都雀 (The Sparrow of the Capital, 1665), and received only two lines in the *Rakuyō meisho shū* 洛陽名所集 (Anthology of Famous Places of the Capital, 1658), which noted merely that Hon'ami Kōetsu had recently built his house there.[20]

Its exclusion was likely due less to its *rakugai* location—for other more distant attractions such as the Jakkōin 寂光院 and sites on Mt. Hiei were given generous attention in these texts—and more to its short history within the city's cultural landscape, that is its lack of historical claim. In addition, Kōetsumura's isolation was fortified by its functional solidarity as a private association of religiously and occupationally aligned residents sharing a single-minded mission and an organized administration.

The commune's jurisdictional independence and ethos of separation apparently belied any municipal incentives to document it. A single extant document, the *Kōetsumachi kozu* 光悦町 古図 (Old map of Kōetsumachi, Figure 1), reveals the commune's layout. Though bearing the date 1654, the map's actual age, author, and intended purpose are unknown. Satō Ryō suggests that it was drafted early, after the residential lots were apportioned but prior to the community's completion.[21] Genjō Masayoshi offers strong evidence that the map was produced in 1654 as a
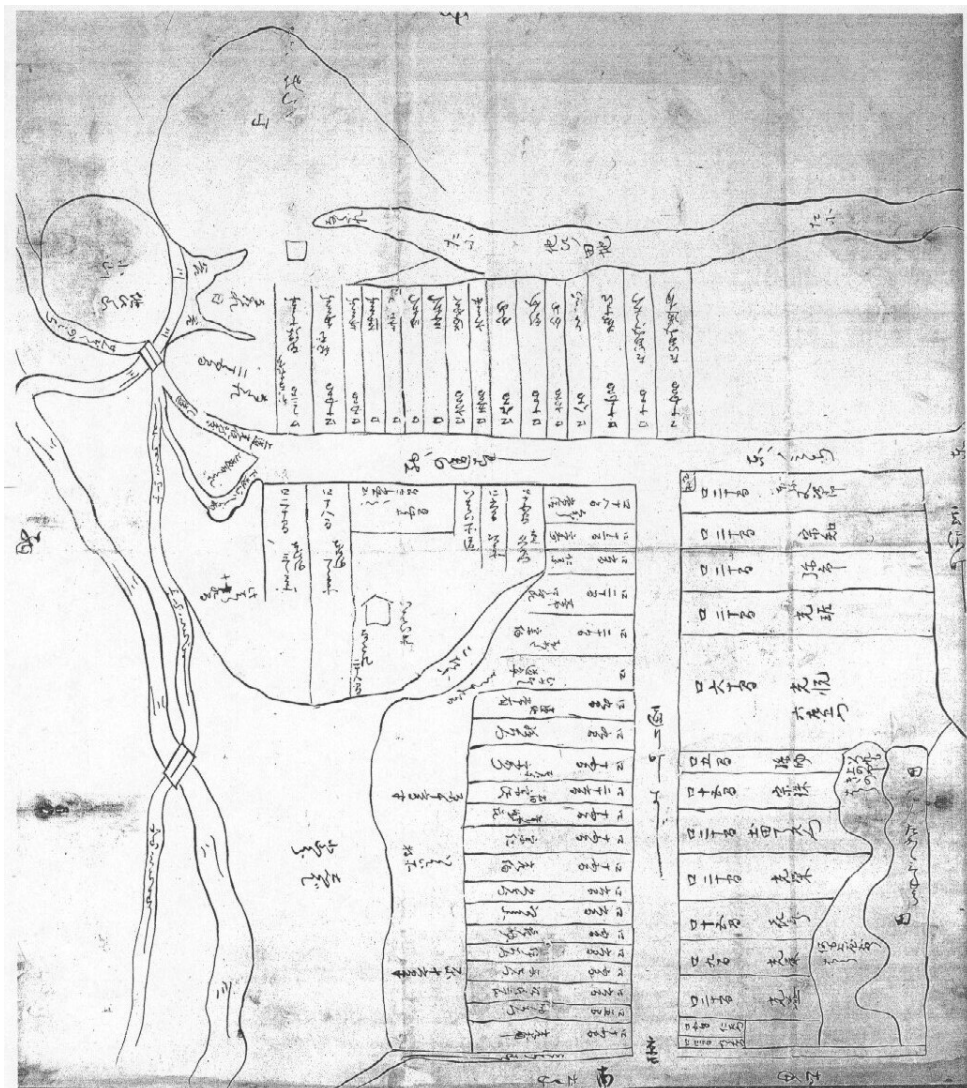

Figure 1: *Kōetsumachi kozu*, amended 1654 (Demura 1995, p. 48).

copy of an original drawn between 1618 and 1627, perhaps by Kōetsu himself. This theory is based on the anachronistic presence of the name Rokuzaemon 六左衛門 next to Kōetsu on the latter's plot of land. It was Kōetsu's son in law, Kataoka Chūei 片岡忠英 (1620–1697), Genjō proposes, who inherited the land and inserted his own name—Rokuzaemon at that time—near Kōetsu's when he copied the original map in 1654.[22] Regardless of authorship and intention, there is no doubt of its authenticity as a first hand rendering by a Kōetsumura resident.

The map's rough, sketchy quality, its lack of scale, and its absence of precise township boundaries suggest that it was intended for private use. It details fifty six residential lots bearing fifty five names, but specifies neither land use, land rights, nor temple locations. The small unmarked lot in the map's southeastern corner was the location of Myōshūji temple 妙秀寺, named after Kōetsu's mother Myōshū 妙秀, and the unmarked space in the northeastern corner was (and is) the site of the Jōshōji temple 常照寺. Jōshōji was established in 1616 by Kōetsu's son Kōsa 光瑳 (d. 1637) and then headed by the abbot Jakushōin Nichiken Shōnin 寂照院日乾上人. Jakushōin founded a seminary (*danrin* 檀林) there in 1627, one of only six Nichiren seminaries in the Kansai region, that came to accommodate several hundred monks.[23] No doubt it was to this institution that the Nichiren monk Fukakusa Gensei 深草元政 (1623–1668) referred when he wrote appreciatively that in Takagamine one could hear the chanting of prayers reverberating through the community throughout the day and past midnight.[24]

Watanabe Hidekazu speculates that Kōetsumura's third temple, the Chisokuan 知足庵, was located in the empty space in the map's northwest corner, on the western end of the northern valley. The small structure near the center of the map but on the western side of the village was a Buddhist memorial tablet site (*ihaisho* 位牌所), land for the private use of the Hon'ami family for worship and currently the site of the Nichiren temple Kōetsuji, constructed in 1656.[25] At the south of the map, we find the legend *dote* 土手 (embankment), which probably refers to the afore mentioned *odoi*. The map also marks landscape features with minimal designations such as "field," "valley," and "mountain owned by others."

The *Kōetsumachi kozu* does not indicate the village's acreage, but the *Hon'ami gyōjōki* records Kōetsumura as extending 200+ *ken* 間 (394+ meters) east to west, and 7 *chō* 町 (827 meters) north to south, a measurement that brings the total land area to 80.5 acres (32.6 ha.). The first comprehensive survey of the settlement was conducted in 1645 under Tokugawa Iemitsu's 家光 (1604–1651) project to compile pictures from every province. The resulting document, the *Sashidashi chō* 指出帳, is more precise and presumably more trustworthy. It notes Kōetsumura as measuring between 156 and 232 *ken* (283.6m and 421.8m) east to west, and 340 *ken* (618.1m) north to south. It also lists the compound as containing three temples (presumably Myōshūji, Jōshōji, and Chisoku'an), 71 residences, and 219 residents. In addition, it records that the residential area accounts for only about one third of the total area. Agricultural fields amount to an additional third, and mountain and bamboo forests account for the remaining third.[26]

A later map, the *Takagamine mura ezu* 鷹ヶ峰村絵図 from 1861, reveals the position of the fields, the respective locations of the *odoi*, and the Nagasaka gate. It corroborates the *Sashidashi chō* in calculating the residential and agricultural area at about 14.6 *chō* square (35.6 acres). Kōetsuji, built on the site of the *ihaisho* after Kōetsu's death, was added to the three existing temples in 1689, which collectively amounted to about three *chō* (7.3 acres), and the *Sashidashi tobari* estimates forest lands at 7.4 *chō* (18 acres). The entire area, therefore, can be estimated at about 25 *chō* (61.2 acres; 24.75 ha.), which is about 25 percent smaller

than the area reported in the *Hon'ami gyōjōki*.[27] Apparently the 1645 survey did not eliminate subsequent claims to land ownership, for a border dispute broke out in 1646 over a stretch of field between Kōetsumura and its southern neighbor, Rokuonji 鹿苑寺 (Kinkakuji 金閣寺). Kōetsu's grandson, Hon'ami Kōho, mediating for Kōetsumura, eventually acknowledged Rokuonji's rightful ownership.[28]

The map's labeling of family lots reveals that Kōetsu and his family occupied much of the central land. Many within Kōetsu's branch of the Hon'ami house must have followed him to Takagamine, for eight of the ten plots allocated to the family belonged to Kōetsu's own branch.[29] The ninth generation head of the main branch of the Hon'ami house was Kōetsu's cousin Kōtoku 光徳 (1553–1619), who had been a sword polisher, connoisseur, and authenticator for Hideyoshi, and the fact that Kōtoku's second and third sons Kōei 光栄 and Kōeki 光益 were given prominent plots in Kōetsumura also indicates that Kōetsu remained closely allied with his relatives in Kyoto.[30]

Other Kōetsumura residents included artisans and Kōetsu's artistic collaborators. Fudeya Myōki 筆屋妙喜 was Kōetsu's brush maker, noted for developing special techniques for enabling brushes to produce softer lines. Kamiya Sōnin 紙屋宗仁, a paper maker and publisher whose crest appears on some of Kōetsu's calligraphic scrolls, was also involved in Suminokura Soan 角倉素庵 (1571–1632) and Kōetsu's *sagabon* 嵯峨本 project.[31] Tsuchida Ryōzaemon 土田了左衛門 and his son Tsuchida Sōtaku 宗沢 were *makie* painters who represented the community in negotiating land rent in a dispute with Rokuonji in 1652.[32] Kōetsu's nephew Ogata Sōhaku 尾形宗伯 (1570–1637) dyed cloth and studied calligraphy with Kōetsu. He was also the grandfather of the celebrated eclectic artists Ogata Kōrin 光琳 (1658–1716) and Kenzan 乾山 (1663–1743) who were most active in preserving and popularizing Kōetsu's arts in what came to be called the Rinpa school 琳派. Chaya Shirōjirō 茶屋四郎次郎 (1584–1622) was also a *makie* painter; he had studied tea with Sen no Rikyū 千利休 (1522–1591), and was one of Kyoto's most prominent importers. The Chaya family supplied the Tokugawa with clothing and were their official purchasers of raw silk in Nagasaki.[33] All residents shared devotion to the arts and to Nichiren Buddhism.

The *Machishū* Cycle: 1532–1615[34]

The year 1532 did not begin the *machishū* life course; it marked the beginning of an ending. The Ōnin Wars 応仁の乱 (1467–1477) had cannibalized the military houses, finally forcing shoguns and daimyo to solicit loans from wealthy merchants, and sapped the wealth of Kyoto's aristocracy. The resulting power vacuum enabled urban and rural communities to assert greater self-determination over their economic activities. This reversal of economic capital, Marra notes, forced struggling nobility to "[eke] out a living by marketing their knowledge to wealthy merchants in search of cultural capital."[35] Sociopolitical decentralization and destabilization, in other words, created conditions that allowed Kyoto's townspeople to seize an unprecedented degree of independence, to form autonomous administrations and police forces.[36] Through a redistribution of power sustained and legitimated by an acknowledged need for collaboration between nouveau riche merchants and disenfranchised aristocrats, this new bourgeoisie found itself culturally empowered to reinvent itself through the manners and values of traditional elites.[37]

A primary source of townspeople's solidarity was devotion to Nichiren Buddhism, popular among the *machishū* for its distinctly permissive position on profiteering and the

equal opportunity for spiritual benefits that it promised its followers.[38] By privileging faithful devotion to the Lotus Sutra over the eradication of worldly attachments, Nichiren (Hokke 法華) sectarians preserved a religious autonomy that paralleled their newfound political autonomy. Hokke adherents composed a significant portion—by one account a majority—of Kyoto's townspeople, and were particularly conspicuous among its leadership.[39] The *machishū* establishment consisted of prominent families such as the Hon'ami, Kanō, Suminokura, and Chaya, as well as affluent sake brewers and pawnbrokers. Nearly all such houses identified themselves as Nichiren believers and in their family codes expressly forbid allegiance to other sects.[40] Their wealth and power were visually reaffirmed by an unrivaled concentration of twenty one Nichiren temples within the city's central precincts. Massive, lavishly stocked, and fortified with ramparts and moats, these prosperous establishments attracted both the envy of other sects and the attention of needy aristocrats and daimyo. Wealth was proving to be the leverage sectarians needed to play more participatory roles in culture, military defense, and local administration.

By the late 1520s, Kyoto's townspeople were withholding taxes as "a reaction against all conventional governance."[41] Armed, organized, and united, they were both a threat to and potential military resource for, regional warlords. But the Hokke sect was not uncontested; indeed, its autonomy threatened the political designs of local Ikkō 一向 (True Pure Land) and Tendai 天台 establishments. In 1532, Hokke sectarians retaliated against Ikkō campaigns launched at several locations around the Kansai region earlier that year, their offensives killing thousands, destroying numerous temples, and suppressing for several years the Ikkō's ability to counterattack. The Ashikaga bakufu, powerless to intervene, entrusted the capital to Hokke protection, and for four years Hokke adherents defended it against Ikkō armies, invading troops of warlords, and hostile agrarian leagues. Technically operating under orders of the Ashikaga shogun, Kyoto's townspeople deployed their own deputies (*sōdai* 総代) and adjudicated grievances within their own precincts, ostensibly governing the city.[42]

The *machishū*'s gentrification and empowerment exemplify the patterned *gekokujō* 下 克上 (the low overthrowing the high) phenomenon often deployed by historians as an historiographical surrogate for cyclical theory. But it was to be a temporary empowerment, for commoner autonomy was not universally acceptable. In the seventh month of 1536, an army of monks from Enryakuji 延暦寺 in concert with other temples razed all twenty one of the Hokke temples and burned most of the city, breaking the sect's alliance with shogunal authorities. The shogunate promptly declared the Hokke sect illegal.

Hokke temples started returning to the city when the prohibition was rescinded in 1542, but adherents had since lost all means of political participation, a fate other Buddhist sects would share with them under Nobunaga. In 1579, Nobunaga put three Nichiren leaders to death and prohibited Hokke evangelization in Kyoto and, although this edict was later repealed, sectarians faced growing impatience from military authority. Though rejected by the majority of Nichiren followers, principles like *fujufuse* 不受不施 (neither accepting alms from, nor giving them to, non Nichiren believers) gave the sect a reputation for being distant and abrasive, making this already exclusionary denomination all the more notorious. *Fujufuse* fundamentalists refused to associate with other Buddhist sects or any non Nichiren parishioners. Busshōin Nichiō 仏 性院日奥 (1565–1630), abbot of Myōkakuji 妙覚寺 and the *fujufuse* faction's representative in Kyoto, for instance, opposed Hideyoshi's order for the Nichiren sect to participate in an annual interdenominational memorial for Hideyoshi's ancestors. In 1599 he then rejected

Ieyasu's efforts to mollify his continuing opposition to the event, an indignity for which he was banished for thirteen years (1600–1612).[43] Such incidents perpetrated by the *fujufuse* minority exacerbated suspicions about Nichiren in its entirety.

Though the *machishū* and Hokke adherents were politically neutralized from 1536, Kyoto's townspeople retained a degree of autonomy. Allied self-governing neighborhood associations (*machigumi* 町組) consolidated to form a regional administrative organization.[44] Individuals in charge of daily administration within formally recognized *machigumi* united to prevent bakufu interference in festivals and local events, but were also compelled to carry out bakufu orders and tax collections.[45] Moreover, for the remainder of the sixteenth century collaborative alliances between Kyoto's commoners and the city's nobility retained their claim to symbolic power through what Mary Elizabeth Berry calls an emergent "culture of performance." Patronage cemented what politics discouraged. Berry has shown that townspeople sporadically used improvisational dancing and tea culture to experiment with new means of self-expression and identity construction. Self-making "through dramatic acts of performance that, in the case of dancing, occupied the streets in wild nighttime spectacles defiant of urban regulations,"[46] reflected a distancing between politics and culture characteristic of periods of dynastic decline. Play challenged authority anew by liberating art and culture.[47]

Rhythmical jostling of culture and politics is fueled in part by the tendency of the cultural field to neutralize authority. The culture of performance, the fact (and act) of art as symbolic resistance, was an end in itself that both validated human agency and became a substitute for actualizing change.[48] Here, would-be interventions of the marginalized and subversive were neutralized. The transcendental ecstasy of dance, the detached refinement of tea, and aesthetic forms like *kyōgen* 狂言 and *otogizōshi* 御伽草子—satirical forms of aristocratic culture—camouflaged urgent, politically destabilizing energies by relocating them within a mimetic realm. In this way, Kyoto's *machishū* displaced frustrations of political irrelevance through performance, literature, and play.

The Gift

It was the 6th month of 1615 and Ieyasu was returning to Edo after his victory over Hideyoshi's surviving heir, Hideyori 秀頼 (1593–1615). Some 70,000 scattered warriors who had been disenfranchised by what they viewed as an illegitimate regime had joined Hideyori, and mounted a doomed insurgency at Osaka castle. Overwhelmed by an army twice its size, the rebels were vanquished and the Toyotomi house was disbanded. It was within this context of civil rebellion that Ieyasu stopped at Nijō in Kyoto and asked his deputy (*shoshidai* 所司代) Itakura Katsushige 板倉勝重 (1545–1624) about Kōetsu. Itakura answered: "He is well but he is an unusual man. He claims to be weary of life in Kyoto and prefers to live outside the city." "I have heard of a dangerous area on the road to Kyoto from Ōmi 近江 and Tanba 丹波 that is rife with cutthroats and bandits," Ieyasu replied. "Kōetsu should take of it what he wants and live there."[49] The *Hon'ami gyōjōki* reports that Ieyasu had offered Kōetsu an official position with a stipend of 300 koku but that Kōetsu, citing old age, had declined knowing that to accept would require that he move to Edo. Thus it was as a consolation gift that Kōetsu received his land in Takagamine.[50]

It is not surprising that Ieyasu should ask about Kōetsu. Kōetsu's father Kōji had been Ieyasu's sword sharpener and occasional dinner companion, so Ieyasu had a personal affection for him. But there were more pragmatic reasons. Only days earlier Ieyasu had forced Kōetsu's

friend and former teacher, the celebrated warrior and tea master, Furuta Oribe 古田織部 (1544–1615), to commit *seppuku* for his suspected involvement with the Toyotomi insurgency in Osaka. Oribe's prosecution was no trivial event. First a warrior under Nobunaga and then a general to whom Hideyoshi had awarded the province of Yamashiro 山城 (35,000 koku), Oribe was also a disciple of Sen no Rikyū and considered one of Kyoto's leading tea masters following Rikyū's death. Though later summoned to teach tea ceremony to the second Tokugawa shogun, Hidetada 秀忠 (1579–1632), his lingering loyalties to the Toyotomi were apparently revealed during the Osaka campaign. For Ieyasu, Oribe's betrayal made Kōetsu's loyalty suspect as well. Not only had Kōetsu been Oribe's close associate, the Hon'ami had also been retained by Hideyoshi. It is likely then that, during his discussion with Itakura, Ieyasu saw an opportunity to remove Kōetsu from the politics of central Kyoto while disguising it as a generous grant. In addition, Takagamine was mountainous, forested, and "rife with cutthroats and bandits," and having Kōetsu colonize it, Ieyasu reasoned, would neutralize and protect this strategic access point.[51] So while Kōetsu's own writings claim that his departure was voluntary, it is also possible to interpret Ieyasu's gift as an expulsion from the city. Until his death the following year, in fact, Ieyasu kept a watchful eye on Kōetsu.[52]

The dearth of documentation about Kōetsu's life and administrative activities in Takagamine is surprising considering his notoriety as an artist, his esteemed position among Kyoto's *machishū*, and his connections to both the upper echelons of the military and the imperial court. It can be explained in part by tight lipped caution which conflicting obligations necessitated. There can be no doubt that Kōetsu felt a precarious conflict of loyalties owed to the bakufu, the court, and the nobility with whom his family had established affiliations. After accepting the land, the *Hon'ami gyōjōki* relates, Kōetsu made his own position clear: "My family [has] been the sword keepers of the imperial household from the Muromachi period of the Ashikaga shoguns, and we are now under an obligation to Ieyasu. If it is required of us to work for his government in Edo, we should do so, but I could not approve the removal of our family; our place is near the emperor."[53] Kōetsu was thus aware that the gift of Takagamine was a power play by Ieyasu to secure his allegiance, a preemptive measure to prevent a situation similar to that suffered by Oribe. It may also have been a gesture to placate anti bakufu nobles and Kyoto *machishū* who were suffering a decline under bakufu rule.[54] So, like many at this time, Kōetsu lived carefully in a state of tenuous conflict between past alliances and present obligations, and disclosed few personal convictions on such matters. The gift thus proved mutually beneficial: it enabled Ieyasu to bring this pillar of *machishū* culture under his authority as an ally, and allowed Kōetsu to reject servitude and acquire real estate on which to live autonomously.

1615: An Ending and a Beginning

In the sixteenth century, culture and political authority fragmented and moved in opposite directions. As norms and laws lost meaning and people discovered new possibilities for self-expression, new forms of knowledge and culture germinated and individuals expanded their spheres of participation. This "renaissance," or culture of social surplus and diversity, necessitated a consolidation of control within political spheres. The first Tokugawa shoguns followed Nobunaga and Hideyoshi in hastening to appropriate art as a tool of political legitimation, as a means of likening themselves to ancient Chinese models of virtuous rule.[55] The reunification of culture and politics created a social order that charged individuals with specific positions and obligations. And, through restrictions that limited forms of knowledge and participation within

the cultural field, the new regime repositioned individual identities within class identities. Such was the price of peace, but reclusion remained as a backdoor for those unwilling to submit to such initiatives. Reclusion enabled self-preservation through non participation, but required self-repositioning through the adoption of new identity markers: a new physical location and alternate spheres of social interaction. Given the strong correlation between physical space and social position, Kōetsu's relocation to a marginalized space had an analogous impact on his social relevance, if not his reputation as an artist. The commune's overtly religious function also served to distance it from the comparatively more secular, commercial spaces that residents had heretofore occupied.

Many historians follow statements in the *Hon'ami gyōjōki* that give more attention to the construction of Kōetsumura's four Nichiren temples than to the community's artistic activities, and view the commune as a collective formed primarily for religious practice.[56] Art historians have focused on it more as a holdout of aristocratic aestheticism.[57] Both aspects are undeniable. For Kōetsu, the commune served this dual purpose. The operative problem, rather, is understanding Kōetsu's seemingly counterintuitive decision to seek reclusion as his best option at that time, that is, his "preference for living outside the city." He was close to his family, professionally successful, and a pillar of Kyoto's elite; artistically he had achieved as much as anyone alive in Japan; and relocating to a rustic mountain retreat offered no apparent economic impetus. What, then, were the motivating factors behind Kōetsu's decision, and what did he gain by repositioning himself physically and socially? Contextual evidence indicates that self-preservation was a key motive.

Timing, that is, a sense of ending, was critical, for a confluence of events orbiting the Osaka insurrection of 1615 had altered the political climate. The political appropriation of the cultural field was so extensive at this moment that many art historians prefer 1615 rather than 1600 as the year that terminated the Momoyama period. As Kita confirms: "While in political terms Sekigahara (1600) might mark the start of the Edo period, in art historical terms it begins at the battle of Osaka."[58] The Momoyama years had indeed witnessed a flourishing of the arts: painting, lacquerware, ceramics, textiles, prints, and publishing, fueled in part by active cultural exchange with continental Asia and Europe. But this artistic flourishing "terminated abruptly" around 1615 under a political order that discouraged artistic liberalism.[59] Artists and craftsmen had once been tied to *za* 座, trade guilds whose monopolistic power threatened regional military houses. The free guilds and markets installed under Nobunaga and Hideyoshi disconnected the arts from these protective associations, and relocated them within private households. Artists' *za* had dissolved completely by the early Edo period and been replaced by independent masters and apprentices whose aesthetic vision was comparatively less innovative and more proprietary. Kyoto's lacquerware industry, for example, whose innovations and commercial success owed much to the patronage of Hideyoshi, dwindled and moved to Edo after the regime change.[60]

Professional painting was also stunted. The Tosa school—the hereditary painters for the court specializing in nativistic *yamatoe* 大和絵 that employed a delicate, refined style to depict Japanese scenes and motifs—had been marginalized from the turn of the century. When the school's head, Tosa Mitsuyoshi 土佐光吉 (1539–1613), relocated to Osaka, the court's painting duties were taken up by Kanō school painters. The Kanō painters were Kyoto *machishū* and Hokke followers who had long served ruling warrior houses, but after the unification most followed the Tokugawa to Edo. Their annexation of the Tosa's painting duties within the court amounted to a *de facto* shift from a classical to a more forceful, less decorative military

aesthetic.[61] The Tokugawa invasion of courtly activities was secured in the seventh month of 1615, soon after the fall of Osaka castle, through the bakufu's "Codes for the Imperial Court and Court Nobility" (*Kinchū narabi ni kuge shohatto* 禁中並公家諸法度). This directive prescribing proper courtly conduct deprived the emperor and courtiers of essentially all but ceremonial functions, stipulating that they should devote themselves to study and cultural activities. It also restricted the emperor's ability to promote Buddhist clergy and grant titles.

This reassertion of political control over culture, wherein art was appropriated as a marker of authority and legitimacy, initiated a new cycle.[62] Both Nobunaga and Hideyoshi had augmented their displays of military authority with forms of cultural patronage that assisted them in demonstrating political superiority and independence from the imperial institution. The early Tokugawa shoguns carried on this legitimizing strategy, completing the politicization of art by depoliticizing the arbiters of art.

Tea culture offers a case in point. Tea culture reached its zenith in the early seventeenth century through Sen no Rikyū and the Rikyū shichitetsu 利休七哲 (Rikyū's Seven Worthies)—seven daimyo, most of them Christian, who emulated Rikyū's tea style. The Rikyū shichitetsu's affiliation with the controversial Rikyū, as well as with Christianity, posed a potential threat to Tokugawa legitimacy. In 1613, Christian activities were banned and the following year several Christian daimyo, including the tea master Takayama Ukon 高山右近 (1552–1615), were expelled from Japan.[63] As Furukawa has noted, the collective threat posed by the Rikyū shichitetsu extended beyond their religion and possible fealty to the Toyotomi since their combined wealth—3.88 million koku—approached the Tokugawa family's 4.1 million koku.[64] The Christian expulsion and Oribe's death thus ended tea's cultural independence from politics. Tea continued as a favored pastime, but did so severed from its vaguely countercultural roots.

It is possible, then, to make a strong case for 1615 as a moment symbolizing the decline of imperial relevance, the collapse of *machishū* culture, and the suppression of martial resistance. All were replaced by greater political centralization, more rigid forms of social organization, and Neo Confucian statecraft. Clearly, timing was integral to the origin and subsequent character of Kōetsumura. After learning of the punishments suffered by Oribe and the Rikyū shichitetsu, Kōetsu could have little doubt about the bakufu's position on politically ambivalent artists and marginal religious groups. His desire for reclusion, then, can be viewed as a defensive reaction to an assortment of concurrent developments: 1) the elimination of *machishū* prominence in Kyoto; 2) the continuing persecution of Nichiren Buddhism;[65] 3) the shift of power away from Kyoto and the court; 4) and fear of exploitation by the Tokugawa and the increasing difficulty of preserving artistic independence.

Within the new political climate, conspicuous participation within higher echelons of the cultural field was an unwise presumption for commoners, and reclusion offered one means of redress. Particularly during endings and beginnings, rejection of political affiliations or official obligations becomes an expedient means of sidestepping incrimination. Sen no Rikyū's grandson Sen no Sōtan 千宗旦 (1578–1658) was careful to distance himself from political circles and influential families, preferring to live quietly in Kyoto as a *wabicha* 侘茶 master.[66] Responding to the same confluence of political events, Tosa school painter and ukiyoe pioneer Iwasa Matabee 岩佐又兵衛 (1578–1650) withdrew from Kyoto to Echizen in 1617 in order to situate himself on safer ground among Tokugawa allies. Shōkadō Shōjō 松花堂昭 乗 (1584–1639), a priest, tea master, painter, and calligrapher who would share with Kōetsu claim as one of the Kan'ei no sanpitsu had acted as an intermediary between the bakufu and the

court, but later retreated to a small hut outside of Kyoto.[67] Kōetsu's acceptance of Kōetsumura and acknowledgement of himself as a political outsider, therefore, was not unique. It was a self-defensive initiative given particular urgency by events in and around 1615.

At Takagamine

Takagamine became a popular place from which to view the city, and two particular depictions summarize the commune's setting there: the first is Neo Confucian scholar Hayashi Razan's 林羅山 (1583–1657) description in *Takagamineki* 鷹峰記 (1630), composed at Kōetsu's request during Razan's visit:

> Takagamine is a very beautiful place…. The yellow maple is lovely when frosts come and then, raising one's eyes the hills are aflame with red. Then comes winter once again bowing the slender bamboos to the ground with snow, until the warming sun releases the leaping prisoners of their loads. Thus do the Four Seasons pass at Takagamine… This place is outside the city yet many people pass by and life is not too inconvenient. The river is not large but enough for a boat ride to Kyoto. Such is the environment of Takagamine and considering its character what more suitable a person than Kōetsu to live there?[68]

The second is Sano Jōeki's chronicle in *Nigiwaigusa* (1682):

> To the northwest of the capital stands the mountain called Takagamine, the foot of which was given to Kōetsu. There I built a house and tea hut with the purpose of living a simple, secluded life. Particularly on mornings of the season's first snow, snow still unknown in the capital, one can feel deeply the spirit of this place. Ignoring the cold, I draw water for myself and put on the kettle, and before long the sound of the steam from boiling water makes me feel all the more solitary. Looking off toward the capital, I wonder whether no one will be coming to visit again today…. Living like this, under the pines, I have completely forgotten the life I had lived in society for so many years. It is no longer of any concern.[69]

With regard to the practice of reclusion, apparent here is a common incongruence between the romanticized imaginings of visitors and the rueful experience of practitioners. In contrast to Razan's praise for Takagamine's scenery, Jōeki is melancholy, languishing in the emotional throes of solitary retreat. Jōeki had been disowned by his father for marrying the courtesan Yoshino Tayū 吉野太夫 (1606–1643), and moved to Takagamine sometime after Yoshino's death. His testimony on reclusive living intimates hardship. Indeed, even menial chores like drawing and boiling one's own tea water must have been an adjustment for him and others who had been raised in privileged circumstances.

Contrary to Jōeki, who was a later arrival, early Kōetsumura residents benefited from a gradual transition. For the first several years, the community's efforts were directed at temple rather than residence construction. Kōetsu probably commuted from the city initially, and he retained the family house in Hon'ami no zushi 本阿弥辻子 throughout his life. But even following their permanent settlement in Kōetsumura, he and other residents did not bear the full economic burden of complete self-sufficiency. It is likely, in fact, that the village faced relatively few financial hardships. Costs of temple construction and maintenance were no doubt, as Hayashiya contends, born by Hokke establishments in Kyoto. The land's productivity, later

assessed at 176 koku, also afforded a degree of self-sufficiency. Granted tax exempt status by the bakufu—though residents did pay surrounding farmers a total of 6 koku in duties exacted on residences (*yashiki* 屋敷)—the village was able to enjoy the full yield of its harvests.[70] Yet this acreage was far from adequate to feed the community's population, and village residents remained productive commercially to augment their income. For Kōetsu, likewise, relocation to Kōetsumura amounted to more of a physical distancing than an occupational break. After the move, he continued in the sword trade, this being his principal source of income since inheriting the Maeda stipend. His interests, however, lay elsewhere, for though he is described in the *Hon'ami gyōjōki* as an incomparable connoisseur of swords, his surviving letters virtually avoid the topic. Rosenfield suggests that he must have deferred most of his obligations in the family trade to his heirs, Kōsa and Kōho, owing to the large corpus of records tying them to commissions and appraisals.[71]

Kōetsu's intention to maintain a high level of artistic productivity at Kōetsumura is confirmed by the fact that he took his brush maker, paper maker, and other collaborators with him. In addition to calligraphy and lacquerware activities, he continued his collaborative *sagabon* publication venture with Suminokura Soan; he had a kiln constructed, enabling him to continue producing pottery; he transcribed and produced woodblock printed volumes of about two hundred noh plays; and he produced noh masks and studied performance from the head of the Kanze 観世 school of noh.[72]

Artistic productivity was one dimension of his life in Takagamine, but Kōetsu also adopted the countenance of an ascetic. The fact that he signed some of his later works *Takagamine inshi* 鷹峰隠士 (Takagamine Recluse) suggests a desire to secure a position among a prestigious cohort of Chinese and Japanese recluses who, for centuries, had enhanced their aesthetic capital by detaching themselves from worldly encumbrances. Economic security allowed Kōetsu to remain true to the principles of his eremitism. The *Hon'ami gyōjōki* reports that he lived alone and prepared his own meals. Sano Jōeki avers that "Kōetsu led an extremely plain life and gave rigid orders to his descendents and relatives never to be luxurious. His own dwelling was nothing but a humble hut, and his unique pleasure throughout his life was the making of ceremonial tea in a tiny room of two or three mats."[73] In this small village of residences, workshops, temples, and few amusements, tea ceremony was Kōetsu's primary source of enjoyment. The "tiny room" mentioned by Jōeki was the Taikyoan 大虚庵 (Ethereal Hermitage), a teahouse that Kōetsu also used for meditation and prayer assemblies. Jōeki's description of Kōetsu's main residence, the "humble hut," is corroborated by Itakura Katsushige who, upon an impromptu visit, finds Kōetsu sick in bed and living in a cramped dwelling with only basic décor. The hut surprised Itakura particularly for its contrast to the opulence of Kōetsu's art which utilized expensive materials.[74] If Kōetsu's house was, indeed, as modest as these documents report, its humility must have been further accentuated by its location on the village's most spacious lot.

Moral High Ground

Kōetsu's father, Kōji, died in 1603, and his death placed responsibility for the family business squarely on Kōetsu's shoulders. Soon after the commune was established, a series of family deaths—his elder sister Myōkō 妙光 in 1617; his mother Myōshū in 1618; and Kōtoku, his elder cousin and head of the Hon'ami's main branch, in 1619—left Kōetsu as the patriarch for the Hon'ami house. While a burden on one hand, this new role allowed him a moment to take stock, an opportunity to honor old loyalties while adapting the family to new realities. If,

as Masuda Takashi suggests, it was only at this time that Kōetsu decided to reside permanently in Takagamine, then his new responsibility clearly did not alter his desire to leave Kyoto or sway his thinking about his personal contributions to the family's future.[75] His decision to proceed with the move suggests a resignation to the collapse of the *machishū* establishment. One imagines that taking stock of endings and beginnings was for Kōetsu a dismal proposition. Not only had he experienced subordination as both a commoner and a Hokke believer, he had also witnessed the new regime's efforts to erase memories and remake fellow *machishū* as consenting subjects. On top of the conflicting loyalties to the Tokugawa and the court already mentioned, Kōetsu was also anchored to a proud heritage: his family and its ethical credo.

The family credo, transmitted largely through his mother Myōshū, had a strong impact on Kōetsu's moral compass. The *Hon'ami gyōjōki* devotes considerable space to Myōshū, describing her as devout, frugal, uncompromisingly moralistic, but also compassionate to people of all stations, including beggars and outcastes.[76] Driven by the conviction that she and her children must exemplify standards of comportment consistent with the family's high social status, Myōshū was self-effacing and upright in public, while at home she managed household affairs with strict efficiency. The text attributes to her a gutsy (*otoko masari* 男勝り) temperament, no doubt meant to indicate assertiveness, and this was evident in her approach to childrearing.[77] The following entry speaks to this point:

> Myōshū raised her children by praising them happily for any good deed. She said it was shameful to see parents scolding and disciplining their children and that one must encourage young children rather than paralyze them with fear.… When her own children misbehaved, she secretly took them inside a storeroom, locked the door so nobody would see, and convinced them to be more obedient.… Even when she learned of dreadful misconduct, she maintained composure and disciplined quietly with a look of distaste. She must have known everything that lay in her children's hearts…. Once they reached seven or eight she started them reading the Four Books and Five Classics and had them expound as they read aloud.[78] She also had them learn waka and continued to polish their manners, preparing them for the family business.[79]

Myōshū's charismatic moralism remained a source of inspiration and family solidarity after her death. According to the *Hon'ami gyōjōki*, Kōetsu even attributed to her his good fortune in receiving Ieyasu's gift of Takagamine: "This was not the outcome of his deeds in this present life. This must be what Myōshū…had been talking about all along when he was a boy, he realized. This must be undoubtedly the reward of his parents' virtue."[80]

At Kōetsumura, Kōetsu himself came to cultivate the role of an ascetic spiritual leader. It was a site that allowed him to practice his beliefs and establish a "Land of Eternal Light" (Jōjakkō 常寂光) in accordance with the Nichiren sect's belief in the attainability of paradise on earth. But Kōetsu also laid out a directive of enjoyment through the doctrine of *reishū etsuyo* 令衆悦豫 (mandated universal enjoyment), a tenet originally advanced in the Lotus Sutra but whose notion of universality inspired Nichiren's teaching of *ichiu tōjun* 一雨等潤 (one rain falls equally on all). He instructed that, whatever one's station, one should play and enjoy oneself for the sake of others and with the purpose of realizing equality. His Buddhist name Nitcho Koji 日豫居士 included this character for leisure (豫), suggesting his devotion to this particular Nichiren doctrine. Kōetsu saw in the commune an opportunity for all people, through *reishū etsuyo*, to receive the mercy of Buddha equally.[81] Equal opportunity for religious benefit would be an attractive prospect to commoners, particularly during the current social retrenchment.

Religious equality would also provide a gratifying surrogate for the cultural equality afforded Kyoto's townspeople in the sixteenth century when, as Mary Elizabeth Berry states, they sought "entry into a redrawn elite—a vision ironically more radical than autonomy, insofar as it posited an equality between, rather than a separation of, the commoners and their masters."[82]

Kōetsu's directive of enjoyment complemented another ethical proclivity: that of "doing nothing." Both shared an affinity for social disengagement and the delights of living passively. In a statement on doing nothing, Kōetsu advises that one learn from the particularly poor examples being set by the country's recent rulers: "When…farmers and merchants break old traditions for the sake of personal gain or freedom, they usually come to grief in the long run. If this is so on the small scale of farmers and merchants, it is equally true on the great scale of politicians and statesmen. 'Doing nothing' then comes to mean doing nothing to destroy the natural order and this is both profound wisdom and common sense."[83]

Frugality was an additional core feature of the Hon'ami family credo, exemplified most clearly by Kōetsu's preference for living alone and cooking for himself. Each of the four generations chronicled in the *Hon'ami gyōjōki* explicitly opposed increasing the family fortune. Instead they embraced a stoic approach to business that viewed excessive wealth as unnecessary and shameful. "One should not place importance upon money. Family is more important," Myōshū taught. "Money causes much of the shame one incurs."[84] This philosophical disdain for mercantilism informed the Hon'ami desire, as craftsmen, to distance themselves from that trade. Kōho wrote in the *Hon'ami gyōjōki* that family business policy advocated fairness and social responsibility and forbid reselling goods.[85] And when Kōetsu observed that "men of farmer stock have become famous…, but not so merchants amongst whom the criterion of money dominates," he was clearly excluding his own household from that group.[86] More important to the Hon'ami was holding a position that aligned it with its warrior and aristocratic customers, whose own class consciousness precluded them from sullying themselves with monetary concerns. Traditional alliances rather than wealth were at issue, for it was through these that the Hon'ami had established themselves.

Defending this moral high ground ultimately proved unsustainable, for the village lost vitality and finally returned the land to the bakufu in 1679. Thereafter, Takagamine was transformed into a suburb populated by former Kōetsumura households and new residents attracted to its favorable location and its seminary. Frugality and stoic adherence to antisocial reclusion are difficult to uphold and, one imagines, were partially responsible for shortening the village's lifespan.[87] The Hon'ami's reasons for relinquishing the territory, and then moving to Edo in 1697, reflect an important shift in the village's status after Kōetsu's death. An original cadastral survey of the area had been conducted under Hideyoshi and its productivity value (*kokudaka* 石高) determined, but the commune enjoyed tax exempt status for some years after receiving the area in 1615.[88] A new survey conducted by the bakufu in 1679, however, assessed the land's value at 176 koku, presumably higher than the old assessment. At that time, the Hon'ami petitioned that it be allowed to continue under the conditions of the previous survey. The matter was complicated by the fact that twenty three farmers, who used some of the land and were scheming to wrest it from Hon'ami control, argued in favor of the new assessment. When the Hon'ami petition was denied, the family opted to return the territory to bakufu control, explaining that they did not wish to be responsible for paying taxes due.[89]

For reasons of religious attachment to Kyoto as the site of the family's ancestors, Kōetsu had forbidden his family to move to Edo, and though he often traveled to Kaga to pay tribute to

the Maeda, he preferred to stay near Kyoto. As a sprawling military center, Edo in particular held no interest for Kōetsu. On the single occasion requiring his presence there—in 1625 to see to the funerary affairs of his nephew Kōshitsu 光室—he tolerated a brief audience with Tokugawa Iemitsu 徳川家光 (1604–1651) and returned home after only two days.[90] The family's decision to move to Edo in 1697, therefore, reflects a significant change of circumstances surrounding the family's unity and reputation. Ironically, the decision appears to have been expedited by widespread slander over its business ethics. Okamoto asserts that the *Hon'ami gyōjōki*'s stoic moralism, its reference to those who pursued unrestrained commercialism as merciless and greedy (*mujihi kendon* 無慈悲慳貪), for example, was a direct response to charges that the family had been lying and deceiving its patrons.[91] This certainly lends one explanation for the book's focused defense of family and business ethics. The Hon'ami credo further disintegrated, apparently, after they cut their roots and moved to Edo, where they subsequently threw themselves into an "orgy of commercialism."[92] Scholar Hayashi Shihei's 林子平 father, Okamura Yoshimichi 岡村良通 (d.1767), noted in *Sendai kango* 仙台間語 that while the Hon'ami had been part of the contemporary affinity for literacy and cultivation in Kyoto, in Edo they had turned to the evils of selfish profiteering.[93] Noteworthy in this course of events is the apparent interdependence of art and business ethics. For the Hon'ami, immersion in the former sustained the latter.

Kōetsu and the Question of Classicism

The imperial court, its attendant nobility, the clergy, disenfranchised samurai, and the *machishū* all stood to lose more than gain under the new regime. Much modern scholarship has held that these groups responded to political subjugation and Tokugawa Sinophilia with nostalgia for the cultural traditions of the Heian era: the allegedly Japanese qualities of subtlety, delicacy, and refinement. Hayashiya Tatsusaburō's position represents the standard narrative on this classical revival, or Kyoto renaissance. It embraces the view that a cohort of *machishū*, propelled largely by Kōetsu and Tawaraya Sōtatsu, endeavored to infiltrate and share the cultural field with courtiers and high ranking warriors. Viewing Heian court culture as a lost utopia, the cohort advanced an artistic revival, largely through forms like *yamatoe*, *sagabon*, as well as themes and stylistic features that it viewed as distinctly Japanese.[94] Our knowledge of *machishū* cultural activities indeed reveals a cultural sphere shared with the nobility, and a corresponding attraction to arts and classical literary themes popular within the court.[95] Emperor Go Mizunoo did commission Sōtatsu to paint several screens, and Sōtatsu's other works bear inscriptions by certain prominent courtiers. It is for this reason that a cautious scholarly consensus marks Sōtatsu as the revival's central figure, though Kōetsu's name must also be included, due in large part to his artistic collaborations and participation in the production of *sagabon*.

Recently this view has been challenged. Lee Bruschke-Johnson has posited that the term "renaissance" obscures the work of the many artists disinclined to follow classical aristocratic styles, as well as the fact that such styles had long retained their popularity and therefore experienced no meaningful "rebirth" during this period.[96] Elizabeth Lillehoj also disputes the view that Sōtatsu, Kōetsu, and those around them were attempting to recover Heian aesthetics, arguing that classical Heian culture was multifaceted, not uniquely Japanese, and thus a largely utopian construct.[97] Any classical sympathies were fueled to a considerable degree by resistance to oppressive bakufu policies, and resurrecting an imagined Heian court culture promised a means of recapturing a measure of symbolic cultural authority. By filtering its classicist energies

through painting and architectural projects, for example, the imperial court sought a means of redeeming cultural capital and recovering its prestige as "protectors of classical culture and honorary promoters of the common people."[98] For townspeople, classical art was a convenient device for constructing common ideological ground with the court and creating a united cultural front against the new regime.

Much is made of this collaboration between *machishū* and courtiers, but cultural collaboration does not imply shared motivations. For early Tokugawa period courtiers, participation in the various aristocratic arts carried on much as before, often together with commoners in so called "salons."[99] Emperor Go Mizunoo was particularly active in promoting cultural interactions between social groups, such as hosting parties at which members of various classes enjoyed waka, noh, tea ceremony, flower arrangement, incense contests, and literary discussions.[100] For the court, such pastimes reasserted legitimacy and cultural authority; for opportunistic commoners, for whom any cognizance of classical revivalism would have been secondary to the kudos of their own participation, they denoted a promising dissolution of class barriers.

Kōetsu embraced concerns for cultural custodianship, as well, but the view that he helped pioneer a classical revival implies a conscious political positioning that belies his chosen lifestyle after 1615. Kōetsu and his like minded colleagues at Kōetsumura unquestionably demonstrated an admiration for Heian art and literature, but were less interested in preservation for its own sake than in deploying them to honor their own traditional alliances with the court. Accordingly, Bruschke-Johnson notes classical inclinations in Kōetsu's calligraphic scrolls, such as his fondness for copying from the *Wakan rōeishū* 和漢朗詠集 (Collection of Japanese and Chinese Recitations, 1013), but is unable to link his calligraphic works from the 1620s and 1630s to members of either the *machishū* or the court. Kōetsu's favored themes at this time, rather, reflect his devotion to Nichiren.[101] Indeed, much of his calligraphy was overtly devotional: he transcribed the Lotus sutra, copied many of Nichiren's writings, and showcased Nichiren iconography in his painting.[102] Nor is there compelling evidence that he was popularly viewed as a revivalist. Keiko Nakamachi has argued that "people of the day considered Sōtatsu and Kōrin's paintings as the most valuable art 'of Japan'—in other words, as art that was non Chinese. Thus Sōtatsu and Kōrin were essentially perceived in the Edo period as painters who conveyed the luxurious side of native Japanese taste."[103] This perception of them as nativistic artists implied no intentional restoration of Heian culture; they lived and worked as arbiters of contemporary taste. Similarly, Kōetsu's aestheticism indicates a reverence for the imperial institution, but not Heian culture specifically. As a cultural icon of this era with eclectic interests and extensive associations, Kōetsu is retrospectively connected to this revival as a matter of course without due recognition of his intentional withdrawal from the salons where it was taking place. Kyoto's entire cultural milieu during the Kan'ei period (1624–1644) was a "response to anomie," as Morgan Pitelka describes it.[104] But Kōetsu's withdrawal was an anomie resulting from an awareness of his own obsolescence. As anachronisms, he and other Kōetsumura residents were motivated more by self-preservation and religious devotion than by any vision of effecting a classical revival. Classicism misrepresents Kōetsu's experience; his personal aesthetics were grounded in family traditions and the forms of participation that had secured his family's former prestige.

Conclusion

Unification brought relief after centuries of civil war, but also retrospection. Nostalgia, always the prerogative of the discontented and disenfranchised, was evident among certain sectors from the very outset of the "Great Peace." Kōetsu's aesthetics of reminiscence preserved a culture whose cycle, theoretically, had recently ended. His "golden age" was not the Heian period but his own lived memories and the age when his parents had served shoguns and courtiers and been hailed as *dōbōshū*.

Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Ieyasu placed their own political authority beyond the reach of the imperial court, temples, and wealthy commoners. They needed culture, however, to legitimate that authority. But culture's function as political validator can also undermine the apparent discontinuities between endings and beginnings; it can fortify continuities that bisect regime change. At a time when the artistic field was shrinking and artists were losing artistic independence, Kōetsu was diversifying and retrenching. By bringing his family's business, religious devotion, and strong ethical credo to Kōetsumura, he created an artistically independent community and a milieu of a fading era.[105] Cyclical theory would thus classify the aesthetics of Kōetsu and his commune as anachronistic, as relics of Momoyama Kyoto that had no place within a cultural field newly appropriated under Tokugawa authority. The fact that this very aesthetic proclivity came to constitute a major artistic school (Rinpa) that was periodically resurrected throughout the Tokugawa period indicates continuities and linearities that confirm the limitations of placing undue weight on history's cycles.

Nonetheless, cyclical theory has endured the ages to retain a compelling familiarity, if only as an expedient. It accords naturally with observable endings and beginnings, with the discontinuities naturally associated with political change. And it remains embedded in how we tell history. In reference to the classical proclivities of the Kyoto renaissance, for example, Pitelka speaks of Japan's early 17th century as a "pivotal point of transformation" to an early modern society.[106] He suggests, in other words, that the *machishū* of this era embodied both an ending and a beginning, invoking the old while enabling the new. Explaining reminiscence as a "point of transformation" asserts a convergence of endings and beginnings, and viewing history in terms of continuities between endings and beginnings indicates a cyclical repetition that effectively conflates the two.

Sandy Kita's description of the *machishū* in terms of generational succession serves as a second example of how cyclical theory remains embedded in historiography:

> [O]nce the generation of Sōtatsu and Kōetsu was over, they were irreplaceable. The followers of these men could aspire to *machishū* ideals and could attempt to maintain *machi* practices and customs, but they would have no experience of a world in which commoners freely associated with aristocrats and in which ordinary people had the power to rule their own communities and determine their own destinies. Lacking such knowledge, how could their spirit be the same as that of their *machishū* forebears? The brave old world was gone forever, and truly those who claimed to be *machishū* after 1616 were naught but "leftover" examples of the type.[107]

Kita's perspective recalls Magliocca's notion of common experience as fundamental to defining generations, and identifying the interest groups whose struggle for positionality generates historical rhythms. It also recounts historical change in terms of endings and beginnings rather than continuities, and of displaced individuals as "leftover" anachronisms rather than

as revivalists. As we have seen, these dynamics are useful for reinterpreting and historicizing Kōetsu, for it is less his legacy as a pioneer of Rinpa than his relations and positionality *vis a vis* other actors that illuminate him.

Kōetsumura itself was a leftover. For three generations it represented the survival of a vanished urban class, that which had stepped up following the Ōnin War to preserve the embattled nobility and secure what Marra calls "the survival of an endangered species."[108] Kōetsumura bears witness to both a cyclical rhythm of culture and politics successively capturing one another, and a concurrent pursuit of linear continuity. We find, in other words, that thinking in terms of cycles also brings linearities into relief. In his capacity as both an arbiter of *machishū* culture and a refugee from *machishū* society, Kōetsu marked both a continuation and an ending of certain cultural attitudes. It should be clear that his contributions to history and art need to be assessed within the context of his life at Kōetsumura.

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NOTES

1   I would like to thank the anonymous referees at *Japan Review* for their helpful comments and suggestions.

2   See p. 32 below for a definition and discussion of *machishū*.

3   Though also variously called Kōetsumachi 光悦町 and Geijutsumura 芸術村, the community is referred to as Kōetsumura by Kōetsu's great great grandson Jirōzaemon 次郎左衛門 (d. 1758) in his *Hon'ami Jirōzaemon kaden* 本阿弥次郎左衛門家伝. Masuda reminds us that ambiguity surrounding the name derives in part from the fact that the community was relatively unstudied until the discovery of *Kōetsumachi kozu* (Old map of Kōetsumachi) in 1913, which initiated historical interest and speculation about it as an artists' village (Masuda 1980, pp. 148–53).

4   This article provides neither a comprehensive biography of Kōetsu nor an analysis of his art, as an abundance of such scholarship is widely available. See, for example, Fischer 2000; Demura 1995, and Mizuo, 1983.

5   The Maeda were one of the most affluent daimyo, and secured a connection to the imperial court by marrying a daughter to Prince Toshitada 智忠 (1619–1662).

6   Kōetsu shared this distinction with Shōkadō Shōjō 松花堂紹乗 (1584–1639), a priest, and Konoe Nobutada 近衛信尹 (1565–1614), a noble.

7   For Kōetsu as an icon of Kyoto's cultural renaissance, see Fischer 2000 and Rosenfield 1999. For a critique of this interpretation, see Bruschke-Johnson 2004, pp. 52–53.

8   For an extended discussion of *machishū* and its usage, see Kita 1999 and Bruschke-Johnson 2004, pp. 52–53.

9   Jōeki was a celebrated literatus, accomplished in a number of the arts, and connected with Emperor Gomizunoo and Kyoto's most important tea, poetry, and painting masters. He is best remembered for his romance with 2nd generation Yoshino Tayū (1606–1643), Kyoto's most famous courtesan at the time, whom he redeemed from her bordello in the Shimabara district and married against his family's strong objections. Yoshino also had a close connection with Takagamine. A devout Nichiren follower, she frequented the Jōshōji Temple, which became a spiritual retreat for her, and donated a red entrance gate when its seminary was established in 1627.

10   Leach 1967, p. 64. See also Hayashiya 1964b and Okamoto 1963.

11   As noted below, social historians and art historians have studied Kōetsu from different angles, but both have tended to overlook the historical importance of his living space. See, for example, Hayashiya 1964b, Leach 1967, and Rosenfield 1999. The reader will note that my use of the term commune is not intended to connote an expressly religious group, though adherence to Nichiren Buddhism was certainly one of Kōetsumura's defining features. I use it to signify an autonomous, communally organized body. For a precedent, see Souryi 2001, pp. 181–201.

12   Clough 1951, p. 261.

13   Magliocca 2007, p. 2.

14   Magliocca 2007, p. 128.

15   Hayashiya 1978, p. 144.

16   Totman 1981, p. xii.

17   Harootunian 1989, p. 171.

18   Takagamine lay at the Nagasaka guchi 長坂口 of the Shūzan kaidō 周山街道 access road leading to Tanba and the outer domains.

19   The first *Rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu* was likely produced at or before the middle of the sixteenth century (Lillehoj 2004, p. 195). The first detailed map of Kyoto was produced c. 1637.

20   *Shinshū Kyōto sōsho*, 1974.

21   Satō 1956, p. 10.

22   Genjō Masayoshi also theorizes that the map depicts only Kōetsu's intended land apportionment scheme and not an accurate record of the actual layout (Demura 1995, pp. 49–51).

23   Masaki 1993, p. 232.

24   Masaki 1993, p. 225.

25   Watanabe 2003, p. 220.

26   Watanabe 2003, pp. 225–26.

27   Watanabe 2003, pp. 229–30.

28   Watanabe 2003, p. 234.

29   In addition to Kōetsu, these included his younger brother Sōchi 宗知, his adopted son and heir Kōsa, his grandsons Kōho and Magosuke 孫助, and relatives Kōhaku 光伯, Jirobē 次郎兵衛, Saburobē 三郎兵衛, Jūrobē 十郎兵衛, and Matajirō 又次郎.

30   Satō 1956, pp. 10, 15. Few specifics are known of Kōetsu's two wives. His first, his cousin Kōtoku's sister, Myōtoku 妙得, died in 1601. His second marriage produced several children, though his heir, Kōsa, was adopted. As there is no mention of his second wife in connection with Kōetsumura, one imagines that she remained at the Hon'ami house in Kyoto. Their continued relationship is verified by the birth of a daughter, Kusu くす, in 1626.

31   The *sagabon* were lavish reprints of literary classics such as *Ise monogatari*, *Genji monogatari*, *Hyakunin isshu*, and noh plays. Produced from about 1605 by wealthy merchant and artist Suminokura Soan together with Kōetsu, Sōtatsu, and other commoners and nobles, they made use of moveable type and woodblock printing technologies newly imported from Korea, and were published on mica paper decorated with painting and powdered gold and silver. The calligraphy is attributed to Kōetsu and his students.

32   Demura 1995, p. 54.

33   Satō 1956, p. 16.

34   This paper offers only a brief outline of the *machishū* in sixteenth century Kyoto. The interested reader is directed to Berry 1994 for a comprehensive discussion of *machishū* and the city's fractures and power struggles during the medieval period.

35   Marra 1993, p. 139.

36   During the sixteenth century a number of market towns, mainly ports engaging in foreign and domestic trade, acquired significant or total autonomy. Sakai, Hakata, Ōminato, Nagasaki, and Muro, for instance, were able to break away from the control of feudal lords, in some cases by granting them large loans. Centralization under Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Ieyasu reestablished military control over merchants. Nobunaga broke exclusionary guilds and trade associations and formed free markets (*rakuichi* 楽市) and guilds (*rakuza* 楽座) that were open and tax free. Hideyoshi built his castle and headquarters in Osaka (1583–1586), thereby disempowering the independent merchant city of Sakai and persuading many of its merchants to relocate to Osaka where taxes would not be imposed (Sheldon 1958, pp. 8–11).

37   Marra 1993, p. 168.

38   Hayashiya 1977, p. 31.

39   Berry 1994, p. 153.

40   Berry 1994, pp. 153–54.

41   Berry 1994, p. 145.

42   For documented accounts of these hostilities, see Berry 1994, pp. 159–60.

43   Nosco 1996, pp. 139–140.

44   Hayashiya 1969, p. 187.

45   Hayashiya 1969, p. 187.

46   Berry 1994, p. 243.

47   Berry 1994, p. 293.

48   Victor Koschmann's description of Japanese resistance as expressive and symbolic rather than instrumental is applicable here. Patterns of Japanese protest, he argues, suggest that protesters "expect

few results from their participation in politics, other than 'symbolic affirmation of their own principles'" (Koschmann 1978, p. 25).

49   Masaki 1993, p. 38.

50   Masaki 1993, p. 214.

51   Demura 1995, pp. 48–49. Takagamine, "Hawk's Peak," is said to have been so named because hawks (*taka*) appeared there in the spring to nest. Since the Heian period, part had been designated an official grounds for falconry (*takagari* 鷹狩) (Bukkyō daigaku bungakubu shigakuka 1996, p. 38).

52   Through Suminokura Soan (1571–1632), Ieyasu periodically sent Kōetsu high quality brushes and ink, and when he heard that Kōetsu was ill he had his silk supplier Chaya Shirōjirō (1584–1622), deliver a painting to him (Satō 1956, p. 17). Itakura's periodic visits also served to reaffirm Kōetsu's obligation to the Tokugawa.

53   Translated in Leach 1967, p. 38.

54   Hayashiya 1964a, p. 103.

55   For a fuller treatment of this process, see Gerhart 1999.

56   For example, Hayashiya 1964a and Okuda 2003a.

57   For example, Cole 1967; Demura 1995; Leach 1967; Lillehoj 2004; and Satō 1956.

58   Kita 1999, p. 232. Confusion over periodization is compounded by the fact that cultural trends and developments named after the Momoyama, Keichō (1596–1615), and Kan'ei (1624–1644) eras do not neatly correspond to the endings and beginnings of those periods. Bruschke-Johnson suggests that such phases be periodized according to the activities of culturally influential individuals and groups (Bruschke-Johnson 2004, pp. 15–16).

59   Furukawa 2003, p. 15.

60   Leach 1967, p. 46.

61   In 1654, Tosa Mitsuoki 土佐光起 (1617–1691) reclaimed for the Tosa school the title of official Court painter.

62   Gerhart 1999, p. ix.

63   Takayama was stripped of his domain in 1587 under Hideyoshi's persecution of Christianity and accepted as a retainer of Maeda Toshiie the following year. The Christian expulsion of 1614 anticipated what would later develop into a policy of European exclusion. In 1617, the Tokugawa declared all but six foreign ports off limits to Japanese ships, a measure that strangled sources of income for *machishū* families like the Chaya and Suminokura (Kita 1999, p. 233).

64   In addition to Furuta Oribe (35,000 koku), the Rikyū shichitetsu include, "Maeda Toshinaga 前田利長 (1562–1614; 1.2 million koku), Date Masamune 伊達政宗 (1567–1636; 620,000 koku), Shimazu Yoshihiro 島津義弘 (1535–1619; 600,000 koku), Ikeda Terumasa 池田輝政 (1564–1613; 520,000 koku), Fukushima Masanori 福島正則 (1561–1624; 500,000 koku), and Hosokawa Tadaoki 細川忠興 (1563–1646; 400,000 koku)" (Furukawa 2003, p. 102). Other sources include different individuals among the Rikyū shichitetsu.

65   Between 1610 and 1615, the bakufu enacted various ordinances regulating Buddhist sects and temples, in part to heighten vigilance over Christian activities. The bakufu weakened monastic self-governance by seizing greater control over temples, regulating clerical appointments and promotions, and assuming direct authority over temples with court relations (Saunders 1964, pp. 248–50).

66   Hayashiya 1964a, p. 102.

67   For a comprehensive study of reclusion in medieval Japan, see Brown 1997.

68   Translated in Leach 1967, pp. 47–8.

69   Masuda 1980, pp. 157–8.

70   Hayashiya 1964a, p. 22. Hayashiya notes that this tax exemption carried the expectation of obeisance to the bakufu.

71   Rosenfield 1999, p. 25.

72   Leach 1967, p. 47.

73   Ushikubo 1926, p. 12.

74   Okuda 2003a, p. 207.

75   Masuda 1980, p. 156.

76   Masaki 1993, p. 15.

77   Masaki 1993, p. 208.

78   The Four Books: the *Great Learning, the Doctrine of the Mean, the Analects of Confucius*, and the *Mencius*; the Five Classics: *The Book of Changes, The Book of Poetry, The Book of Rites, The Book of History*, and *The Spring and Autumn Annals*.

79   Masaki 1993, p. 9.

80   Masaki 1993, p. 40, adapted from translation in Cranston 2000, p. 124.

81   Okuda 2003b, pp. 31–32.

82   Berry 1994, p. 169.

83   Translation in Leach 1967, p. 51.

84   Masaki 1993, p. 10. Though Kōetsu's rejection of Ieyasu's offer of a salaried position does suggest a qualified disinterest in gratuitous wealth, the *Gyōjōki*'s assertion appears inconsistent with the family's prosperity and prominence in Kyoto.

85   Masaki 1993, pp. 54, 58–59.

86   Leach 1967, p. 38.

87   Most premodern Japanese communes suffered short life spans. Established and sustained by one or two generations of charismatic leaders and loyal followers, they faded together with the memory of their initial purpose. For a discussion of the Oyamoto (1494) and Iga (c. 1560) communes, for example, see Souyri 2001, pp. 190–92.

88   Tax exemption may have been granted due to the fact that the land in question had not yet been reclaimed for agriculture, or to the fact that it was being colonized for principally non agricultural purposes. The immediate temple construction would also legitimate the commune's claim for tax exemption.

89   Demura 1995, p. 57.

90   Hayashiya 1964a, p. 23.

91   Okamoto 1963, p. 30.

92   Okamoto 1963, p. 32.

93   Okamoto 1963, p. 31.

94   Allegedly Japanese aesthetic features include "relative flatness and bright mineral pigments," lavish decoration, and use of precious materials (Quitman Eugene Phillips, "Afterword," in Lillehoj 2004, p. 207). See also Hayashiya 1964b.

95   Furukawa 2003, p. 209.

96   Bruschke-Johnson 2004, pp. 52–53.

97   Lillehoj 2004, pp. 6–7.

98   Lillehoj 2004, p. 201. For a specific example, see Elizabeth Lillehoj's discussion of Gion float painting in "Uses of the Past: Gion Float Paintings as Instruments of Classicism," in Lillehoj 2004, pp. 187–205.

99   Pitelka 2005, p. 44–45.

100   Lillehoj 2004, p. 199.

101   Bruschke-Johnson 2004, pp. 131–132.

102   For a brief discussion, see Cranston 2000, p. 122. For discussions of *Renjō nichirin* 蓮乗日輪, Kōetsu's painting depicting a sun emerging from a white lotus, and Nichiren symbolism in his *Tomoe no niwa* 巴の庭 garden, see Okuda 2003a, pp. 212–13.

103   Nakamachi 2004, pp. 93–94.

104   Pitelka 2005, p. 43.

105   Satō 1956, p. 21.

106   Pitelka 2005, p. 44.

107   Kita 1999, p. 235.

108   Marra 1993, p. 143.

要旨

光悦村：本阿弥光悦のコミューンにおけるリズムとレミニセンス

W．パック・ブレッカー

　王朝周期論は、しばしば中国政治史において使用されてきた馴染の概念であり、日本史における政治的変遷にも適用されている。折衷主義の芸術家である本阿弥光悦（1558–1637）の一生は、戦国時代、安土桃山時代、江戸時代の三つの時代にわたっている。彼は、京都で繁栄・確立した町衆社会の象徴的存在ではあるが、この周期的変化のパラダイムに容易には位置づけられない存在である。ここでは周期的歴史観が光悦研究にどのように貢献しているのかを検討し、1615 年彼によって鷹ヶ峰に設立された自律的な生活共同体である光悦村の考察を通して、徳川支配体制の確立に伴う京都町衆の衰弱を解明する。先行研究においては、光悦は琳派発展過程における平安文芸復興者とみなされてきた。それは彼の上級武士や宮廷人との関係、あるいは古典的な宮廷風へのノスタルジアの表れであるその芸術の装飾的土着的特徴を示唆している。本稿では、周期的歴史観が、光悦を文芸復興者としてではなく、町衆文化とりわけ本阿弥家を脅かした当時の出来事に自己防御的に反応した時代錯誤の人物という別の観点で捉え得ることを提示している。