Life, Death, and the Construction of Space on the Kamo River

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(History)
in the University of Michigan
2023

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Acknowledgements

I owe a debt of gratitude to so many people who encouraged and helped me throughout my journey through graduate school. Hitomi Tonomura took me on as an awkward Master's student and helped me find my footing and confidence. I am so thankful for the opportunity I had to study under her during my graduate career. I also want to thank her for her support as I missed deadlines and bounced between doctors with no good explanations. This project would never have been finished without her at my back.

I want to acknowledge and thank Christian de Pee, Perrin Selcer, and Erin Brightwell for their roles as professors, mentors, and committee members. I also want to acknowledge the many colleagues who became friends along the way: Emmamarie Haasl, David Patterson, Vincent Chan, Kendra Strand, and my many officemates kept me going through long days and brought new ideas and perspectives into my work. Students and faculty of the Environmental History Interest Group and the Forum on Research in Medieval Studies helped me to organize and hone my ideas as these chapters developed. A big thank you to Terre Fisher and Anna Shingledecker who helped me edit and polish my writing.

My time as a research fellow and graduate student liaison with the Eisenberg Institute for Historical Studies was among the most enjoyable and intellectually stimulating of my entire graduate experience. Thank you, Greg Parker and Mrinalini Sinha, for all the work you put in to making the Eisenberg run. Thank you, as well, to the History Department staff, especially Terre

Fisher, Sue Douglas, and Kat Wiles, for keeping the department running, fielding so many of my questions, and being so encouraging and supportive.

Last, but by no means least, I am grateful for all of the support I received from my mom, Ryan, Fay, and Dr. Rachelle Wilcox. I was ready to give up so many times, and you kept me going. Thank you for the hours you spent listening, asking questions, offering new ideas and suggestions, and reminding me that I could do this.

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Abstract

Life, Death, and the Construction of Space on the Kamo River considers how the decentralized authority in medieval Japan (appx. 1400-1600) impacted the ways residents, farmers, land managers, artists, and religious adherents encountered this small but important urban river. By focusing attention on a small, island river and a comparatively weak, decentralized state, this dissertation adds a new dimension to prevailing scholarship of river histories that tend to concentrate on large, continental rivers like the Danube or Yellow Rivers. Using a combination of archival sources and previous work by archaeologists, the second chapter argues that the Kamo and its floods had a profound impact on not only the physical contours of the land but also patterns of settlement and agriculture. This argument expands on the literature for both riparian history and the history of Kyoto as an urban centre. The middle chapters take up the contradictory roles of the Kamo within the imagined landscape of Kyoto. The Kamo created a visible and conceptual border between the space within the idealized ancient boundaries (*rakuchū* 洛中), and the space on the eastern side of the Kamo (*rakugai* 洛外). At the same time, bridges maintained by religious institutions connected the two sides of the river and tied the sacred and secular spaces together through the ritualized movement of deities and pilgrims. The river itself, as it flowed beneath these bridges and through the two parts of the city cleansed it of physical and spiritual pollution. A close investigation of the Kanshō Famine in 1461 demonstrates this mechanism in action.

Chapter 1
Introduction

I do not know much about gods; but I think that the river
Is a strong brown god—sullen, untamed and intractable,
Patient to some degree, at first recognised as a frontier;
Useful, untrustworthy, as a conveyor of commerce;
Then only a problem confronting the builder of bridges.
The problem once solved, the brown god is almost forgotten
By the dwellers in cities—ever, however, implacable.[1] - T.S. Eliot

The current of the river never ceases. What's more, the water is never the same as before. The foam floating on the eddies - now it disappears, now it reforms, never once lingering for long. So it is with the people of this world and their dwellings.[2] - Kamo no Chōmei

The Kamo River 鴨川 is a small, swift mountain stream with an outsized impact on Kyoto's history. Hardly the brown god of Eliot's Mississippi, the Kamo nevertheless actively influenced medieval Kyoto as it grew from imperial capital to metropolis. As the river shaped the physical land around it, it also shaped the laws, culture, and politics of the people who lived near it. The Kamo created a boundary between inside and outside, east and west, even as it connected the two parts of medieval Kyoto through spiritual practices. The medieval Kamo represents a different kind of river than the bureaucratically managed torrents of China, the United States, or Europe. Without a centralized state to focus resources and political will into water management, Kyoto's rivers flooded, moved, and changed the landscape. Locals competed for water access, built and rebuilt bridges, and harvested resources from the rivers. The city survived, and thrived, despite repeated disasters - from floods and fires to famine and war.

[1] T.S. Eliot, "The Dry Savages," in *Collected Poems, 1909-1962* (London: Faber & Faber, 1974), 205.
[2] Kamo no Chōmei 鴨長明, *Hōjōki* 方丈記, 15.

The historiography of rivers centres on the relationships of power as filtered through water control projects. This chapter introduces this historiography in order to situate the history of the Kamo River as a part of global environmental history. By focusing on the socio-cultural functions of the Kamo River, this dissertation argues for space in environmental history to study rivers beyond their relationships with politics and power. The rich resources of Japanese archaeology and the scholarship of medieval urban historians will provide a background for understanding the physical and historical context of the Kamo in medieval Kyoto. In the following chapters, I highlight the ways the Kamo River appears as a quiet undercurrent in medieval records in order to draw out the impact of its physical presence on the city's development and its residents' lives.

Environmental History of Rivers

The historiography of rivers is the history of water control projects driven by centralized authorities, from ancient Egypt and China to the construction of massive concrete dams in the twentieth century. While technology and scale has shaped the types and impact of water control projects, the focus of historians has remained on centralized state or economic powers and their manipulation of waterways. The terms "modern" and "premodern," can be used to differentiate between river projects of the distant past and those of the nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries. These are shorthand terms that, while historians continue to use them, need to be broken down carefully. Historian Daniel Smail and anthropologist Andrew Shryock elegantly highlighted the absurdity of the cascade of "pre-"s that attend any attempt to identify a breaking point with the past. This "pre-", in their argument, becomes a shadow period that is necessarily denied modernity and moral superiority.[3] In other words, defining when "modern" hydraulic

[3] Daniel Lord Smail and Andrew Shryock, "History and the 'Pre,'" *American Historical Review* 118, no. 3 (2013): 713.

engineering began stumbles at the onset: what is modern hydraulic engineering? If it is a matter of time, as the words are generally used, beginning sometime after the industrial revolution in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, then the large-scale hydraulic projects of imperial China or the complex irrigation of the Maya are provincialized as smaller, less complex, less technically sophisticated than they really were.

Environmental history, the history of the relationships between humans and the physical world around them, tends to focus on highly engineered rivers. As such, the most influential studies look at nineteenth- and twentieth-century rivers, when westerners began to construct massive dams and straighten river channels on a large scale. Similarly, the "premodern" rivers studied by historians tended to have more intensive engineering projects. Engineers built wooden weirs and dug new, straighter channels in the Danube and Thames Rivers in attempts to limit flooding. The Yellow River embankments were built so high that the river flowed above the elevation of surrounding land. River engineering in China became a strategy for warfare, as any deliberate cuts in the embankments necessarily caused massive flooding. The ancient Nile likewise draws attention for its large-scale irrigation networks, particularly around Fayum where documentary evidence of agricultural practices is more plentiful. These kinds of engineering projects necessarily require a centralized authority to focus resources and labour power in order to build and maintain.

While I use the term "premodern Japan" to broadly refer to Japan before 1600, or "medieval Japan" to refer to the period between approximately 1300 and 1600, my intention is not to cast Japan's engineering or hydraulic practices into this not-modern, dark-age space. It is not that Japanese engineers lacked the technical know-how to control Kamo River floods. On occasion, embankments and diversion canals were built to protect urban spaces. Medieval

Japanese irrigation systems were highly complex hydraulic projects that required river weirs, diversion channels, and bureaucratic management. Rather, city elites lacked the political and financial motivation to deploy flood control systems at scale on this particular river. The Kamo River in medieval Japan, indeed until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, was largely unengineered, though it was by no means "wild" or unmodified. This dichotomy between technical know-how and local deployment (or not) of river engineering highlights the fractured nature of authority in medieval Japan.

Rivers and the state

Some of the foundational research in environmental history as such focuses on the rivers of the American West and the ways hydraulic projects reshaped the land and way of life in not only the arid west but also the United States as a whole.[4] From the energy of the raging torrents and salmon fisheries of the Columbia River in North America[5] to the technologies that maintain the Rhone River systems in France[6] and the siltation and technological lock-in of the Yellow River in China,[7] scholars highlight the relationships between water systems, people, technology, and infrastructure.

Beginning with historian Karl Wittfogel's 1957 *Oriental Despotism*, the relationships between state power, agriculture, and water are central in the story of rivers. Wittfogel's study began a debate in anthropology and political theory that paired the development of totalitarian state power with large-scale hydraulic systems. Wittfogel argues that societies built in arid and semi-arid regions, such as those in northern China, Mesopotamia, and Mexico, can develop

[4] Donald Worster, *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985).
[5] Richard White, *The Organic Machine: The Remaking of the Columbia River* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995).
[6] Sara Pritchard, *Confluence: The Nature of Technology and the Remaking of the Rhone* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
[7] David Pietz, *The Yellow River: The Problem of Water in Modern China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015).

agricultural practices that necessitate mass cooperation in building irrigation works. What Wittfogel terms the "hydraulic economy" demands a division of labour into two stark classes, the rulers and the ruled, in which the managerial state becomes ultimately stronger than the society.[8]

E.R. Leach's article, "Hydraulic Society in Ceylon," and Julian Steward's chapter, "Wittfogel's Irrigation Hypothesis," are representative of the ways scholars initially reacted to Wittfogel's work. On the one hand, some were quick to point out Wittfogel's research flaws and large-scale generalizations. Leach uses historical and archaeological records in Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka) to argue that hydraulic despotisms and decentralized feudalisms are not necessarily polar types of organization.[9] He argues that in spite of the ecological match with Wittfogel's deterministic criteria, and the existence of and reliance on large irrigation works, not only was the creation of states in Ceylon incremental and haphazard rather than centralized, but their political model followed a charismatic "Indian" type rather than the bureaucratic "Chinese" type Wittfogel discusses.[10]

On the other hand, Steward's essay is more sympathetic while acknowledging the flaws in Wittfogel's work. He argues that Wittfogel's work presents a hypothesis, and that "the value of such a generalization is that it provides a foil or a target for criticism which, devastating as it may be, will hopefully advance understandings a step further."[11] In particular, he argues that the critiques of Wittfogel's hypothesis themselves help flesh out individual case studies that create a

[8] Karl Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study of Total Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), 50.
[9] E.R. Leach, "Hydraulic Society in Ceylon," *Past and Present* 15 (1959): 11.
[10] *Ibid.*, 4, 13. Max Weber identifies three types of authority: rational grounds or legal authority, based on bureaucracy; traditional authority, based on personal loyalty and traditions such as patriarchy and feudalism; and charismatic, based on some extraordinary characteristic of the ruler. Max Weber, "The Types of Legitimate Domination," in *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, ed. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 212–301, especially pp. 215, 217-23, 226-31, 241-45.
[11] Julian Steward, "Wittfogel's Irrigation Hypothesis," in *Evolution and Ecology: Essays on Social Transformation*, ed. Jane Steward and Robert Murphy (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 91.

larger corpus on which to base further (generalized) conclusions. Regarding the growth of states, according to him it hardly mattered in any practical sense whether states or large-scale irrigation came first, because "neither could exist without the other in extremely arid lands." What was more interesting to Steward were the factors in the cultural development of those societies: the varieties of irrigation, religion, militarism, nature of land ownership, means of production, and trade of commodities.[12]

Historian Donald Worster built on Wittfogel's hydraulic theory in his study of empire building in the arid southwestern United States of America during the twentieth century. In *Rivers of Empire*, Worster argues that western elites built their empire by physically dominating the landscape via irrigation. In his analysis, American empire is "a condition of absolute sway, supreme command, undisputed control over nature that would give front rank, not to any one individual, but to an entire people, their values, and their institutions." In its mature form, the empire belonged to "a small power elite reigning over a large, anonymous, dependent population."[13] Worster gives significantly less deterministic agency to climate than Wittfogel, demonstrating the succession of moments when western elites chose to direct their society towards mass irrigation and state control. Worster's work on rivers, and specifically irrigation, in the American West, drew attention to the dialectic between humans and nature, "intertwined in an ongoing spiral of challenge-response-challenge."[14]

Among the rivers of the world, a few have drawn the attention of premodern historians: the

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[12] *Ibid.*, 91, 97.
[13] Worster, 260-261.
[14] *Ibid.*, 22.

Danube,[15] Thames,[16] Tiber,[17] Nile,[18] and Yellow Rivers.[19] The people who lived along these rivers coped with floods and channel changes in their own ways. The rivers functioned as transportation avenues, food and energy sources, and sewers, and they often defined the cities that grew up alongside them. Two sets of studies, those on the Yellow River and the early-modern Danube, informed my approach to the Kamo River. Both rivers have relatively long historical records, between 500 and 1000 years, with iterative engineering projects, accommodating problems created by earlier engineers as technology changed. Both rivers were also heavily engineered to protect cities (Beijing and Vienna) from flood events. As will become clear below, the scale of these projects differs dramatically from the projects on the medieval Kamo River.

According to art historian Heping Liu, the image and myth of Yu the Great 大禹 became, during the Song dynasty 宋朝 (960-1279), “a metaphor for governing the empire.”[20] Under this paradigm, a benevolent state ought to take the lead in controlling the perennial Yellow River

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[15] Severin Hohensinner et al., “Two Steps Back, One Step Forward: Reconstructing the Dynamic Danube Riverscape under Human Influence in Vienna,” *Water History* 5, no. 2 (July 2013): 121–43; Gudrun Pollack et al., “Using and Abusing a Torrential Urban River: The Wien River before and during Industrialization,” *Water History* 8, no. 3 (September 2016): 329–55; Christian Rohr, “Floods of the Upper Danube River and Its Tributaries and Their Impact on Urban Economies (c. 1350-1600): The Examples of the Towns of Krems/Stein and Wels (Austria),” *Environment and History* 19, no. 2 (2013): 133–48; Christian Rohr, “The Danube Floods and Their Human Response and Perception (14th to 17th c.),” *History of Meteorology* 2 (2005): 71–86; Christoph Sonnlechner, Severin Hohensinner, and Gertrud Haidvogl, “Floods, Fights and a Fluid River: The Viennese Danube in the Sixteenth Century,” *Water History* 5, no. 2 (July 2013): 173–94; Verena Winiwarter, Martin Schmid, and Gert Dressel, “Looking at Half a Millennium of Co-Existence: The Danube in Vienna as a Socio-Natural Site,” *Water History* 5, no. 2 (July 2013): 101–19.

[16] Stuart Oliver, “Liquid Materialities in the Landscape of the Thames: Mills and Weirs from the Eighth Century to the Nineteenth Century,” *Area* 45, no. 2 (2013): 223–29.

[17] Gregory Aldrete, *Floods of the Tiber in Ancient Rome* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).

[18] Karl Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt: A Study in Cultural Ecology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976).

[19] Heping Liu, “Picturing Yu Controlling the Flood: Technology, Ecology, and Emperorship in Northern Song China,” in *Cultures of Knowledge: Technology in Chinese History*, ed. Dagmar Schäfer (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 91–126; Ling Zhang, “Manipulating the Yellow River and the State Formation of the Northern Song Dynasty,” in *Nature, Environment and Culture in East Asia: The Challenge of Climate Change*, ed. Carmen Meinert (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 137–61; Ling Zhang, *The River, the Plain, and the State: An Environmental Drama in Northern Song China, 1048-1128* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

[20] Liu, 92.

floods. The course of the Yellow River shifted during the centuries of the Song dynasty. Historian Ling Zhang studies the causes and effects of this course change in detail. She uses the perspective of a "hydraulic mode of consumption" in contrast to Wittfogel's hydraulic despotism to emphasize the way the complex of agriculture, political capital, labour, and the environmental realities of the Loess Plateau and northern China coalesced into the perpetual danger that is the Yellow River. Her study also challenges Wittfogel's conclusions that the relationship between power and large-scale hydraulic works would create a cohesive, authoritarian bureaucracy.[21] Instead she demonstrates how fragmented and messy the Song responses to the river and its floods were.[22] Her studies of the Yellow River course change also highlight the ways rivers act as borders. According to Zhang, Hebei, Song policy sacrificed the area north of the Song capital province of Henan, a military buffer-zone between the Song and its neighbours the Liao dynasty 遼朝 (907-1125), was sacrificed to the river's caprice in order to reinforce the south against floods.[23]

Working with nature

Where Worster's study saw western technology as damaging to natural water sources, in some cases irreparably, historian Richard White reshaped the analytical conversation around river engineering in *The Organic Machine*. Rather than pitting ur-"humans" against an ur-"nature," White attacks the division of nature and culture by inserting human activity into nature. He argues that the Columbia River, as it is, with dams, rapids, hatcheries, and history, is an organic machine: natural in that it still has processes outside of human artifice, and machine in that it is used by humans to provide energy. From its pre-industrial existence to the present,

[21] Wittfogel, esp. chapter 3.
[22] Zhang, *The River, the Plain, and the State*, 177.
[23] *Ibid.,* 50; Zhang, "Manipulating the Yellow River." Her evidence for this argument is weak, but the point remains that she approaches her analysis of sources through the lens of state/bureaucratic control of rivers.

White argues through the Columbia's history that "there is no clear line between us and nature."[24]

At whatever porous boundaries exist between humans and rivers, particularly in the case of twentieth-century rivers, historians invariably identify technologies that mediate, shape, and are shaped by the social, cultural, and riparian systems in which they are embedded. While the earliest river histories, such as Wittfogel's, included a heavy emphasis on technology, science studies scholars such as Sara Pritchard and the Envirotech Special Interest Group worked to explicitly identify and untangle envirotechnical systems. In *Confluence*, Pritchard defines envirotechnical systems as "the historically and culturally specific configurations of intertwined 'ecological' and 'technological' systems, which may be composed of artifacts, practices, people, institutions, and ecologies."[25] Like White's "organic machine," Pritchard's river is a hybrid structure, constructed by the social practices that influence its material use and shape, the political institutions that determine priorities, the organisms that make up the sediment, plant, and non-human animal life of the water and wetlands, and the geology and climate. The web of competing agendas - in the case of the Rhone River those of agriculture, hydro power, and nuclear power - formed the particular envirotechnical system in southeastern France in the mid-twentieth century.

While twentieth-century rivers and river projects have received steady attention from environmental historians, historians of pre-industrial eras have also increasingly turned their attention to rivers, with the expansion of the field of environmental history in the 2000s. With few exceptions, these histories focused on large, continental rivers. A foremost example of this is the 2013 *Water History* special issue dedicated to the Danube.

[24] White, 109.
[25] Pritchard, 19.

ENVIEDAN, "Environmental History of the Viennese Danube 1500-1890," a team of historians and cartographers led by Verena Winiwarter, approaches the history of the Danube from a river engineering perspective. The project is both a proof of concept, that the historical landscape of an urban river can be reconstructed based on documentary evidence, as well as an argument to broaden the scope of topics within environmental history. They use the concept of "socio-natural sites" to indicate the points of investigation where nature and culture are not distinct but rather hybrids of arrangements and interactions.[26] They further argue that the approach of looking at the long-term interactions across centuries as well as looking at the flood plain as a whole illuminates "the magnitude and importance of pre-industrial interventions into rivers."[27]

The approach of the authors of ENVIEDAN to reconstruction is particularly interesting and may be applicable to the early modern Kamo River.[28] The process is described in "Two Steps Back, One Step Forward," as a "regressive-iterative reconstruction." Using geographic information system (GIS) mapping, the team layered historical maps with the present topographical map and worked backward from the present to observe the changes in the shape and structures of the Danube. Comparing the maps with documentary analysis and absolute landmarks - structures for which latitude and longitude coordinates as well as elevation are known - the team traced the various branches and meanders of the river channels.[29]

In contrast with the architects of cities along both the Yellow River and the Danube, ancient Rome's builders took a hands-off approach to the Tiber. Historian Gregory Aldrete

[26] Winiwarter et al. "Looking at Half a Millennium." 108.
[27] *Ibid.*, 105.
[28] It was my intention to study what maps may be available for this but the 2020 COVID pandemic intervened.
[29] Hohensinner et al. "Two steps back." An animated map is visible at Severin Hohensinner, "The Struggle with the River: Vienna and the Danube from 1500 to the Present," Environment & Society Portal, 2012, https://www.environmentandsociety.org/arcadia/struggle-river-vienna-and-danube-1500-present.

argues that though the ancient Romans had the technology for diking and diverting the Tiber, they chose not to use it to prevent flooding in Rome. First, diverting or otherwise weakening the river would be seen as lessening "the majesty of Father Tiber."[30] Second, more pragmatically, the citizens with the economic resources to build or support maintenance for protective waterworks were those least effected by flooding, as their houses were built on higher ground and of sturdier materials.[31]

Aldrete uses another cartographic methodology, measuring the elevation of the various locations throughout ancient Rome and calculating the reach of floods at 10, 15, and 20 meters above sea level (masl). Through this comparison he establishes that, in contrast to the elite residences at high altitudes, all of the city's important public infrastructure was below the level of major floods (15 masl), which occurred approximately once every eighteen years.[32] This suggests that preventing flood damage to public infrastructure was not a priority for elites. Given the wealth of archaeological data for Kyoto, which includes absolute landmarks as well as coordinates and elevation for sites, archaeologists are already using this kind of data and analysis in their reconstructions of parts of the city. Results from some studies include locating flood zones for the various rivers, which encouraged settlement in some areas while discouraging in others.[33] Similar to Aldrete's findings, early elites in Kyoto appear to have been aware of and responded to groundwater level and flood risk when siting their residences and gardens.[34]

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[30] Aldrete, 187.
[31] *Ibid.*, 215.
[32] *Ibid.,* 80.
[33] Kawasumi Tatsunori 川角龍典, "Rekishi jidai ni okeru Kyōto no kōzui to hanrangen no chikei henka: iseki ni kiroku sareta saigai jōhō o mochiita suigaishi no saikōchiku 歴史時代における京都の洪水と氾濫原の地形変化一遺跡に記録された災害情報を用いた水害史の再構築," *Kyōto rekishi saigai kenkyū* 京都歴史災害研究 1 (2004). See figure 4 on p. 16 and figure 8 on p. 20.
[34] Kawasumi Tatsunori, "Heiankyō no kankyōshi 平安京の環境史," *Kankyō gijutsu* 環境技術 38, no. 2 (2009): 88.

What about Japanese Rivers?

Examining the function of major rivers on an island like Honshū not only changes the physical scales at which rivers effected their environs, it also opens up new possibilities for interpreting how historical people might have interacted with the water. Unlike the examples of river histories described above, medieval Japan did not have a strong central state either of the bureaucratic or charismatic variety. Instead, complex and cascading organizations of elites governed small areas from which they drew revenue as proprietors, provincial governors, military governors, or *jitō* 地頭 (warrior stewards who managed estates). By the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the strength of court titles had long since begun to break down, and elite institutions within Kyoto found their claims to revenue usurped by those with more local ties to power. Because of this, while the cultural authority of elites such as the emperor, traditional aristocrats, and powerful temples, remained concentrated in Kyoto, their actual authority to govern and pull revenue from the rest of the islands was minimal. Particularly following the Ōnin War, which destroyed many elite homes and physical wealth, Kyoto elites struggled to perform even regular, expected tasks, such as visiting the emperor at the start of the year.[35] In short, what state there was in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Japan, the institutions of the imperial family and the shoguns, was significantly weaker than the states that managed the rivers typically studied by environmental historians like the Columbia or Yellow Rivers. It had neither the political will nor the necessary resources to initiate or maintain large-scale hydraulic projects. Instead, as will be demonstrated in the following chapters, individual religious institutions and elite families managed the waterworks that lead to their workers' fields.

While the Kamo floods were dangerous and damaging to the city and its residents, they

[35] See Lee Butler, *Emperor and Aristocracy in Japan, 1467-1680: Resilience and Renewal* (Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 2002) for an in depth study of the post-Ōnin War period.

were nowhere near the scale of Danube or Yellow River floods. This distinction is more than likely due to the size of the rivers and the dependence on hydraulic engineering (explained in more detail below). The Danube and Yellow River are both large, continental rivers with significantly more water in them that could breach banks. The Kamo River is a relatively small, island river. Its watershed is comparatively small, and thus it has far less water to breach its banks, even in extremely wet conditions.

Compared to the rivers that have drawn the attention of environmental historians, the Kamo River is only a trickle. It is short, shallow, and only visible in historical records because of its relationship with the capital city. But it is this relationship that makes the river worth studying. It is part of the geomantic shape of a city that was home to the imperial court for a thousand years, and throughout the millennium of the city's existence the Kamo has remained central to the city's social life.

In some respects, the Kamo River resembles those other premodern rivers. Over the course of Kyoto's development, the Kamo divided the urban landscape as east and west regions. It functioned as a food source and sewer for the city. But that is where the resemblances end. Nineteenth-century civil engineering largely passed over the Kamo. Very little in the way of water transportation was even possible along much of the river. No hydroelectric dams have ever been built. And while devastating to those caught up in any rapid rise in water level and to those who lived or farmed within its flood zones, flood control was not a major priority for Kyoto's modern administrators until the 1935 flood which killed twelve people, destroyed 137 buildings, and damaged over twenty-four thousand other buildings.[36]

[36] Kyōto fu 京都府, "Shōwa 10 nen no Kamogawa daikōzui to sono go no chisui taisaku ni tsuite 昭和 10 年の鴨川大洪水とその後の治水対策について," Kyōto fu 京都府, accessed November 13, 2022, https://www.pref.kyoto.jp/kasen/1172825060356.html.

Within the history of premodern Kyoto, the Kamo River is a largely overlooked part of the scenery, until it floods. Although focusing on "the environment" in people's lived experiences of place offers an important lens through which to look at both people and space, historians of premodern Japan have been slow to integrate the theories and concepts of environmental history into their analyses of broader premodern Japan. What environmental history exists for the medieval period is largely the history of disasters - famines, fires, and floods.[37] It is not until the early modern period, beginning around 1700, that the scope of study broadens to topics such as landscape change,[38] pollution,[39] and relationships with ecosystems and wild animals.[40] Flood events make up a majority of historical documents indicating the river. While medieval bridges draw the attention of historians writing in Japanese, in large part because of their relationships with managing temples and shrines,[41] documentary records related to the bridges primarily relate to flood events when bridges were damaged or destroyed.

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[37] For example, Kitamura Masaki 北村優季, *Heiankyō no saigaishi: toshi no kiki to saisei* 平安京の災害史 : 都市の危機と再生 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2012); Minegishi Sumio 峰岸純夫, *Chūsei saigai/senran no shakaishi* 中世災害戦乱の社会史 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2011); Yoshikoshi Akihisa 吉越昭久 and Katahira Hirofumi 片平博文, eds., *Kyōto no rekishi saigai* 京都の歴史災害 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2012).

[38] Ono Yoshirō 小野芳郎, *Mizu no kankyō shi: "Kyō no meisui" wa naze ushinawareta ka* 水の環境史「京の名水」はなぜ失われたか (PHP Kenkyūjo PHP 研究所, 2001); Conrad Totman, "Japan and Her Forests: The Catastrophe That Was Avoided," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 3 (1982): 2–5; Brett Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands: Ecology and Culture in Japanese Expansion, 1590-1800* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

[39] Brett Walker, *Toxic Archipelago: A History of Industrial Disease in Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010); Takahiro Watanabe, "Talking Sulfur Dioxide: Air Pollution and the Politics of Science in Late Meiji Japan," in *Japan at Nature's Edge: The Environmental Context of a Global Power*, ed. Ian Jared Miller, Julia Adeney Thomas, and Brett Walker (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013), 73–89.

[40] Brett Walker, *The Lost Wolves of Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005); Brett Walker, "Meiji Modernization, Scientific Agriculture, and the Destruction of Japan's Hokkaido Wolf," *Environmental History* 9, no. 2 (2004): 248–74; Gregory M. Pflugfelder and Brett L. Walker, eds., *JAPANimals: History and Culture in Japan's Animal Life* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 2005); Federico Marcon, "Inventorying Nature: Tokugawa Yoshimune and the Sponsorship of Honzōgaku in Eighteenth-Century Japan," in *Japan at Nature's Edge: The Environmental Context of a Global Power*, ed. Ian Miller, Julia Adeney Thomas, and Brett Walker (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013), 189–206; Brett Walker, "Sanemori's Revenge: Insects, Eco-System Accidents, and Policy Decisions in Japan's Environmental History," *Journal of Policy History* 19, no. 1 (2007): 113–44.

[41] See for example Tabata Yasuko 田端泰子, "Hashi to jisha/sekijo no shūzō jigyō 橋と寺社・関所の修造事業," in *Kyō no Kamogawa to hashi: sono rekishi to seikatsu* 京の鴨川と橋：その歴史と生活, ed. Kadowaki Teiji 門脇貞二 and Asao Naohiro 朝尾直弘 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2001), 71–98.

An early study from 1983 by Nakajima Chōtarō focuses on Kamo floods and weather patterns to uncover what they say about climate history in the Kyoto Basin. He outlines a general trend of warmer periods leading to fewer floods and colder periods leading to more floods. Acknowledging the limitations of his sources, he discerns three periods of high-frequency flooding, which largely correspond to the findings of geographer Kawasumi Tatsunori's research and my own archival study in chapter 2.[42] His theory for what caused the uptick in flood events is likely deforestation following the founding of Heiankyō 平安京 and later climatic fluctuations. Kawasumi's research adds reconstructed topographic data to the picture, tracing the rise and fall of the Kamo's stream bed and corresponding changes in flood patterns.

The importance of the Kamo River to medieval Kyoto, however, went beyond the damage caused by seasonal flood events. It was central to the conceptualization of place as both imagined and lived. Working with the records available, this project expands on the meanings of inside and outside along with sacred and secular as they took shape within the perceptions of urban space. It also looks at the function of the Kamo as a means of purifying the city of physical and spiritual filth.

Archaeology in Kyoto

While primary documents from medieval Kyoto are unusually abundant in comparison with other parts of the world, studying the physical space of the city would be limited to abstract ideas of how the space was written about by its elite diarists and administrators without the wealth of physical materials that remain from Kyoto's millennium of habitation. The city of Kyoto and the universities within it uncover and publish reports on dozens of sites every year, providing a richly textured temporal and geographic map of the historical city.

[42] Nakajima, 88.

Section 93 of the 1950 Law for the Protection of Cultural Property (文化財保護法) requires that plans for construction be submitted for approval before any building is started.[43] This allows archaeologists to survey any extant archaeological remains on the site. This type of archaeology is called salvage archaeology. While salvage archaeology is not the only type in Kyoto, it is the dominant form.

City-wide geography projects from Ritsumeikan University, and the work of Ritsumeikan geographers on Kyoto's historical waterscape and the Kamo River in particular provide a foundation for understanding the physical space of medieval Kyoto. Ritsumeikan geographers Yoshikoshi Akihisa and Kawasumi Tatsunori contributed significant scholarship to efforts at understanding the historical changes to the Kamo River. Because much of the focus of Kyoto's archaeology is on the Heian period (794-1185), Heiankyō's baseline geography is used in every study.

Kawasumi's research fills in the historical gap between the Heian period and the early modern era addressed by other scholars. His work uses a combination of data from archaeological sites, historical documents, and aerial photographs to reconstruct the physical shape of the land and water. He argues that floods of all of Kyoto's rivers, but in particular those of the Kamo, shaped the land around them and impacted the ways residents chose to settle the city.[44] His research forms the background of chapter 2 and will be discussed in greater detail below.

Yoshikoshi's work focuses primarily on the early modern period, from the seventeenth to

[43] "Law for the Protection of Cultural Property 文化財保護法," Pub. L. No. 214, § 93 (1950).
[44] Kawasumi Tatsunori 川角龍典, "Heiankyō no kankyōshi 平安京の環境史"; Kawasumi, "Rekishi jidai ni okeru Kyōto no kōzui to hanrangen no chikei henka"; Kawasumi Tatsunori, "Heiankyō ni okeru chikei kankyō henka to toshi-teki tochi riyō no hensen 平安京における地形環境変化と都市的土地利用の変遷," *Kōkogaku to shizen kagaku* 考古学と自然科学 42 (2001): 35–54.

nineteenth centuries. He has made a special study of historical disasters, particularly floods. His method combines research on geography, climate, plant life, and hydrology in what he calls "environmental archaeology" (*kankyō kōkogaku* 環境考古学).[45] His research argues that the Kamo's symbolic, legal, economic, and cultural role in Kyoto's history has singled the Kamo out above the other rivers of Kyoto. He also argues that the perception of the early-modern river shifted as it was narrowed and tamed in the seventeenth century from a dangerous element of the city to a place of entertainment.[46]

The Virtual Kyoto Project

The first maps of Kyoto's archaeological sites were put together in 1972, and in 1979 archaeologists in Kyoto ramped up survey efforts.[47] The Virtual Kyoto project at Ritsumeikan University began in 2002 as the first attempt to engage online users with the wealth of archaeological and spatial data from Kyoto. It compiles and archives historical and pictorial maps, and areal and street photographs, along with paintings and archaeological site data to create a "4DGIS" online map. The stated goal of the Virtual Kyoto project is to create a current model of historic Kyoto and to communicate the city's history more broadly.[48] Another aim of

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[45] Yoshikoshi Akihisa 吉越昭久, ed., *Rekishijidai no kankyō fukugen ni kan-suru kosuimongakuteki kenkyū: Kyōto Kamogawa no kasen keikan no hensen o chūshin ni* 歴史時代の環境復原に関する古水文学的研究 : 京都・鴨川の河川景観の変遷を中心に (Kyoto: Ritsumeikan Daigaku Bungakubu Chirigaku Kyōshitsu, 2004), 1.

[46] *Ibid.,* 24. For a deeper discussion of the entertainment district that built up along the Kamo River during the early modern period, see Suzuki Michihisa 鈴木康久, "'Kyōto Kamogawa nōryōyuka' no hensen ni kan-suru kenkyū: edoki no 'meisho annai ki,' 'kikōbun,' 'kaiga' kara 「京都 鴨川納涼床」の変遷に関する研究 : 江戸期の「名所案内記」, 「紀行文」, 「絵画」から," *Kyōto sangyō daigaku ronshū, shakai kagaku keiretsu* 京都産業大学論集. 社会科学系列 35 (2018): 51–69.

[47] Kyōtoshi maizō bunkazai kenkyū sentā 京都市埋蔵文化財調査センター, ed., *Kyōto shinai iseki shikutsu chōsa gaihō, Heisei 5 nendo* 京都市内遺跡試掘調査概報　平成5年度 (Kyoto: Kyōtoshi Bunka Kankōkyoku 京都市文化観光局, 1994), 1; Kyōtoshi maizō bunkazai kenkyū sentā 京都市埋蔵文化財調査センター, ed., *Kyōto shinai iseki shikutsu chōsa gaihō, Heisei 4 nendo* 京都市内遺跡試掘調査概報　平成４年度 (Kyoto: Kyōtoshi Bunka Kankōkyoku 京都市文化観光局, 1993), 1.

[48] Yano Keiji et al., "Virtual Kyoto: 4DGIS Comprising Spatial and Temporal Dimensions," *Journal of Geography* 117, no. 2 (2008): 465, 477.

the project is to use historical data as a resource for future urban planning.

The main components are a two-dimensional GIS map, three-dimensional CAD modelling of architectural features, and temporal changes - the fourth dimension.[49] The team used GIS software to create the base map before populating it with renderings of surviving historical buildings, random trees and people drawn from historical artwork, and randomized styles of *Kyōmachiya* 京町屋 (traditional town houses) in residential corridors. The map includes four main eras: around World War II, the 1910s, the 17th century, and the late 8th century. It also includes a "contemporary" (現代) option for comparison, including popular landmarks and stores.[50] This projected also included disaster and recovery histories in the city intended to inform future preservation and disaster mitigation.[51]

New since 2020, another project from Ritsumeikan is the Heian-kyō Site Database 平安京跡データベース.[52] This project is a useful tool for both research and learning. It uses Esri's ArcGIS Online and StoryMaps software to allow users to visualize Heiankyō and the different archaeological surveys that have been done throughout the city. Users see the current topographic map of Kyoto overlaid by the Heian grid. Through the database link, the user can select various layers to see archaeological surveys and digs related to the Heian period. Clicking on survey layers overlays sketches of the sites, including building footprints and trenches.

[49] *Ibid.,* 465.
[50] https://www.dmuchgis.com/virtual_kyoto/ Limited to Internet Explorer compatibility as of August 2021. Unfortunately, the software is outdated and buggy. It only runs on Internet Explorer, and the maps do not always load. The software also frequently crashes, particularly in the aerial view and when navigating between sites. It does not appear to have been updated in the last ten years.
[51] Kazuyuki Ashida et al., "Visualization of Disaster Histories about Old Temples and Shrines in Kyoto," *Rekishitoshi bōsai ronbunshū* 歴史都市防災論文集 *(Proceedings of Urban Cultural Heritage Disaster Mitigation)* 1 (2007): 96.
[52] "Heiankyō seki dētabēsu 平安京跡データベース," 2020, https://heiankyoexcavationdb-rstgis.hub.arcgis.com/.

Figure 1.1 3-D Scale Map of Heiankyō at Heiankyō sōsei-kan, photo by author

The StoryMap uses reconstructed images as well as map pins to show users what Heiankyō might have looked like spatially.[53] StoryMap is a web application that combines maps, images, and text to form narration. This StoryMap begins with Kyoto City Heiankyō Sōsei-kan's 京都市平安京創生館 scaled reconstruction of Heian (figure 1.1).[54] It continues by introducing users to the archaeological site maps in the database. This project allows users to download shapefiles that can be used in maps in Esri's main mapping software, ArcGIS. I have used some of these data in the creation of the basemaps that appear throughout this study. Accurate site locations for roads and buildings were invaluable in analysing spatial relationships.

Urban Space

Urban space in Japan prior to the Edo period can be categorized by type or by chronological development. Wakita Haruko categorized these into four types: metropolis, entrepôts, early castle towns, and country towns.[55] These categories are particular to later-medieval eras, as castle towns and village organizations were largely a sixteenth-century

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[53] "Heiankyō Seki Stōrīmappu 平安京跡ストーリーマップ," ArcGIS StoryMaps, June 15, 2022, https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/5288ef9324934fa7b9a62278d6b3a375.
[54] Heiankyō Sōsei-kan is a small museum attached to Kyoto City Library. Its collection is dedicated to the Heian period, and it emphasizes engagement with visual, three-dimensional reconstructions. One of the main items in the exhibit is the 3D scale reproduction of Heian, which takes up most of the main exhibit room. Other areas include rooms, children's dress, and a model of Kamo no Chōmei's hut.
[55] Haruko Wakita and Susan Hanley, "Dimensions of Development: Cities in Fifteenth and Sixteenth-Century Japan," in *Japan Before Tokugawa: Political Consolidation and Economic Growth, 1500-1650*, ed. John W. Hall, Keiji Nagahara, and Kozo Yamamura (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 295.

development. Early historical cities, from the seventh century through the thirteenth century, were primarily administrative centres. They housed imperial or bakufu agents and the network of merchants and artisans needed to support the administrators' lifestyles and logistics for tax collection. These included cities such as the various imperial capitals and the seat of the first warrior government in Kamakura 鎌倉. It also included provincial capitals. The port city of Hakata 博多 in Japan's southwest is an exception to this categorization of cities, as it functioned predominantly as a centre of international economic activity.[56]

Though various historians disagree on precisely when such spaces developed, from roughly the fourteenth century onward a larger variety of towns and other dense residential spaces developed. Among the urban settlements are *monzenmachi* 門前町 and *jinaichō* 寺内町. Both of these denote a type of settlement in and around temple or shrine precincts that were inhabited by temple workers as well as agricultural workers and artisans whose labour supported the temple community.

Other settlements that might be considered urban are post towns (*shokubamachi* 職場町) and market towns (*ichibamachi* 市場町).[57] These contrast with villages (*gō* 郷), the smallest administrative unit under the Ritsuryō legal code (律令制, eighth century). According to Hitomi Tonomura, residents might refer to their own subunits as *mura* 村 ("village"), but *gō* as an administrative unit were the locus of proprietors' authority.[58] Village communities had their own

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[56] Bruce Batten, *Gateway to Japan: Hakata in War and Peace: 500-1300* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006).

[57] James McClain, "Castle Towns and Daimyo Authority: Kanazawa in the Years 1583-1630," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 6, no. 2 (1980): 267.

[58] Hitomi Tonomura, *Community and Commerce in Late Medieval Japan: The Corporate Villages of Tokuchin-Ho* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 37–49. Early medieval proprietors were aristocrats, the imperial family, and temples. Later, warrior households became agents of proprietors as well as proprietors themselves. See Mikael Adolphson, *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 10–20, for a summary of the *kenmon* theory introduced by Kuroda Toshio.

hierarchies and forms of organization around local lords, religious institutions, or wealthy commoners.[59]

In common usage "urban" describes the characteristics of a city, which is unhelpfully vague. It may refer to population density, but while North American cities are much less dense than cities in Japan, for example, they are both "urban." So where is the boundary between urban and not-urban? Because population statistics are scant and unreliable prior to the Edo period, there is no way to define "urban" based on population size or density. Scholarly definitions of medieval Japanese "urban-ness" tends to be arbitrary, based largely on the type of economic activity - villages had resources extracted from them whereas resources circulated more in urban spaces. Another factor was how a settlement was recognized by the powers-that-be. For example, the merchant community at Ishiyama Honganji 石山本願寺 was merely a merchant community until it was recognized by the local powers as a *jinaichō*, with special immunities from debt moratoriums.[60] During the process of re-organizing the various regions of Japan into a uniform system, Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537-1598, *kanpaku* 関白 1585-1592) arbitrarily divided "village" and "urban" space in order to systematize taxation.[61]

Cities of the sixteenth century also included so-called "free cities," castle towns, and metropolises. Free cities of the sixteenth century, such as Sakai 堺 and some parts of southern Kyoto, had limited self-government. Cooperative organizations managed commerce and negotiated with various warlords and armies. These were collectives of non-farming commoners,

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[59] Kuroda Toshio and Suzanne Gay, "Buddhism and Society in the Medieval Estate System," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23, no. 3/4 (1996): 292–93.
[60] James McClain and Wakita Osamu, eds., "Osaka across the Ages," in *Osaka: The Merchants' Capital of Early Modern Japan* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 11.
[61] Osamu Wakita and James McClain, "The Commercial and Urban Policies of Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi," in *Japan Before Tokugawa: Political Consolidation and Economic Growth, 1500-1650*, ed. John W. Hall, Keiji Nagahara, and Kozo Yamamura (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 224–47.

such as merchants and artisans, who may or may not have owned their own property and who circulated resources via the market among themselves as well as with outside groups.[62]

The most widespread urbanization occurred in the second half of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the formation of castle towns (*jōkamachi* 城下町). Foremost of these was Tokugawa Ieyasu's 徳川家康 (1542-1616, shogun 1603-1605) Edo. Other large castle towns included Osaka 大阪 and Kanazawa 金沢. The distinguishing features of castle towns were not only their central castle but the nature of their urban planning. These were not spontaneous settlements. Locations were selected by daimyo 大名 (regional warlords), and artisans and merchants were invited to settle in and around military fortifications. Spontaneous migration and urban expansion followed on the heels of the initial planned development. In total, around two hundred castle towns were planned and built between 1580 and 1700.[63] Most of these developed at new sites or at the site of small villages.[64] This rapid building and population of cities has been a frequent point of entry for scholars seeking to understand Japan's nineteenth-century modernization.[65]

Imperial Capitals

Kyoto stands apart from other medieval cities by virtue of its age and function. It began in the eighth century and persisted as an imperial capital until the end of the nineteenth century. As the seat of the imperial court, Kyoto also became the centre of cultural authority and aristocratic power. A brief history of imperial capitals provides a baseline for understanding the development

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[62] Haruko Wakita, "Ports, Markets, and Medieval Urbanism in the Osaka Region," in *Osaka: The Merchants' Capital of Early Modern Japan*, ed. James McClain and Osamu Wakita, trans. Gary Leupp and James McClain (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 22–43.
[63] McClain, 268.
[64] John W. Hall, "The Castle Town and Japan's Modern Urbanization," *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 15, no. 1 (1955): 43.
[65] Examples of this include *Ibid*., especially 41-43; McClain, 271, and Susan Hanley, *Everyday Things in Premodern Japan: The Hidden Legacy of Material Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

of Kyoto as the medieval capital. The city of Heijōkyō 平城京 (present-day Nara 奈良) is frequently cited as Japan's first permanent capital, though it was not the first capital built using the continental grid pattern and geomantic planning. Other early Chinese-style capitals include Naniwakyō 難波京 (645-694), Fujiwarakyō 藤原京 (694-710), and Nagaokakyō 長岡京 (784-794).[66] The court occupied Heijōkyō intermittently between 710 and 784, significantly longer than any of the previous capital cities. Ronald Toby provides a detailed discussion of the many transfers of the capital during these years as a part of his argument that Heijō may not have been intended to be a permanent capital.[67]

The Chinese-style capitals, including the later Heiankyō (794-1868), were planned on a grid, with main roads aligned north to south and east to west. The imperial palace stood roughly in the centre north. Officials were allotted residential plots based on their rank from at least the time of the Fujiwara capital.[68] These plots became the basis for important community organizations in later medieval Kyoto.

Heijōkyō's residents were primarily, if not exclusively, people involved with the imperial court, both with and without office and rank. According to Tsuboi Kiyotari and Tanaka Migaku, approximately fifteen percent of workers whose residences are known lived in Heijōkyō. Others lived elsewhere in Yamato 大和 and nearby provinces, and approximately thirty-three percent lived a significant distance away or on other islands.[69] A maximum of one hundred thousand

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[66] Donald McCallum, *The Four Great Temples: Buddhist Archaeology, Architecture, and Icons of Seventh-Century Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 142, 202–3.
[67] Ronald P Toby, "Why Leave Nara?: Kammu and the Transfer of the Capital," *Monumenta Nipponica* 40, no. 3 (1985): 331–47.
[68] Kiyotari Tsuboi and Migaku Tanaka, *The Historic City of Nara*, trans. David Hughes and Gina Barnes (Paris: The Center for East Asian Cultural Studies; The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1991), 102–7. Archaeological evidence shows that despite the ideal form, the imperial enclosure in Heijō had an eastern protrusion and was not symmetrical. See Tsuboi and Tanaka, Chapter 1.
[69] Heijō, present-day Nara 奈良, is located in Yamato Province.

people lived in the city while it was active as a capital. Once the capital moved, the area around Heijō apparently reverted to agricultural land, with the exception of major temples such as Tōdaiji Temple 東大寺 and Kōfukuji Temple 興福寺.[70]

Urban context

Kyoto was founded as Heiankyō in 794 (Enryaku 延暦12), the newest of several successive imperial capitals. In its original form, the city mimicked the geomantic principles underlying the Sui (Ch. 隋, 581-618) and Tang (Ch. 唐, 618-907) capitals Chang'an 長安 and Luoyang 洛陽. Mountains surround the basin on the east, north, and west, and the two main rivers, the Katsura River 桂川 in the west and the Kamo River in the east, meet at the southern end of the basin at the head of the Yodo River 淀川, which runs out into the Pacific Ocean.

Heiankyō was planned as a rectangular grid in between the Katsura and Kamo Rivers. The central north-south road, Suzakuōji 朱雀大路, led from a gate in the south to the palace compound in the centre north and divided the city symmetrically. Roads numbered from north to south, Ichijō (一条, First Avenue) to Kujō (九条, Ninth Avenue), ran east to west.[71] Administrative areas of the city were divided into right and left, as viewed from the position of the imperial palace: Ukyō 右京, the right or western half of the city, and Sakyō 左京, the left or eastern half of the city.

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[70] Tsuboi and Tanaka, 126-133.

[71] Figure 1.2 is based on data from Heiankyō seki dētabēsu; Nicolas Fiévé, *Atlas Historique de Kyoto* (Paris: UNESCO and Éditions de l'Amateur, 2008); Matthew Stavros, *Kyoto: An Urban History of Japan's Premodern Capital* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014).

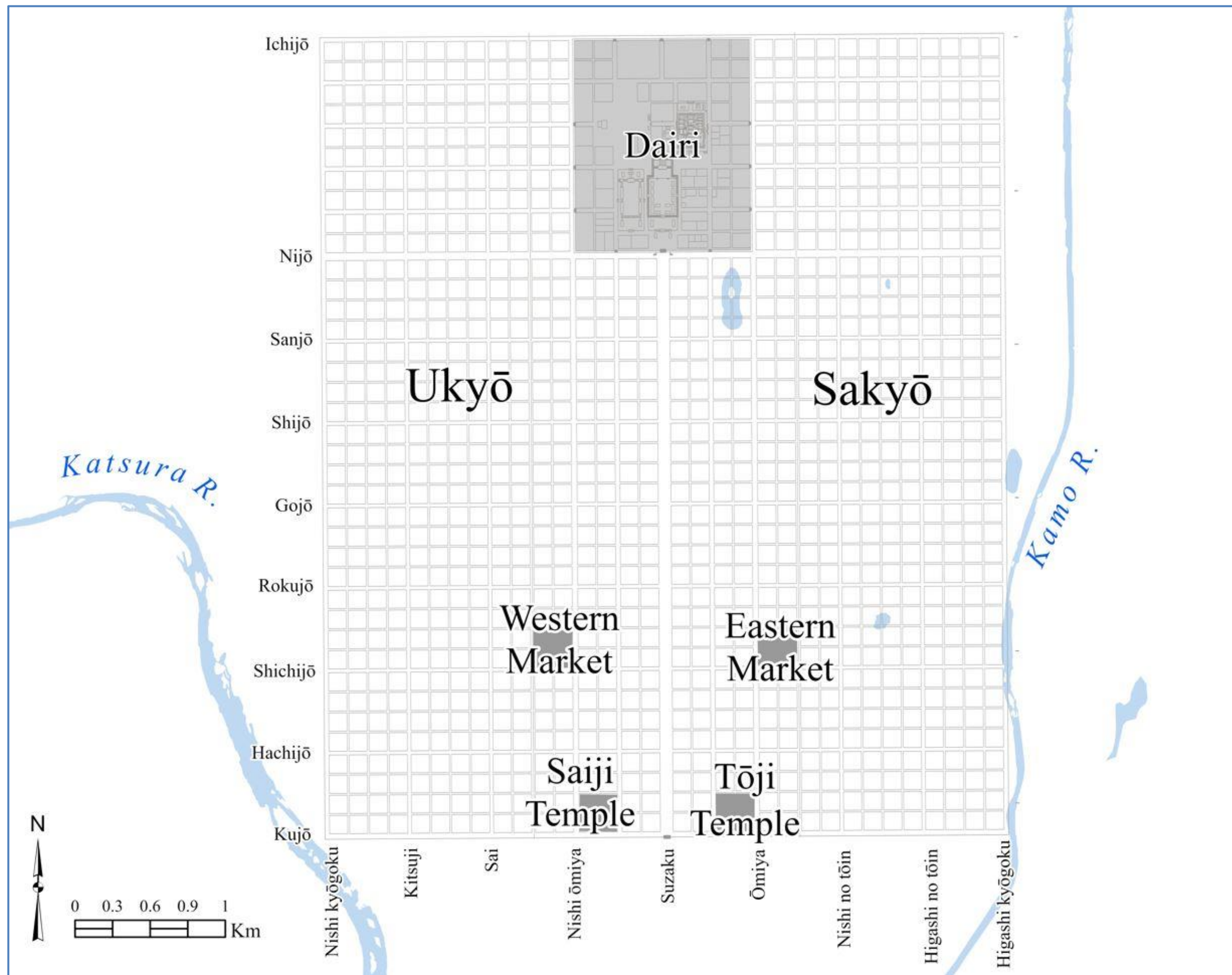

Figure 1.2 Map of Heiankyō

While the original plan left space for the city to be built up evenly, as early as the tenth century Sakyō already housed a disproportionate share of the population.[72] Scholars generally agree that the water-logged landscape was the primary reason Ukyō never built up like Sakyō.[73] As will be argued further below, the flood patterns of Kyoto's rivers, in particular the sediment load of the Kamo River, played a direct role in shaping the landscape and waterscape.

There has been significant scholarship in both Japanese and English on the structures of urban life and the way they evolved as the city was reshaped from a stage for ceremonial

[72] *Engishiki*, 11th century, 11th century, B2370, Tokyo National Museum.
[73] Stavros, *Kyoto*, 30-3; Kawasumi, "Heiankyō ni okeru chikei kankyō henka to toshi teki tochi riyō no hensen," 50; Kawasumi, "Heiankyō no kankyōshi," 87-88.

statecraft to economic and defensive blocs over the centuries.[74] The most common unit of analysis is the city block, evolving from a square *machi* to a diamond-shaped *chō.* These are alternate pronunciations for the same versatile word 町, which refers to a unit of measurement,[75] town, border, or residential land.[76] These were the original units of land used to divide the Heian grid into squares. According to historian Matthew Stavros, while the squares remained intact during the various physical changes to the city caused by repeated fires, floods, and battles, the relationship with the street changed the shape of the neighbourhood "block." The street remained the central feature of *chō*. Residents of houses facing the same street became part of a social unit, rather than those encompassed by the four roads that made the square.[77] By the Muromachi 室町 period (1336-1573), the reorganized *chō* were important economic and manufacturing units.[78] Hayashiya Tatsusaburō notes that as early as 1401 (Ōei 応永 8), four *chō* along Sanjō had organized into a self-administering unit.[79] This unit included both sides facing Sanjō. According to historian Beth Berry, urban land in Kyoto began to transfer from elite ownership to commoner ownership around the end of the fifteenth century. This was an important development for the independence and self-administration of town blocks. Later, after the Ōnin War, these units also joined in mutual self-defence against popular uprisings and elite administrators.[80]

The shape of Kyoto also changed as the centuries progressed. Medieval Kyoto built up on the east side of the Heian grid. Instead of the right/left divide of the Heian period, Kyoto

[74] Stavros refers to this as a "corridor of public pageantry." Stavros, *Kyoto*, 21-24.
[75] Approximately 9930 square meters.
[76] "Chō 町・丁," in *Nihon kokugo daijiten* 日本国語大辞典 (Shogakukan, Japan Knowledge, November 7, 2022).
[77] Stavros, *Kyoto*, 35-36.
[78] Yokoi Kiyoshi 横井清, "Machi no keikan no kōzō 町の景観と構造," in *Kyoto no rekishi: kinsei no taidō* 京都の歴史：近世の胎動, ed. Kyoto-shi hen 京都市編 (Tokyo: Gakugei Shorin, 1968), 84.
[79] Hayashiya Tatsusaburō 林屋辰三郎, *Machishū: Kyoto ni okeru "shimin" keiseishi* 町衆：京都における「市民」形成史 (Tokyo: Chūkō Bunko, 1990), 96.
[80] Mary Elizabeth Berry, *The Culture of Civil War in Kyoto* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 213–15.

eventually became organized into "Upper Kyoto" (Kamigyō 上京) and "Lower Kyoto" (Shimogyō 下京), divided around Shijō. Research on the locations of sake brewers and money lenders has helped to identify centres of economic activity prior to the Ōnin War[81] and shows active markets throughout both Shimogyō and Kamigyō as well as in Higashiyama 東山 (lit. "Eastern Mountains") around the various shrines and temples (figure 1.3).[82]

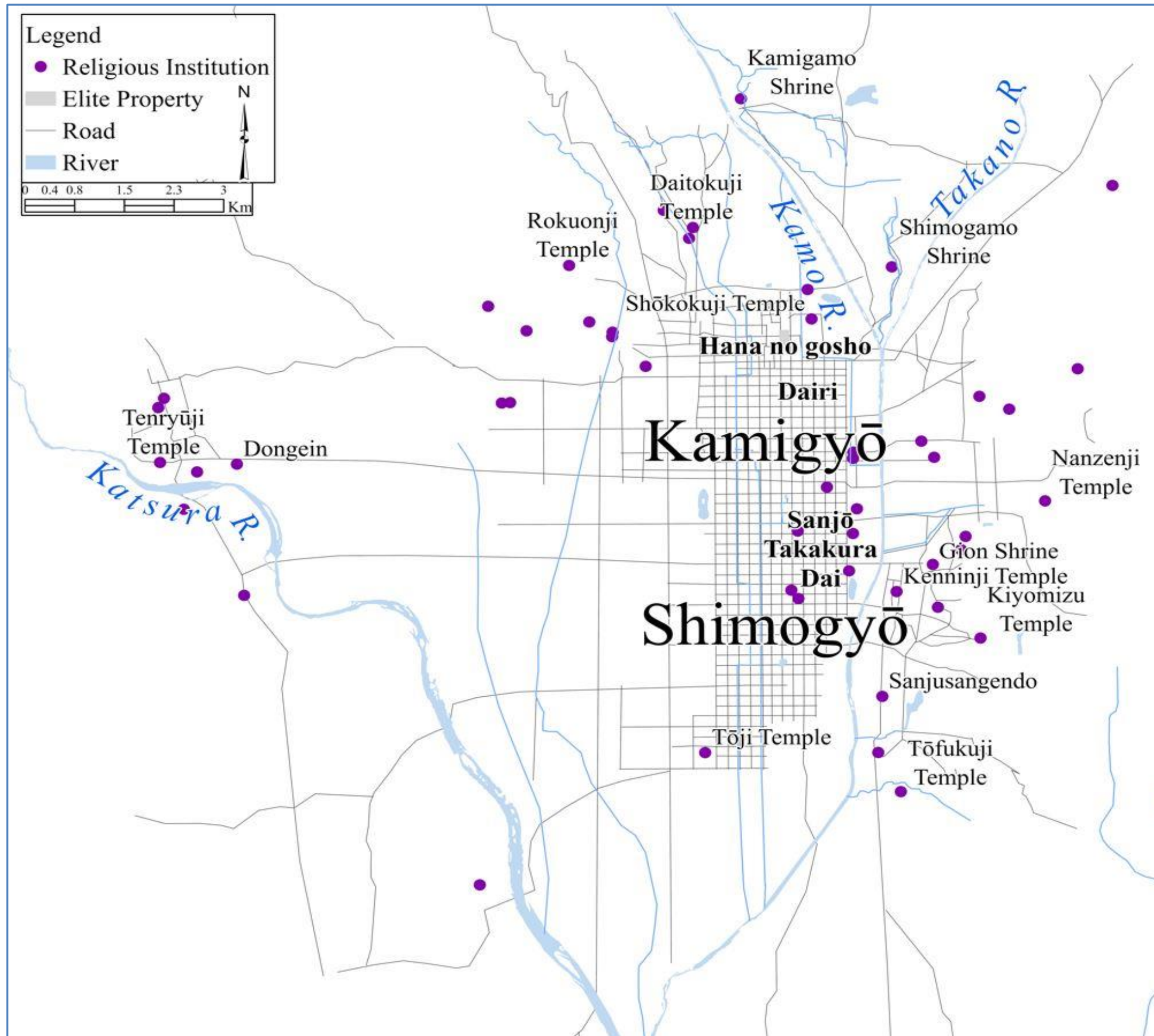

Figure 1.3 Map of Medieval Kyoto, Prior to 1467

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[81] *Shūkyō to shōgyō no toshi - Kyōto (Muromachi jidai, Ōnin no ran izen)* 宗教と商業の都市一京都（室町時代・応仁の乱以前）, 1:16,500 (Kyoto: Gakugei Shorin, 1968), Insert, *Kyoto no rekishi: Kinsei no taidō* 京都の歴史：近世の胎動, v. 3.

[82] Data from *Heiankyō seki dētabēsu*; Fiévé; *Shūkyō to shōgyō no toshi,* insert; Yoshikawa Kōbunkan Henshūbu 吉川弘文館編集部, ed., *Kyōto, Yamashiro ji'in jinja daijiten* 京都・山城寺院神社大辞典 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2010).

In addition to this reorientation, elites including emperors Shirakawa 白川 (r. 1072-1086), Toba 鳥羽 (r. 1107-1123), and Goshirakawa 後白河 (r. 1155-1158) built retirement villas outside the classical boundaries. Warrior families likewise built compounds near the city, and later the Kamakura warrior government (*Rokuhara tandai* 六波羅探題) set up an outpost just east of the Kamo. These areas, Shirakawa, Rokuhara 六波羅, and later the broader areas of Kitayama 北山 and Higashiyama, consisted of temple-palace complexes that drew large settlements of officials, warriors, craftsmen, and merchants to these vicinities.[83]

Following the Ōnin War, which caused wide-spread devastation of much of Kyoto, the city contracted into two large walled areas connected by a narrow north-south corridor along Muromachi Avenue.[84] Among these walled areas were those built by Lotus (*Hokke-shū* 法華宗) sectarians fortifying their temples. Lotus leagues, commoner organizations that were parallel to neighbourhood organizations, complicated the administration of sixteenth-century Kyoto but solidified the self-governing power of

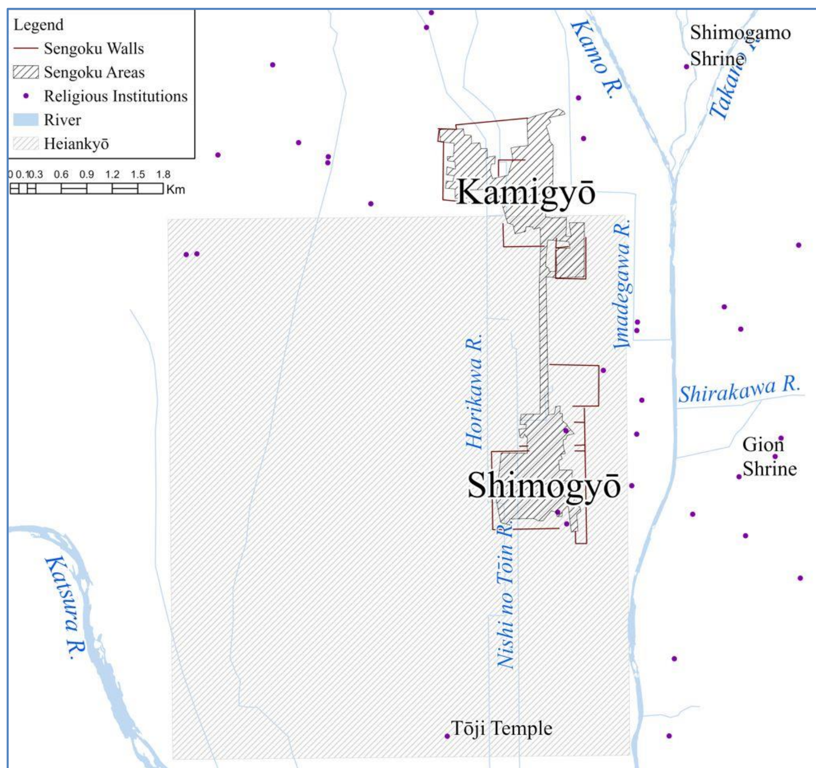

Figure 1.4 Map of Sixteenth-century Kyoto

[83] See Fiévé., 60 and 64 for maps.
[84] *Odoi* data from Fiévé, 146.

townspeople against traditional landlords.[85] Sectarian conflicts contributed to the violence in Kyoto during the first half of the sixteenth century. Most of this study looks at the Kyoto represented by figure 1.3, and therefore I use this base map when representing the city. Discussions in chapters 3 and 4 also include sixteenth-century Kyoto.

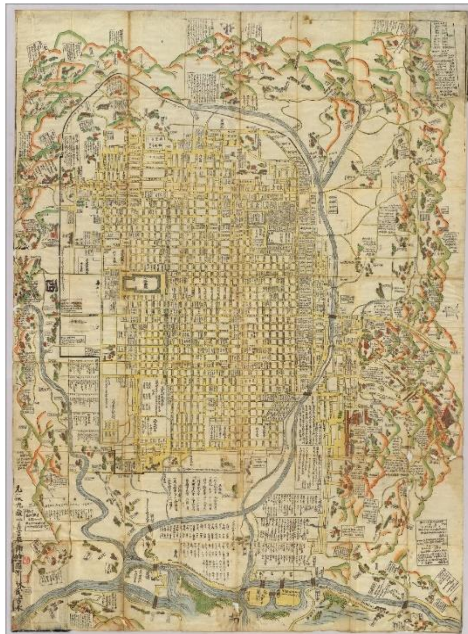

Figure 1.6 *Shinsen Kyō ōezu*

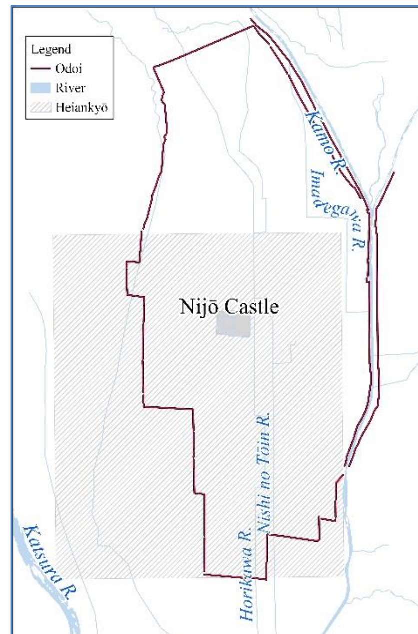

Figure 1.5 Schematic map of Seventeenth-century Kyoto

The final iteration of premodern Kyoto was built during Toyotomi Hideyoshi's term as shogun. Figure 1.5, from 1696 (Genroku 元禄 9) shows some of the changes made at the end of the sixteenth century, including the earth wall, *odoi* 御土居, outlining the new city limits.[86] Several temples including Saionji Temple 西園寺 and Honnōji Temple 本能寺 were relocated from sites throughout central Kyoto, along with others from around Japan, to the northeast edge of the city. The waterworks constructed during this era contributed to significant changes to the Kamo River, discussed in detail in chapter 2.

[85] Suzanne Gay, *The Moneylenders of Late Medieval Kyoto* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 179-181.
[86] Hayashishi Yoshinaga 林氏吉永, *Shinsen zōho Kyō ōezu* 新鮮増補京大絵図, 1696, Pocket Map, 1696, The Archvision Digital Research Library.

Inside/Outside

The terms *rakuchū* 洛中 and *rakugai* 洛外 frame an important concept that is central to this study. Typically in Japanese historiography, the terms are used as a compound, *rakuchū-rakugai*, that denotes the series of large-scale landscape paintings done between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries known collectively as *rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu* 洛中洛外図屏風 or *Screens of Scenes in and around Kyoto*.[87] As will be discussed in more detail in chapter 3, the terms as used historically referred more often to the city as a singular physical unit. While at times *rakuchū* alone was used, remaining documents indicate that the compound was more commonly used.

Scholarship in English has only minimally addressed the concept of *rakuchū-rakugai.* Though his study focuses explicitly on the genre of screens, Matthew McKelway's book *Capitalscapes* is more interested in what the screens might represent as a broader concept and does not break down the terminology.[88] Similarly Beth Berry's *The Culture of Civil War in Kyoto* uses the screens to discuss representations of political power and imagination without breaking down the terms.[89] Of the English-speaking historians working on the history of Kyoto,

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[87] See for example Takahashi Yasuo 高橋康夫, *Rakuchū rakugai: kankyō bunka no chūseishi* 洛中洛外：環境文化の中世史 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1988); Seta Katsuya 瀬田勝哉, *Rakuchū rakugai no gunzō: ushinawareta chūsei Kyōto e* 洛中洛外の群像：失われた中世京都へ (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1994); Kojima Michihiro 小島道裕, *Egakareta sengoku no Kyōto: rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu o yomu* 描かれた戦国の京都ー洛中洛外図屏風を読む (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2009); Kojima Michihiro, "Rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu Rekihaku kōhon no seisaku jijō o megutte 洛中洛外図屏風歴博甲本の制作事情をめぐって," in *Rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu Rekihaku kōhon no sōgō-teki kenkyū* 洛中洛外図屏風歴博甲本の総合的研究, ed. Kojima Michihiro, Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan Kenkyū Hōkoku 国立歴史民俗博物館研究報告 180 (Chiba, Japan: Hashidate, 2014), 107–28.

[88] Matthew Philip McKelway, *Capitalscapes: Folding Screens and Political Imagination in Late Medieval Kyoto* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006).

[89] Berry, 294-302. These paintings, most famously large screens, are frequently cited as sources for architecture and the reconstruction of the city following its repeated destruction. See for examples Wendell Cole, *Kyoto in the Momoyama Period* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967); Lee Butler, "'Washing Off the Dust': Baths and Bathing in Late Medieval Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica* 60, no. 1 (2005): 1–41; Martin Morris, "Kyo-Machiya: Tracing the Development of the Traditional Town Houses of Kyoto Through the Medieval Centuries," *Vernacular Architecture* 37, no. 1 (2006): 1–23.

Stavros stands out for his analysis of the language of *rakuchū-rakugai.* Stavros frames his discussion in terms of both inside/outside and public/private. He argues that, though the term originated in the thirteenth century, the concepts underpinning it existed from the beginning. The space inside the formal boundaries, *rakuchū*, was the stage on which public authority could be performed by the emperor and other elites, both in processions and in residences. On the other hand, the space outside of the boundaries, *rakugai*, was private, or more accurately of the household rather than the state. By relocating their residences outside the city, retired emperors and shoguns increased their influence by claiming private, behind-the-scenes power.[90]

Geographic Orientation

The Kamo River is a short, shallow river originating in the mountains north of Kyoto at Mt. Sajigatake 桟敷ヶ岳. It is fed by several smaller mountain streams and rivers, including the Takano River 高野川 and the Shirakawa River 白川. The Kamo runs down the sharp slope of the mountain until it levels off near Kamigamo Shrine 上賀茂神社. It joins the Katsura River just south of the original city plan, near Fushimi 伏見. The Kamo is between 23 and 33 kilometres in length,[91] and currently has a floodplain of around 210 square km.[92] The average slope of the river is 1/200, meaning that for every two hundred meters, the river elevation changes by one meter. In the upper course in the mountains, the slope is a steep 1/100. In the lower course through the city, it is 1/600.[93] The drastic difference between the slopes of the upper and lower parts of the river mean that the lower course is liable to flooding and heavy

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[90] Stavros, *Kyoto*, 75-101, especially 97-99.
[91] Materials produced by Kyoto Prefecture use different measurements. In ArcMap I measured the length of the Kamo at approximately 26 kilometres.
[92] "Kyōto to Kamogawa 京都と鴨川," Kyoto Prefecture, 2, accessed October 9, 2018; "Kamogawa kasen seibi keikaku 鴨川河川整備計画" (Kyoto Prefecture, 2010), 1.
[93] "Kamogawa kasen seibi keikaku," 1-2.

sediment deposit as the water abruptly slows. The implications of this are discussed in greater detail in chapter 2. While the Kamo and the Katsura receive by far the most attention as Kyoto's rivers, there are many small rivers and streams that make up the waterscape of the Kyoto basin, draining the rivers and lakes, providing water for the city, and contributing to the basin's overall flood risk.

The location and size of the Kamo River have remained fairly stable since before

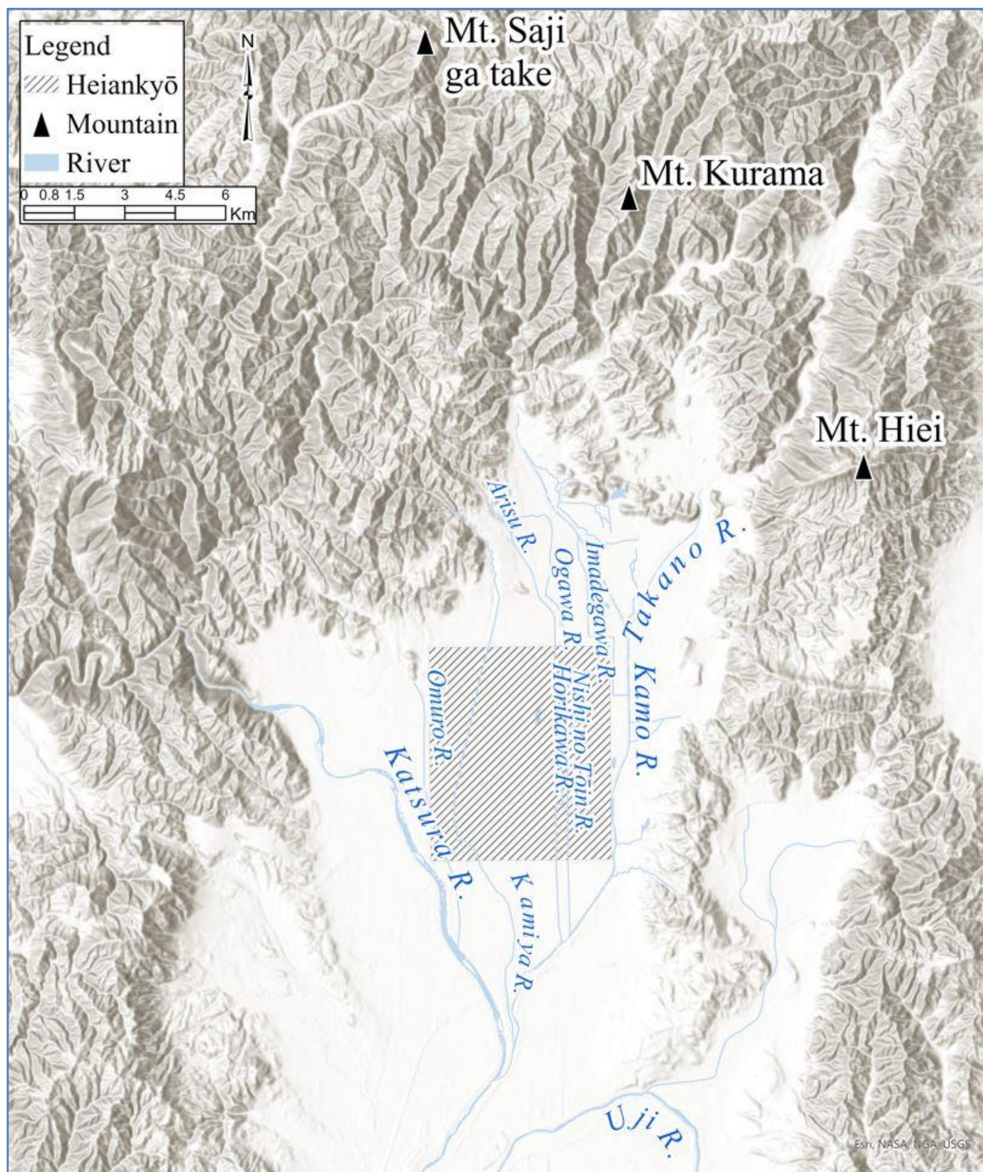

Figure 1.7 Map of the Kyoto Basin

Figure 1.8 Takano River Junction, photo by author

Heiankyō's establishment. Previous scholars debated whether or not the river channel was relocated by engineers to make room for the city plan, following geomantic principles;[94] but the current consensus is that, while the depth of the channel has changed throughout the city's history, the relative location has remained stable.[95]

The upper parts of the river, above its juncture with the Takano River, are idyllic and park-like. The water is shallow, with roads and houses placed back from grass-covered banks. A walking path stretches along much of the length, with grassy berms and islands alive with trees, reeds, and waterfowl. During the medieval period, water from this part of the river was drawn into irrigation channels on both sides.

Figure 1.9 Fishermen in the Kamo River, near Nijō, RVA

[94] Kawakatsu Masatarō 川勝政太郎, "Kamogawa to bōkashi 鴨川と防鴨河使," *Shiseki to bijutsu* 史迹と美術 22 (1952): 23–24.

[95] Yoshikoshi, "Rekishijidai no kankyō fukugen ni kan-suru kosuimongakuteki kenkyū," 9; Nagamune Shigeichi 長宗繁一, *Heiankyōseki imējimappu - dai ni han* 平安京跡イメージマップ一第２版, 1:1000 (Kyoto: Kyōto Torai Bunka Nettowāku Kaigi 京都渡来文化ネットワーク会議, 2015).

Figure 1.10 Kamo River Bridges, Higashiyama meisho zu byōbu

At the Takano River juncture, folk of all sorts meet to socialize, picnic, walk dogs, and play in the shallow water. Here the concrete encloses the walking path, inaccessible during storm surges. Judging by sixteenth-century paintings, this part of the river was similarly shallow.[96] The major differences seem to be in the elevation of the river vis-à-vis the surrounding land.

As the river deepens gradually south of Nijō, its waters become darker and murky. For several blocks, from Shijō through Shichijō, the modern river feels engulfed by the industrialized, urban concrete jungle. Tall, undecorated concrete embankments rise high on both sides above a narrow walking path, without grass or parklike spaces. During the medieval period, this area would have been open.[97] It is possible that the river was shallower, as the Lake Biwa Canal (constructed between 1885-

[96] *Rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu RVA* 洛中洛外図屏風歴博甲本, early 16th c., Colour on paper, 138.2x342.8 each, early 16th c., H-3, National Museum of Japanese History.
[97] *Higashiyama meisho zu byōbu* 東山名所図屏風, late 16th c., Colour on paper, 86.4 x 263.1 cm, late 16th c., H-1822, National Museum of Japanese History.

1912) adds volume to this part of the river. The medieval river was also less constrained by embankments and had space to spread and wander.

South of this the river is released from its embankments, opening up into another grassy plain as it joins up with the Katsura River south of Kujō where the two rivers turn into the Yodo River. This part of medieval Kyoto was less densely built and predominantly home to agricultural fields. Unlike the present day, this part of the Kamo River most likely appeared as more of a suburb to the city rather than a part of it. It is not depicted in any medieval landscape that I have found.

Chapter outline

In chapter 2, “Kamo River Floods,” I examine the Kamo as a dynamic, physical part of Kyoto’s landscape. Building on previous archaeological research, I use historical records to trace the ways the Kamo’s frequent floods shaped both the land and the built environment, including settlement patterns, irrigation projects, and bridges. This chapter spans from the early settlement of Heiankyō in the eighth century to the hydraulic construction projects of the Hideyoshi regime at the end of the sixteenth century.

In chapter 3, “Traversing the River, Part 1,” I compare pictorial records, including administrative maps and landscape paintings, with the ways contemporaries wrote of the city. In spite of the changes to the lived environment, in which the city spilled both north and east of its original limits, these records suggest that the Kamo was a dividing line between inside and outside the city. The divide created by the Kamo is particularly stark in medieval drawings that separate an imagined classical *rakuchū* from the medieval suburbs.

Chapter 4, “Traversing the River, Part 2,” extends the argument of chapter 3 to the religious sphere. Sixteenth-century landscape paintings and pilgrimage mandalas portray Kyoto

as divided by the Kamo into a more secular west and a sacred east. The division is emphasized by the movement of gods and pilgrims across the Kamo's bridges and *tori'i* 鳥居 gates that delimit the entrances into sacred space.

In chapter 5, "Ghosts of the Kamo River," I analyse one instance of famine, in 1461, in order to examine the role of the Kamo during this crisis. As displaced people sought refuge in the city and died from hunger and disease, the Kamo helped to cleanse Kyoto, both physically and spiritually, removing the physical and spiritual remains of the dead from the city.

Conclusion

The history of Kyoto has been largely conceptualized within the urban space on the west bank of the Kamo River. Extending the boundaries through *rakugai*, the area around Kyoto, and in particular the nearby spaces on the east bank, reveals ways in which the physicality of the river divided the conceptual space of "the capital" (*kyō* 京) from its environs. And yet it also shows the interconnection of the two spaces as a compounded *rakuchū-rakugai*, in and around the capital. Religious ritual and pilgrimage linked the two spaces through bridge building and the movement of deities and pilgrims.

The Kamo River was also a site of repeated death and destruction. By virtue of the river's physical shape and proximity to urban life, its floods damaged homes, bridges, and irrigation works. The floods also took the lives of humans and animals caught up in them. Disasters like floods and famine were also instances that demonstrate the resilience of Kyoto's residents. While the Kanshō Famine of 1461 left thousands of corpses alongside and in the river, following the crisis Kyoto residents mourned, rebuilt, and moved on. Buddhist rituals, memorial ceremonies (*kuyō* 供養) and *segaki* 施餓鬼 (rites for hungry ghosts or *gaki* 餓鬼), guided the processes of renewal.

Chapter 2
Kamo River Floods

Throughout the medieval period, the pattern of flooding of Kyoto's rivers determined the shape of the city and how its residents lived. A distinct pattern of seasonal floods influenced infrastructure in the form of bridges and hydraulic projects as well as the locations residents built their houses. The dynamics and patterns of floods along the Kamo River shaped both the physical river and the surrounding landscape as well as the economic and social lives of the people of Kyoto. As the water table dropped and the level of the land rose in the southeastern sector of the city, settlement became safer and people chose to build in eastern Kyoto rather than stick to the idealized city plan. This pattern of settlement reconfigured the shape of the city through the medieval period and into the early-modern era. The Kyoto basin has two main rivers: the Katsura River 桂川 in the west and the Kamo River in the east. Smaller rivers, such as the Shirakawa River 白川, flowing east to west into the Kamo River, and the Horikawa River 堀川, flowing north to south through the city, were canalized and

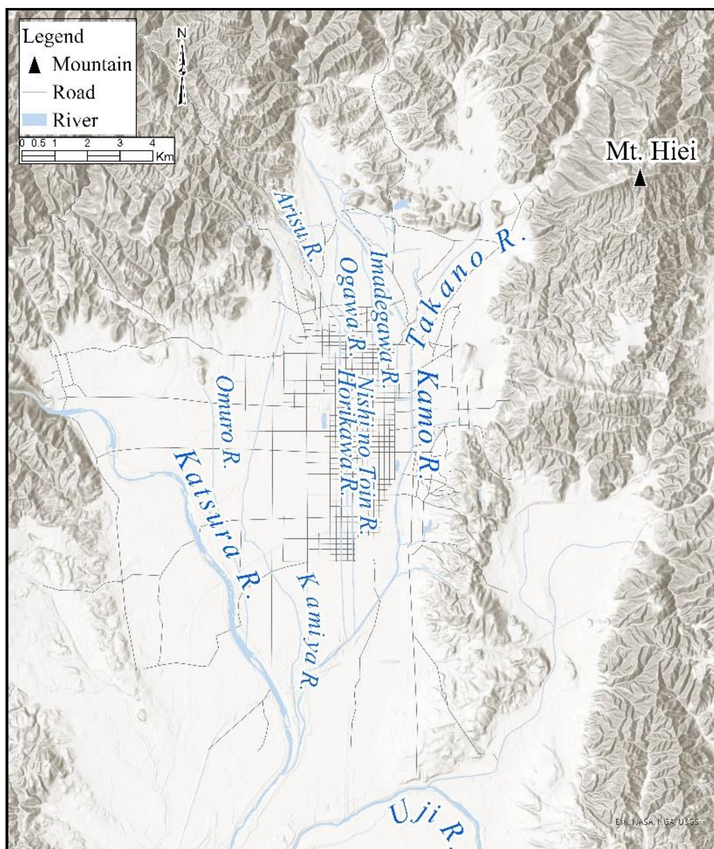

Figure 2.1 Kyoto Basin, c. 1400

redirected several times throughout the city's history. These smaller rivers were little more than streams but they, along with the city's wells, provided an important source of water for domestic use and irrigation, and were also dumping sites for rubbish and, as will be discussed in chapter 4, corpses.

The Kamo River was a small but important barrier between central Kyoto and the eastern hills that hampered pedestrian crossing and defined a potential city border. As a barrier and conduit for life-giving water, the Kamo River was integral to the way residents imagined and dwelled within the city. Analysis of the physical shape of the Kyoto basin and its rivers and of documentary records of floods and weather patterns offers a glimpse of the Kamo's transformation and physical function.

The rivers of the Kyoto basin have been channelled and re-channelled since Heiankyō's (平安京, the original name for Kyoto) early settlement in the late eighth century. The Kamo and Katsura were both diverted into canals for irrigation and flood mitigation, reshaping parts of their courses. The current consensus among archaeologists and historians is that the Kamo River's location has remained largely stable since Heiankyō's founding, though the river is significantly narrower than it used to be.[1] The locations of the smaller rivers and canals mapped in this chapter are estimates based on the work of previous archaeologists, historians, and cartographers.[2]

[1] Previous theories argued that the Kamo ran more directly north-south, in the Hori River channel. See Hayashiya Tatsusaburō 林屋辰三郎, *Machishū: Kyōto ni okeru "shimin" keiseishi* 町衆：京都における「市民」形成史 (Tokyo: Chūkō Bunko, 1990). Nakajima Chōtarō 中島暢太郎, "Kamogawa suigaishi (1) 鴨川水害史（1）," *Bulletin of the Disaster Prevention Research Institute* 京都大学防災研究所年報 26, no. B (1983): 75–92 argues against this claim.

[2] *Shūkyō to shōgyō no toshi - Kyōto (Muromachi jidai, Ōnin no ran izen)* 宗教と商業の都市ー京都（室町時代・応仁の乱以前）, 1:16,500 (Kyoto: Gakugei Shorin, 1968), Insert, *Kyoto no rekishi: Kinsei no taidō* 京都の歴史：近世の胎動, v. 3; Nicolas Fiévé, *Atlas Historique de Kyoto* (Paris: UNESCO and Éditions de l'Amateur, 2008); Suma Chikai 須磨千頴, *Kamowake ikazuchi jinja keidai shogō no fukugenteki kenkyū* 賀茂別雷神社境内諸郷の復原的研究 (Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 2001); Nagamune Shigeichi 長宗繁一, *Heiankyōseki imējimappu - dai ni han* 平安京跡イメージマップー第２版, 1:1000 (Kyoto: Kyōto Torai Bunka Nettowāku Kaigi 京都渡来文化ネットワーク会議, 2015).

Other rivers such as the Horikawa River, Nishi no tōin River 西洞院川, and Ogawa River 小川, ran like ditches through the city next to the roads. By the sixteenth century, when large-scale landscapes were painted on folding screens, these rivers had been turned into neat streams that flowed through town, crossed by small wooden bridges, bringing water to both urban agricultural lands and residences (figure 2.2).[3]

Figure 2.2 Ogawa River, Screens of Scenes in and around Kyoto, RVA

Ditches (*sokkō* 側溝) have been discovered along many major roads in archaeological digs. For example, in 1985, one dig found a ditch on the western side of Suzakuōji.[4] Other ditches were found along Aburanokoji,[5] Mibu,[6] Ōimikadoōji,[7] and Bōjōkoji.[8] Most of these date to the Heian period (794-1185). It is unclear whether these particular ditches survived into the medieval era, but we do know that small waterways continued to be part of urban life. Sixteenth-century

[3] *Rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu RVA* 洛中洛外図屏風歴博甲本, early 16th c., Colour on paper, 138.2x342.8 each, early 16th c., H-3, National Museum of Japanese History.
[4] Zaidan hōjin Kyōtoshi maizō bunkazai kenkyūjo 財団法人 京都市埋蔵文化財研究所, ed., *Kyōto shinai iseki shikutsu tachiai chōsa gaihō, Shōwa 60 nendō* 京都市内遺跡試掘立会調査概報 昭和60年度 (Kyoto: Kyōtoshi Bunka Kankōkyoku 京都市文化観光局, 1986), #5-300.
[5] Zaidan hōjin Kyōtoshi maizō bunkazai kenkyūjo, ed., *Kyōto shinai iseki shikutsu tachiai chōsa gaihō, Shōwa 59 nendō* 京都市内遺跡試掘立会調査概報 昭和59年度 (Kyoto: Kyōtoshi Bunka Kankōkyoku, 1985), #9-162.
[6] *Ibid.,* #8-88, 8-127, 8-56.
[7] *Ibid.,* 1984, #2-65.
[8] *Ibid.,* 1984, #5-274.

Figure 2.3 Kamo River Upper Course, photo by author

landscape paintings of Kyoto do not show ditches along roads, but the monk Taikyoku 太極 (1421-?) mentions "fields and ditches" 原野溝 in 1461.[9] At least one channel made of stone has been excavated from the Muromachi era.[10] Ditches uncovered from the Edo period suggest their continued usefulness as part of urban infrastructure.[11]

Ditches were probably both dry and wet. Permanent streams like Nishi no tōin and Horikawa flowed along some roads.[12] Other channels were likely dry most of the time but would fill quickly during rain and flood events. It is possible that, in addition to collecting waste, ditches were used to channel flood waters away from roads and residences. These flows would wash away or bury refuse in sediment.[13]

The Shape of the Kamo River

The Kamo joins several other mountain streams in its upper course before the basin begins to level out, near the Kamigamo Shrine 上賀茂神社. From the Kamigamo Shrine, the middle course of the river flows through Kyoto, joining the Takano River 高野川, along with a few

[9] Hekizan nichiroku (HZNR) 碧山日録, Kanshō 寛正 2 (1461) 3.5.
[10] Zaidan hōjin Kyōtoshi maizō bunkazai kenkyūjo, ed., *Kyōto shinai iseki shikutsu tachiai chōsa gaihō, Shōwa 58 nendō* 京都市内遺跡試掘立会調査概報 昭和58年度 (Kyoto: Kyōtoshi Bunka Kankōkyoku, 1984), #9-34.
[11] *Ibid.*, #5-213.
[12] Zaidan hōjin Kyōtoshi maizō bunkazai kenkyūjo, ed., *Kyōto shinai iseki shikutsu tachiai chōsa gaihō, Shōwa 56 nendō* 京都市内遺跡試掘立会調査概報 昭和 56 年度 (Kyoto: Kyōtoshi Bunka Kankōkyoku, 1982), #HL-143; Zaidan hōjin Kyōtoshi maizō bunkazai kenkyūjo, ed., *Kyōto shinai iseki shikutsu tachiai chōsa gaihō, Shōwa 57 nendō* 京都市内遺跡試掘立会調査概報 昭和 57 年度 (Kyoto: Kyōtoshi Bunka Kankōkyoku, 1983), #HR-30. See also *Rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu RVA.*
[13] Katsuda Itaru 勝田至, *Shishatachi no chūsei* 死者たちの中世 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2003), 36-42.

Figure 2.4 Kamo River Lower Course, photo by author

smaller streams.[14] The part of the river most associated with both the medieval and the modern city is the middle course. The lower part of the river begins around Shichijō, where the basin flattens, to its junction with the Katsura River south of the city.

The modern landscape of the Kamo River south of where it meets the Takano would be largely unrecognizable to the premodern viewer. The most readily apparent changes are the high concrete embankments and stone bridges. These were begun by Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and construction continued through 1947. In addition, the 2.4 km-long Lake Biwa Canal 琵琶湖疏水, constructed between 1885 and 1912, connects Lake Biwa, on the other side of the eastern mountains, to the Kamo. The canal adds to the river's volume, spilling into it just north of Nijō.

Stream Entrenchment and Landscape Change

The shape of the Kamo River and its banks has been modified repeatedly throughout the centuries due to both construction, sediment accretion, and erosion. Sketching the exact shape of the river prior to the creation of detailed maps in the seventeenth century is virtually impossible.

Figure 2.5 Kamo River Middle Course, Shijō Bridge, photo by author

[14] Kyoto Prefecture, "Kyōto to Kamogawa 京都と鴨川," accessed October 9, 2018, http://pref.kyoto.jp/kamogawa/documents/11754916747483.pdf.

However, research by archaeologists from Ritsumeikan University suggests some changes in the river over the centuries. Where in the early days of the capital's settlement the Kamo's bed was roughly level with the ground around it, in later centuries the difference between the riverbed and the surrounding land fluctuated up and down due to both stream dynamics and accretion of land and soil from human habitation. Some effort was made to constrain the river's movement, but without much success, until the late sixteenth century.

Japanese scholars use the term *kasenshiki* 河川敷 to indicate the land that contains a river, including the embankments and adjacent banks and dry riverbed. Dictionaries translate this term as "riverbed"; in English, however, "riverbed" refers specifically to the ground covered by a river and does not include the banks. Thus, when archaeologist Yoshikoshi Akihisa writes that the early-Heian era Kamo's "riverbed" (*kasenshiki*) was approximately three hundred meters wide,[15] he is including not only the channels through which the water moved but also the banks and dry channels. The present-day "riverbed" (*kasenshiki*) is much more constrained. Its current width is between 65 and 73 meters, less than a third of the width of the medieval river.[16] In addition to the channel (there is only one now), this includes concrete embankments, occasionally beaches, and walking paths.

Another critical difference between the modern and premodern river is the depth of the stream bed. The stream bed is the bottom of the channel - often sand, stone, or concrete. The height of the ground relative to the water has also fluctuated, at times slightly higher than the river's surface, at times at the same height, and at times below the level of the stream bed. This

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[15] Yoshikoshi Akihisa 吉越昭久, ed., *Rekishijidai no kankyō fukugen ni kan-suru kosuimongakuteki kenkyū: Kyōto Kamogawa no kasen keikan no hensen o chūshin ni* 歴史時代の環境復原に関する古水文学的研究: 京都・鴨川の河川景観の変遷を中心に (Kyoto: Ritsumeikan Daigaku Bungakubu Chirigaku Kyōshitsu, 2004), 9.
[16] Yoshikoshi Akihisa 吉越昭久, "Kinsei no Kyōto, Kamogawa ni okeru kasen kankyō 近世の京都・鴨川における河川環境," *Rekishi Chirigaku* 歴史地理学 39, no. 1 (1997): 77.

dangerous phenomenon is discussed in more detail below. The current stream bed is between three and thirty meters below ground level (figures 2.3-2.5). [17] It is unclear how much the depth of the water has changed as embankments gradually constricted its flow. At present, the upper course of the river, down to the juncture with the Takano River, is generally only centimeters deep. The Kamo deepens through the middle course, but when not in flood is generally below a meter.[18]

Based on paintings of river activities in the sixteenth century, its depth was probably similar to that of the current river. In a 1525 painting of Kyoto, fishermen wade in the river between Ichijō and Nijō, water barely reaching their calves (figure 1.9).[19] Similar versions of this scene exist in other sixteenth-century paintings of the Kamo River.

Rivers change the shape of the land around them in two ways. First, as rains erode land, fast-flowing water carries sediment downstream. Land recently lumbered or tilled for farming is particularly susceptible to erosion in this way. Second, rivers redeposit sediment in their own stream beds as the flow slows down. With a mountain river like the Kamo, water will slow down as the land begins to level or as it spreads across its floodplain. If the sediment remains in the river, it will gradually raise the level of the stream bed. If it is deposited in the floodplain, it will raise the level of the ground around the stream bed in a process called terracing.

The new terraced land forms natural embankments, restricting how the spread of water

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[17] I measured the depth of the Upper Kamo stream bed based on photographs and experience walking the area. In the upper course, the stream bed is closer to ground level, and there are only small earth embankments. In the middle course, the ground level is at the top of the embankments. The measurement from the middle stretch, around 31 m below street level, comes from Yoshikoshi, *Rekishi jidai no kankyō fukugen*, 33. City construction reports do not include this data. The lower course is similar to the upper course in that the embankments are very shallow. See figures 2.3-2.5 for examples.

[18] Data from observing "Kamogawa no suii jōhō 鴨川の水位情報 (Kamo River Water Level Information)," Yahoo! Tenki/saigai 天気・災害, accessed September 1-October 21, 2022, https://typhoon.yahoo.co.jp/weather/river/8606040182/.

[19] *Rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu RVA*.

during floods. During the ninth and tenth centuries, the Heian court built and managed embankments along the Kamo and Katsura rivers. The offices overseeing these were *Bōkadonokawashi* 防葛野河使 for the Katsura River[20] and the *Bōkashi* 防鴨河使[21] for the Kamo River.[22] According to historians, the former office was soon dissolved and its responsibilities transferred to the governor of Yamashiro Province before becoming part of the purview of the capital police (*kebi ishi* 検非違使).[23] The office *Bōkahangan* (防鴨河判官, police lieutenant in charge of Kamo River flood prevention), successor to the Heian court's *Bōkashi* office, continues to appear in documents as late as 1382.[24] However, the fourteenth-century documents have nothing to do with floods or the Kamo River. It is possible the surviving records fail to show the extent of this office's duties. It is also possible that this post had become ceremonial by the end of the fourteenth century as Kamo flood events decreased in number.

With less room to spread out, embanked rivers have increased water pressure. If their embankments are not strong enough, or are weakened by erosion, for example due to farming along their top, floodwaters can break through. This occurred a few times. In 998 (Chōtoku 長徳 4), for instance, the record states, "Due to the long rain, the embankment at Ichijō broke. The Kamo river flowed sideways."[25]

Increased water pressure can also scour riverbeds, blasting through sand and sediment to dig deeper channels in a process called stream entrenchment. The combination of accretion of

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[20] The original name for the Katsura River is the Kadono River.
[21] It is unclear why, but both 防河使 and 防鴨河使 are pronounced the same, *bōkashi*. Heian tsūshi 平安通史 7, v. 20, Tenchō 天長 1 (824) 6.19 in Watanabe Naohiko 渡辺直彦, "Bōkashi no kenkyū 防鴨河使の研究," *Shintōgaku* 神道学 66 (1970): 15.
[22] Heian tsūshi 平安通史 7:20, Tenchō 天長1 (824) 6.19 in Watanabe, "Bōkashi no kenkyū," 15.
[23] Watanabe, "Bōkashi no kenkyū," 16-18; Kawakatsu Masatarō 川勝政太郎, "Kamogawa to bōkashi 鴨川と防鴨河使," *Shiseki to bijutsu* 史迹と美術 22 (1952): 26-27.
[24] DNK *Iewake Daitokuji monjo* 806, Eitoku 永徳 2 (1382) 2.23 (vol. 2, p. 154).
[25] DNS 2:3 *Fushiminomiya gokiroku* 伏見宮御記録, Chōtoku 長徳 4 (998) 9.1 (p. 189).

land due to upland erosion, flood deposits, and river scouring drastically reconfigured the landscape of southeastern Kyoto by the eleventh century. Archaeologist Kawasumi Tatsunori measured accretion of around one meter in eastern Heian during that century due to flooding.[26] According to Kawasumi, the terracing that occurred between the late tenth and eleventh centuries not only shrank the major flood zones by raising the land but also lowered the water table, reducing the overall flood risk as the ground became less saturated.[27]

Flood Risk

The many rivers in eastern Kyoto, their floods, and the general water table (the boundary between saturated and unsaturated earth) shaped the way people lived in Kyoto. The dramatic changes in these dynamics between the ninth and sixteenth centuries shaped where people chose to build, the resources they put into flood control, and the risks associated with living near rivers and streams. A higher water table, which existed prior to the tenth century, meant both shallower wells and faster ground saturation during periods of rain,[28] leading to more frequent flooding. A lower water table, which existed between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, meant wells had to be deeper, but the ground could absorb more excess water before it became saturated at the surface, reducing flood risk. Rainfall in any part of the Kamo's watershed, the area of land that drained into the Kamo River or its tributary streams, could increase the volume of water in the river. Kawasumi's research shows that during the eighth to tenth centuries, most of Kyoto fell within the flood zone of the Kamo, Katsura, Horikawa, Nishi no tōin, or one of the other small

[26] Kawasumi Tatsunori 川角龍典, "Rekishi jidai ni okeru Kyōto no kōzui to hanrangen no chikei henka: iseki ni kiroku sareta saigai jōhō o mochiita suigaishi no saikōchiku 歴史時代における京都の洪水と氾濫原の地形変化ー遺跡に記録された災害情報を用いた水害史の再構築," *Kyōto Rekishi Saigai Kenkyū* 京都歴史災害研究 1 (2004): 19.
[27] Kawasumi Tatsunori, "Heiankyō ni okeru chikei kankyō henka to toshi-teki tochi riyō no hensen 平安京における地形環境変化と都市的土地利用の変遷," *Kōkogaku to shizen kagaku* 考古学と自然科学 42 (2001): 50.
[28] *Ibid.*, 50

rivers.[29] Early settlement patterns in the city shifted as the risks of floods increased or decreased in a given region. Terracing and stream entrenchment decreased flood risk in eastern Kyoto from the eleventh to fourteenth centuries and settlement shifted eastward with this phenomenon.

In figure 2.8 I have compiled records of flood events in eastern Kyoto, around the Kamo, from *Dainihon shiryō* 大日本史料, with the addition of a few records I found in various diaries (appendix 1).[30] Flood records in Kyoto begin in 889 (Kanpyō 寛平 1), but the records are so vague that I excluded from the ninth century in my calculations.[31] During all of the flood events included in these records, because the Kamo connects to rivers like the Shirakawa and Uji through shared watersheds and direct channel mouths, it is probable that the Kamo River water

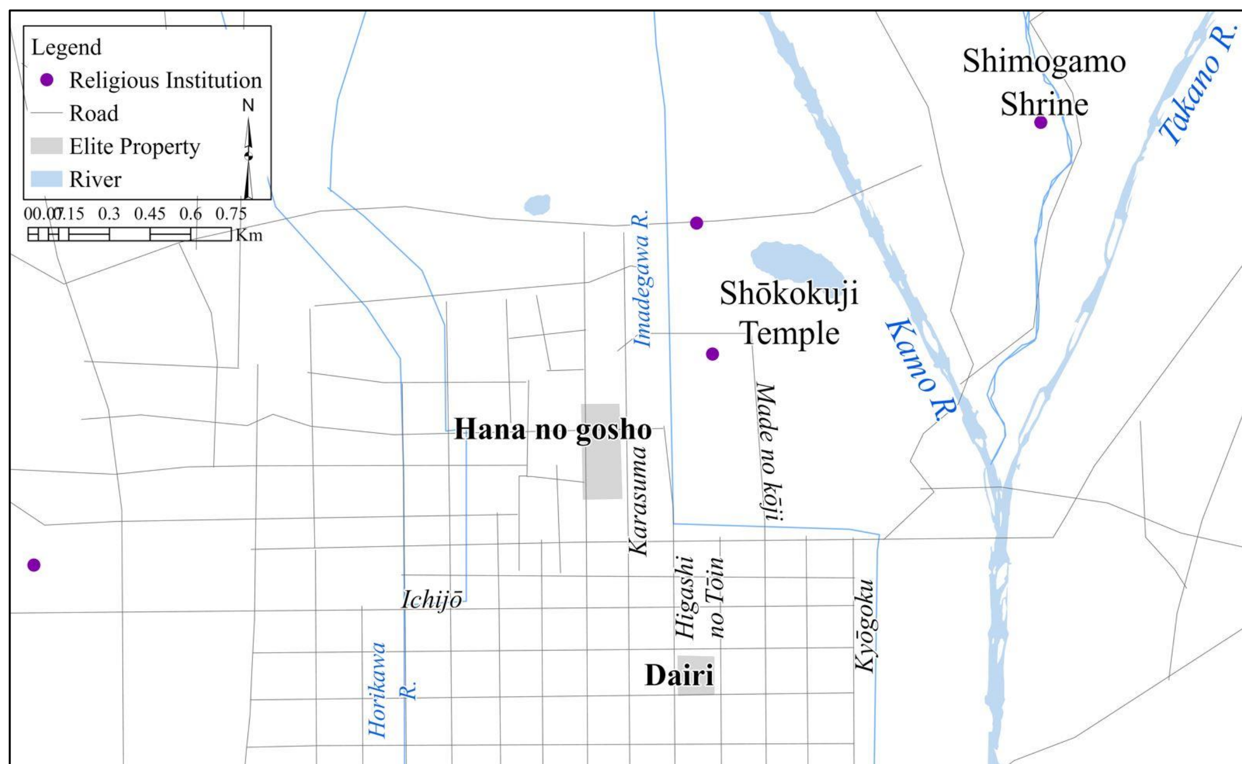

Figure 2.6 Locations of Shōkokuji Temple, Hana no gosho palace, and the imperial palace (dairi 内裏)

[29] Kawasumi, "Rekishi jidai ni okeru Kyōto no kōzui to hanrangen no chikei henka," 20, see graph 8.
[30] This series includes documents from a variety of diaries and archives in chronological order.
[31] Nakajima includes a list of rain and flood events in Kyoto beginning in 794. Because this list includes different information, I opted to create my own list for this study.

levels were high, if not actually breaching its banks. Most of the documents simply state that there was flooding. This entry from 1487 is typical: "Since dawn rain has been pouring. Since the morning there has been violent rain, slantwise wind, and large floods."[32]

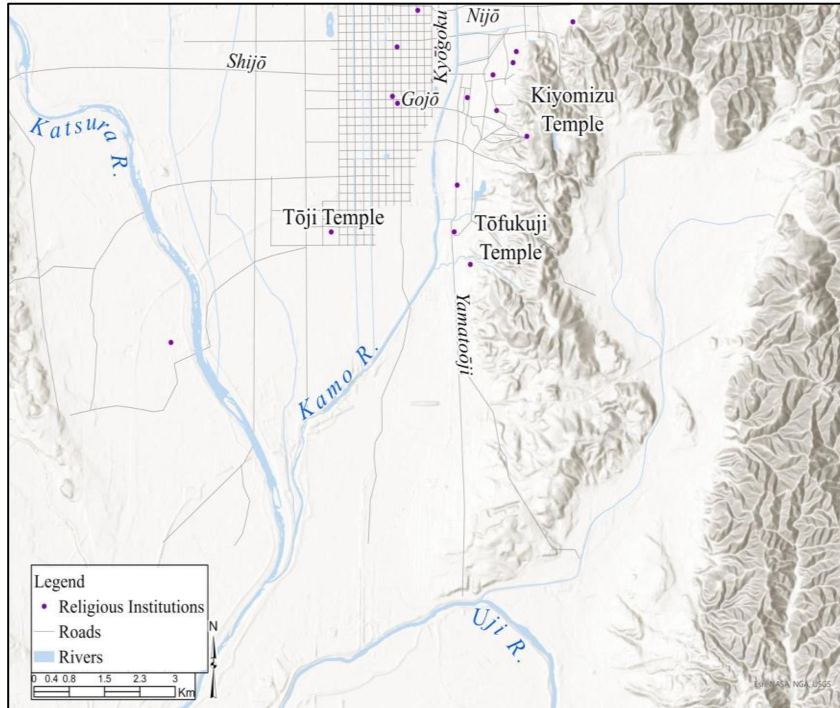

Figure 2.7 Southern Kyoto and the Uji River

I used the locations of temples or authors' residences to determine whether the flooding mentioned occurred in eastern Kyoto. For instance, the authors of *Inryōken nichiroku* 蔭涼軒日録 in the example from 1487 were monks at Rokuon'in 鹿苑院, a small temple within the Shōkokuji Temple 相国寺 compound between the Imadegawa River 今出川 and Made no kōji 万里小路, just west of the Kamo (figure 2.6). Other entries are more explicit and mention the names of individual rivers. The monk Taikyoku wrote in 1460, "Even on the hill I saw the Uji River's 宇治川 water. Huge waves spread out [over the land], villages, earthen walls, and plains were drowned" (figure 2.7).[33] I have included this flood event in the total count of floods in eastern Kyoto but not of the Kamo River, since it is unclear whether the Kamo River flooded or just the Uji River to its south; it is evident only that a significant amount

[32] IRKNR, Chōkyō 長享 1 (1487) 6.27.
[33] HZNR, Kanshō 寛正 1 (1460) 6.15.

of water, enough to cause flooding, was seen in the area.

Some records do specifically state that the Kamo River flooded. In one example of this, the author wrote, "Since last night there has been a lot of rain. The Kamo River embankments broke, and river water entered the capital. Residences west of Kyōgoku 京極 were washed away."[34] In other records, though the Kamo itself is not mentioned, it is clear from context that the author is referring to that river. A typical example of this is, "A flood occurred. Shijō Bridge collapsed, and it is said that people were washed away."[35]

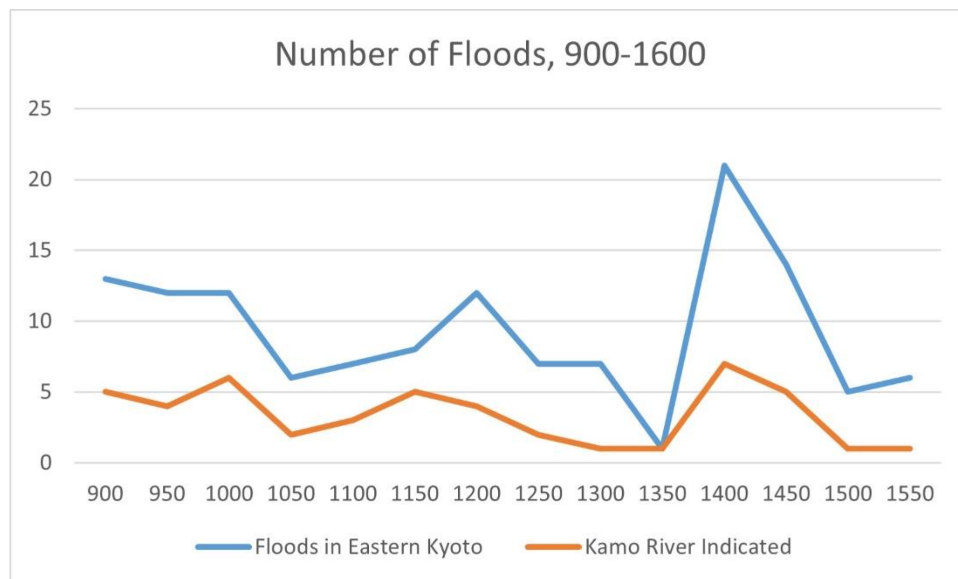

Figure 2.8 Line graph of flood records in Kyoto, 900-1600

Based on these records, the highest period of flooding occurred between 1350 and 1500. Flood rates dipped in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and again between 1200 and 1350. This corresponds with Kawasumi's findings on the depths of the stream bed and the height of surrounding terraces. Between the raised ground level and river scouring, the surface of the Kamo River of the eleventh to fourteenth centuries was around two meters below ground level.[36]

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[34] DNS 2:3 p. 838; Chōhō 長保 2 (1000) 8.16.
[35] *Kanmon nikki* 看聞日記, Eikyō 永享 8 (1436) 7.12.
[36] Kawasumi, "Rekishi jidai ni okeru Kyōto no kōzui to hanrangen no chikei henka," 18.

During the eleventh century, as more elite compounds sprang up east of the river and temples moved closer to the water's edge, the piecemeal embankments on the eastern bank to protect elite compounds increased pressure on and weakened the western embankments that protected the city.[37] In addition to increased water pressure caused by embankments restricting lateral flow, farming atop the Kamo embankments was a perennial problem for the Heian court.[38] Alluvial deposits are typically very rich; however, as mentioned above, tilling soil increases erosion and lowers the ground level. This weakens the embankments and increases the likelihood that a flood will break through. Rather than building more embankments on the east side of the river, which would continue to put pressure on the western embankments,[39] the court ordered a new channel dug to divert flood waters and ease pressure on existing embankments.[40]

During the fifteenth century, alluvial deposits filled in the Kamo's stream bed in a process called aggradation, accumulating until the water level was once again even with the surrounding land. Concurrent with this phenomenon, Kamo floods increased in frequency. Kawasumi found that earth embankments developed naturally along the Kamo River during the fifteenth century.[41] These would eventually cause a reduction in flood frequency during the sixteenth century.[42]

At the end of the sixteenth century, Toyotomi Hideyoshi initiated a large-scale construction project that enclosed Kyoto in an earthen wall. Another embankment project occurred in 1610

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[37] Watanabe, "Bōkashi no kenkyū," 24.
[38] *Ibid.*, 13.
[39] A contemporaneous example of this problem comes from Song China where pressure from the southern embankments of the Yellow River that protected the capital from floods pushed the river north into a new course in 1048. See Zhang, *The River, the Plain, and the State: An Environmental Drama in Northern Song China, 1048-1128*.
[40] Kawakatsu Masatarō 川勝政太郎, "Kamogawa to bōkashi 鴨川と防鴨河使," *Shiseki to bijutsu* 史迹と美術 22 (1952): 28. It is unclear where this channel was located, but it was probably on the east side since the embankments there were weakest.
[41] Kawasumi, "Rekishi jidai ni okeru Kyōto no kōzui to hanrangen no chikei henka," 18.
[42] No documents suggest construction work was done on the river during this period, either by the governments or local religious institutions, apart from rebuilding bridges.

that further constrained the Kamo. This project drastically reshaped the Kamo River, raising the embankments and obliterating and reshaping river islands. According to geographer Yoshikoshi Akihisa, the construction projects of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reduced the stream width from around 300 metres in the Heian period to 100 metres. These projects also straightened the river's course.[43]

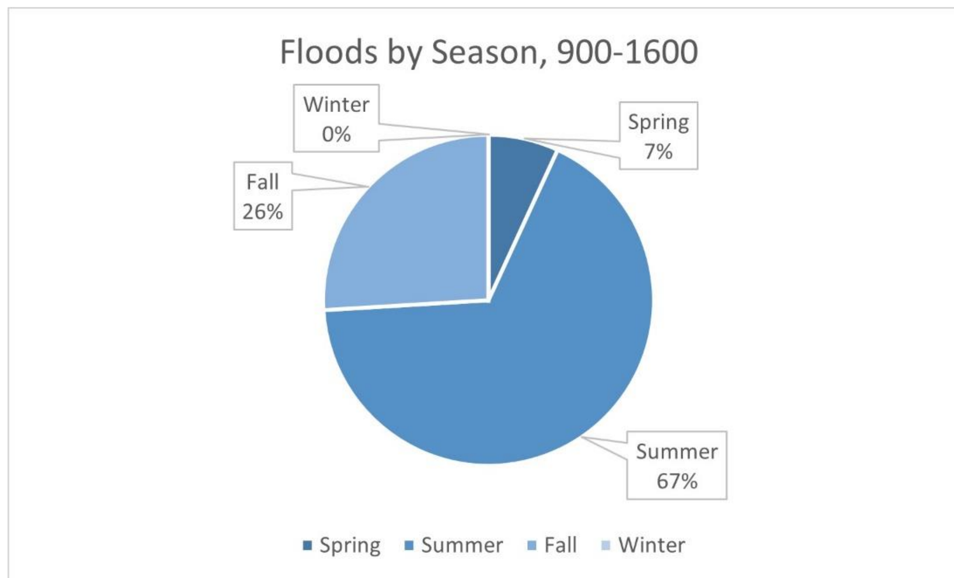

Figure 2.9 Pie chart of record floods by season, 900-1600

The opposite of an entrenched river is a "raised-bed river" (*tenjōgawa* 天井川), a term I have not found in English literature. *Tenjōgawa* develop as alluvial deposits form natural levees and gradually raise the channel above its surrounding floodplain. The most famous example is the Yellow River. According to Kawasumi's research, the Kamo, Katsura, and several smaller rivers in western Kyoto were of this type throughout the early modern period, flowing above the surrounding landscape until further construction in the mid-twentieth century.[44] Because of their elevation, *tenjōgawa* present a severe flood risk should the embankments be breached for any reason. This is part of why the Yellow River floods have historically been so devastating, and

[43] Yoshikoshi, *Rekishijidai no kankyō fukugen ni kan suru kosuimongakuteki kenkyū,* 9, 15.
[44] Kawasumi, "Rekishi jidai ni okeru Kyōto no kōzui to hanrangen no chikei henka," 18.

likewise why the Kamo flood of 1935 caused so much damage.

Two other trends were visible in the data I analysed from *Dainihon shiryō*. First, floods occurred most often in summer, between the fourth and seventh months of the lunar calendar. This includes the intercalary fourth and seventh months,[45] which appear only twice in the data. Ninety-four of the 131 flood events took place in summer, most of them during the fifth and sixth months. These are likely the summer monsoon months, corresponding approximately with June and July, the modern rainy season (*tsuyu,* 梅雨). Monsoon forces carry moist air over the Japanese islands with varying intensity during the summer and cold, dry air in winter.[46]

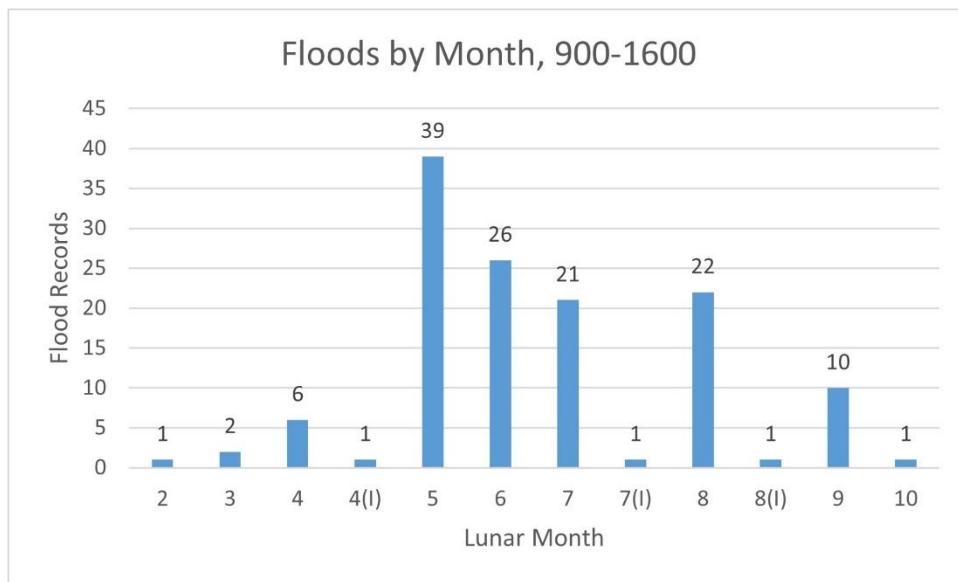

Figure 2.10 Bar graph of recorded floods by lunar month, 900-1600

Diaries from summer months record a lot of rain. I compiled weather records of the summer monsoon months from two flood years, 1443 and 1460. Madenokōji Tokifusa 万里小路時房, the author of *Kennaiki* 建内記 (Abbreviated from *Kenshō'in naifuki* 建聖院内府記 "Record of Kanshō'in as Inner Palace Minister") in 1443, is the more diligent of the two in

[45] A leap month used in some years to adjust the lunar calendar to match seasons.
[46] J.L Xiao et al., "East Asian Monsoon Variation during the Last 130,000 Years: Evidence from the Loess Plateau of Central China and Lake Biwa of Japan," *Quaternary Science Reviews* 18 (1999): 147–57.

recording daily weather. He records both good and bad weather days in addition to changes in weather throughout the day. Taikyoku, the author of *Hekizan nichiroku* 碧山日録 ("Daily Record from Hekizan") in 1460 tends only to record inclement weather. The few times he records sunny weather immediately follow days of rain (appendix 2).

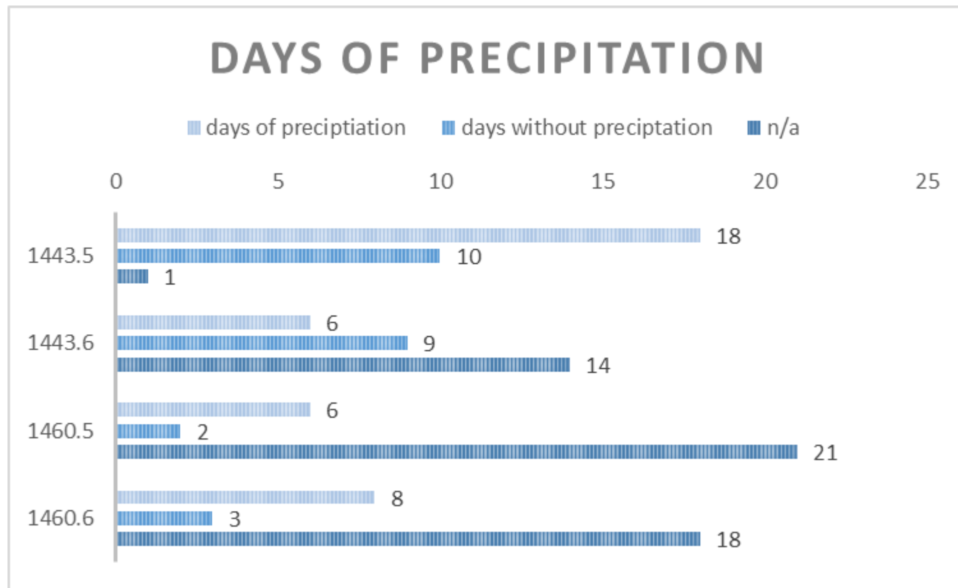

Figure 2.11 Bar graph of days of recorded precipitation, 1443.5-6 and 1460.5-6

The summer of 1443 was overall wetter than the summer of 1460. In the fifth month, eighteen of the twenty-nine days had rain. The record for the sixth month is partial, ending after 6.21. That month, the Kamo River flooded on 6.10.[47] In 1460, Taikyoku recorded only five days of rain in the fifth month and eight days in the sixth month. Flooding on 6.15 occurred on the third straight day of rain (figure 2.11).[48]

In spite of ample records, no floods seem to have occurred in the winter, from the eleventh to the first months. This could have been due to a relative lack of precipitation, or precipitation falling as snow and slowly melting, resulting in a slower increase of groundwater. This correlates

[47] *Kennaiki* 建内記, Bun'an 文安 1 (1443) 6.10.
[48] HZNR, Kanshō 寛正 1 (1460) 6.15. This was the Uji River flood discussed above.

roughly with the modern river patterns. It is unlikely that the river itself froze. While we do not know what the water temperatures were in medieval Kyoto, the average water temperature of the Kamo River from 1967 to 2005 never dipped below freezing. Average temperatures were 6.9 degrees Celsius in December, 4.6 degrees in January, and 4.8 degrees in February. These months also had significantly lower water levels when compared to other months. In December the average water level was 41.7 mm and in January 48.2 mm. February's higher water level, 65.2 mm, represents snow and ice beginning to thaw throughout the watershed. These numbers contrast with summer water level averages that reached as high as 229.9 mm.[49]

Irrigating the Kamo

Both farmers and urban elites used water from the Kamo River. Paddy land (*tachi* 田地) had priority access over domestic uses. It is possible that irrigation, particularly in the lower course of the river, was more widespread than surviving records suggest. The river there is deeper, and the land less urbanized. There is evidence that two areas of the river were tapped into irrigation canals for paddy land: north of where the Kamo and Takano meet and the east side of the river near Nijō.

According to records held by Kamo Wake Ikazuchi Shrine 賀茂別雷神社, more popularly known as Kamigamo Shrine (lit. "Upper Kamo" Shrine, 上賀茂神社), this institution administered six *shōen* (荘園 agricultural estates): Kawakami 河上郷, Ōmiya 大宮郷, Koyama 小山郷, Nakamura 中村郷, Okamoto 岡本郷, and Ono 小野郷.[50] Of these, all but Ono directly abutted the Kamo River north of Kyoto. The borders of Kawakami, Ōmiya, and Koyama met the west bank; the borders of Okamoto and Nakamura met the east bank (figure 2.12).[51] No

[49] Kyoto Prefecture, "Kyōto to Kamogawa," 4.
[50] *Kamo wake ikazuchi jinja monjo* 賀茂和気雷神社文書 (KWIJM) v. 1, #278, Kyōroku 享禄 2 (1529) 10.21.
[51] *Shōen* boundaries based on Suma 5.

surviving records state explicitly where the irrigation canals were located; however, work by Suma Chikai to reconstruct the boundaries of these *shōen* shows the several streams that ran through each of the estates. Of these, two flowed from the Kamo River: one through Okamoto and Nakamura on the east and one through Koyama on the west. Other streams cut through Kawakami and Ōmiya. Documentary evidence confirms that Koyama and Nakamura, directly

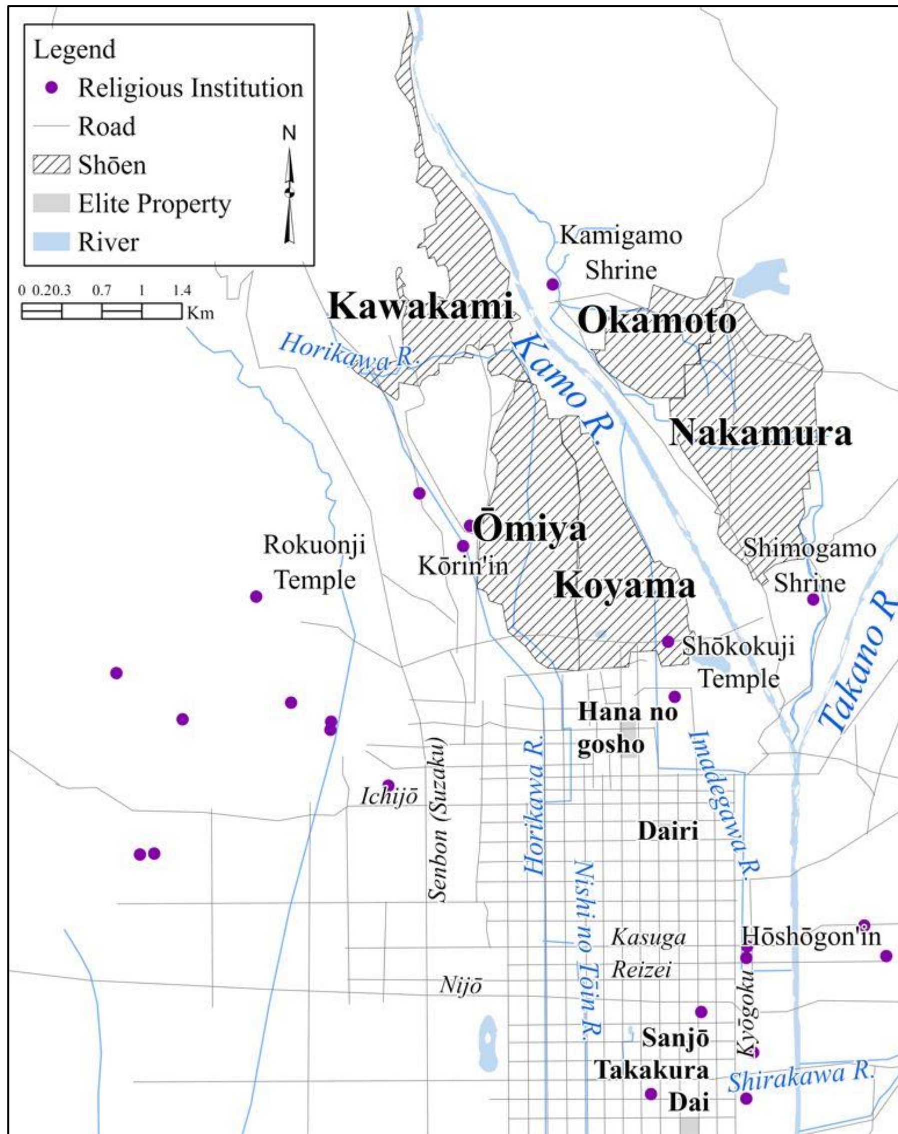

Figure 2.12 Kamigamo shōen and surrounding rivers, religious institutions, and palaces

across the river from each other, competed for irrigation water.[52] As discussed above, the upper course of the Kamo is quite shallow, and drawing off water for irrigation canals would lower water levels. This was a likely cause of contention between the different estates.

Kamigamo Shrine enjoyed priority water rights for the *shōen* under its administration.[53] These rights included both the Kamo River and the Horikawa River. Ōmiya competed for water with Daitokuji Temple's 大徳寺 nearby Kōrin'in 興臨院, on the west side of the Horikawa. According to a surviving judgment, the Finance Office (*nassho* 納所) affirmed Kamigamo's priority rights based on precedent and recused itself from any involvement in future conflicts.[54] Another document from the sixteenth century suggests that irrigation upstream of these *shōen* was also restricted. This document, undated, signed by Miyoshi Nagayuki 三好長逸 (sixteenth century, dates unknown), then governor of Hyūga Province 日向守, ordered the *sō* 惣 (village associations) in Ninose 二ノ瀬, an area on the southern slopes of Mt. Kurama along one of the Kamo's tributaries, to cease construction on a weir. This document indicates the location of the weir "above the Kamo River," meaning that the waterworks likely affected the downstream water levels.[55]

This same stretch of the Kamo River also irrigated at least two elite gardens in the sixteenth century. One was the imperial palace (*Tsuchimikado Higashinotōin-dono*, 御門東洞院殿, labelled *Dairi* in figure 2.12). Another was one of the Ashikaga palaces, Sanjō Takakura-dai (三条高倉第). Kamigamo Shrine controlled the flows into both garden ponds and had authority to restrict water to the ponds during the summer growing months, from the fourth month to the

[52] KWIJM v. 1, #280, undated (between 1531-1549) 8.16.
[53] KWIJM v. 1, #289 Tenbun 天文10 (1541) 10.10.
[54] KWIJM v. 1, #290 Tenbun 10 (1541) 10.10.
[55] KWIJM v. 1, #292 n.d. 2.29.

seventh month.[56]

Figure 2.13 *Hōshōgon'in shikichi yōsui sashizu*

On the east side of the Kamo another irrigation canal fed paddies under the administration of two religious institutions, Awata no miya 粟田宮 and Hōshōgon'in 宝荘厳院. Figure 2.13 was created as part of a water dispute in Enbun 延文 1 (1356) where Awata no miya and Hōshōgon'in contested control of irrigation water.[57] To resolve the conflict, Hōshōgon'in petitioned directly to the Northern Court, then governing Kyoto, to force Awata no miya into compliance.

Because this is a singular map of the Kamo River from the medieval period, it is worth spending a moment to discuss the circumstances of its creation. The land here was (and remains)

[56] KWIJM v. 1, #274 Tenbun 12 (1543) 12.28, #275 n.d., #279 Eishō 永正 14 (1517) 6.16.
[57] *Hōshōgon'in yōsui sashizu* 宝荘厳院用水差図, Enbun 延文 5 (1356), 夕函/10, Tōji Hyakugō Monjo.

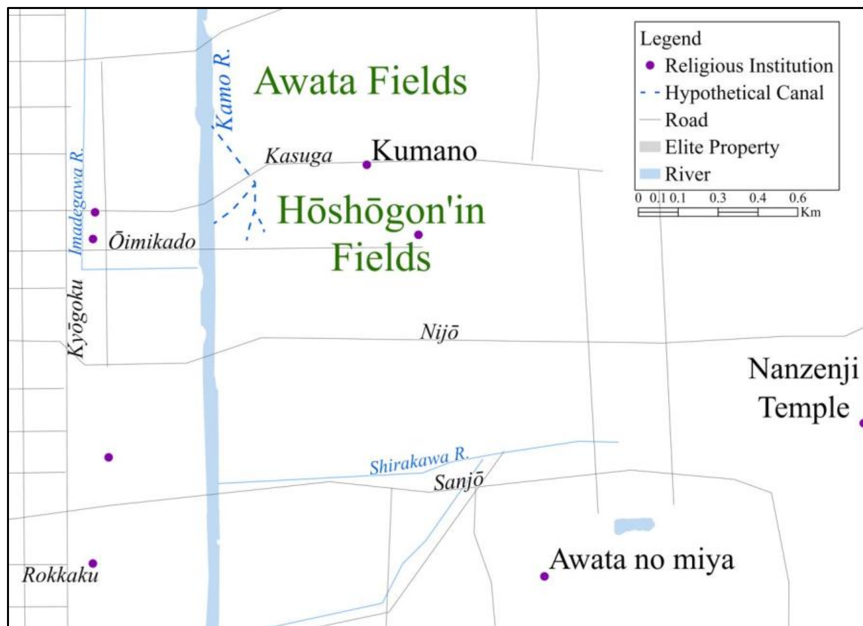

Figure 2.14 Approximate locations for Awata and Hōshōgon'in fields based on **Figure 2.13**

very flat, not yet rising into the eponymous eastern mountains, and the Kamo River was much wider and more meandering than in the present day. Medieval location names have not survived into modern times, so it is unclear where, exactly, the fields were located. Road names on the map narrow the area to between Ichijō and Nijō. To begin with, Awata no miya's agricultural fields, labelled both paddy (*ta* 田) and bamboo (*yabu* 藪), were located upriver of the Hōshōgon'in fields, north of Kasuga. According to the complaint from Hōshōgon'in administrators, a canal had flowed for decades from the Kamo River through Awata no miya fields and into Hōshōgon'in fields. Two years prior to the complaint, in the sixth month of 1354 (Bunna 文和 4), a flood damaged the fields. The following spring, another flood breached embankments and cut off the channel. This damage in the Awata no miya portion of the canal was apparently never repaired, and the canals in the Hōshōgon'in fields dried up. In response to inaction of the lay administrator of Awata no miya, Kanetsugu 兼継, the agriculturalists on the Hōshōgon'in fields began digging their own canals.[58]

[58] DNS 6:20 p. 890-893; Enbun 延文 1 (1356) 10.21.

These fields were located directly east of central Kyoto, north of the more famous temples but still close to the most populated parts of the city. Many sixteenth-century paintings show agricultural activity on both sides of the river. Canals like the Horikawa, the Imadegawa River, and Nishi no tōin River likely also supported agriculture at the southern end of the city, near Hachijō and Kujō.[59] Between the fields and garden pond irrigation, the Kamo River was heavily exploited during the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries.

Irrigation canals stressed the capacity of the Kamo River to meet the needs of all its users. Indeed, concessions from elite residences in the summer months to divert water to agricultural land demonstrate that cooperation and organization kept the system functioning. Monsoon rains, typically falling during the fifth and sixth months, would have kept the water levels higher to meet the demands of the river's many users. At the same time, however, monsoon rains and typhoons could easily bring too much water. Canals, like bridges, are vulnerable to flood damage. Excess water in agricultural fields causes its own damage through erosion and plant rot.

The River as a Physical Barrier

The Kamo River was a physically distinct part of medieval Kyoto's cityscape. The river itself, as a body of water, and the wide riverbed (*kawara* 河原) area to either side of it divided Kyoto proper from its eastern suburbs, present-day Higashiyama. Its two most important bridges, at Shijō and Gojō, allowed people and animals to cross where the river is deep and fast moving.

These bridges were closely connected to the religious institutions that funded and were associated with them. Yasaka Shrine 八坂神社 funded the bridge at Shijō to facilitate the crossing of deities into the city during the Gion Festival 祇園祭. Kiyomizu Temple 清水寺

[59] Nishioka Toranosuke 西岡寅之助, ed., "Yamashironokuni Kiigun Saisari Tōjiryō nishi jiden sashizu 山城国紀伊郡佐井佐里東寺領西寺田指図," in *Nihon shōen ezu shūei 2, Kinki 1 (Yamashiro)* 日本荘園絵図聚影　二　近畿一（山城） (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo, n.d.), 127.

managed the bridge at Gojō to facilitate pilgrimage. Bridge tolls from pilgrims, and presumably other travellers needing to cross, in turn funded the bridge and temple.

The Kamo River bridges as depicted in *rakuchū rakugai* 洛中洛外図屏風 (Screens of Scenes in and around Kyoto) paintings, as well as other landscape artwork depicting Kyoto, give clues as to the physical shape of the river prior to the massive construction works done by the Hideyoshi regime. They suggest unstable banks and shifting sandbars as well as the surprising existence of a substantial island in the middle of the river.

Bridges

At various times between the Heian and the end of the Muromachi period bridges were built across the Kamo River at different places.[60] The earliest known bridge across the Kamo River was the Kara Bridge (*karahashi* 韓橋), believed to have been located near Kujōbōmon and connecting to the southeastern road toward the Uji Bridge.[61] The major bridges throughout the medieval period were the Shijō and Gojō bridges. One other bridge, at Sanjō, was added for a brief time in 1423 and appears in the earliest of the extant *rakuchū rakugai* paintings (1525), but it was not a major piece of infrastructure until a stone bridge was put in its place in 1590.[62]

Shijō Bridge appears in medieval documents as Gion Bridge 祇園橋 and is first mentioned

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[60] The Uji Bridge was the first bridge constructed in the Kyoto basin during the mid-seventh century. Its purpose was to facilitate the movement of mounted horsemen over the more difficult to cross Uji River. Kadowaki Teiji, "Ujibashi: Kyō no kawa no saisho no hashi 宇治橋一京の川の最初の橋," in *Kyō no Kamogawa to hashi: sono rekishi to seikatsu*, ed. Kadowaki Teiji and Asao Naohiro (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2001), 63–68.

[61] This bridge appears in documents from 879-939. Masubuchi Tōru 増渕徹, "Kamogawa to Heiankyō 鴨川と平安京," in *Kyō no Kamogawa to hashi: sono rekishi to seikatsu*, ed. Kadowaki Teiji and Asao Naohiro (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2001), 36–37.

[62] *Kanenobu kōki* 兼宣公記, Ōei 應永 30 (1423) 5.24; *Shiryō sōran* 史料綜覧 11:912, p. 265 Tenshō 天正 18 (1590) i.1. A wooden bridge appears in the 1525 RVA screen but not in later 16th century landscape paintings. It is possible some bridge was already at Sanjō prior to the stone bridge to make the construction worth-while, but there is no documentary evidence for this so far.

in 1154.[63] Gojō Bridge initially appears as Kiyomizu Bridge 清水橋 in 1263.[64] In later records the bridges are referenced using the avenue names, Shijō and Gojō, most commonly. The best documentary evidence of the two bridges comes from flood records. Both are repeatedly recorded to have "washed out" (落流), usually together, as a result of flooding. In some instances, the bridges survived, but people on them were washed into the river, as was the case in the summer of 1379 (Kōryaku 康暦 1), when high water pushed a cart off the bridge during a storm.[65] In other instances, bridge collapses led to numerous fatalities, as happened in summer 1436, when people were "carried off."[66]

Both Shijō and Gojō bridges were constantly being rebuilt until sturdier stone bridges replaced them in the early modern period. Reconstruction was a joint effort between the religious proprietors, mendicant monks, and the warrior government. Documents make clear that in the thirteenth century the warrior government took responsibility for the bridges. [67] However, by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries construction relied on a combination of donations, levies, and some support from the warrior government.[68] During the Ōnin War (1467-77), for example, the monk Gan'ami 願阿弥 (dates unknown) collected donations for Kiyomizu Temple to fund the rebuilding of the Gojō Bridge.[69]

[63] *Shiryō sōran* 3:903 p. 330 Kyūju 久寿 1 (1154) 3.29. Shijō Bridge was first referred to as such in 1292, *Sanemi kyōki* 実躬卿記, Shōō 正応 5 (1292) 5.16.
[64] *Shiryō sōran* 5:905 p. 77 Kōchō 弘長 3 (1263) 7.3. Gojō Bridge was first referred to as such in 1287, *Sanemi kyōki*, Kōan 弘安 10 (1287) 5.11.
[65] *Gogumaiki* 後愚昧記, Kōryaku 康暦 1 (1379) 5.7. The people in the cart were submerged in the river but apparently survived.
[66] *Kanmon nikki*, Eikyō 8 (1436) 7.12.
[67] Tabata Yasuko 田端泰子, "Hashi to jisha/sekisho no shūzō jigyō 橋と寺社・関所の修造事業," in *Kyō no Kamogawa to hashi: sono rekishi to seikatsu*, ed. Kadowaki Teiji and Asao Naohiro (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2001), 83.
[68] *Tōji shigyō nikki* 東寺執行日記, Hōtoku 宝徳 2 (1450) 6.7, in *Shiryō sōran* 7:908, p. 13.
[69] Talia Andrei, "Kanjin to chū/kinsei Nihon no zōkei: Kiyomizudera sankei mandara to Ise sankei mandara no kenkyū 勧進と中・近世日本の造形 : 清水寺参詣曼荼羅と伊勢参詣曼荼羅の研究," *Kokka* 國華 123, no. 7 (2018): 8. Gan'ami was not affiliated with Kiyomizu Temple.

Shijō Bridge

Shijō Bridge referred to two bridges, one permanent and one temporary. In sixteenth-century landscape paintings, a beam bridge stands above the water on pillars. The second bridge is smaller, located just north of the beam structure and appears to be a pontoon-type bridge, more barge-like with joined planks of wood appearing to float just above the surface (figure 2.15).[70] In the 1525 version of *Scenes in and around Kyoto*,[71] portable shrines are carried across the temporary bridge from east to west on their way into the city for the Gion Festival. Warriors who appear to be guarding the procession cross over the larger bridge.

There is limited documentary evidence of how the smaller bridge was used. Historian Tabata Yasuko interprets paintings and documents to suggest that the temporary bridge was put in place only for the Gion Festival and then removed each year of the festival.[72] She suggests that it likely remained up for some time after the festival but was taken down before winter. The main

Figure 2.15 Shijō Bridge*, Screens of Scenes in and around Kyoto*, RVA

[70] *Rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu RVA*.
[71] Discussed in greater detail in chapter 2.
[72] Tabata, "Hashi to jisha/seisho no shuzō jigyō," 78-80.

Figure 2.17 Shijō Bridge*, Screens of Famous Places in Higashiyama*

Figure 2.16 Shijō Bridge, *Illustrated Biography of the Priest Ippen*

source for this interpretation is an entry in *Tōji shigyō nikki* 東寺執行日記 (“Daily Record of Affairs at Tōji Temple”) from 1450. The author writes that the warrior government collected funds for the Shijō Bridge from Kyūshū residents, constructed the bridge between the fourth and sixth months, and a memorial ceremony (*kuyō* 供養) was to be performed by a thousand Zen

monks in the tenth month.[73] Tabata argues that this entry means the bridge would be gone by the tenth month and the memorial ceremony was in fact performed for the bridge itself.

As discussed above, Kamo River floods were most common in the summer, and floods that destroyed the Kamo bridges invariably took place between the fifth and the seventh months (June and August), during seasonal storms. That makes it unlikely that the temporary bridge was removed to protect it from flooding. However, while the Kamo River does not currently freeze solid, it is not unreasonable to postulate that some parts ay have frozen during winter. Since the temporary bridge was low and at the water's surface, provided it survived the summer, it may have been removed to protect it from ice floes. Alternately, its removal may have been part of the Gion Festival or the city's ritual calendar or simply to protect the wood from water damage.

It is also clear from other paintings that the smaller bridge was not a necessary feature of the Kamo River's built environment. In fact, it could be argued that the Scenes in and around Kyoto genre includes the pontoon bridge specifically to point to the Gion Festival. Other genre paintings do not include the pontoon bridge at all. Such images range from the early *Illustrated Biography of the Priest Ippen* (1299)[74] to the *Hōkan Temple Pilgrimage Mandala* (sixteenth-seventeenth centuries)[75] to the *Screens of Famous Places in Higashiyama* (late-sixteenth century).[76] These paintings suggest that the beam bridge was the primary Shijō Bridge and was used by both pedestrians and ox carts.

River Islands and Gojō Bridge

As mentioned above, repeated destruction of the Kamo banks though erosion and

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[73] Tōji shigyō nikki, Hōtoku 2 (1450) 6.7, in *Shiryō sōran* 7:908, p. 13.
[74] Hōgen En'i 法眼円伊, *Illustrated Biography of the Priest Ippen, Ippen shōnin eden emaki* 一遍上人絵伝絵巻, Shōan 1 正安元年 (1299), Colour on silk, 37.8×802.0, A-10944, Tokyo National Museum.
[75] *Yasaka Hōkanji tō mandara* 八坂法観寺塔曼荼羅, 16th -17th c., Colour on paper, 147x169, Hōkanji.
[76] *Higashiyama meisho zu byōbu* 東山名所図屏風, late 16th c., Colour on paper, 86.4 x 263.1 cm, H-1822, National Museum of Japanese History.

embankment means we cannot reconstruct the shape of the river through archaeological records. However, medieval paintings provide hints at the shape of the Kamo River. We know from archaeological studies that the land in southeastern Kyoto changed dramatically between the tenth and eleventh centuries when the ground level rose, lowering the water table and shrinking the Kamo River flood zone.[77] Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century construction projects straightened the river's course and reduced its width.[78] Modern construction projects have further changed the shape and size of the river, so that the Kamo River today only distantly reflects the Kamo of the premodern era. The two most dramatic changes visible in sixteenth-century paintings are the island at Gojō and the Misosogi canal みそそぎ川 on the western side of the river.

Every sixteenth-century landscape painting that features the Kamo River includes a large river island at Gojō, connected to the river banks by two plank bridges. The island invariably includes a small temple, Daikokudō 大黒堂 or Hōjōji Temple 法城寺.[79] In the *Kiyomizu Temple Pilgrimage Mandala* (mid-sixteenth century),[80] the artist depicts two temple workers collecting donations from inside the building (figure 2.20). Horikawa suggests they are collecting fees for crossing the bridge. According to one record from 1466, the fee to cross was three *mon* (文) per person.[81] Because the workers in this image are collecting tolls, Hosokawa argues that Daikokudō was responsible for maintaining the Gojō Bridge.[82] Historian Seta Katsuya argues that the temple was founded to calm the Kamo River. He draws from an entry in *Yōshū fushi* 雍

[77] Kawasumi, "Heiankyō ni okeru chikei kankyō henka to toshi-teki tochi riyō no hensen," 50.
[78] Yoshikoshi, "Rekishijidai no kankyō fukugen ni kan-suru kosuimongakuteki kenkyū," 9, 15
[79] Both names refer to the same structure. Andrei, 8; Hosokawa, 114.
[80] *Kiyomizudera sanke mandara* 清水寺参詣曼荼羅, mid 16th c., Colour on paper, 168.5x176.8, mid 16th c., Nakajima Family.
[81] IRKNR, Bunsei 文正 1 (1466) 8.18.
[82] Hosokawa, 114

Figure 2.19 Gojō Island, *Kiyomizu Temple Pilgrimage Mandala*

州府 志

Figure 2.18 Gojō Island, *Screens of Famous Places in Higashiyama*

("Record of Yōshū Prefecture"), a late seventeenth-century gazetteer that highlights important places in Yamashiro Province, including Kyoto. The entry explains "Hōjōji Temple" as signalling "*mizu sarite tsuchi to naru* 水去りて土と成る," or "water recedes and land forms," suggested by the Chinese characters that make up the temples name.[83]

By the time *Yōshū fushi* was written, the island at Gojō was gone. In the late sixteenth century, the island was removed, apparently as part of or as a result of the construction projects, and Gojō Bridge itself was relocated slightly south, to Rokujō bōmon. According to the

[83] Seta Katsuya 瀬田勝哉, *Rakuchū rakugai no gunzō: ushinawareta chūsei Kyōto e* 洛中洛外の群像：失われた中世京都へ (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1994), 37.

gazetteer, Hōjōji Temple was incorporated into Shinkōji Temple 心光寺 near the new stone bridge at Sanjō in 1607 (Keichō 慶長 12).[84] The same entry in *Yōshū fushi* identifies the island as *nakajima* 中島 or "middle island."

As will be discussed in more detail in chapter 3, the earliest extant screen painting in the genre "Scenes in and around Kyoto" was executed in 1525 (Rekihaku Version A or RVA). Later sixteenth-century paintings in this genre contain the same themes and general structure as the RVA screens. All the early Scenes in and around Kyoto include this island, even as the shape of the river north of the island changes. Edo period versions, however, do not.[85]

Figure 2.20 Gojō Island and Gojō Bridge*, Screens of Scenes in and Around Kyoto*, RVA

[84] Yoshikawa Kōbunkan Henshūbu 吉川弘文館編集部, ed., "Shinkōji 心光寺," in *Kyōto, Yamashiro ji'in jinja daijiten* 京都・山城寺院神社大辞典 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2010). See also Seta, 38.

[85] An exception is the Tōhaku mohon. The extant version was made during the seventeenth century but based on an early sixteenth-century painting. Thus, this version anachronistically contains the island at Gojō. The three bridges, portable shrines, and general shapes are nearly identical between the RVA, Uesugi, and Tōhaku mohon screens.

Sixteenth-century paintings also show dramatic changes in the physical shape of the river at the bridges. None of them can be taken as "accurate" as far as the general shape of the river is concerned, primarily because the genre is only loosely interested in relative locations and makes no effort at maintaining a consistent scale. However, some features stand out. At Shijō, what looks like a shoal or sandbar juts out of the water in the RVB screens (late-sixteenth century).[86]

Figure 2.21 Shijō Bridge and Sandbar, *Screens of Scenes in and around Kyoto*, RVB

In other images, such as the RVA screen, the temporary bridge begins on land jutting farther into the river than the permanent bridge. Sandbars are collected sediment pushed by the current; if the water is shallow, or the collection large enough, the top will breach the water's surface, as seems to be the case in the two paintings that show the divided bridge. As a feature of the living river, accumulations of sediment like this would be very unstable and may explain why they do not appear consistently.

The sandbar appears again in the RVD screens (mid-seventeenth century)[87] as a more substantial landmass, bisecting both the Sanjō and Shijō bridges and containing several

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[86] *Rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu RVB* 洛中洛外図屏風歴博乙本, Late 16th c., Colour on paper, 158.3 x 360.4 each, Late 16th c., H-722, National Museum of Japanese History.
[87] *Rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu RVD* 洛中洛外図屏風歴博 D 本, 17th c., Colour on paper, 124.0 x 272.0 cm each, 17th c., H-4, National Museum of Japanese History.

buildings. This painting was made after the construction projects of the late sixteenth century had reshaped the river. It is possible that the proportions are distorted to show more effectively the liveliness of this section of the river, which became an entertainment district during the Edo period, with restaurants and tea houses built along the shores.[88] In the present day, a small canal called Misosogi runs between central Kyoto and the successors of these restaurants.

Figure 2.22 Sanjō and Shijō Bridges and island, *Screens of Scenes in and around Kyoto,* RVD

Conclusion

Prmanent changes made to the Kamo River between the late sixteenth century and the 1950s not only narrowed its course but also moved islands and lowered the streambed. Due to the concrete embankments and modern river works built to control erosion and sediment flow, we can only guess at the shape of the Kamo based on medieval paintings and documents. While the Kamo has never been a large or intimidating river, rapid changes in water volume caused by monsoon rains and the dramatic levelling off of the basin's slope made the river dangerous and capricious. Medieval engineers and administrators worked to maintain equitable distribution of

[88] Suzuki Michihisa, "'Kyōto Kamogawa nōryōyuka' no hensen ni kan-suru kenkyū: edoki no 'meisho annai ki,' 'kikōbun,' 'kaiga' kara 「京都 鴨川納涼床」の変遷に関する研究: 江戸期の「名所案内記」, 「紀行文」, 「絵画」から," *Kyōto sangyō daigaku ronshū, shakai kagaku keiretsu* 京都産業大学論集. 社会科学系列 35 (2018): 51–69.

water to agricultural fields while temples and governments built and maintained the bridges. Located at convenient points for pilgrimage and rituals, the Shijō and Gojō bridges were firmly part of the imagined cityscape, consistently rebuilt and depicted in artworks even as floods repeatedly washed them away. The ritual calendar required the annual rebuilding of a pontoon bridge at Shijō to allow the Gion Shrine floats to cross into central Kyoto.

Chapter 3
Traversing the River, Part 1

Ah, the delightful capital of flowers
The brush cannot write enough
In the east, Gion 祇園*, Kiyomizu* 清水
  The cascading roar of the Otowa 音羽 *Falls*
  Scatters the cherry blossoms at Jishū 地主
In the west, the temples at Hōrin 法輪 *and Saga* 嵯峨
The river pushes the water wheel round and round at Rinsen Dam 臨川堰
River willows tumbled about by the water
The plump sparrow bumped about by bamboo
The capital's oxen pushed about by carts
Plume grass blown about in the fields by wind
The tea mortar beaten about by the pestle
Well well, I have forgotten…
The kokiriko[1] *beaten about by the Hōka* 放下 *performers*
Time builds up on the two kokiriko *sticks*
Ah, that this peaceful age should continue[2]

This poem from *Kanginshū* 閑吟集 describes sixteenth-century Kyoto in a moment of peace, naming famous places on its outskirts. In the west are the Saga area temples and the water wheel at Rinsenji Temple along the Katsura River; east of the Kamo River the poet picks out Yasaka Shrine, Kiyomizu Temple, and Otowa Falls.

According to the original city plan, illustrated by a set of maps produced for the *Engishiki* 延喜式 ("Regulations of the Engi Era," c. 927), the Heian capital was conceived as a large rectangle bounded by avenues Ichijō 一条 in the north, Kujō 九条 in the south, Higashi no kyōgoku 東京極 in the east, and Nishi no kyōgoku 西京極 in the west. This larger design failed

[1] A type of percussion instrument.
[2] Usuda Jingorō 臼田 甚五郎 et al., eds., "Kanginshū 閑吟集," in *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 新編日本古典文学全集, vol. 42 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 2000), 430–31.

almost immediately. Western Kyoto (Ukyō) was never built up in the same way as eastern Kyoto (Sakyō). The two maps from 927 below demonstrate this early preference for eastern Kyoto.[3]

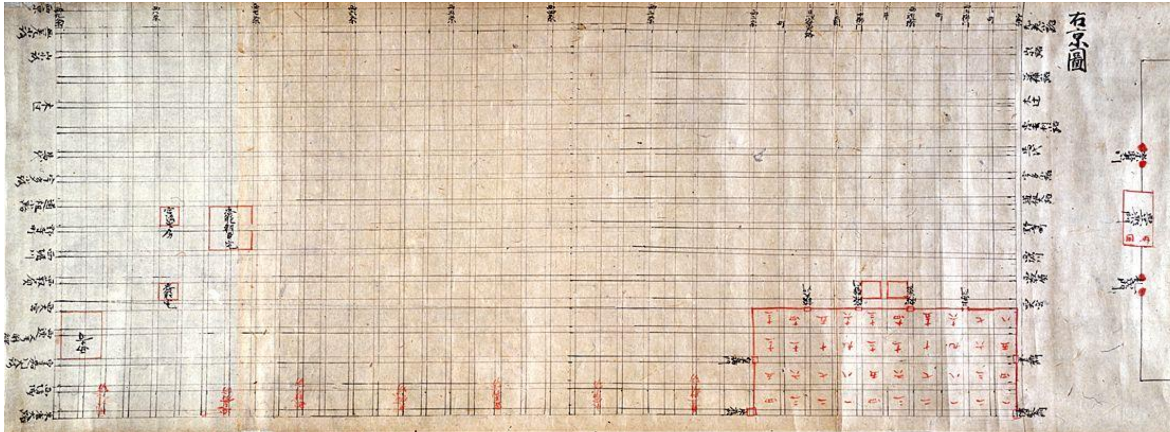

Figure 3.1 Ukyō from *Engishiki*, oriented west

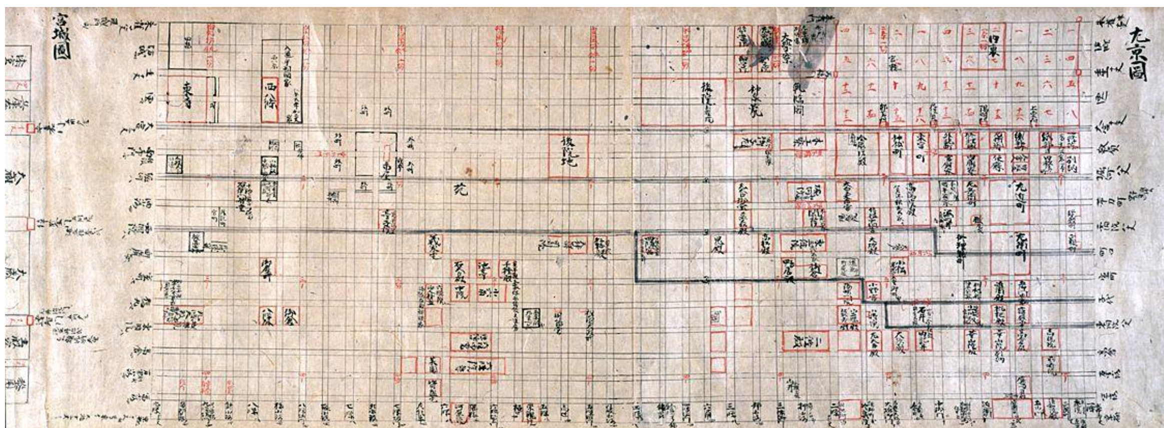

Figure 3.2 Sakyō from *Engishiki*, oriented west

By the medieval period (1185-1603), the physical boundaries of Kyoto were in flux. Settlements grew up around the temples in the Higashiyama and Saga regions flanking the city in the east and west respectively, and retired emperors, shoguns, and powerful aristocrats built palaces and temples to the east and north. By the mid-fourteenth century, urban Kyoto had

[3] The maps are a part of a scroll that details official government rites and ceremonies. The imperial palace compound is blocked off on the bottom right of figure 2.1 and the top right of figure 2.2. Other residences and important locations are drawn in red and labeled in black. Although the maps were drawn separately as a part of a scroll, the two maps together encompass the whole of Heiankyō. The right side of each map is north. The bottom of figure 2.1 meets the top of figure 2.2 at Suzakuōji 朱雀大路, Heiankyō's central avenue. *Engishiki* 延喜式, 11th century, B2370, Tokyo National Museum.

contracted east of Suzakuōji but extended north of Ichijō. Following the violence and destruction of the Ōnin War (1467-1477)) that saw a large amount of the city razed, the urban area further constricted into two walled regions, Kamigyō and Shimogyō, which were connected by a narrow corridor.[4] Throughout these changes, the land east of the Kamo River continued to be home to temples, shrines, breweries, money lenders, tea houses, smithies, and agriculture. Toward the end of the sixteenth century, during the rule of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, massive construction projects altered both the shape of the Kamo River and Kyoto's boundaries (see chapter 2). Hideyoshi had an earthen barrier and moat constructed west of the Kamo to Suzakuōji, that redrew the boundaries of Kyoto north of Kamigyō and enclosed the city to the south at Kujō.[5] This rough shape was retained throughout the early modern period as maps for urban planning and administration developed in size, scale, and specificity.

And yet, throughout the changes to Kyoto's shape, the regions of Higashiyama and Saga remained connected to the city; they were part of Kyoto beyond its formal boundaries. While medieval writers and mapmakers continued to imagine Kyoto as a city within the classical boundaries, its surrounding settlements had an on-and-off relationship with the ways the city was imagined - both part of the city and separate at different times. These regions were both "outside" Kyoto (*rakugai*) and yet part of it. The Kamo River functioned as a discursive barrier that excluded the eastern settlements from Kyoto proper throughout the later medieval period. Landscape paintings and maps from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries describe the areas

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[4] Hayashiya and Elison, "Kyoto in the Muromachi Age."

[5] See Fiévé, 149.

divided by the Kamo as Kyoto and not-Kyoto, urban and rural, part of a whole and also distinguished, localized.

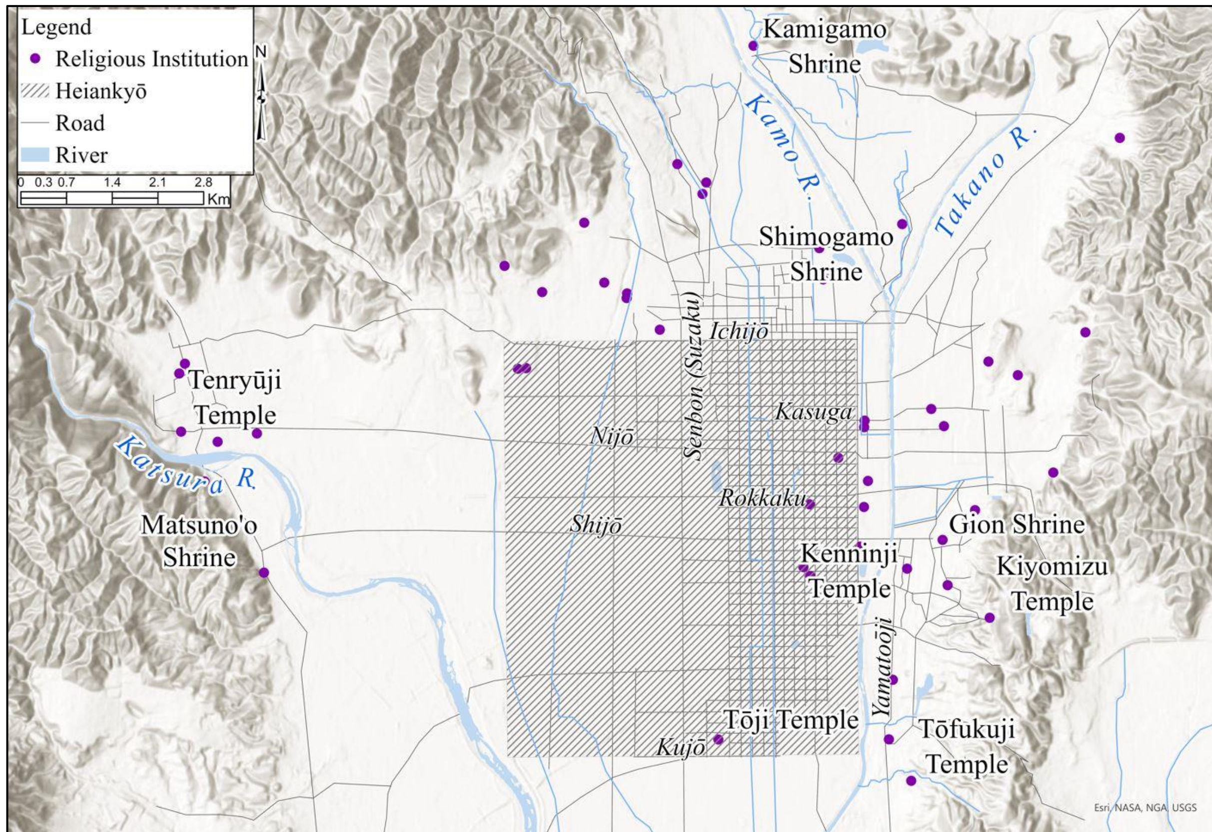

Figure 3.3 Location of major religious institutions, roads, and waterways in Kyoto, circa 1400

Sources

The main visual sources for this chapter fall into two types: administrative maps (*shōen ezu* 庄園絵図), and *Screens of Scenes in and around Kyoto* (*rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu* 洛中洛外図屏風), a genre of large-scale paintings on folding screens. The primary distinction in the maps is inner and outer (*naka/soto* 中・外). Administrative and socio-political maps centre the "inner" as parts of Kyoto that fell within Heiankyō's eight-century boundaries. Settlements to the east of the Kamo River are depicted as distinctly "outer." This parallels language used in diaries and legal documents that discuss the city and its suburbs. At the same time, the regions north of Ichijō do not appear particularly set off from Kyoto's "inner."

Nearly two hundred administrative maps survive from medieval Japan. Most of the ones I analyse here appear in the collection *Nihon shōen ezu shūei* 日本荘園絵図聚影, which contains facsimiles of *shōen ezu* in a variety of formats. Some maps are colour scans or copies with each quadrant blown up to the size of the page. I also located *shōen ezu* through the *Tōji Hyakugō Monjo* 東寺百合文書 online archive.[6] A few of these maps have accompanying documents which that help contextualise the administrative conflict that resulted in the maps' creation.

There are five extant sets of these screens from the sixteenth century that present a distinctly elite imagining of Kyoto's cityscape. The earliest surviving screen is the Rekihaku Version A (*Rekihaku kōhon* 歴博甲本, hereafter RVA)[7] screen from approximately 1525 (see figure 2.4). As the earliest Asakura screen 朝倉本 (1506) is lost, we cannot know whether that screen served as a template for later paintings. However, as the earliest extant screens, the RVA screens clearly provided a precedent for which buildings and people would be included on later sixteenth-century works. Those, particularly the RVB screens, are nearly identical in their content.[8]

Title	Approximate date	Artist	Patron
Asakura (not extant)	1506	Tosa Mitsunobu	Asakura Sadakage
Rekihaku Version A	c. 1525	Kanō Motonobu	Hoskawa Takakuni[9]
Tōhaku Mohon (copy)	Early 1540s	Someone affiliated with Kanō Motonobu	Someone affiliated with Hosokawa Harumoto
Uesugi	1565	Kanō Eitoku	Ashikaga Yoshiteru

[6] Kyōto fu-ritsu Kyōto gaku, rekisaikan 京都府立京都学・歴彩館, "Tōji Hyakugō Monjo WEB 東寺百合文書 WEB," accessed July 21, 2022, https://hyakugo.pref.kyoto.lg.jp/.
[7] Housed in the National Museum of Japanese History, *Rekishi minzoku hakubutsukan* 歴史民俗博物館, abbreviated to *Rekihaku* 歴博.
[8] Figure 3.4 modified from Kojima Michihiro, *Egakareta sengoku no Kyōto: Rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu o yomu* 描かれた戦国の京都一洛中洛外図屏風を読む (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2009), 2.
[9] Kojima Michihiro 小島道裕, "*Rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu Rekihaku kōhon no seisaku jijō o megutte* 洛中洛外図屏風歴博甲本の制作事情をめぐって," in *Rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu Rekihaku kōhon no sōgō teki kenkyū* 洛中洛外図屏風歴博甲本の総合的研究, ed. Kojima Michihiro, Kokuritsu rekishi minzoku hakubutsukan kenkyū hōkoku 国立歴史民俗博物館研究報告 180 (Chiba, Japan: Hashidate, 2014), 108–9.

			(gift for Uesugi Kenshin)
Rekihaku Version B	c. 1580s	Someone affiliated with Kano Shōei and Sōshū	Unknown
Rekihaku Version D	c. 17th c.		

Figure 3.4 Early *rakuchū-rakugai zu byōbu*

I used two sources for the *Screens of Scenes in and around Kyoto*. The main one is the National Museum of Japanese History's (NMJH) web gallery.[10] This gallery includes high-resolution scans of the six sets of screens in the museum's collection as well as explanatory overlays and minute visual analyses of the RVA version. The NMJH web gallery also includes high-resolution scans of several other sixteenth-century screens in addition to *Famous Places in Higashiyama* (*Higashiyama meisho byōbu* 東山名所図屏風). In addition to the online gallery, I also draw from *Toshi o egaku - Kyōto to Edo* 都市を描く一京都と江戸, an exhibit catalogue published by the National Institutes for the Humanities that includes reproductions of screen sets not included in the NMJH collection.

The River as a Discursive Barrier

Kamo no Chōmei's 鴨長明 *Hōjōki* 方丈記 ("An Account of a My Hut")[11] recounts a famine that occurred in 1182-83. The account delimits the boundaries of Kyoto using road names – Ichijō and Kujō, Kyōgoku, and Suzaku. Within these boundaries, Chōmei writes, the dead numbered forty thousand. To this, he adds the riverside (*kawara* 河原), Shirakawa, and western Kyoto (*nishi no kyō* 西ノ京, formerly Ukyō).[12] The monk Taikyoku wrote in 1461 of a similar

[10] "Web Gallery," National Museum of Japanese History, 2022, https://www.rekihaku.ac.jp/education_research/gallery/webgallery/index.html.
[11] *Hōjō* 方丈 indicates a measurement of one *jō*, or approximately 3 meters, to each side of a square. The title is also translated as "An Account of a Ten Foot Square Hut."
[12] Kamo no Chōmei 鴨長明, *Hōjōki* 方丈記, 16.

famine in the capital. In his diary, he writes that he "entered Kyoto," and "from the Shijō Bridge looked up [the Kamo] river."[13] In the writings of both monks, Kyoto as a city does not include the Higashiyama district but stops either just west of the river's flood plain, at Higashi kyōgoku, or at the Kamo River itself.

Visual depictions of medieval Kyoto also suggest these boundaries. Even in later medieval paintings, such as the *Screens of Scenes in and around Kyoto*, when the northern and eastern districts of Kyoto are shown together, the Kamo divides the screens in a way that suggests a difference between Kyoto and Higashiyama that is not present between Kyoto and the region north of Ichijō. Administrative maps of Kyoto likewise suggest a difference in the ways land east of the Kamo River related to the land within the Heian grid. Despite the proximity of these areas and the flow of people, goods, gods, and activity between the two, these maps show that the regions were imagined by administrators as distinct and separate from Kyoto.

Urban Expansion and Spiritual Protection

Kyoto's most famous temples and shrines are shown in the upper sections of the *Screens of Scenes in and around Kyoto*. The sites above the Kamo in the RVA screens included, from the right, Kiyomizu Temple, Yasaka Shrine, and Enryakuji Temple. The parade of religious sites on the left screen is equally prestigious. They include, from the right, Kamigamo Shrine, Rokuonji Temple 鹿苑寺 (currently Kinkakuji Temple 金閣寺 or the Golden Pavilion), Tenryūji Temple 天龍寺, and Matsuo Shrine 松尾大社. The presence of these temples and shrines along the city's boundaries serves a dual function. First, it suggests that the city's boundaries included the temple areas, drawing the outskirts to the east and north into the city, with the space in between elided by gold wash. Second, the surrounding temples and shrines present a catalogue of the

[13] HZNR, Kanshō 寛正 2 (1461), 2.30. "以事入京自四条坊橋上見"

city's spiritual protectors.

The sacred in premodern Japan was intimately entwined with political authority and legitimacy. The earliest documentary evidence of the ties between sacred and secular power dates from 712 with the completion of the *Kojiki* 古事記 (*A Record of Ancient Matters*). The purpose of the *Kojiki* is unambiguously stated by its author, "to correct the royal records" vis-à-vis records handed down by competing households.[14] Thus, the various ruling families of the past were conflated into a long, unbroken line of succession from distant ancestors, the deities who created the islands and subdued their populations. In addition, households with ties to the imperial court, such as the Kamo 鴨 and the Fujiwara 藤原, are represented in the myth-histories by their respective deities either assisting, swearing loyalty to, or getting defeated by the deities of the imperial family. These mythic ties to prehistorical deities continued in Japan's political consciousness through the medieval period, as seen in the political work *Jinnō shōtōki* 神皇正統記 (*A Chronicle of Gods and Sovereigns*, c. 1339), which recounts the imperial line beginning with the sun goddess, Amaterasu. Buddhism, alongside *kami* worship, was also a tool of state, employed in protecting the state from disasters, managing domestic disturbances, and warding off the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century.

Japanese elites strengthened their ties to religious institutions in two primary ways. On one level, they patronized religious institutions by sponsoring the writing of sutras and donating land, which supported the material prosperity of the institution while helping the patron's karma. On another level, elite families frequently sent their sons and daughters to institutions as monks, nuns, and abbots. Elites also founded dozens of temples.[15]

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[14] Kurano Kenji 倉野憲司 and Takeda Yūkichi 武田祐吉, eds., *Kojiki, Norito* 古事記・祝詞, vol. 1, Nihon koten bungaku taikei 日本古典文学大系 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1958), 47–49.

[15] Elite women also founded temples; for example, Ashikaga Yoshiakira's 足利義詮 (1330-1367, shogun 1358-

While the earliest suburban expansion began east of the Kamo River during the ninth century, expansion north of the Ichijō boundary line began around the eleventh century. It accelerated with the establishment of the Ashikaga warrior government in 1338, which shifted the locus of warrior power from Higashiyama to Kitayama 北山 (Lit. "northern mountains").[16] Among the suburban temples, Rokuonji Temple and Tenryūji Temple were both intimately connected to the warrior government and the Ashikaga family. Ashikaga Takauji 足利尊氏 (1305-1358, shogun 1338-1358), the Muromachi bakufu's founder, established Tenryūji Temple northwest of the city in 1339 to pacify the spirit of Emperor Godaigo 後醍醐天皇 (1288-1339, r.1318-1339), whom he had ousted from Kyoto in 1336. Tenryūji Temple held the top rank among Kyoto's *gozan* 五山 (lit. "Five Mountains," the five major Zen temples of Kyoto).[17] The third Ashikaga shogun, Yoshimitsu 足利義満 (1358-1408, shogun 1368-1394), built the Golden Pavilion within the Kitayama compound in 1397. It became Rokuonji Temple in 1422.[18]

Also in the northern suburb, Kamigamo Shrine and Matsuo Shrine, which predate the city's founding, became imperial shrines and spiritual protectors of the new capital.[19] In their role as state protectors, the location of religious institutions along the outskirts of Kyoto indicates both the relationship between religious power and secular authority and the importance of location.

1367) mother-in-law, Chisen Shōtsū 智泉聖通 (1309-1388) founded Dongein 曇華院, one of the Five Mountains Zen nunneries in Kyoto (*amagozan* 尼五山). See Image 2.3 Yoshikawa Kōbunkan Henshūbu 吉川弘文館編集部, ed., "Donge'in 曇華院," in *Kyōto, Yamashiro ji'in jinja daijiten* 京都・山城寺院神社大辞典 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2010).

[16] In the sixteenth-century screens, the locus of warrior power was depicted in northern Kyoto.

[17] Yoshikawa Kōbunkan Henshūbu, ed., "Tenryūji 天龍寺," in *Kyōto, Yamashiro ji'in jinja daijiten* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2010), 500.

[18] Yoshikawa Kōbunkan Henshūbu, ed., "Rokuonji 鹿苑寺," in *Kyōto, Yamashiro ji'in jinja daijiten* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2010), 737.

[19] Yoshikawa Kōbunkan Henshūbu, ed., "Kamigamo Jinja 上賀茂神社," in *Kyōto, Yamashiro ji'in jinja daijiten* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2010), 158,161.

Yoshimitsu deliberately built Kitayama north of the city, rather than east. It held both practical and symbolic power as a directional protector, a seat of secular authority, and a replica of the capital itself. While practical matters, such as proximity to other elites and ease of travel, may have also influenced his decision, the compound's layout and adherence to geomantic principles demonstrates a conscious manipulation of spiritual power. By placing himself north of the city, Yoshimitsu asserted his real and symbolic authority above other elite institutions, such as the imperial court and the bakufu, from which he abdicated prior to building Kitayama.[20]

The landscape depicted in the RVA screens combines the historical circumstances of urban expansion with contemporary power dynamics. Just as the political relationships between elite warriors and aristocrats are visible in the deliberate referencing of residences, activities, and individuals,[21] the patron's religio-political ideal is visible in the religious institutions and activities shown. It is telling that certain politically important Buddhist institutions were omitted from the painting. The first of these is Tōji Temple 東寺, a Shingon temple founded at the same time as the city and one of two temples initially permitted within the city's boundaries. It was also a major landholder of parcels both within Kyoto and in the provinces. The location of Tōji Temple at Hachijō falls outside the area of the screens, which extend only slightly past Gojō. However, techniques such as the gold wash ellipses could have been used to fit Tōji in had the patron wished it. That it is not represented suggests that it was not so much outside the city's relevant area as not a necessary part of the patron's conceptual map.

Another set of temples belonging to the Hokke 法華宗 or Lotus sect is also largely absent

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[20] Stavros discusses the deployment of secular authority through geographic location in terms of *hare* (public) and *ke* (private). Stavros, *Kyoto*, 93-101.

[21] See Kojima, *Egakareta sengoku no Kyōto* for a detailed discussion of these.

from the screens.[22] Whether the RVA screens were painted before or after 1536, the year twenty-one Hokke temples were destroyed, would have had little impact on the inclusion of Hokke temples if those temples were a part of the patron's imagining of the city. I have found only one Hokke temple, Honnōji Temple 本能寺, depicted. Of the other fifty-two Buddhist temples on the screens, no fewer than sixteen are Zen, the sect patronized by the warrior elite. All the Kyoto Gozan temples, Tenryūji, Shōkokuji 相国寺, Kenninji, Tōfukuji, and Manjūji 万寿寺, appear on the screens. Several of the Zen temples, Tōjiin 等持院, Dongein, Rokuonji, and Tenryūji, were closely affiliated with the Ashikaga family. This concentration of elite-patronized temples, in contrast with the more populist Hokke temples, supports the argument that the screens represent a particular elite imagining of institutions of power in Kyoto.

Rakuchū/Rakugai

Rakuchū (洛中) is a historical term used by both medieval writers and historians.[23] Literally meaning "inside the capital," *rakuchū* defined the space rhetorically as Kyoto proper and distinguished it from its nearby environs, *rakugai* (洛外, lit. "outside the capital"). The term r*akuchū* is used in reference to Kyoto as early as the tenth century[24] but does not appear with any frequency until the latter half of the fourteenth century. *Rakugai* on its own rarely appears in documents. Rather, it is used in the compound *rakuchū rakugai* to indicate Kyoto and its suburbs.[25]

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[22] McKelway uses their omission in part to argue for a later creation date for the RVA, asserting that if the painting was made prior to 1536 it follows that more of the temples would have been represented. However, as McKelway reminds us, art, and even maps, are not "transparent reflections of reality." Matthew Philip McKelway, *Capitalscapes: Folding Screens and Political Imagination in Late Medieval Kyoto* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 63-66.
[23] It is probable that the etymology of *raku* 洛 comes from the Luo River and the use of it as a boundary term in the case of *rakuchū-rakugai* corresponds with the physical layout of Chang'an.
[24] DNS 1:2, Engi 延喜 1 (901), 1.25 (p. 815-824).
[25]A repeated early usage comes from petitions to the warrior government in the 1420s, *rakuchū rakugai sakaya dosō* (洛中洛外酒屋土倉, "breweries and storehouses in and around Kyoto.") See *Ninagawake monjo* 17, Eikyō 永享 2

This chapter's analysis builds on past work on the capital and its environs. Matthew Stavros has written on the role of *soto* 外 (outside) and *naka* 中 (inside) in creating and reinforcing relations of power among urban elites, particularly the tension between imperial authority and monastic authority that arose in the eleventh century.[26] Stavros found that, laws and practices such as where warriors could live or carry weapons remained in place that restricted the actions of individuals, particularly warriors, within the bounds of the classical city limits, into the early fourteenth century. He argues that the enforcement of an inside and outside adhering to the classical borders was used by aristocrats to preserve the authority of the imperial state vis-à-vis growing warrior power. He also argues that, through the medieval period up to the Ōnin War, the space of *rakuchū* was the seat of public power and ritual performed within elites' residences. As powerful elites "retired" from public life,[27] they left their residences within the city limits for temple-palace complexes just beyond, either north or east. Thus, according to Stavros, *rakugai* was a space where private power could be exercised in contrast to the state power exercised in *rakuchū*.[28]

Stavros uses the borders that Kamo no Chōmei defined above, paired with the *Engishiki* maps, to consider the redefinition of *kyō no uchi* (京の内, "inside the capital") as the eastern half of the city, Sakyō. In *Hōjōki*, Chōmei uses Suzakuōji as the western-most border of the city. Suzaku is the central north-south road of the Heian grid, originally leading to the palace compound. What was previously Ukyō, according to Chōmei, "was *near* the capital but no

(1430), 9.30 (p.19-25); *ibid.* 293, Meiō 明応 3 (1494), 11.14 (p. 60-61); ibid. 338, Meiō 明応 7 (1498) 10.16 (p. 121-122) for a few examples.

[26] Stavros, *Kyoto*, 75–101.

[27] Including early emperors like Shirakawa 白河天皇 (1053-1129, r. 1072-1086), Toba 鳥羽天皇 (1103-1156, r. 1107-1123), and Goshirakawa 後白河天皇 (1127-1192, r. 1155-1158) and later Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満 (1358-1408, shogun 1368-1394) and Yoshimasa 足利義政 (1435-1490, shogun 1449-1473).

[28] Stavros, *Kyoto*, 97.

longer *of* the capital."[29]

This redefinition of "the capital" by the thirteenth century stopped at the northern boundary at Ichijō. When Chōmei was writing, temple-palace complexes had pushed the northern inhabited boundary north of Ichijō. And yet, as Stavros found, as late as 1311 warriors of the imperial police who patrolled Kyoto's borders were prohibited from carrying arrows in *rakuchū* except when accompanying the emperor north of Ichijō.[30] In effect, this policy limited the military capacity of warriors to the direct service and protection of the emperor. This restriction demonstrates that the Ichijō boundary remained in effect legally even as the urban environment moved beyond it. The definition of the areas north of Ichijō and east of the Kamo River, as "outside" remains visible in maps of the later medieval period.

Sixteenth-Century Screens as Conceptual Maps

If in their most basic form maps can be defined as graphic objects conveying information about the world related to direction and relative distance between places,[31] the landscape paintings that became *Scenes in and around Kyoto* are a type of map. In constructing the idea of Kyoto, and the place its waterways held within the urban fabric, these painted landscapes reveal spatial information about power within the urban sphere of Kyoto and its suburbs. The creator of the RVA screens deployed religious space in such a way that it bounded and unified the city at the same time as it legitimized the ruling authority. And cutting through the cityscape, the Kamo River divides the highly urbanized centre from the Higashiyama suburb in a way that does not apply to the northern area of Kamigyō.

While the RVA screens are not religious art *per se*, the depiction of religious institutions

[29] Stavros, *Kyoto*, 90, emphasis in original.
[30] Stavros, *Kyoto*, 85.
[31] Tony Campbell, *The Earliest Printed Maps: 1472-1500* (London: The British Library, 1987), 17.

and spaces described above provide the syntax for the patron's understanding of the landscape of secular power in the capital. These screens have been studied as secular artworks depicting the physical, social, and political city. However, with sixty-six religious sites and only sixteen elite residences, the imagery shows a social network of elites overwhelmed and physically surrounded by networks of temples and shrines.

Because no documents have been found regarding the creation of the earliest screens, the motivation for their commission, along with the artist and exact date, are unclear. Historians used to believe that screens of Kyoto cityscapes were produced for regional warlords as a sort of simulacrum that imbued the owners with the cultural prestige of the capital within their provincial domains.[32] While two of the known possessors of sixteenth-century screens, the Asakura 朝倉 (c. 1525) and the Uesugi 上杉 (1565) were regional warlords (*daimyo* 大名), art historian Matthew McKelway argues that the warlord-as-patron paradigm limits interpretive possibilities. He suggests that the content of the screens demonstrates knowledge of the city's social and political changes that reflected the interests of city dwellers more than provincials.[33] As will hopefully become clear, the religio-political landscape in the screens suggests a patron concerned with the balance of power *inside* the capital. Whether that individual was a member of the Hosokawa family, as suggested by Kojima Michihiro of the NMJH,[34] or the Ashikaga, as McKelway suggests,[35] or perhaps even a member of the imperial court,[36] the intimate connections between patronized temples and ruling members of the elite suggests someone at the top of the city's hierarchy.

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[32] McKelway, *Capitalscapes*, 2.
[33] *Ibid.*, 2-3.
[34] Kojima, *Egakareta sengoku no Kyōto*, 27-28.
[35] McKelway, 69-82.
[36] All of the theories point toward a patron aligned with the bakufu. However, the imperial court is present in both screens, which suggests at least the possibility of a courtier patron currying favor with the bakufu.

This genre of screens gained popularity between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, from which the vast majority of the hundred or so extant screens date. These works, created during decades of political centralization, general peace, and economic growth following 1615, likely meant something very different to their creators and owners than those made in the sixteenth century, a time of endemic regional conflict and political instability. The nostalgia of the screens does not appear to extend to the capital's traditional boundaries. The bulk of the screens' space is taken up by depictions of either Kamigyō, inclusive of the space north of Ichijō. Where the east-west *rakugai* transition is set off by locational markers (the Kamo River, the mountains), the north-south border at Ichijō is seamless. Here, the classical distinction between *rakuchū* and *rakugai* appears to not exist.

Screens of Scenes in and around Kyoto

Artists began to construct panoramic landscapes of Kyoto in the early sixteenth century, envisioning the city as distinctly different from the Heian-era grid on which it was established. Whether the RVA screen or the earlier Asakura screen was the original model, all screens made during the sixteenth century follow the same basic form and orientation. The following discussion uses examples from the RVA, *Rekihaku Version B* 歴博乙本, *Rekihaku Version D* 歴博D本, *Tōhaku mohon* 東博模本, and *Uesugi Version* 上杉本.

Medieval Kyoto elicited nostalgia and longing from poets, playwrights, and pilgrims who wrote about or visited its famous sites. In the surviving five screens, the buildings, landscape,

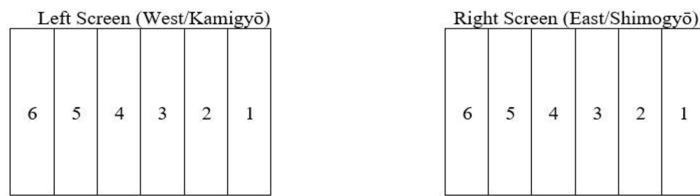

Figure 3.5 Labelling methods for *Screens of Scenes in and around Kyoto*

and people peeking through gold clouds give historians a glimpse at how the city was imagined spatially and religiously by its elite inhabitants. Each set of screens consists of two screens, each comprised of six vertical panels that fold along the edges like a fan.[37] Art historians and museum curators use various conventions to discuss the screens. In Japanese scholarship and museum publications, the most common way is to refer to the two screens as *right* and *left*, indicating the position of the screens in relation to each other and to the viewer if the screens were placed side by side. The screen panels are numbered one through six, beginning from the right side of the screen.[38] Another convention, dividing the screens into *Shimogyō* and *Kamigyō*, (Lower and Upper Kyoto, respectively), refers to the regions of Kyoto depicted in each screen (see figure 3.5).

Folding screens served a number of purposes, including partitioning rooms with open floor plans, providing privacy, and decoration. Today, the screens are viewed in museums on raised platforms side-by-side; however, these screens would have originally been placed on the floor. Kojima has theorized that the screens may have been placed facing each other, providing a viewer in the centre, presumably seated, a panoramic view of the city.[39] The plausibility of this arrangement derives most of its strength from the cycle of seasons depicted in the screens. With

[37] With the exception of the Tōhaku mohon as one panel is missing.
[38] A less common convention is *east* and *west*, referring to the cardinal direction to which each screen is oriented. Kojima, *Egakareta sengoku no Kyōto*, 7, introduces this convention but does not use it in his study. It is used in the exhibit catalog Kokuritsu rekishi minzoku hakubutsukan 国立歴史民俗博物館, ed., *Toshi o egaku : Kyōto to Edo* 都市を描く一京都と江戸 (Tokyo: Ningen Bunka Kenkyū Kikō, 2012), 14–18.
[39] Kojima, *Egakareta sengoku no Kyōto*, 7, 10.

Figure 3.6 Floats from the Gion Festival, RVA

some exceptions, different regions of the screens show landmarks and activities corresponding to the different seasons. For example, the Gion Festival 祇園祭 in panels 1 and 2 of the right screen takes place in summer (figure 3.6), while the Kamigamo Shrine in panel 1 of the left screen is shown covered in snow, indicating winter (figure 3.7). In a side-by-side arrangement, as in current museum displays, the seasons from right to left are summer, spring, winter, and fall. In the facing arrangement, read clockwise from the "north," the seasons are spring, summer, fall, and winter (*shunkashūtō* 春夏秋冬, the order in which they are referred to in Japanese season cycles). This aspect of the paintings moves the viewer through time, traveling through the seasons as they traverse the city.

The seasonal cycle is one theme that unifies the two screens, as well as the city itself, into a composite and binds the views of the city. In addition, the screens reconfigure the city's boundaries, cutting off the southern end of the classical city and encompassing the outskirts (*rakugai*) in the east, north, and west, areas of contemporary political relevance. Swaths of

clouds obscure parts of the paintings, allowing the viewer to cross irregular distances in a rectangular space. The gold clouds running through the centre of the left screen, along with the Kamo River winding through the upper right screen, form visual borders between the city proper (*rakuchū*), inclusive of the area north of Ichijō, and its outer environs (*rakugai*). Where below these borders people crowd along busy streets, and houses are lined up one after another, the upper portions of both screens are much less crowded. Lush green mountains on the right screen become snow-capped peaks on the left. Pockets of forest dot the landscape here, and amidst the gold-wash clouds and hills rise over two-dozen religious buildings.

Figure 3.7 Kamigamo Shrine, RVA

Spatial Arrangements

The RVA screens depict sixty-six religious institutions and map the power landscape as perceived, or hoped for, by the screens' patrons. While these are not all the temples or shrines in the city, they are a selection of the largest. As shown in figure 3.3, most of the religious institutions are outside of the original Heian grid. This includes several on the Kamo River's west bank, but a large proportion of the total sit on the eastern side of the river. The arrangement

of activities and religious buildings divides the space of the screens into distinct religious and secular regions.

Historical reasons for where religious institutions were built include the important tradition of retired emperors, and later shoguns, building temple-palace complexes outside the city. While traditionally scholars have argued that Emperor Kanmu 桓武天皇 (737-806, r. 781-806) moved the imperial capital from Heijōkyō (present-day Nara) to create distance between his government and powerful religious institutions,[40] Ronald Toby makes a compelling argument that the Heijō capital belonged to the Tenmu 天武天皇 (?-686, r. 673-686) lineage and that, by establishing a new court, Kanmu was claiming physical space for his own lineage rather than avoiding religious influence.[41] While the early Heian court repeatedly issued edicts against private temple building in and around the city,[42] elites began establishing private temples almost immediately upon relocating to Kyoto. Kiyomizu Temple was established in the nearby mountains between 782 and 806;[43] Enryakuji Temple 延暦寺 in 788.[44] Yasaka Shrine, according to its founding myths, may predate the city. In the following centuries, powerful families also established large temple-palace complexes just outside the city, such as Byōdō'in 平等院（settled in 995, temple founded in 1052),[45] as well as within its boundaries, such as the Sanjō Bōmon 三条坊門 (1365)

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[40] See, for example Mikael Adolphson, "Institutional Diversity and Religious Integration: The Establishment of Temple Networks in the Heian Age," in *Heian Japan: Centers and Peripheries*, ed. Mikael Adolphson, Edward Kamens, and Stacie Matsumoto (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 213; John W. Hall, *Japan, from Prehistory to Modern Times* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1968), 61, specifies that Nara temples were physically excluded from Heian; Conrad Totman, *Japan Before Perry: A Short History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 27, states that the capital was moved to get away from monasteries.
[41] Ronald P Toby, "Why Leave Nara?: Kammu and the Transfer of the Capital," *Monumenta Nipponica* 40, no. 3 (1985): 343.
[42] Stavros, *Kyoto*, 81.
[43] Yoshikawa Kōbunkan Henshūbu, ed., "Kiyomizudera 清水寺," in *Kyōto, Yamashiro ji'in jinja daijiten* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2010).
[44] "Enryakuji," in *Nihon kokugo daijiten* (Shogakukan, Japan Knowledge, n.d.).
[45] Yoshikawa Kōbunkan Henshūbu, ed., "Byōdōin 平等院," in *Kyōto, Yamashiro Ji'in Jinja Daijiten* (Tokyo:

complex.[46] Other families built smaller oratories in their residential compounds inside the city.[47]

East of the Kamo River, where many important institutions such as Kiyomizu Temple, Enryakuji Temple, and Yasaka Shrine were located, the workers and artisans who supported those institutions resided alongside agricultural workers. By the Muromachi era (1336-1573) the area was home to breweries and storehouses, blacksmith workshops, and public baths.[48] Though they were far fewer than in the city proper, these businesses clustered around temple grounds and suggest lively economic activity. Establishments such as tea rooms and restaurants existed along the paths to pilgrimage sites, like Kiyomizu Temple. However, the *Screens of Scenes in and around Kyoto* ignore them. East of the Kamo River, the only non-temple spaces shown are a few farms. This leaves the viewer with the impression of a space divided between ancient religious authority east of the Kamo River and combined secular-religious authority and economic life west of the river.

Kyōto shōen ezu

In *Japan in Print*, Beth Berry argues that medieval Japanese maps are highly localized, insulated from larger contexts.[49] For the vast majority of administrative maps, this is indisputable. While some may include an unlabelled road connecting the map's focus area to an unknown outside space, they omit any clues that might connect the focus area to its larger context. In the case of Kyoto maps, however, the cartographers clearly and consistently contextualise the locations by reference to the traditional boundaries of Heiankyō. This ceases in

Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2010).
[46] Kuroita Nobuo 黒板 伸夫, "Sanjō bōmon dono 三条坊門殿," in *Kokushi daijiten* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, Japan Knowledge, n.d.).
[47] Stavros, *Kyoto*, 41.
[48] *Shūkyō to shōgyō no toshi - Kyōto (Muromachi jidai, Ōnin no ran izen)* 宗教と商業の都市ー京都（室町時代・応仁の乱以前） (Kyoto: Gakugei Shorin, 1968), Insert, Kyoto no rekishi: Kinsei no taidō 京都の歴史：近世の胎動, v. 3.
[49] Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 72.

maps of areas outside the city, including those just across the Kamo River and in the surrounding mountains. *Rakugai* maps, as Berry noted, highly localized and without context.

Areas in central Kyoto are always presented within the larger context of the city, or at least the city as it was planned out. These maps are focused on local administrative concerns, but by connecting their sectors to Heiankyō's larger road system, as laid out in the two *Engishiki* maps, they figure as part of the city, even when, as in the case for the Kujō maps discussed below, they no longer belonged to the urbanized, walled city of the sixteenth century. The discursive distinction between *rakuchū*, in Kyoto, and *rakugai*, around Kyoto, is manifest in this self-contextualisation. *Rakuchū* spaces are clearly placed within an imagined Heian-kyō, while *rakugai* spaces on both sides of the city are without context. In the case of the *rakugai* space to the west of the city, near the Katsura River and in the Saga mountain region, there was significant open space where urbanized Kyoto stopped and agricultural holdings dominated, so its connection to the idea of the capital may have been more tenuous. On the other hand, the *rakugai* area just east of the Kamo River, in Higashiyama, was within sight and easy walking distance from even the later medieval walled areas of *rakuchū*. The Kamo River was not the physical barrier the Katsura River was, and yet in the surviving *shōen ezu* the Kamo presented an imaginary barrier between inside and outside that the Katsura did not.

Several medieval *shōen ezu* survive from within and around Kyoto. Only a few depict any part of the original Heian-kyō grid. Many show temple compounds in the Saga mountain region, or the *shōen* around the Katsura River. A few are worth looking at as examples of the genre. Of the *rakuchū* maps, all but one of those discussed below are from the Kujō family records. The exception is from the *Tōji Hyakugō* archive. *Rakugai* maps come from Kujō family records, various temple archives, and the *Tōji Hyakugō* archive.

Rakugai Maps

In theory, *rakugai* referred to the areas immediately around Kyoto that were not part of the original plan for Heiankyō. This included most of *kamigyō*, from Ichijō northward, where warrior and aristocrat elites lived. I have found no maps from this part of the city. The two other *rakugai* areas included the Higashiyama area east of the Kamo River and the Saga mountain area and *shōen* west of the Katsura River. Here I examine three types of maps: Katsura River irrigation maps, Saga region temple maps, and Higashiyama area maps. All three highlight the localized, decontextualized space "outside" the city.

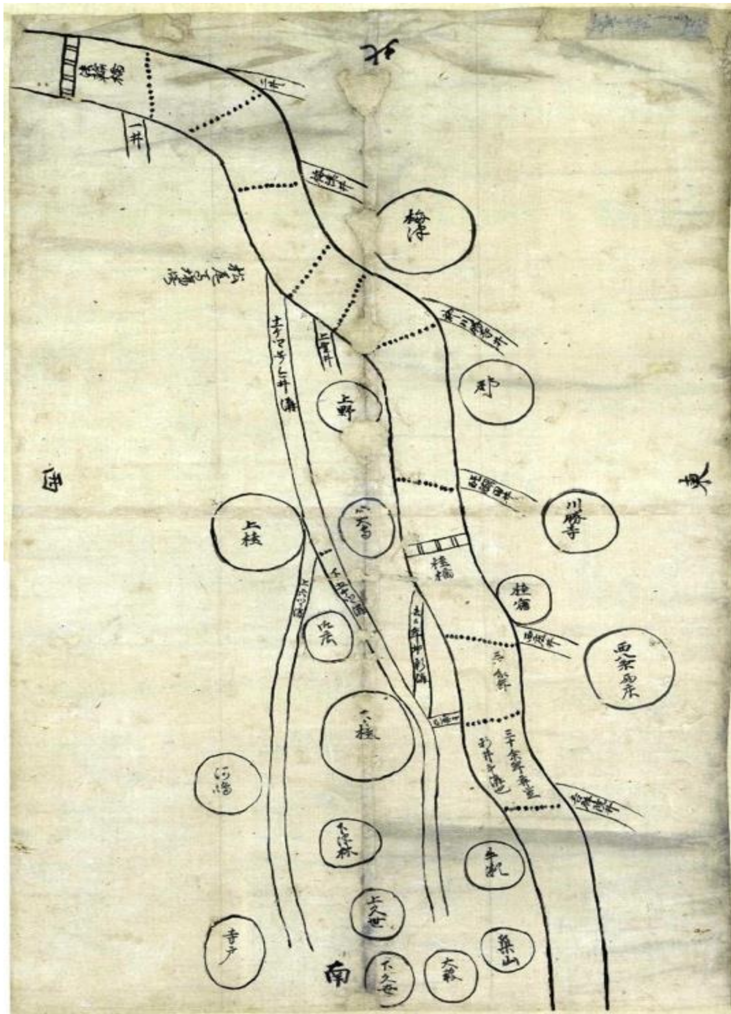

Figure 3.8 *Katsuragawa yōsui sashi zuan*

Katsura Irrigation Dispute

Irrigation branching from the Katsura River was important infrastructure for landholders and farmers in this region, and disputes over water rights lasted for decades, between 1478 and 1503. Figure 3.8[50] was created as part of the litigation surrounding those water rights.

In this dispute, six estates drew up maps for the warrior government in 1496 (Meiō 明応 5). These estates were Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine's

[50] *Yamashironokuni Katsuragawa yōsui sashizuan* 山城国桂川用水差図案, Meiō 明応 5 (1496), 845x545, Tōji Hyakugō Monjo, Box tsu, 341, Kyōto furitsu Kyōto gaku rekisai kan 京都府立京都学・歴彩館.

石清水八幡宮 Nishihachijō Nishinoshō 西八条西庄 on the east bank and five of Tōji Temple estates, Kamikuze 上久世, Shimokuze 下久世, Ōyabu 大藪, Ushigase 牛瀬, and Tsukiyama 築山, on the west bank. The bakufu ordered the estates to split irrigation water in half,[51] but the estates continued to alternately ignore and challenge the ruling over the next several years. A series of documents in the *Tōji Hyakugō* collection illustrates the litigiousness of the estates immediately following the ruling. Nishinoshō immediately disregarded the ruling in the spring of Meiō 明応 6 (1497), and the back and forth between the estates over water access continued in the record until Bunki 文亀 2 (1502).[52]

The maps themselves use simple schematics. In both, thick lines represent edges of the water and parallel lines with perpendicular hatches represent bridges. Dotted lines represent irrigation weirs below each of the channels on both the main river course and canal on the left. Labels for various estates are surrounded by circles, but it is unclear whether the size of those circles has any relation to the physical or perceived economic size of a given estate. Most of the irrigation canals, except the ones to the west, are not extended a great distance from the river and only vaguely gesture toward their destinations.

These maps make an eloquent argument. There is one river and many people using it. Without the accompanying documents, this map might suggest a functioning irrigation scheme that served over a dozen separate estates. Coupled with the documents that mention crop damage caused by the blocking of irrigation canals, it in fact suggests a completely different meaning:

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[51] "以用水半分宛" TJMJ o #427 Meiō 明応 5 (1496) 5.28.

[52] TJMJ o 432-437, 479, 512; Itō Miku 伊藤 実矩, "Shōen fīrudo wāku no susume 1 Tōji kōsu 荘園フィールドワークのすすめ　①東寺コース," *Tōji Hyakugō Monjo WEB 東寺百合文書WEB* (blog), April 15, 2021, https://hyakugo.pref.kyoto.lg.jp/?p=2165; Itō Miku 伊藤 実矩, "Shōen fīrudo wāku no susume 2 Katsuragawa kōsu 荘園フィールドワークのすすめ ②桂川コース," *Tōji Hyakugō Monjo WEB* (blog), September 7, 2021, https://hyakugo.pref.kyoto.lg.jp/?p=2207.

There isn't enough water to go around.

Most important, these maps include virtually no reference points to locate their contents geographically. Indeed, the river itself is not even named. The only label that indicates the river is the name of one bridge, Katsura Bridge. The rest of the labels name the various estates. Here, despite the importance of these maps as legal documents, nothing in the maps themselves indicates their proximity to the capital.

Saga Region

The northwestern area of Kyoto, west of the Katsura River, is the Saga Region. Palace and temple compounds dominated this area. Its administrative maps come in two types, precise line drawings and colourful landscape sketches.

The map of the Kameyama Palace grounds (figure 3.9) is a neatly made line drawing.[53]

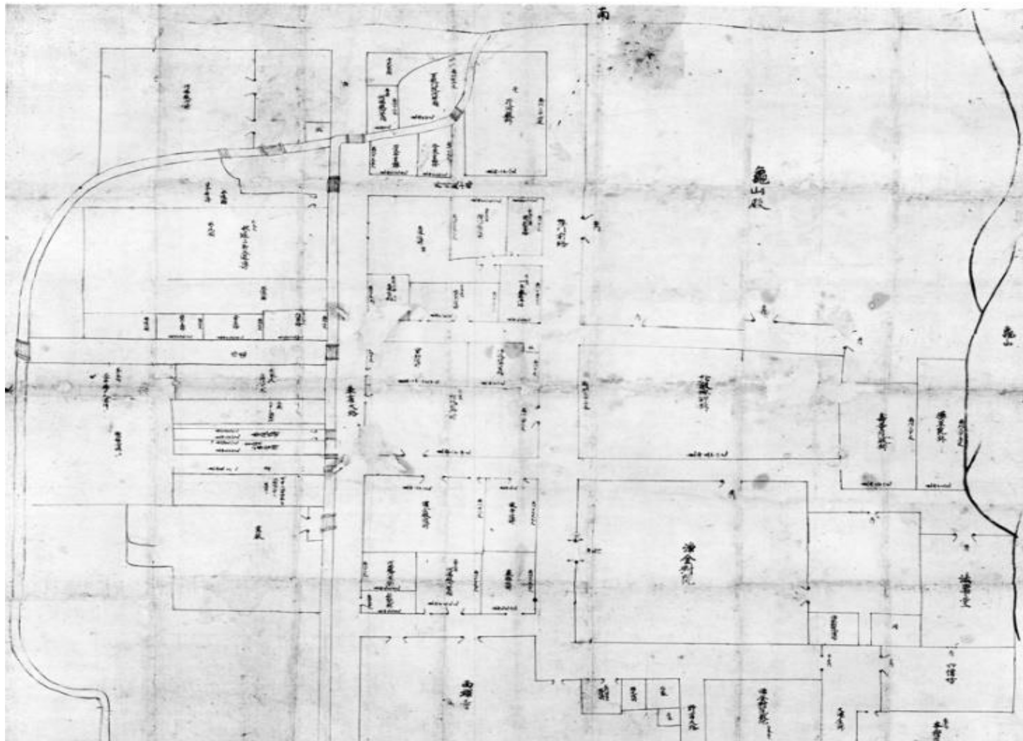

Figure 3.9 *Kameyamaden kinpen yashikichi sashizu*

[53] Nishioka Toranosuke 西岡寅之助, ed., "Yamashironokuni Saga Kameyama dono kinpen yashiki chi sashizu 山城国嵯峨亀山殿近辺屋敷地指図," in *Nihon shōen ezu shūei 2, Kinki 1 (Yamashiro)* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo, n.d.), 49–54.

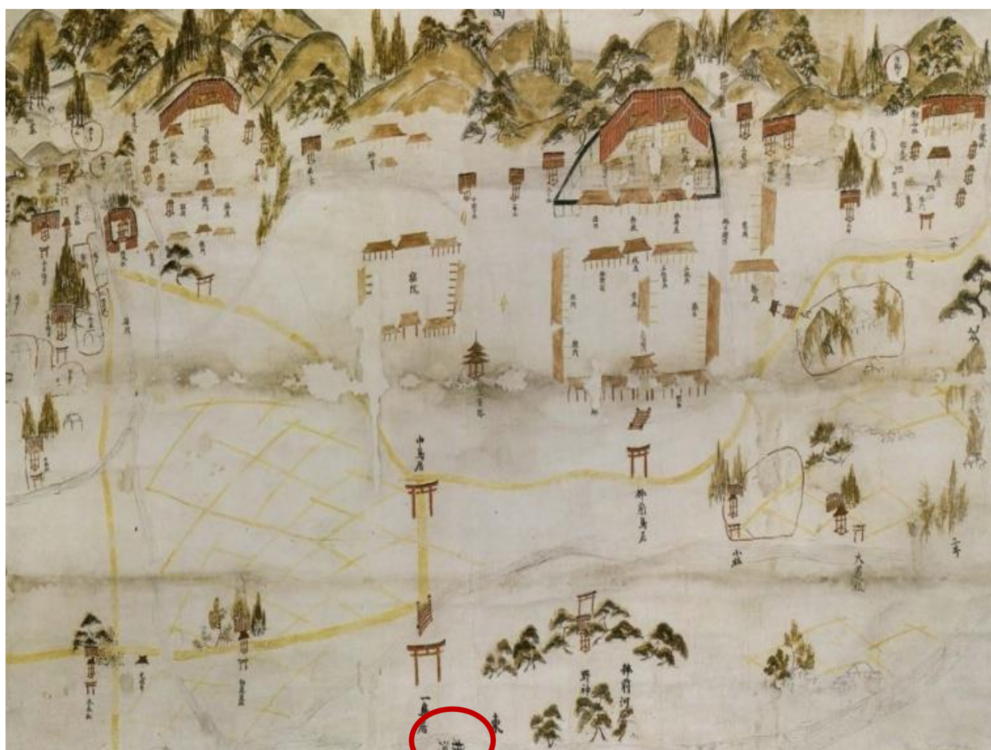

Figure 3.10 *Matsuosha kyōnai zu*, Katsura River label circled in red

The writing is oriented to the south, and Mt. Kame (*kameyama* 龜山) is labelled clearly in the west. Two canals and several bridges cut through the various fields in the eastern part of the map. In the west and north are several labelled buildings, including Saizenji Temple 西禅寺, Kameyama Palace 龜山殿, and an ossuary (*hokkedō* 法華堂). This map is self-contained, giving no reference to the area around it. Only the identification of Mt. Kame helps to locate this map geographically.

Another Saga regional map is that of Matsuo Shrine, not far from Kameyama Palace (figure 3.10).[54] This map is in full colour, with mountains at the top (west), and the Katsura River labelled and flowing in pale grey lines at the bottom of the page. Several smaller streams coming out of the mountains are also labelled, and the few main paths or roads are marked in

[54] Nishioka Toranosuke, ed., "Yamashironokuni Matsuosha kyōnai zu 山城国松尾社境内図," in *Nihon shōen ezu shūei 2, Kinki 1 (Yamashiro)* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo, n.d.), 69–71.

what is now yellow. Only one road is given a name, Yamabi michi 山傍道, literally “path near the mountain.” Most other labels belong to individual buildings or *torii* 鳥居 gates along the roads. Paddy fields are drawn but not labelled by size or parcel holder. The western mountains are not labelled but given artistic details such as trees that are not always found in this style of *shōen ezu*. And while other temples are noted as existing within those mountains, they contextualize this map to the Saga mountain area, not to Kyoto.

Higashiyama

The following maps are from the Higashiyama region of Kyoto. In these maps, road names give clues to the location of the areas described. In figures 3.12 and 3.13, both maps likely describe an area near Yamato Ōji 大和大路, a north-south road that ran east of the Kamo River

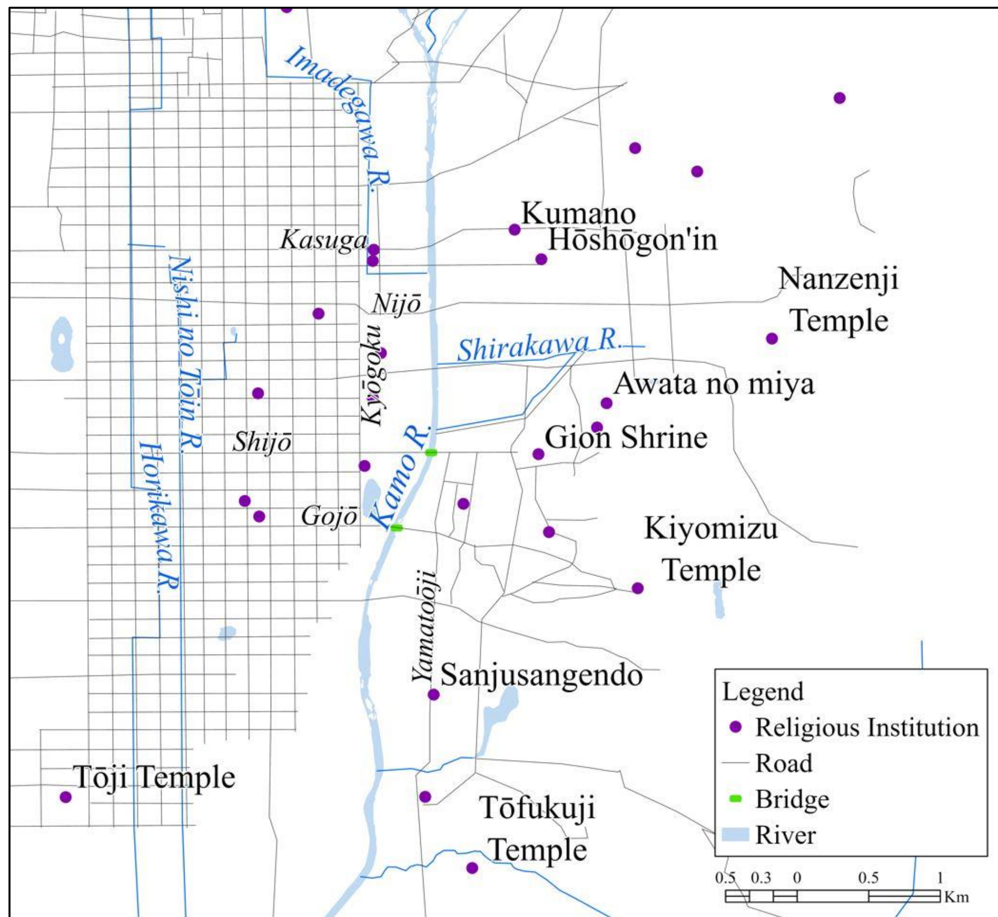

Figure 3.11 Higashiyama District

from Shijō to south of the city (see figure 3.11). This is labelled in figure 3.13 and can be inferred in figure 3.13. The other road labelled in this set of maps is Kasugaji 春日路. Kasuga was an east-west road, part of the grid that extended east of the Kamo River. These labels contextualise this set of maps in the Higashiyama district. Where the Kasugaji label also connects figure 3.14 to the city of Kyoto, the artist uses the Kamo River to separate Higashiyama (*rakugai*) from Kyoto (*rakuchū*).

Figure 3.12 is oriented to the west, with Yamatoōji labelled at the top. Cardinal directions are included on each side, as well as line boundaries with labelled sizes. This map is from the Kujō family archives, dated to Shōwa 正和 1 (1312).[55] It describes a tax-exempt property, indicated by the central label which reads *gyōshiki ason kyūchi* 行識朝臣給地. Figure 3.13 describes a garden at Tōfukuji Temple's western gate, also from the Kujō family archives and dated Shōwa 正和 2 (1313) 10.7.[56] The labels on this map consist mostly of measurements delimiting the boundaries in addition to direction markers and the central label *Tōfukuji saien* (東福寺菜園, Tōfukuji Temple vegetable garden). It is possible that the unlabelled north-south road is Yamatoōji. In the north-eastern quadrant of the map, the bridge bears a label, but damage to the paper makes the name of the bridge

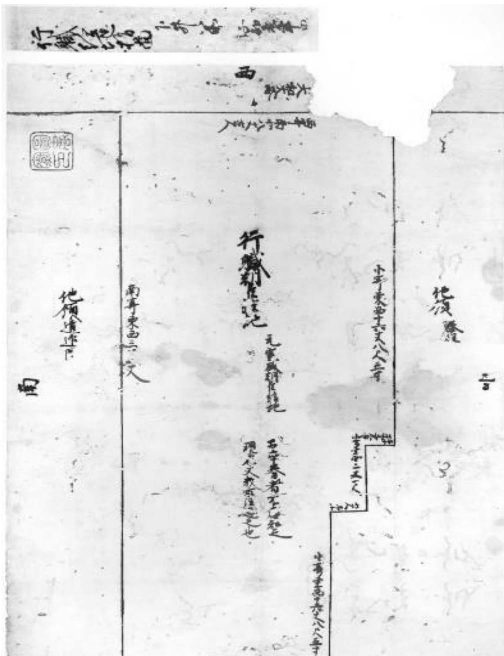

Figure 3.12 *Yamatoōji higashi gyōshiki ason kyūchi sashi zu*

[55] Nishioka Toranosuke, ed., "Yamashironokuni Yamatoōji higashi gyōshiki ason kyūchi sashi zu 山城国大和大路東行識朝臣給地指図," in *Nihon shōen ezu shūei 2,* 118.
[56] Nishioka Toranosuke, ed., "Yamashironokuni Tōfukuji saimonzen saien sashi zu 山城国東福寺西門前菜園指図," in *Nihon shōen ezu shūei 2,* 119.

illegible. A mark to the right of the bridge suggests more text, but it is both damaged and too small to contain enough characters for the river name. The final character is also not suggestive of the character for river (河 or 川). Based on the temple's location, the river is likely the Sannohashi River 三ノ橋川, a small east-west tributary of the Kamo River located just north of the Tōfukuji Temple grounds. If that is the case, the bridge that stands in the same place today is

Figure 3.13 *Hōshōgon'in yōsui sashizu*

the Fushimi Kaidō Daisan Bridge 伏見街道第三橋. Unlike figure 3.12, there are no labels that contextualize the focus area within Higashiyama or near Kyoto.

In both maps, the mapmakers drew road lines and boundaries with a straight edge, labelled cardinal directions, and carefully marked boundaries with measurements. The areas described by the maps are self-contained. What exists outside their boundaries is of little importance. Context clues that would suggest a larger region, road labels, or the surrounding territory, are largely omitted. Most likely accompanying documents would make it clear just what territory was being

described. However, it is worth noting this, because similar maps describing areas within the traditional Heian grid generally include some mark that places the map in the context of Kyoto.

The final map of Higashiyama differs from the other two, using the Kamo River and a road name to place itself in the context of suburban Kyoto (figure 3.14).[57] This map is the only *ezu* I have found that includes the Kamo River. It is dated Enbun 延文 1 (1356). East, north, and south are labelled, and the writing is largely oriented east. West of the Kamo River (*kamokawa* カモカワ) is blank except for the label "west riverbank" (*nishi kawara* 西カワラ). A label for Kasugaji near the centre and one for Ōimikado Riverside Jizō Hall 大炊御門河原地蔵堂 farther to the right, place the map just north of Nijō. Kasugaji and Ōimikadoōji are about 120 meters apart, two blocks north of Nijō.[58]

In this map, the area of dispute, the irrigation canal between Hōshōgon'in 宝荘厳院 fields in the south and Awata 粟田 fields in the north is crowded into the top quarter. The Kamo River itself takes up the centre of the page. It is defined by two sets of lines, one for the entirety of the riverbed, possibly noting embankments mentioned in the accompanying document, and one noting the current river channel.[59] The mapmaker left more than half of the page blank. While the label for Kasugaji connects this map of the Higashiyama district to the grid, the empty west riverbank clearly separates this area from Kyoto proper.

Rakuchū maps

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[57] *Hōshōgon'in yōsui sashizu* 宝荘厳院用水差図, Enbun 延文 ( ) 5 1356, タ函/10, Tōji Hyakugō Monjo, http://hyakugo.pref.kyoto.lg.jp/contents/detail.php?id=5526.
[58] Fiévé, 126.
[59] As discussed in chapter 2, the Kamo River meandered widely until it was channelized and embanked in concrete during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In contrast to the previous administrative maps that show areas around Kyoto, the three maps below locate themselves within the Heian grid. All three are from areas significantly south of what, at the time they were drawn, would have been considered the urban Shimogyō area. The southernmost enclosing wall of Shimogyō was at Gojō. These maps all describe areas around Kujō.

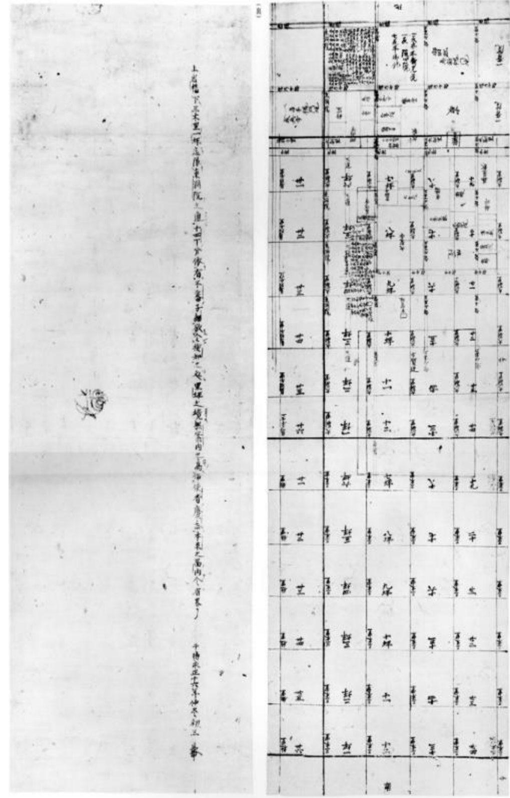

Figure 3.15 *Higashi Kujō ryō jōri zu*

Figure 3.15 is part of the Kujō family's documents, drawn by Kujō Hisatsune 九条尚経 in early 1519 (Eishō 永正 16).[60] It is oriented generally to the north and describes the area between Kūjōbōmon 九条坊門, labelled Karahashi 唐橋 in the north to an area south of Imanokōji 今小路, and between Tominokōji 富小路 in the east and Higashinotōin 東洞院 in the west. Indeed, the map uses the *jōri* grid as its base and then overlays roads and differently shaped parcels of land atop it. Like the *Engishiki* maps, a few of the roads, particularly in the northern part of the map, are drawn with space for the road rather than as a simple line. The squares are numbered, and some areas are given temple names, likely either the names of buildings or the managers of the land parcel. The farther north on the map, the more detailed the map is - shapes are not as square and the

[60] Kujō Hisatsune 九条尚経, "Yamashironokuni higashi Kujō ryō jōri zu, 山城国東九条領条理図, Eishō 16 (1519)," in *Nihon shōen ezu shūei 2*, 121–23.

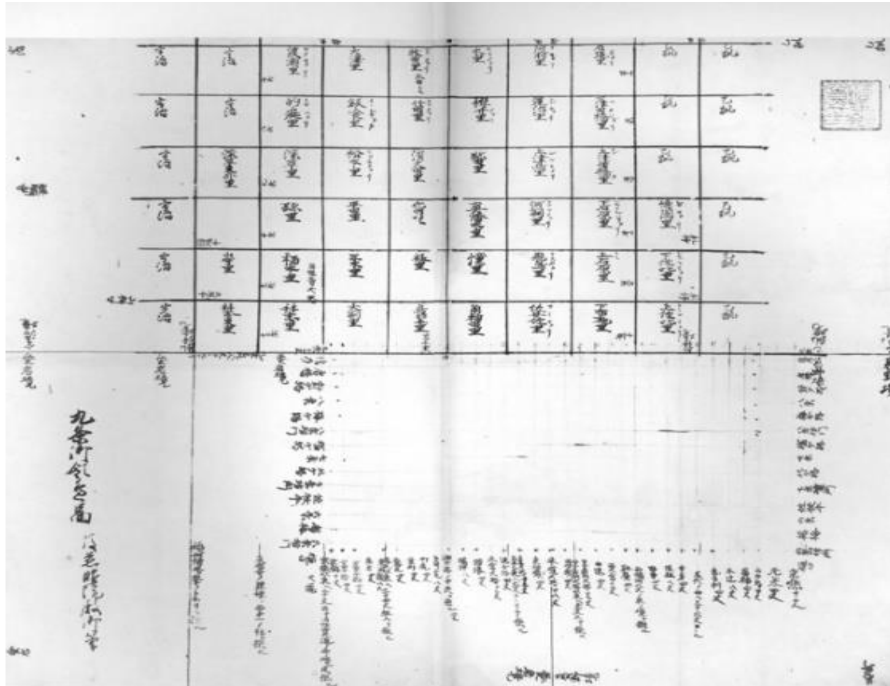

Figure 3.16 *Kujō ryō henzu*

labels are more specific.

What is interesting about this map is that due to the orientation markers and labelled road names, it fits neatly into the city grid as a whole. It presents itself as a part of Kyoto's plan, its north/south road lines extend beyond the target area. Using the major road names, like Shinanokoji 信濃小路 and Higashinotōin, one can pinpoint the areas using the *Engishiki* maps. Another map by Hisatsune (figure 3.16) includes all names of the north-south roads from the Heian-kyō plan, along with labels for road widths.[61] It also includes east-west roads between Rokujōbōmon 六条坊門 and Kujō, presenting the southern half of the city as it would have been conceived of as a part of the Heiankyō idealized grid.

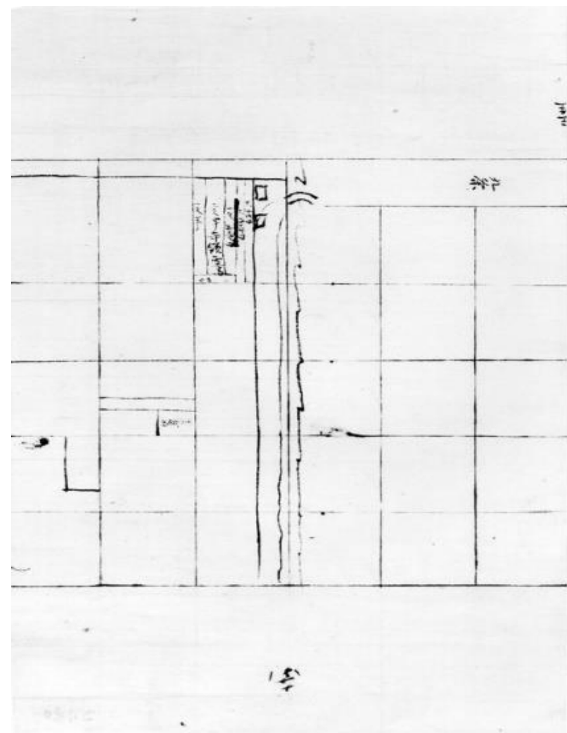

Figure 3.17 *Tōji ryō nishi jiden sashi zu*

Finally, figure 3.17 (fifteenth to mid-

[61] Kujō Hisatsune, "Yamashironokuni Kujō ryō henzu 山城国九条領辺図," in *Nihon shōen ezu shūei 2,* 97–98.

sixteenth centuries) shows a similar part of southern Kyoto, oriented to the south.[62] Two labels stand out, Mibu 壬生 and Kujō. Mibudōri intersects with Kujō at the corner of the Tōji Temple property, which places the focus area just southwest of Tōji Temple. This map uses the grid as its base and its particular focus appears to be the square in the upper middle section.[63]

Conclusion

From the early decades of Heiankyō as the capital city to the centuries of warrior rule, temples and shrines within and surrounding the city functioned within the power networks of the ruling elites while at the same time serving as physical sites of protection and physical representations of spiritual and temporal power. In this chapter I examined two types of spatial representation depicting Kyoto: landscape painting of the early Scenes in and around Kyoto genre and administrative maps. The Kamo River was a discursive barrier, establishing conceptual distinctions between the ritually important centre and outskirts of the capital in a way unique from the outer regions to the north. The river was both a physical line as well as a definitive border not only between an imagined inner and outer, but between traditional and new, urban and rural.

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[62] Nishioka Toranosuke, ed., "Yamashironokuni Kiigun saisari Tōjiryō nishi jiden sashizu 山城国紀伊郡佐井佐里東寺領西寺田指図," in *Nihon shōen ezu shūei 2,* 127.

[63] Five parcels are marked out with their sizes, indicated as paddy land (田). The series of lines curving from Kujō toward that square is interesting. One, jagged, suggests a ditch or canal, and the parallel curving lines crossing it suggest a bridge. The other, also curving at the top before cutting straight through the grid directly south suggests a road. The jagged line likely represents a canal. Other *shōen ezu* use similar types of lines to indicate streams. See Hōshōgon'in Irrigation map below for one example. This canal would probably have been small and possibly temporary as later drawings and maps from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries do show a canal in this area. Fiévé, 195 for graph from *rakuchū ezu,* 1637 and 212 for *Kyōto meisai ōezu*, 1714.

Chapter 4
Traversing the River, Part 2

Religious traffic flowed in two directions across the Kamo River. Pilgrims travelled out of the city centre, east to the temples and shrines of Higashiyama. Deities travelled in the opposite direction, west from Yasaka Shrine into the city centre. In this traffic exchange, the Kamo River formed a material and metaphorical transition space between the generally secular city centre and the generally sacred Higashiyama. At least, this was one way in which the division of space was imagined in medieval Kyoto and depicted in sixteenth-century paintings.

As discussed in chapter 3, the Kamo River did not divide the city into completely secular *rakuchū* and completely sacred *rakugai,* even in the artistic imagination. The sacred and secular coexisted in both parts of the city where households embodied political entities and sponsored religious institutions. However, the idea of Heiankyō remained in laws and administrative maps that divided Kyoto into inside (*rakuchū*) the original city limits and outside (*rakugai*), east of the Kamo River. Likewise, in available paintings the vast majority of travel, work, economic activity, and agriculture is depicted as part of *rakuchū*. The emphasis of *rakugai* east of the Kamo River is on temple and shrine activity.

In general, *tori'i* 鳥居 (gateways to a sacred space) mark the transition between secular and sacred space. In both secular and religious artwork of Kyoto, *tori'i* mark opposite ends of the bridges. As discussed in chapter 2, the Kamo River had two primary bridges, Shijō Bridge and Gojō Bridge. While these bridges also served to help traffic cross the river as long as they were up, the bridges primarily functioned for the sake of their affiliated religious institutions. Shijō

Bridge was put in place for the Gion Festival: Gojō Bridge was put in place for pilgrimages to Kiyomizu Temple. The placement of the *tori'i* at different ends of the bridges suggest that the movement into sacred space travelled in both directions.

The bridges themselves were critical infrastructure for the spiritual life of medieval Kyoto. As discussed in chapter 2, floods repeatedly damaged or destroyed Shijō and Gojō Bridge. Nevertheless, the institutions and bakufu collaborated to rebuild the bridges. The pontoon bridge at Shijō, in particular, was rebuilt annually for the Gion Festival before being taken down again.

Japanese landscape paintings and pilgrimage mandala (*sankei mandara* 参詣曼荼羅) map out the ways in which movement between sacred and secular space occurred by means of crossing the Kamo River. They depict an inner and an outer space, with inner centred on the temple grounds, bounded by the Kamo River. Shijō and Gojō Bridges create paths to cross into sacred precincts from the outside world. By crossing the river to the west, *kami* 神 (Japanese deities) enter the secular capital and inhabit it during the Gion Festival. By crossing the river to the east, pilgrims enter the sacred spaces of Kiyomizu Temple and Yasaka Shrine, approaching both the temporal and metaphysical dwelling places of *kami* and buddhas.

Metaphysical mapping

In this section I argue that the sixteenth-century pilgrimage mandalas, as cosmic maps, represent the landscape of eastern Kyoto as at once both physical space and metaphysical, sacred space. The mandalas served as wayfinding tools for both physical and mental pilgrimages through the city and to the deities inhabiting or worshiped by the various shrines and temples represented. They also transformed the act of traversing the represented space into a spiritual encounter. Within these mandalas, the Kamo River connects the sacred space within the mandala to the secular space of the city on the west side of the river. It exists as a visual barrier, defining

the space as separate and sacred, marked by *tori'i* gates and walls. The Kamo River at the edges of the mandala simultaneously contextualises the temple precincts within greater-Kyoto, reminding the viewer of the capital city that exists on the other side of the river. of the river.

Sacred Space

Sacred space in Japan can take any number of forms. It can be the site of current or past religious practice. It can mean the dwelling of a deity, be it a temple, mountain, island, tree, or a place where famous priests practiced. The space can be as small as the dwelling itself or encompass the built environment around the dwelling, and sometimes the natural landscape around that. While it can be hard to pin down the composition of sacred space, people's interaction with these sacred spaces can be separated into three categories: geosophia, geognosis, and geopiety. Religious historian Alan Grapard introduced these categories as a way of defining modes in which premodern Japanese people knew and interacted with their landscape. Grapard's concepts of geosophia, geognosis, and geopiety all expressly refer to interactions between humans and landscapes in real, physical space. However, as will become clear from the examples below, these concepts are also applicable to interactions with mandalas, two-dimensional representations of space.

Geosophia describes the "particular forms of knowledge of the spatial environment" and the relations between society and the natural world.[1] The most apparent form of geosophia in the Japanese context is the practice of geomancy, readily visible in the construction of imperial capitals, such as Kyoto. Oriented north to south, the city spread out in a flat basin embraced on three sides by mountains. The Kamo River bounded the city on the east and the Katsura River on

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[1] Allan Grapard, "Geosophia, Geognosis, and Geopiety: Orders of Significance in Japanese Representations of Space," in *NowHere: Space, Time, and Modernity*, ed. Roger Friedland and Deirdre Boden (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 374.

the west, and two shrines, Kamigamo and Matsuo Shrines, protected the city at the northeast and northwest. Urban historian Matthew Stavros called this a "mandalized city," referring to the geographic fixing of deities, such as the Red Phoenix (Jpn. *Suzaku* 朱雀) in the south.[2] His example of Kitayama, built in the late fourteenth century by the retired Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, demonstrates that, though the original plan for Kyoto was quickly abandoned, the geomantic principles on which it was based remained relevant as late as the early fifteenth century. In terms of its layout, Kitayama was a replica on a slightly smaller scale of the original plan of Kyoto, including protective shrines in the north, a river on the east, and a north-south road leading to Yoshimitsu's residence in the centre north. Stavros argues that Yoshimitsu's use of geographic space in this manner was a "means of asserting an anthropo-cosmic connection between himself and the divine."[3] This connection to the divine functioned as one of the ways Yoshimitsu enacted his political authority.

Most germane to the discussion of mandalas are the concepts of geognosis and geopiety. Grapard defines geognosis as "a type of soteriological knowledge…that is gained through specific spatial practices," in other words the ways an initiate into this type of knowledge moves through and interacts with physical space.[4] Geopiety is similar in that it is a religious mode through which space is approached, but it differs in several important ways. First, Grapard defines it as a "primarily religious mood of relation to sacred places."[5] This religious mood, or state of mind, of the individual's approach contrasts with the deliberate intent of gaining salvific knowledge or power present in the initiate's interaction. It is, in other words, a more secularized, though not secular, form of geognosis. Second, the interaction with temporality differs between

[2] Matthew Stavros, *Kitayama: A Capital Fit for a King*, *AAS-in-Asia* (Kyoto, 2016).
[3] Stavros, *Kitayama*.
[4] Grapard, "Geosophia, Geognosis, and Geopiety," 374.
[5] Ibid., 375, emphasis added.

the two modes. Premodern pilgrims flocked to famous temples and shrines because they were just that, famous. They were sites of historic drama or sites with long histories, such as Mt. Kōya 高野山 where Kūkai 空海 (774-835), the founder of the esoteric Shingon sect 真言宗 of Buddhism in Japan, set up his practice and was allegedly entombed. In a geopious encounter, the pilgrim enters the history of a sacred space, metaphorically traveling through time to the origin of the space's sacredness.[6]

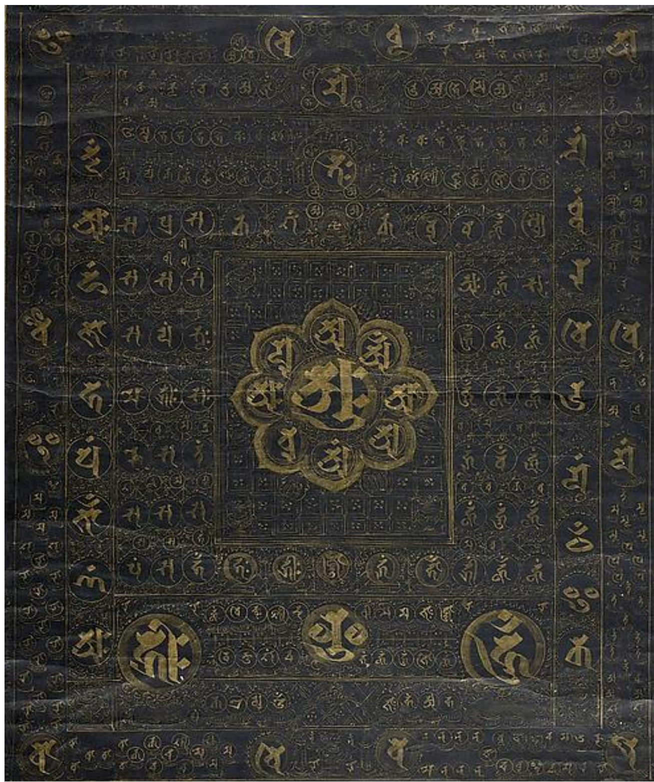

Figure 4.1 *Womb World Mandala*

In contrast to the pilgrim's geopious encounter with space, the geognostic encounter with space is transcendent - the initiate can engage with space as a mandala (Jpn. *mandara* 曼荼羅). Mandalas are graphic designs, the use of which can lead an initiate to spiritual realization or special powers.[7] Esoteric mandalas were often geometric configurations, such as the Womb World mandala (see figure 4.1).[8] Initiates moved through the graphic space of the mandala during meditation, beginning and ending at set points as a form of devotion. In some instances, certain landscapes, such as those around Kumano, became themselves "mandalized" through the projection of esoteric mandalas onto the physical landscape. Thus, for initiates at Kumano Shrine, onto which

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[6] Ibid., 392.
[7] Allan Grapard, *Mountain Mandalas: Shugendō in Kyushu* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 2.
[8] *Womb World Mandala (Taizōkai Mandara)* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, n.d.).

was mapped the Womb World mandala, the act of "walking in the mountains while listening to their natural sounds was equivalent to reading the scripture."[9] The ultimate purpose of this form of devotion is to further enlightenment, which entails liberation from transmigration (Skt. *samsãra*, Jpn. *rinne* 輪廻), in other words, temporality. Thus, in a geognostic encounter, the space functioned as a means of transcending, rather than traveling through, it.[10]

Japanese Mandala

Shrine and temple mandalas (s*haji mandara* 社寺曼荼羅), originating from practices at Kasuga Shrine 春日大社, directly associated native *kami* worship with Buddhist deities and practices, and included graphic representation of physical space.[11] These mandalas also included Buddhist deities and native *kami* but focused more on physical landscape than did traditional esoteric mandalas. Figure 4.2 shows one type of Kasuga mandala, which locates the bodhisattva Kannon's 観音菩薩 (Skt. Avalokiteśvara) Pure Land, Fudaraku-sen 補陀落山 (Skt. Potalaka) at Mt. Mikasa 三笠山. A mountain rising in the centre of the painting became a hallmark of Kasuga and later pilgrimage mandalas.[12] Below the mountain is a detailed depiction of the shrine grounds. The *Kasuga Fudaraku-sen Mandala* is a meditation mandala where meditating on the representation of the shrine can stand in for the geognostic encounter at the shrine - the physical act of walking through the mandalized geography.

Shrine and temple mandalas took on a new form beginning in the sixteenth century. Pilgrimage mandala specifically depicted a pilgrimage route, often including representations of

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[9] Grapard, "Geosophia, Geognosis, and Geopiety," 386.
[10] Ibid., 392.
[11] Susan Tyler, *The Cult of Kasuga Seen through Its Art* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1992), Ch. 2., 39-54 for a discussion of the Miya Mandala in conjunction with Kasuga Shrine's landscape
[12] *Kasuga Fudaraku-sen mandara* 春日補陀落山曼荼羅 (Cultural Heritage Online, n.d.), http://bunka.nii.ac.jp/heritages/detail/171331.

pilgrims, recognizable by their conical hat, traveling gear, and pilgrimage staff, along with the details of roads and important buildings. Figure 4.3, a pilgrimage mandala from Kiyomizu Temple, is representative of this genre.[13] The fact that this painting is still a mandala is indicated by the sun and moon at the top as well as the prominence of the mountains. In this case Mt. Otowa 音羽山, in the centre, is also correlated with the location of Kannon's Pure Land. Unlike

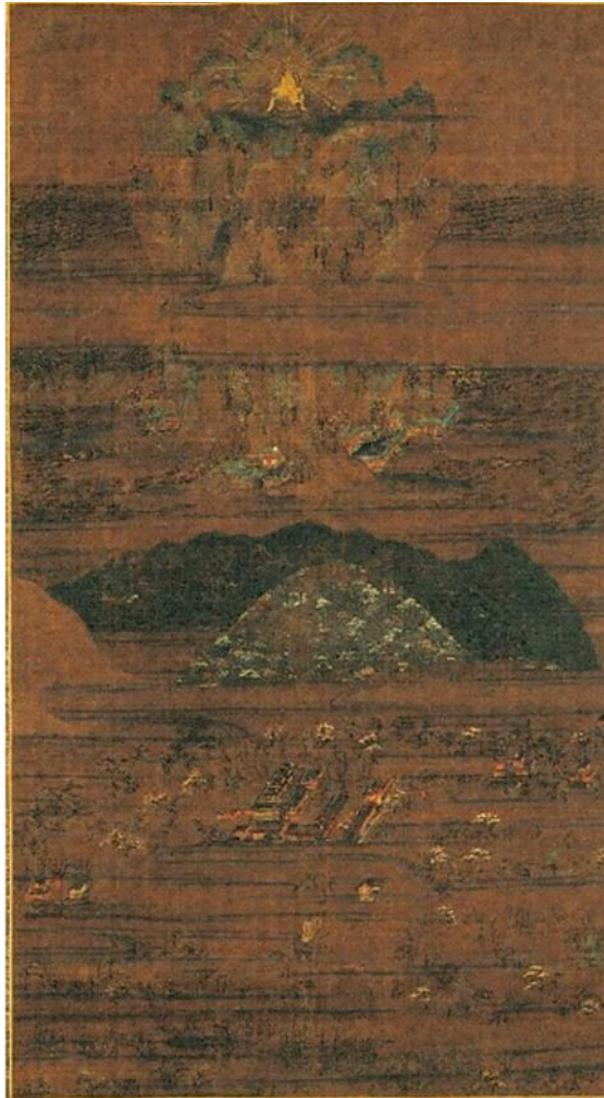

Figure 4.2 *Kasuga Fudaraku-sen mandara*

[13] *Kiyomizudera sankei mandara* 清水寺参詣曼荼羅. mid 16th c. Colour on paper, 168.5x176.8. Nakajima Family. In Ōsaka shiritsu hakubutsukan 大阪市立博物館, ed. *Shaji sankei mandara* 社寺参詣曼荼羅. Osaka: Heibonsha, 1987, 28–29.

esoteric and shrine mandalas, pilgrimage mandalas were not in themselves objects of worship.[14] Rather, historians argue that they were used as a means of proselytizing and fund raising.[15]

Figure 4.3 *Kiyomizu Temple Pilgrimage Mandala*

In spite of their superficial resemblance to some *shōen* maps (see chapter 3), there are important differences in the deployment of directional relationships. However, as will be

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[14] Naniwada Toru 難波田徹, "Shaji sankei mandara zu ni tsuite 社寺参詣曼荼羅図について," *Geinōshi kenkyū* 芸能史研究 27 (1969): 28–35.

[15] Tokuda Kazuo 徳田和夫, "Etoki to monogatari kyōju 絵解きと物語享受," *Bungaku* 文学 54, no. 12 (1986): 191–204; Ueno Tomoe 上野友愛, "'Kiyomizudera sankei mandara' no kūkan kōsei -- [tō] ga hatasu yakuwari「清水寺参詣曼荼羅」の空間構成--〈塔〉が果たす役割," *Etoki kenkyū* 絵解き研究 22 (2009): 119–48; Talia Andrei, "Kanjin to chū/kinsei Nihon no zōkei: Kiyomizudera sankei mandara to Ise sankei mandara no kenkyū 勧進と中・近世日本の造形 : 清水寺参詣曼荼羅と伊勢参詣曼荼羅の研究," *Kokka* 國華 123, no. 7 (2018): 7–17.

discussed below, the representation of space is critical in both forms of mandalas, even if fidelity to geographic relationships is not a priority, in contrast to *shōen* maps. Art historian Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis notes that directional shifts in perspective midway through the composition occurs frequently in Kasuga mandalas.[16] This shift also occurs in the Kiyomizu Temple Pilgrimage Mandala. In the Kiyomizu Mandala, the relationships between the winding streets, temple buildings, and mountains make little geographic sense. The Hondō 本堂, the building at the centre on stilts, is almost directly east of the Gojō Bridge, partway up the mountain, yet in the mandala it is shown below the mountains and in an ambiguous directional relationship with the bridges. This composition privileges the convention of mandalas of placing the mountains at or near the top of mandala over what modern viewers would think of as directional fidelity. The *Yasaka Hōkanji Pagoda Mandala* 八坂法観寺塔曼荼羅 has slightly more directional fidelity than the others mentioned. For example, the mountains in the background orient the mandala due east, with the Kamo River at the bottom of the page. On the right side of the image, Kiyomizuzaka 清水坂, a road that generally runs southeast from the Gojō Bridge to Kiyomizu Temple, curves slightly northward to angle more directly east. However, the roads that are twisted to elongate this same road in the Kiyomizu mandala are shortened to highlight only particular temple buildings.

The functional difference between the transcendent geognostic encounter and the popular geopious encounter with sacred space is visible in both later mandalas. The *Kasuga Fudaraku-sen Mandala* allowed geognostic encounters with the physical space of Kasuga Shrine. The act of meditating on such a mandala brought an initiate into intimate contact with sacred. In the

[16] Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas: Representations of Sacred Geography* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 150.

Figure 4.4 Ushiwaka and Benkei fight on Gojō Bridge, *Kiyomizu Temple Pilgrimage Mandala*

painting, the eye is drawn upwards through the shrine compound and Kannon's Pure Land (the mountain) to the image of Kannon at the top, the deity aiding the devotee in reaching enlightenment. Nishiyama Masaru argues that the sacred space of the mandala, or the space represented by the mandala, was a place where the human realm mixed with the supernatural.[17]

The *Kiyomizu Temple Pilgrimage Mandala* contains graphic elements of a mandala - the sun and moon over the mountains at the top of the painting. Viewers are taken through highly detailed streets to encounter a variety of characters and temple buildings. Some deities are visible in this mandala as icons within the temples, but these representations are much more mundane in comparison to the shining Kannon represented as a living deity rather than a wooden or bronze statue. The characters encountered are not necessarily divine but rather famous or historical, such as the two combatants on the Gojō Bridge,

Figure 4.5 Statue of Ushiwaka and Benkei, Gojō Bridge, 2016, photo by author

[17] Nishiyama Masaru 西山克, "Gisō no fūkei - Kiyomizudera sankei mandara o tekisuto ni shite 擬装の<風景>--清水寺参詣曼荼羅をテクストにして," *Geinō* 芸能 30, no. 7 (1988): 10.

Ushiwaka 牛若丸 (Minamoto Yoshitsune 源義経 1159-1189) and Benkei 弁慶 (?-1189) (see figures 4.4 and 4.5). Both are semi-mythic figures from the twelfth century, popularized by the fourteenth-century war tale (*gunki monogatari* 軍記物語), *Gikeiki* 義経記 (*Chronicle of Yoshitsune*). Neither has any particular connection to Kiyomizu Temple aside from the location of their duel on Gojō Bridge.[18] In fact, Ushiwaka was affiliated with Kurama Temple 鞍馬寺 in the mountains north of the city. Nevertheless, this story was, and continues to be, a part of the popular (geopious) encounter along the pilgrimage to Kiyomizu Temple.

In contrast with the Kiyomizu mandala, *Yasaka Hōkanji Mandala* depicts Jizō 地蔵 (Skt. Kṣitigarbha), a Bodhisattva, as a spiritual being rather than simply an icon. In the *Yasaka Hōkanji Mandala*, the deity is surrounded by less ethereal symbolism than the others (i.e., rays of light, halos, floating in the clouds). Near the central pagoda, the figure of a large monk looks upward and prays with two children at his knees. In front of him, several figures face toward him and pray, while others face toward the pagoda. This is a depiction of a miraculous moment in the temple's history when the pagoda had tilted to the west and seemed in danger of falling. Jizō intervened by praying through the night.[19] Like Ushiwaka and Benkei on the Gojō Bridge, the story of Jizō saving the pagoda was a part of the legendary history of the space.

Both the Kiyomizu Temple Pilgrimage Mandala and the RVA screens portray detailed images of Kyoto. They use similar techniques to bend and contract space, including swaths of clouds that obscure parts of the paintings in order to allow the viewer to cross irregular distances in a rectangular space. They also move the viewer through time. In the Kiyomizu Mandala, the viewer is taken back briefly to the twelfth century as they cross the Gojō Bridge; in the early

[18] The pair first fight on the dance stage at Kiyomizu. The duel on the bridge was a rematch. *Gikeiki* 義經記, Nihon koten bungaku taikei 日本古典文学大系, vol. 37 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1959), 119-122.
[19] Osaka hakubutsukan, 153.

Screens of Scenes in and around Kyoto the viewer travels through the four seasons as he or she traverses the city. In this way, the Kiyomizu Mandala allowed would-be pilgrims to mentally engage with the sacred space of the Kiyomizu Temple precincts,

Crossing the Bridges

In several depictions of the Shijō Bridge, the artists depict a *tori'i* on the western bank. These include the thirteenth-century *Illustrated Biography of the Priest Ippen* (*Ippen shōnin eden emaki* 一遍上人絵伝絵巻),[20] the RVA, RVB, and Tōhaku mohon versions of *Screens of Scenes in and Around Kyoto*, and the *Famous Places in Higashiyama* screens. Similarly, in many depictions artists include *tori'i* right next to the east end of the Gojō Bridge. These are the Tōhaku mohon screens and the Kiyomizu Temple and Yasaka Hōkanji Temple pilgrimage mandala. Other depictions, such as the RVB and *Famous Places in Higashiyama* screens include a gate in line with but slightly removed from the end of the bridge. These gates suggest a direction of movement, east across Gojō, west across Shijō, into a sacred precinct. This indicates the Kamo River, among other things, was a transitional space and a gateway to and from the sacred.

Figure 4.6 *Tori'i* at Shijō Bridge, *Illustrated Biography of the Priest Ippen*

[20] Hōgen En'i 法眼円伊, *Illustrated Biography of the Priest Ippen* (*Ippen shōnin eden emaki* 一遍上人伝絵巻), Shōan 1299, Colour on silk, 37.8×802.0, Shōan 1299, A-10944, Tokyo National Museum.

In all of the pilgrimage mandalas covered here, the Kamo River is largely elided by omission or by the cloud ellipses. At best it is a small strip of water or a U-shaped arc at the bottom, and only one activity is suggested - crossing. This is in contrast to other paintings of the river which include activities such as fishing and swimming. In the Kiyomizu Temple pilgrimage mandala, Gojō Bridge serves as the connection between the secular space of Kyoto and the sacred space of the road to Kiyomizu. The positions of Ushiwaka and Benkei on the western bridge, closest to the secular city, and the *inujinin* 犬神人 (shrine workers) on the eastern bridge, closest to the sacred compound, reinforce this division. The structures along the path to the temple, while they include some restaurants and shops, are mainly pagodas, stupas, gardens, meditation halls, and other sacred structures. Activities depicted are predominantly various forms of worship, and several Buddhist icons are either depicted or suggested in the buildings.

Figure 4.7 Gion Festival procession across Gojō Bridge, *Screens of Scenes in and around Kyoto*, RVA

Shijō Bridge reversed the direction during the Gion Festival. The Gion Festival was (and remains) an annual festival held by Yasaka Shrine in the summer. In Muromachi-era Kyoto, generally speaking, it was held in the sixth month, between the seventh and fourteenth days.

Under the Muromachi warrior government the festival was a state affair, observed from specially constructed viewing platforms by early shoguns whose descendants later monitored and influenced the construction and order of floats. The bakufu was also involved in collecting funds to rebuild the Shijō bridge for the festival as well as other funds necessary for construction and rituals.[21]

While the festival was planned every year, it did not occur every year. According to research by Kawauchi Masayoshi, between 1321 and 1602, several years have no records, some record the festival as "postponed," and in many years, particularly in the 1370s and following the Ōnin War, the festival simply did not take place.[22] In years the festival was recorded as "postponed" it also tended to be skipped.

The festival was meant to cleanse the city of disease, and neighbourhoods built wooden floats (*yamaboko* 山鉾) that were pulled through the city prior to the entrance of portable shrines (*mikoshi* 御輿). These are the floats depicted on the western part of the *Screens of Scenes in and around Kyoto* (figure 4.7).[23] Residents pulled these through the streets following a set path through Shimogyō ahead of the portable shrines. The portable shrines, which carried the deities from Yasaka Shrine into the city on 6.7 and back to the shrine on 6.14, crossed the Kamo River using the small pontoon bridge at Shijō.

This annual crossing, the routes of the processions, and the resting places for portable shrines (*otabisho* 御旅所) on the western side of the Kamo,[24] suggest that movement itself was a critical

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[21] Tōji shigyō nikki 東寺執行日記, Hōtoku 宝徳 2 (1450) 6.7. In Shiryō sōran 史料総覧 7:908, p. 13
[22] Kawauchi Masayoshi 河内将芳, *Gion matsuri no chūsei: Muromachi, Sengoku o chūshin ni* 祇園祭の中世：室町・戦国を中心に (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2012), 33–34.
[23] *Rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu RVA* 洛中洛外図屏風歴博甲本, early 16th c., Colour on paper, 138.2x342.8 each, early 16th c., H-3, National Museum of Japanese History, https://www.rekihaku.ac.jp/education_research/gallery/webgallery/webgallery_fo.html.
[24] A picture included in the Osaka exhibition catalog, though not a mandala, depicts one such space along with the portable shrines, the deities themselves next to monsters, and shrine workers and locals participating in ritual.

part of this ritual. Deities had to be provided for through costly infrastructure such as bridges and resting places. A deeper study into the rituals involved in moving the portable shrines could shed more light into the motivations, not just in the earliest days of the festival but during the years of administrative turmoil. It could help answer the question of why city and shrine officials were keen to revive the annual festival after so long a pause.

Conclusion

The movement of deities and pious people across Shijō and Gojō Bridges connected the eastern and western banks of the Kamo River. The delineation of sacred space through the *tori'i* gates in pilgrimage mandalas and landscape paintings indicates the importance of sacred precincts in the fabric of the city.

Gionsha omandokoro ezu 祇園社御政所絵図, 16-17th c. Colour on paper, 169.8x145.6 cm. Yamato Family Archives. In Ōsaka shiritsu hakubutsukan, ed., 77.

Chapter 5
Ghosts of the Kamo River

Between the second and fourth months of Kanshō 寛正 2 (1461), the Kamo River, its banks, and its bridges were transformed from sites of social and economic activity to sites of mass death, burial, and ritual. At the end of the second month, Rinzai monk Taikyoku wrote of his entry into Kyoto:

> From the bridge at Shijō [I] looked upriver. The bodies carried [on the river] were uncountable. They blocked the flow like small heaps of piled rock, [and] the stench was inescapable. They come from the west and are carried off east. The weeping and wailing for these are alarming.[1]

Beginning in 1457, crop damage and failures repeatedly struck the central provinces of Honshū 本州. In 1460, Taikyoku wrote of his encounter with a woman in the streets of Kyoto who held on to her dead child and wept. Onlookers reported that the pair were refugees from Kawachi 河内 and had fled the famine there.[2] During the following winter of 1460-61, tens of thousands of refugees would make their way to the capital. There many sickened and died, their bodies were left where they fell or discarded in fields, ditches, and rivers. The Kamo River functioned prominently as both a physical and spiritual purifier during the famine and in the rituals that followed.

Three key challenges confronted Kyoto's governing elite during the crisis months of 1461: where and how to shelter and feed the living; what to do with the physical remains of the

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[1] Taikyoku 太極, *Hekizan Nichiroku* 碧山日録 (HZNR), Kanshō 寛正 2 (1461) 2.30.
[2] HZNR, Chōroku 長禄 4 (1460) 3.16.

dead; and how to return spiritual security to the city. During this crisis, the Kamo River functioned as a meeting space, a means of removing physical waste from the city's centre, and a spiritual purifier. Buddhist philosophy informed how elites framed the Kanshō Famine: Victims suffered because of their bad karma. The karma of the living could be improved by giving alms, but what was left at the end of the famine was a concentration of hungry ghosts that needed to be pacified and also a terrified, exhausted city that needed to be comforted and quieted.

The Kanshō Famine (1460-61) derives its name from the Kanshō era. Emperor Gohanazono 後花園 (1419-1470, r. 1428-1464) decreed the first year of Kanshō in the twelfth month of Chōroku 長禄 4 (appx. January of 1461 in the Gregorian calendar) in response to the regional crisis. By the late winter of 1461, the famine encompassed all of the Kinai 機内 region as well as Tamba 丹波, Echizen 越前, and Kaga 加賀 Provinces (see figure 5.1).[3] Reports of famine victims stop after the third month, and by the summer of 1461 the crisis in Kyoto appears to have ended.

Because of its scale and proximity to the monks who wrote about it, the Kanshō Famine, or at least its unfolding in Kyoto, is well documented. From his location in Tōfukuji Temple on the eastern edge of Kyoto, Taikyoku gave a near daily account in his diary. Of the diarists recording the events of Kanshō 1 and 2, Taikyoku's descriptions are the most frequent and vivid. While much of his writing contains the usual *to unnun* (云々, "it is said"),[4] obscuring the source

[3] Historical province polygons for this chapter are based on Berman, Lex, "Japan Tokugawa GIS." Harvard Dataverse, 2017. https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/2CVTR0. Disease and famine data from Sasaki Junnosuke 佐々木潤之助, *Nihon chūsei kōki/kinsei shoki ni okeru kikin to sensō no kenkyū* 日本中世後期・初期における飢饉と戦争の研究 (Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Seikatsu Kyōdō Kumiai 早稲田大学生活協同組合, 2000).

[4] *To unnun* is frequently used by medieval diarists reporting information. It puts distance between the diarist and events. For example, in HZNR, Kanshō 2 (1461) 3.3 Taikyoku writes, "It is said the number was over 1200 people." *To unnun* is generally used differently from *iwaku* 曰, which Taikyoku uses to indicated reported speech. See for example HZNR Chōroku 4 (1460) 3.16, "I asked people on the street, where is [this] person from? They said, she is a displaced person from Kawachi Province."

of the information he records, many of his observations are clearly first-hand.

The monk Kyōgaku 経覚 gave another detailed account in his diary, *Kyōgaku shiyōshō* 経覚私要鈔 (*Personal Collected Records of Kyōgaku*). Kyōgaku worked in several temples throughout the years he kept his diary. In 1461, he was *bettō* 別当 (administrator) of Kōfukuji Temple 興福寺 in Nara 奈良, about forty-five kilometres south of Kyoto. Kyōgaku had a close relationship with the Ashikaga 足利 family and frequently reported on the goings-on of the Ashikaga and other Kyoto elites. His diary is more introspective than Taikyoku's, recording not only events but also his own thoughts and spiritual musings.

Monks from Shōkokuji Temple 相国寺 in central Kyoto also recorded the famine, leaving two separate accounts, *Gaun nikkenroku* 臥雲日件録 (*Daily Records from Retirement*), written by Zuikei Shūhō 瑞渓周鳳, and *Inryōken nichiroku* 蔭凉軒日録 (*Daily Records of Inryōken*), a monastic record for Rokuon'in 鹿苑院 kept during 1461 by Kikei Shinzui 季瓊真蘂. These records are primarily concerned with the goings-on at the monks' respective institutions. Their reports of the famine are pithy, but they also provide critical information regarding the ceremonies performed later in 1461.

The number of written accounts that have survived make the Kanshō Famine an important case study, not only for medieval famines in general, but also for studying the way suffering, relief, and mass death were dealt with in Kyoto's urban, political, and spiritual spaces. Between the twelfth month of Kanshō 1 and the fourth month of Kanshō 2, the hungry and the dead haunted two primary locations: along Rokkaku between Higashi no Tōin and Karasumachō where the shogunate set up shelters, and in and around the Kamo River and its banks (figure 5.2).

In this chapter I look in detail at the hunger that drove refugees into Kyoto, relief efforts

in the city, and the role of Kyoto's waterways in the care for the dead. The burials at the foot of Gojō Bridge and the *segaki* 施餓鬼 rituals that took place over the water showcase the ways in which the Kamo River functioned in the spiritual landscape of Kyoto. Buddhist rituals linked the river with death and the passage between the Six Paths (*rokudō* 六道).

On Famine

Political scientists, nutritionists, and economists have developed and tested theories about the mechanisms that cause famine, what happens during famine, and safe interventions in famine, based on the numerous large-scale famines and genocides of the twentieth century. In his essay "*Kikin to wa nani ka: jishoteki teigi no saikentō*" 飢饉とは何か：辞書的定義の再検討 ("What is famine? Reconsidering dictionary definitions"), scholar Matsui Noriatsu succinctly explains the problem of current understandings of famine, arguing that by the time a famine is recognized as such it is "too late."[5] One of the factors that causes delays in recognition is the inability of theorists to settle on one complete and concise definition of "famine," even when limited to the English language. Economist Stephen Devereux, in his widely cited exploration of famine theories, prefaces his chapter on the various proposed definitions by stating, "Most attempts to define famine merely describe its commonest causes and effects, and the boundaries between definition, description and explanations of famine are often blurred."[6] Below is a brief overview of some of the language in use, in order to highlight the complexity involved in assigning meaning to the word "famine."

Definitions of "famine" generally describe it as either an event or a process, and all

[5] Matsui Noriatsu 松井範惇, "Kikin to wa nanika: jishoteki teigi no saikentō 飢饉とは何か：辞書的定義の再検討," *Journal of East Asian Studies* 1 (2002): 69–81. The author translates the article title as "What is Famine?: Definitions that Cannot Explain Reality."

[6] Stephen Devereux, *Theories of Famine* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993), 9.

embed some kind of causative theory. In their study of hunger, professor of medicine John Butterly and political scientist Jack Shepherd define famine as "a crisis of mass starvation - 'shortages of total food' - and of intensity - 'extreme and protracted' - and of scale - 'widespread' - and finality or mortality - 'the endpoint'."[7] Matsui's analysis of Japanese and English dictionaries covers numerous examples of similar, albeit simplified, definitions. According to Matsui, dictionary definitions describe famine (*kikin* 飢饉) as a scarcity of food (*shokuryō busoku* 食糧不足) and include mortality resulting from that dearth or disease (*gashisha* 餓死者).[8] In other words, in the modern meaning, famine events are caused by a lack of food and result in death.

A survey of entries from 1402 to1599 in the section of the *Koji ruien* 古事類苑 (*Encyclopaedia of Ancient Terms*) on the quality of harvests (*hōkyō* 豊凶) shows a consistent vocabulary of famine.[9] The most common term, *kikin*, used in fifteen of the seventeen relevant entries, can be translated directly as "famine": The characters imply an extreme hunger or thirst (飢) caused by an inadequate crop (饉). The usage of the compound has apparently changed very little since it first appeared in the *Shoku nihongi* 続日本紀 (*Continued Chronicles of Japan*) in 715, and in form varies between 饑饉 and the same compound with a simplified initial character, 飢饉.[10] The latter occurs more commonly than the former in the records reviewed from the fifteenth century. Embedded in the word *kikin* is a theory of famine: hunger caused by an inadequate crop. However, additional terms in use in the fifteenth century illustrate other senses

[7] John Butterly and Jack Shepherd, *Hunger: The Biology and Politics of Starvation* (Hanover: Dartmouth College Press, 2010), 29. Emphasis in original.
[8] Matsui, 71-73.
[9] Jingū shichō 神宮司庁, ed., *Koji ruien* (KJRE)*, saiji bu.* 古事類苑歳時部 (Tokyo, 1908).
[10] Nihon rekishi daijten henshū iinkai, 373.

of famine. *Kikatsu* (飢餲, perhaps a rendering of 飢渇), meant hunger and thirst, and *gashi* (餓死), either by itself as a verb (餓死す *gashi su*) or as a noun (餓死者 *gashisha*) referred to death from inadequate food consumption.[11]

The context of *kikin* indicates that the famines of the fifteenth century were crises of hunger in which suffering was frequently compounded by disease and death. Just under half of the entries in *Koji ruien* include references to epidemics (*ekibyō* 疫病) and more than half either include the term "death-by-hunger" (*gashi* 餓死) or otherwise indicate the presence of death.[12] For example, from 1181, "In recent days there is famine in the realm. The number of dead from hunger is unknown."[13] From 1421, "There is great famine and epidemic. The mountains, plains, and rivers are filled with the dead."[14] Lastly, from 1473, "There is a great famine. There are no limits to the death from hunger."[15] The prevalence of references to death in entries containing any form of elaboration beyond the bald facts of a famine's occurrence suggests that mortality, if not implicit in the word *kikin*, was commonly associated with it.

The *Jidaibetsu kokugo daijiten, Muromachi jidai hen* (時代別国語大辞典、室町時代編 *Japanese Dictionary by Era, Muromachi Era*) defines *kikin* as "The state of people suffering starvation due to a scarcity of foodstuffs resulting from poor harvest."[16] This definition limits famine to an event, a "state of people," with a clear cause, "poor harvest." Embedded in this definition, as with the characters that form *kikin* itself, is the theory of Food Availability Decline. Food Availability Decline (FAD) is a part of the category some scholars call "Acts of God," or

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[11] KJRE, 1444.
[12] *Ibid.,* 1442-1444.
[13] Hyakurenshō 百錬抄, Yōwa 養和 1 (1181) 6.28, cited in KJRE, 1440.
[14] Ryakunin irai dendaiki 暦仁以来年代記 Ōei 応永 28, cited in KJRE, 1443.
[15] Myōhōjiki 妙法寺記, Bunmei 文明 5 (1473), cited in KJRE, 1444.
[16] Muromachi jidaigo jiten henshū iinkai, ed., "Kikin," in *Jidaibetsu kokugo daijiten. Muromachi jidai hen. Vol. 2* (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1989), 473.

"supply-side," in which famines are natural disasters occurring because of pressure on food supply systems. Historian Nishio Kazumi calls these A-type famines, whose immediate cause is climatic disturbance (*ijō kishō* 異常気象). Other factors which Nishio neglects that can put pressure on food availability include population increase; animal, insect, or fungal damage to crops; and mismanagement of land resources such as those leading to erosion, flooding, silt accumulation in irrigation systems, or salinization of arable land. The underlying assumption of this type of theory is that the causal factors are, to some degree, beyond human control, asocial, and natural. FAD also carries the implication that what food is available at any given time is equally available to the entire population.

More recently, theorists and nutritionists have begun to define "famine" as a process rather than an event or product of various stages; it is part of a spectrum of hunger. This theory emphasizes the complexity of causes and the social arrangements that underly food distribution. Processual definitions of famine tend to reject mortality and a lack of food availability as necessary conditions.[17] Nutritionist N.S. Scrimshaw's oft-cited paper from 1987 defines famine as "not just the result of an extreme and protracted shortage of food, but also an economic and social phenomenon that can occur when food supplies are adequate to prevent it."[18] Noting this disparity in real resource availability during times of crisis, Stephen Devereux asserts that, "famine is first and foremost a problem of poverty and inequality," and furthermore, "there are very few famines in which the rich have starved."[19]

These criticisms have led to the demand-side or "Acts of Man" theories that emerged during the famines of the mid-twentieth century. These theories posit famines as social,

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[17] See Devereux, 17; Matsui is an exception as his definition includes death as an endpoint of the process.
[18] Nevin Scrimshaw, "The Phenomenon of Famine," *Annual Review Nutrition* 7 (1987): 2. Emphasis in original
[19] Devereux, *Theories of Famine,* 22, 27.

preventable, and predictable. This set most prominently includes economist Amartya Sen's entitlement theory, which focuses on the legal ability of a person to possess food through either the market, exchange, or endowments such as crops grown on one's own land through one's own labour.[20] They encompass what Nishio calls B-type famines. This set takes into account the social side of food procurement, including issues such as market failure, political failure or mismanagement, disparities in economic and socio-political status, and dislocation from safety networks. It does not disregard pressures on food supply systems but rather argues that the social aspects of those systems could, if pressed, redistribute resources in such a way that widespread starvation does not occur.

Two examples from fifteenth-century Kyoto illustrate this problem in categorizing famines. First, historians classify the Eikyō Famine (1431) as explicitly man-made.[21] This event appears to have been limited to the area of Kyoto, and the bakufu attributed it to merchant collusion to drive up grain prices.[22] However, speculation that rice prices *could* be increased had its roots in previous years' crop damage. In both 1429 and 1430, crops in Yamashiro Province were damaged by either flood or drought.[23] Imperial Prince Fushimi-no-miya Sadafusa 伏見宮貞成 (1372-1456) mused in his diary regarding a flood in 1431, "It is likely that the rice fields will be lost again this year."[24] Other records show that there was, in fact, no major crop damage that year. Thus, while the immediate cause may have been people choosing to withhold grain when there was plenty available, ultimately the flooding that threatened the rice crop triggered

[20] Amartya Sen, *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 45-46.
[21] Nishio, 63.
[22] Fushimi-no-miya Sadafusa 伏見宮貞成, *Kanmon nikki* 看聞日記, Eikyō 3 (1431).7. 6.
[23] Sasaki, *Nihon chūsei kōki/kinsei shoki ni okeru kikin to sensō no kenkyū*.
[24] KMNK, Eikyō 3 (1431) 5. 29.

the merchants' panic.[25]

Historians also consider the Kanshō Famine a supply-side FAD famine.[26] Undeniably, weather-induced crop failures severely restricted food supplies over several regions of Honshū beginning in 1459. Numerous contemporary sources point toward drought and disease in 1459-60 that led to the crisis in 1461. Nevertheless, the criticisms of supply-side theory are relevant here: while all social classes were involved with the famine in some way, not all experienced a lack of food during this crisis, which indicates that available food was distributed based on social factors.

Current theories of famine do not account for how participants in historical famines understood their experiences. Analysts and historians may look at the Kanshō Famine and judge that it was the result of crop failure compounded by political instability that failed to store and distribute food supplies. However, the two diarists who attempted to explain the Kanshō Famine do not make that argument. During the winter and spring of Kanshō 2 (1461), only Taikyoku ever mentioned problems with crops. Rather than a specific issue, Taikyoku used a set phrase that combines several of the more common varieties of disaster (lit. "a disaster caused by locusts, flooding, and wind, one after another," 蝗潦風旱相継為灾).[27] Kyōgaku and Taikyoku both attributed the famine to bad karma.

While Kyōgaku directly states that death by hunger was caused by "the power of karma,"[28] Taikyoku alludes to karmic causation in an anecdote about a famine in the ninth

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[25] KMNK, Eikyō 3 (1431).7.6. This also does not account for the role of human-made paddies and irrigation systems used to grow rice in the first place, or erosion on mountains which made flooding more extreme.
[26] Nisho, 63.
[27] HZNR, Kanshō 2 (1461) 1.12. Interestingly, this phrase does not cover the main source of crop destruction evidenced by other documents - drought. It appears to be a set phrase that refers simply to what we might call "natural disasters."
[28] KGSYS, Kanshō 2 (1461) 3.23.

century. In this anecdote, the monk Kūkai 空海 (774-835) attributed hunger and death directly to the people's karma. Emperor Saga 嵯峨 (786-842, r. 809-823) ordered Kūkai to save the people who are dying "on the various roads." Kūkai explained, "These are the effects of karma from these people's previous lives." Therefore, he instructed the emperor to have copies of the *Heart Sutra* made and placed before Shakyamuni Buddha's image throughout the provinces. Closing the anecdote, Taikyoku's informant revealed that these actions stopped the famine and claimed that "one can see [the sutras in Daikakuji Temple] today."[29] In this claim, Taikyoku connected Kūkai's analysis directly to the famine Taikyoku himself was experiencing. Thus it served as both an explanation of and solution to the crisis in his own day.

For Kyōgaku, the suffering he observed made him question the acts of benevolence and compassion of the monks working with famine victims. Kyōgaku wrote that the monk Gan'ami's 願阿弥 good works in sheltering and tending to the suffering should have mitigated the negative karma of the starving and dying. Instead, he writes, "In that time [twenty days], two of Gan'ami's disciples died. Furthermore, Gan'ami was also deathly ill. At last [they] stopped [working at the shelters]. Those who minister are the most benevolent. Everyone reaps what they sow. When [people] are made to die from hunger by the power of karma, [what] is acting with benevolence [Skt. *maitrī*] and almsgiving against divine grace? So it is asked."[30] Here Kyōgaku questions the effectiveness of such ministries as Gan'ami's that challenge the karmic order.

The cause of the suffering itself suggests the solution. In Buddhist philosophy, existence within the six paths of *saṃsāra* (*rinne* 輪廻), the cycle of rebirth, is suffering, and only the build-up of positive karma, or the intervention of a Bodhisattva, can remove a person from the six

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[29] HZNR, Kanshō 2 (1461).3.5.
[30] KGSYS, Kanshō 2 (1461) 3.23.

realms and end suffering. Thus, the anecdotal Kūkai claim that hunger and death are the effects of people's karma was a logical one, and the only possible solution was to atone for or fix said karma. A common way to improve one's karma in premodern Japan was the copying of sutras, as Kūkai prescribed.

The official responses to the Kanshō Famine were informed both by these contemporary understandings of what caused the famine and the precedent of previous famines. Where the Kanshō Famine was interpreted as caused by a combination of poor crops and bad karma, contemporary understanding of the Eikyō Famine in the summer of Eikyō 3 (1431) was drastically different. The bakufu responded in Kanshō 2 (1461) by sponsoring Gozan Zen temples to perform *segaki* ceremonies. In Eikyō 3 (1431), the bakufu saw the food shortage as a result of merchants withholding grain with the intention of driving up prices in Kyoto. They responded punitively, arresting the six alleged conspirators and forcing them to sell their grain stores.[31]

Seeking Refuge

Those who study famine as a process generally agree that while chronic hunger can last for years, the onset of famine conditions, in contrast to chronic hunger conditions, is distinguished by specific characteristics centred on societal breakdown, such as migration and changes in customary practices.[32] John Osgood Field writes, "Abnormally high mortality may be the hallmark of famine, but societal breakdown is its essence."[33] This section and the next will examine how medieval society broke away from its typical patterns and practices. Hunger pushed people out of the provinces to seek refuge in Kyoto. Some found safety, but many died.

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[31] KMNK, Eikyō 3 (1431).7.6.
[32] Butterly and Shepherd, 125; John Osgood Field, *The Challenge of Famine: Recent Experience, Lessons Learned* (West Hartford, Conn.: Kumarian Press, 1993), 7.
[33] Field, 4.

Thousands were left unburied. Mass inward migration and the collapse of social support for burial practices contributed to the concentration of bodies, living and dead, around the Kamo River.

Instances of individuals relocating to find food or employment are recorded in most accounts of modern famines, and indeed migration is considered to be one of the primary characteristics or symptoms of famine.[34] Among medieval Japanese commoners, flight from agricultural fields and villages was a time-tested means of protesting abusive overlords and avoiding starvation in times of famine. During famine, the ability of commoners to escape to the mountains and rivers was upheld in legal pronouncements by both the Kamakura and the Muromachi warrior governments.[35] Japan's mountains and their extensive forests contained a wealth of potential foodstuffs to carry individuals or small groups through times of hunger; these included chestnuts, mushrooms, and game such as wild boar.[36] A Kamakura era document explicitly states that migrants (*rōnin* 浪人) entered mountains to search for edible tubers.[37] Rivers, lakes, and coasts, likewise, could be exploited for fish, fowl, turtles, shellfish, and seaweed. However, during fifteenth-century famines, instead of turning to the mountains, thousands of people instead fled to Kyoto.

Inward migration to an urban centre became a common pattern in Japan during the Edo 江戸 period (1603-1867) and is typical globally in modern famines since urban centres generally contain concentrations of food supplies and relief programs. However, prior to the early modern

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[34] Cormac Ó Gráda, *Famine: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009) 7.
[35] William Wayne Farris, *Japan's Medieval Population: Famine, Fertility, and Warfare in a Transformative Age* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 55, f. 121.
[36] Conrad Totman, *The Green Archipelago: Forestry in Preindustrial Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 23.
[37] *Kamakura ibun* 鎌倉遺文 8346, Shōka 正嘉 3 (1259) 2.9 (vol. 11, pp. 336). Roots mentioned included Chinese yams (*Dioscorea batatas*, Jpn. *shoyo* 薯蕷) and tokoro (another edible tuber, *Dioscorea tokoro*, Jpn. *tokoro* 野老).

era, there was little apparent reason for people to abandon the country for the city instead of the mountains. Historian Wayne Farris speculates that the Ōei 応永 Famine of Ōei 27-28 (1420-1421) was the first instance of commoners migrating to Kyoto rather than to the countryside.[38] The bakufu was unprepared for the influx.[39]

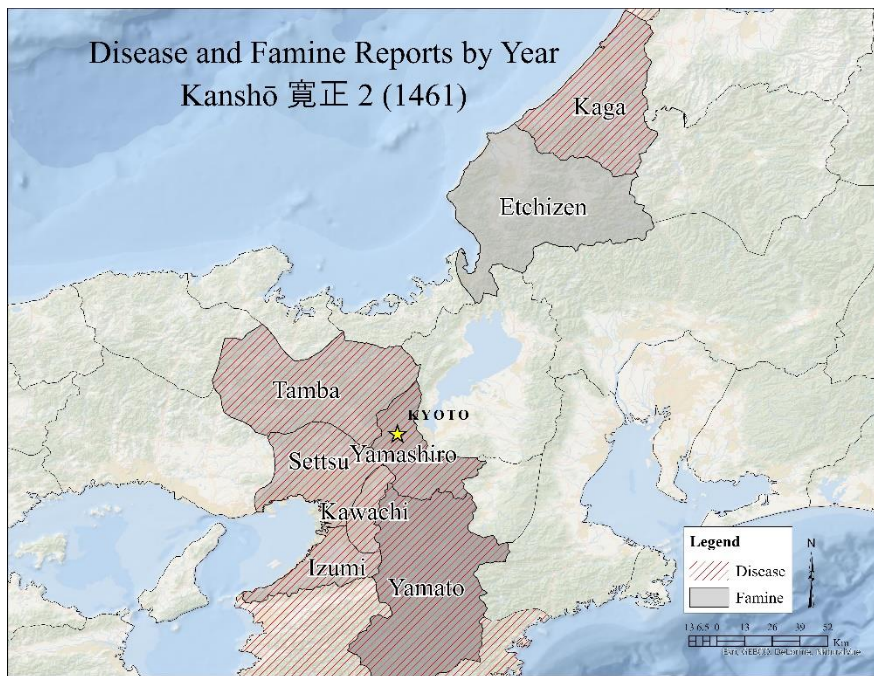

Figure 5.1 Disease and Famine Reports, Central Honshū, 1461

By 1460, central and eastern Honshū had been skirting famine for several years. Provinces along the Japan Sea and the central provinces suffered successive years of drought from 1457 onward. Other places like Suruga 駿河 and Etchū 越中 lost their crops to too much water, and Sanuki 讃岐 experienced a freak snowfall in the late summer of 1458.[40] Any resilience built into the agricultural cycle to survive a year or two of bad harvests by using stored

[38] Farris, 111.

[39] The bakufu's response in 1461 - providing relief shelters and using Gozan 五山 temples to perform *segaki* rituals - borrowed precedent set in both the previous year (Chōroku 4, 1460) and during the Ōei famine.

[40] Sasaki, *Nihon chūsei kōki/kinsei shoki ni okeru kikin to sensō no kenkyū*,120.

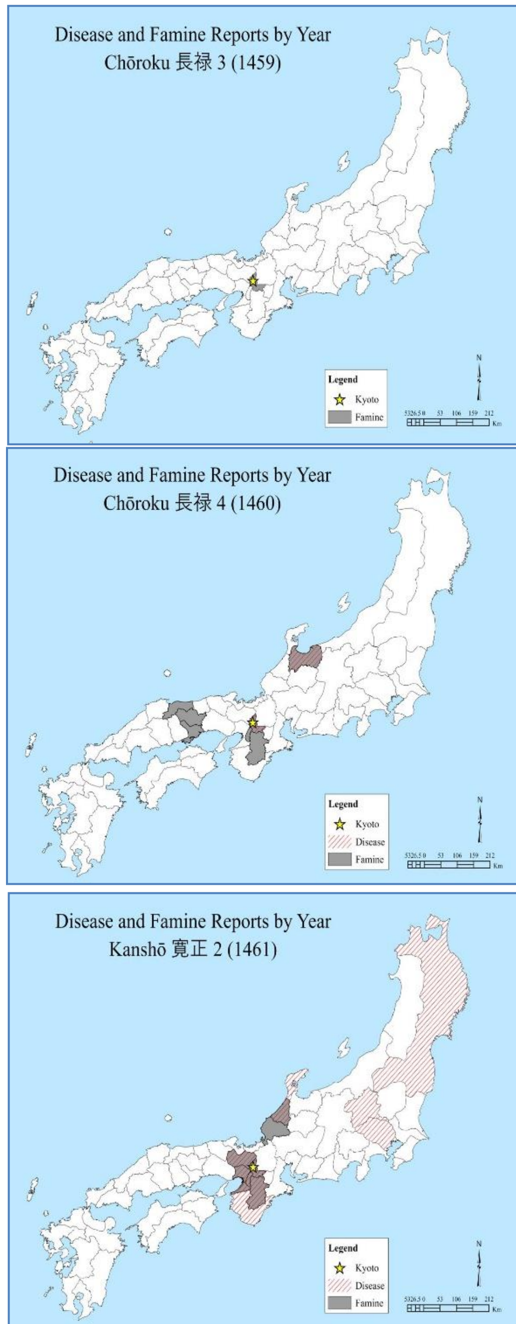

Figure 5.2 Disease and Famine Reports by Year, Chōroku 3-Kanshō 2 (1459-1461)

grain or activating the market to bring crops from successful areas began to fail in Kyoto in the winter of 1459 and had collapsed utterly across central Honshu by the summer of 1460.

According to reports compiled by Sasaki et al., in 1459, Yamashiro was the only province reporting famine. In 1460, two other Kinai provinces, Yamato 大和 and Kawachi, reported famine, as well as provinces in the San'yōdō 山陽道 region in the west and Etchū Province to the northeast. In 1461, the areas reporting famine were still clustered around Yamashiro, in Kinai, with the addition of Tamba 丹波 to the north, and the Hokurikudō 北陸道 provinces to the northeast (figure 5.2). Although diaries are vague on where famine victims came from, the pattern of reports above suggests that they likely came from the Kinai area. Kyōgaku merely states that "people from various provinces went to Kyoto to beg."[41] Taikyoku gives the origin of one woman in 1460 but consistently refers to the starving using some variation on the word *ryūmin* 流民 (displaced person), suggesting that the dead were

[41] KGSYS, Kanshō 2.3.23.

perceived have come from outside Kyoto.[42] Anyone wanting to get to Kyoto from Echizen or Kaga would have had to cross mountains or Lake Biwa, but those in the Kinai area, especially northern Yamato, Izumi 和泉, Kawachi, and southern Settsu 摂津 Provinces, could travel relatively unimpeded by the landscape.[43] This proximity to the destination of annual tribute, tax rice, and foodstuffs likely played into the decision to expend the energy on a journey to Kyoto rather than flight into the mountains and forests.

There is no way to know the number of people displaced by starvation or disease. Taikyoku estimated that those who died in Kyoto during the first few months of Kanshō 2 numbered around 82,000.

> Someone said, from the new year until this month, the dead in the capital number 82,000. I asked, how do you know this? He said, there is a monk north of the capital, he made about 84,000 small wooden stupas. [The monk] said that each one goes over a body, and now there are about 2000 extra. I am writing the gist of what occurred.[44]

The number 84,000 has significant spiritual meaning. It is a reference to an archetypal act of devotion: the number of stupas built by Aśoka (302-232 BCE). Because the work of making stupas for the dead is clearly an act of devotion, and the number references Aśoka's stupas, the count in this entry is suspect. Taikyoku also notes that this count only includes those who were found in the capital, but not those who died in less visible places or outside the capital. Nevertheless, the estimate of 82,000 gives the impression of an enormous number of people killed by the famine.

The thousands of refugees required food and shelter in Kyoto. It was late winter, and Kyōgaku records mostly cloudy and rainy days during the months of famine.[45] Relatively early

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[42] Kawachi. HZNR, Kanshō 1.3.16.
[43] See figure 4.3.
[44] HZNR, Kanshō 2 (1461) 2.30.
[45] For an overview of weather as reported in contemporary diaries, see Mizukoshi Mitsuharu 水越充治, ed., *Kokiroku ni yoru 15 seiki no tenkō kiroku* 古記録による１５世紀の天候記録 (Tokyo: Tokyo Dō Shuppan, 2006).

in the crisis, Ashikaga Yoshimasa 足利義政 (1435-1490, shogun 1449-1473) sponsored alms giving and shelters for the starving. He attempted twice to provide relief for the refugees. The first distribution of alms, at the beginning of the new year, lasted only five or six days. He seems to have given up in the face of overwhelming numbers.[46] The second attempt was more organized and used a template of almsgiving from Chōroku 長禄 3 (1459), in which land was set aside and funds given to a monk for shelters and food.[47]

Yoshimasa reportedly undertook this second project at the behest of his father's ghost. According to court reporting, Ashikaga Yoshinori 足利義教 (1394-1441, shogun 1429-1441) appeared to Yoshimasa in a dream on the eighteenth day of the first month and bade Yoshimasa give alms to the many beggars dying of hunger to relieve Yoshinori of some of his karmic burden.[48] Whether for this or for some more pragmatic reason, Yoshimasa ordered land set aside and shelters built at Rokkakudō 六角堂 and gave funds for food to be distributed there.[49] Shelters were built along the road from Higashi no Tōin to Karasumachō, a full block in length.[50] They were completed on the sixth day of the second month.[51] According to Kyōgaku, Yoshimasa contributed 1500 coins a day toward this effort.[52]

Sources differ on how long this program was to have continued. Kyōgaku states that it was to run until summer, around the fourth month.[53] Taikyoku suggests that it was only to

[46] KGSYS, Kanshō 2 (1461) 3.23.
[47] Zuikei Shūhō 瑞渓周鳳, *Gaun nikken roku* (GUNKR) 臥雲日件録, ed. Tokyo Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2006), Chōroku 3 (1459) 2.3-4.
[48] KGSYS, Kanshō 2 (1461) 2.7.
[49] KGSYS, Kanshō 2 (1461) 3.23; HZNR Kanshō 2 (1461) 2.2.
[50] HZNR, Kanshō 2 (1461) 2.2.
[51] HZNR, Kanshō 2 (1461) 2.6.
[52] KGSYS, Kanshō 2 (1461) 2.7. This is significantly more than he contributed in 1459, which was reported at 100 *kan* total. GUNKR, Chōroku 3 (1459) 2.4.
[53] KGSYS, Kanshō 2 (1461) 2.7.

continue through the second month.[54] Whatever the original plan, the shelters closed after only a few weeks. Kyōgaku reports that relief efforts at the shelters were ordered to cease because of the number of people dying after being fed. The numbers he gives, 300 to 500 daily, are possibly exaggerated by rumour and miscommunication as news of the famine was carried over the distance between Kyoto and Nara, but other records make it clear that the famine had a high mortality rate. Taikyoku reports ninety-seven dead on 2.13.[55] Even among those working at the Rokkaku shelters, who presumably had adequate food, suffered illness and death. During the approximately twenty days the shelters were open, Gan'ami fell seriously ill and two of his disciples died.[56] This, more than the overall numbers of the dead, probably contributed to the shelters being closed.

As with many specifics of the Kanshō Famine, the proportion of victims killed directly by starvation to those killed by infectious disease is unknown. Records suggest that both were common. Early modern historian Ann Bowman Jannetta rightly chastises historians for arbitrarily diagnosing famine diseases without regard to the particular symptoms of those diseases. She argues that starvation sickness (*kieki* 飢疫) in early modern records referred to the terminal stage of starvation, not an enteric disease.[57] While caution is certainly required in assigning a name to epidemic diseases occurring during times of famine, most famine deaths are caused by infectious disease rather than starvation.[58] An adult can survive for a month or more without food. However, famine conditions weaken the human immune system and make it more susceptible to disease. Cold, wet weather, close proximity to other refugees, and water

[54] HZNR, Kanshō 2 (1461) 2.6.
[55] HZNR, Kanshō 2 (1461) 2.13.
[56] KGSYS, Kanshō 2 (1461) 3.23.
[57] Jannetta, 177.
[58] Ó Gráda, 109.

contaminated by decomposing corpses all likely contributed to overall unhealthy conditions in the city. Because we know disease was present, based on Gan'ami and his disciples' illnesses, it is probable that infectious disease was a major killer in 1461.

Food itself was another killer. Refeeding Syndrome has been recognized by Western medicine since the end of World War II.[59] It occurs when a severely malnourished system is overloaded with nutrients that it can no longer process. In mild cases, such as after several days of fasting, a person may just pass out. In severe cases, the resulting changes to the hormones and metabolism can be fatal. Fifteenth-century aid workers recognized this problem even if they understood it differently. Gan'ami's relief team dealt with it by passing out porridge, rather than rice, to those who were starving. As recorded by Taikyoku, "First, [they] boil millet porridge and have [the starving people] eat it, otherwise the starving people will eat rice and die right there. For this reason, they give out porridge."[60] According to Kyōgaku, relief workers provided porridge and miso soup twice a day.[61]

This was not the first time Gan'ami had been involved in this type of operation, and he probably understood something like Refeeding Syndrome from experience. Two years prior, in the localized famine of 1459, the shogun similarly sponsored Gan'ami to distribute food from shelters, also at Rokkakudō. In 1459, the shelters fed a reported 8,000 people a day. In this instance, records do not report mass death.[62]

Hungry Ghosts

In addition to the 82,000 dead that Taikyoku reported, he also indicated a large number of

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[59] Stephen Hearing, "Refeeding Syndrome: Is Underdiagnosed and Undertreated, but Treatable," *BMJ* 328, no. 7445 (2004): 908.
[60] HZNR, Kanshō 2 (1461) 2.6.
[61] KGSYS, Kanshō 2 (1461) 3.23.
[62] GUNKR, Chōroku 3 (1459) 2.4.

corpses present in "the places one cannot see in the capital, or outside the capital, or in the fields and ditches," as well as blocking the Kamo River "like small heaps of piled rock."[63] The bodies out of place, in rivers and along roads, indicated the failure of social mechanisms that would normally have removed the dead to graveyards.

Historian Katsuda Itaru's study of death taboos shows a shift in practices regarding the handling of dead bodies around the capital in the thirteenth century. Whereas earlier diaries contained frequent instances of encounters with dead human bodies and with body parts, later diaries show a marked decrease. While Katsuda recognizes that this may reflect a bias in reporting, indicative of a relaxation of pollution taboos and associated practices, he also gives evidence to show that funeral practices did change. Specifically, city dwellers ceased expelling the dying from their dwellings and abandoning corpses in the place where the person died, such as a house or field. Instead, bodies were taken to designated burial locations outside the city, such as Rendaino and Toribeno. While bodies were rarely buried or even enclosed in coffins, their physical removal from the living space of the core urban population significantly reduced the number of encounters between city dwellers and dead bodies.[64]

Katsuda concludes that one of the reasons for the decrease in abandoned corpses was the spread of the Pure Land Buddhism. The belief that those with graves at sites like Rendaino 蓮台野 would be reborn in the Pure Land led to large numbers being buried or cremated, or given open air burials at sites like Rendaino during the thirteenth century.[65] By the fourteenth century, the practice of some form of burial was commonplace in and around the capital, leading to a proportional decrease in the number of abandoned corpses and contact with dead bodies.[66] The

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[63] HZNR, Kanshō 2 (1461) 2.30.
[64] Katsuda Itaru 勝田至, *Shishatachi no chūsei* 死者たちの中世 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2003), 7.
[65] *Ibid.*, 218.
[66] *Ibid.*, 9.

decrease in regular encounters with dead bodies in public spaces makes the apparently sudden influx of corpses in Kanshō 2 (1461) all the more remarkable.

It is unclear whether fifteenth-century Japanese recognized the health risks of exposed corpses, especially to the water supply. Evidence suggests they did not, since one of the means of dealing with a sudden influx of corpses on the roads was to have *kiyome* 清目 (temple or shrine workers) or *keibi ishi* 検非違使 (capital police) move the bodies into ditches or waterways.[67] The rivers' current was expected to carry the corpses downstream and into the ocean. In this instance, however, the mass of bodies apparently overwhelmed the Kamo. Beginning in the second month, Taikyoku reports three instances of efforts by individual monks or temples to cope with the abandoned bodies. The first entry, on the seventeenth day of the second month, states, "Someone said, Gan'ami causes his disciples [to build] graves (*kusamurazuka* 叢塚) for the sake of [those whose] corpses appear daily at the Kamo River waterside and in the open lands on Abura no kōji."[68] Likewise, Taikyoku reported that an unnamed monk "made about 84,000 small wooden stupas (*sotoba* 卒都婆)" to place over, or possibly at the head of each body.[69] A few days later, monks from Kiyomizu Temple collected around one thousand two hundred corpses, possibly from either the temple precincts just east of the river or from the river's environs. They buried them "under Gojō Bridge."[70]

By the end third month, the worst of the famine seems to have abated, or at least the impression on the clergy writing diaries was such that they ceased to report on the numbers of dead. The end of the third month in Kanshō 2 correlates with May in the Gregorian calendar,

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[67] *Ibid.*, 36-42. This practice was observed by Frois during the Sengoku period as well as confirmed earlier by archaeological remains.
[68] HZNR, Kanshō 2 (1461) 2.17.
[69] HZNR, Kanshō 2 (1461) 2.30.
[70] HZNR, Kanshō 2 (1461) 3.3.

fully spring in an average year. Even without a complete autumn harvest, spring brings with it fruiting plants and leaves for forage, and areas blocked off by snow and ice during the winter are more accessible in the spring, increasing the available food supply outside the capital. If the famine in fact did ease after the third month, these were probable food sources. At that point, diarists turned to the performance of numerous *segaki* (施餓鬼) rituals on behalf of hungry ghosts.

Hungry ghosts (Jpn. *gaki* 餓鬼; Skt. *preta*) are one of the possible unhappy rebirths. Like animals, they cannot consciously work towards enlightenment because they are not sentient. Their only salvation comes either from suffering until their time as hungry ghosts has passed and they can be reborn elsewhere, or from being rescued. Writing in the tenth century and basing his text on the *Shōbōnenjo-kyō* 正法念処経 (Skt. *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra;* Eng. *Sutra of Meditation on the Correct Teaching*), the abbot Genshin 源信 (942-1017) described hungry ghosts with wild variation in size and shape. Some, he wrote, were "about the same size as human beings," others "like snow-peaked mountains." According to Genshin, different forms of hungry ghosts were created by different vices in the previous life. Invariably, their ability to eat and drink, or receive nourishment from food and drink, was severely limited. [71]

Both Genshin and the *Urabon-kyō* 盂蘭盆経 (Skt. *Ullambanasūtra*), which outlines the Buddha's plan to save hungry ghosts, are consistent in attributing such a rebirth to wickedness.[72] According to Genshin, this wickedness includes coveting, burning someone to death, depriving others for one's own benefit, using false teachings to seek fame, selling adulterated products,

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[71] Genshin 源信, *Ōjōyōshū* 往生要集, Dai Nihon bukkyō zensho 大日本仏教全書 (Tokyo: Bussho Kankōkai, 1916). Translation from A. Reischauer, "Genshin's Ojo Yoshu: Collected Essays on Birth Into Paradise," *The Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan. Second Series* 7 (1930): 16–97.
[72] Numata Yehan, ed., "The Ullambana Sutra," in *Apocryphal Scriptures*, trans. Bandō Shōjun (Berkeley, CA: Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai and Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2005), 23.

robbing the poor, taking advantage of merchants in hard times, corrupting prison wardens, and stealing temple property. However, between Genshin's writing and the fourteenth century, the understanding of what caused someone to be reborn as a hungry ghost had shifted. In the fourteenth century, the Ashikaga bakufu began to conduct *segaki* 施餓鬼 (alms for hungry ghosts) on behalf of those who died in battle, suggesting an understanding more akin to that of medieval China, where the dead who are not properly remembered become hungry ghosts.

The ghost festival was transmitted to Japan from China. According to historian Stephen Teiser, it appears fully formed in Chinese records by the sixth century CE, and its earliest appearance in Japanese records dates to 679.[73] In Japan, the seventh-month festival became known as the *urabon* 盂蘭盆 festival. This word is from the Japanese reading of *Yulanpen-jing* 盂蘭盆經, the Chinese title of the *Urabon-kyō.* These rites for the salvation of ancestors reborn as hungry ghosts were an official part of the Japanese ritual calendar from as early as 733 CE, though they do not appear annually in early records.[74]

Medieval *segaki* appear to have been an unscheduled version of the rites conducted at the annual *urabon* festival in the seventh month. They are also associated with *suirikue* 水陸会, a ceremony to give food and drink to living things on earth and in the water.[75] In fact, the terms *segaki* and *suirikue* seem to be interchangeable in medieval documents. Taikyoku records the rituals conducted in Kanshō 2 as both *suirikue* and *seshokue* (施食会); however, an entry in *Inryōken nichiroku*, dated to Kanshō 2 (1461) 3.22, summarizes the rituals as "*segaki* performed

[73] Stephen Teiser, *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 21.
[74] Naoki Kōjirō 直木孝次郎, ed., *Shoku Nihongi* 続日本紀 *Vol. 2* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1986). Bandō, 19.
[75] Harada Masatoshi 原田正俊, "Gozan zenrin no butsuji hōe to chūsei shakai - chinkon, segaki, kitō o chūshin ni 五山禅林の仏事法会と中世社会-鎮魂・施餓鬼・祈祷を中心に," *Zengaku kenkyū* 禅学研究 77 (1999): 59–92.

by the various Gozan [temples]."[76] The important difference between *urabon* and *segaki* was that *urabon* rites were directed specifically toward ancestors while *segaki* were directed toward unknown, unclaimed, or unworshipped dead.

Figure 5.3 Birth Scene, *Gaki zōshi*, Tokyo National Museum, 12th c.

Hungry ghosts are both creatures to be pitied and a threat to the spiritual, and possibly physical, wellbeing of the living. The Tokyo National Museum version of the *Gaki zōshi* 餓鬼草子, one of two sets of handscrolls from the twelfth century depicting hungry ghosts, illustrates one of the threats *gaki* posed to humans. In that scene, a woman delivering a baby is surrounded by attendants who smile at the newborn. A priest and a medium protect the next room, while an archer, whose arrows are meant to ward off spirits, defends the other entrance to the room. Despite the household having taken all the regular precautions, a large *gaki* crouches near the woman's legs, watching the baby's first moments (see figure 5.4).[77] Kyoto in the spring of 1461

[76] IRKNR Kanshō 2 (1461). 3.22, "諸五山施餓鬼." See also Nishiyama Masaru 西山克, "Nananyorai no kengen: Kanshō kikin to segaki no fūkei 七如来の顕現-寛正飢饉と施餓鬼の風景," *Kansai gakuin shigaku* 関西学院史学 38 (2011): 96.
[77] *Scroll of Hungry Ghosts* (*Gaki zōshi* 餓鬼草紙), Heian Period, 12th century, colour on paper, 26.9x380.2, A10476, Tokyo National Museum, https://www.tnm.jp/modules/r_collection/index.php?controller=dtl&colid=A10476.

had potentially tens of thousands of hungry ghosts.

A set of poems by the elderly Zen monk, Ikkyū 一休 (1394-1481), directly discusses hungry ghosts in the context of the Kanshō Famine. The poems are both a sympathetic response to the famine and a glimpse at how the theology of karmic rebirth was understood by one monastic scholar.[78] In one poem, Ikkyū writes:

> Intense suffering, hunger, and cold attack this life:
> The hungry ghosts before my eyes, the people before my eyes.
> These three realms a house aflame, this five-foot body:
> Their suffering towers like a million Mount Sumerus.[79]

The line, "The hungry ghosts before my eyes, the people before my eyes," conflates the starving people Ikkyū would have seen from his home in Kyoto with hungry ghosts. Hungry ghosts continued to populate the city after the humans died. This suggests that, by one interpretation, the *segaki* of that year, would have been devotional acts that assisted the rebirth of those who suffered as famine victims.

While no records from the fifteenth century explicitly describe the *segaki,* there are a few details that we can infer. *Segaki* involved offering food to *gaki,* playing musical instruments, and chanting to invoke the help of the buddhas. Typically, *segaki* were performed near water and at night when people were sleeping.[80] The Kyoto National Museum's version of the *Gaki zōshi* depicts this in a scene that parodies a feast.[81] In it, *gaki* sit in a semi-circle before a table laden with mounds of rice and other foods in lacquered bowls. Monks serve the *gaki* by spilling the rice onto the ground in front of the semi-circle while other monks chant or sing. This is

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[78] While Ikkyū was controversial among Zen monks for his behavior regarding sex and alcohol and his public stunts, his meditations on the Kanshō Famine stand apart from those controversies.
[79] Kageki Hideo 蔭木英雄, ed., *Ikkyū oshō zenshū: Kyōunshū* 一休和尚全集：狂雲集*, Vol. 2* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1997).
[80] Ikegami Yoshimasa 池上良正, "Muen kuyō no dōtaisei 無縁供養の動態性," *Journal of Religious Studies* 86, no. 2 (2012): 207; Nishiyama, 96.
[81] *Gaki zōshi* 餓鬼草子, 12th century, colour on paper, 26.9 x 538.4 cm, Kyoto National Museum.

consistent with the brief description of the *segaki* performed by Nanzanji Temple in 1461 during which the monks chanted and played a bell (*inkin* 引磬).[82]

The Muromachi warrior government sponsored numerous *segaki* rituals during its tenure. Historian Ikeda Takeaki noted ten sets from 1354 to 1543, most of which responded to deaths in battle, such as the first sponsored by Ashikaga Takauji in 1354 for those who died in the conflicts between himself and Emperor Godaigo 後醍醐天皇 (1288-1339, r. 1318-1339).[83] The performance in the fall of Ōei 28 (1422), several months after a city-wide famine, was the first sponsored by the Ashikaga for those who died outside of combat. The rituals in Kanshō 2 (1461) were performed at Gozan temples as follows: Kenninji Temple (3.29), Shōkokuji Temple (4.10), Tōfukuji Temple (4.12), Manjuji Temple (4.17), Nanzenji Temple (4.20), and Tenryūji Temple (4.22).[84] The Kenninji and Manjuji Temples' *segaki* were performed on the Gojō Bridge. Shōkokuji, Tōfukuji, and Nanzenji Temples performed theirs on the Shijō Bridge. Tenryūji Temple performed theirs in the west side of the capital, at Tōgetsu Bridge.

The choice of location might have been a matter of convenience for the temples. Tenryūji Temple was in Arashiyama 嵐山 to the west of the city and therefore its ritual was performed at the Katsura River while the others were located nearer to the Kamo River. But with dozens of smaller streams and branches of both rivers closer to each temple, it seems that staging the rituals along the main channels was important for more than convenience.

Water, especially the current of the Kamo River, played a critical role in spiritual practices written down beginning in the eighth century but probably in oral tradition even earlier.

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[82] HZNR, Kanshō 2 (1461). 4.20. The *inkin* is mentioned to report that it broke during the ritual.
[83] Ikeda Takeaki 池田丈明, "Muromachi shōgun to gozan no segaki - Meitoku san nen shigatsu jūnichi no segaki o chūshin ni 室町将軍と五山の施餓鬼：明徳三年四月十二日の施餓鬼を中心に," *Nenpō chūseishi kenkyū* 年報中世史研究 38 (2013): 149.
[84] HZNR, Kanshō 2 (1461). 3.29, 4.10, 4.12, 4.17, 4.20, 4.22.

The Kamigamo Shrine, established in the late seventh century north of what would become Kyoto, uses a small branch of the Kamo for purifying workers and visitors to the shrine. Upon reaching the precincts, visitors cleanse their mouths and hands with water. A narrow path then leads them across small bridges over the stream at three places along the approach to the main buildings. This process ensures that visitors carry no pollution that could offend the deities.[85] It is unclear when this tradition started, but the earliest legends of the Kamo Shrines recorded in the eighth-century Yamashiro Gazetteer feature bathing in a branch of the Kamo River.[86]

Ritual bathing in a river also dates to at least the eighth century when the first official chronicle, the *Kojiki* 古事記, was written. In it, one of the two deities responsible for creating the islands of Japan abandoned his clothing and rinsed his body to cleanse it after visiting the underworld.[87] This tradition of using river water to purify the self of physical and spiritual pollutants has echoes in the disposal of bodies and *segaki* that took place in 1461 at Kyoto's two main rivers. The Kamo River, perhaps because it was the more central of the two, flowing through Kyoto's most populated area, was the primary site for not only the accumulation of corpses but also activities intended to purify the city: its moving water carried dead bodies off to the ocean and dangerous spirits away from the living.

Conclusion

This chapter has looked closely at the famine of 1459-61, the factors that drove refugees into Kyoto, and the ways the city's rivers were employed in managing both the physical and spiritual effects of the famine. The banks and bridges of the Kamo River played a particularly critical role in the collecting, memorializing, and prayers for the reincarnation of famine victims.

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[85] See John Nelson, *Enduring Identities: The Guise of Shinto in Contemporary Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 69-73 for a discussion of the role of water as a purifier in *kami* worship.
[86] Takeda Yūkichi 武田祐吉, ed., *Fudoki* 風土記 (Tokyo: Iwanami Bunko, 1937).
[87] "Kojiki" 古事記, in *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 日本古典文学大系, v.1, Iwanami Shoten, 1957, p. 68-71.

Starving humans and hungry ghosts populated the Kamo waterway during the winter and spring of 1461. Within the spiritual landscape of Kyoto, the river became a necessary pressure valve, carrying both physical and spiritual pollution away from the city's centre. It is unclear how many of the bakufu-sponsored *segaki* were performed at the Kamo River. At least one other, in Ōei 応永 29 (1422), another famine year, took place at the riverside near Gojō.[88] Both the Ōei and Kanshō famines were extreme in the damage they inflicted on human life and on the social fabric of central Japan. Employing the Kamo, in the heart of the city, as the setting for these rites reinforced the goal of the particular *segaki* performed there – to cleanse the city and pacify the spirits of the many who died publicly in the streets and along the riverbanks

[88] KMNK, Ōei 応永 29 (1422) 9.7. Other *segaki* records tend to omit the location. For example, in Ōei 30 (1423) 7.14, monks from Rokuon'in performed *segaki* but no location the Sadafusa does not record where this took place. In some instances, *segaki* took place at the temple precincts. For instance, monks performed *segaki* at Shōkokuji Temple's *sanmon* 山門 or main gate in 1607. DNS 12:4, Keichō 慶長 12 (1607).9.28 (p. 146).

Chapter 6
Conclusion

In this study, I have focused on the Kamo River as a thread that ties together various parts of medieval Kyoto. The various activities involved in living and dying left documents, paintings, and physical trances in the earth that hint at how the Kamo River was imagined and experienced during these centuries and into the present. The conflicts over land and irrigation showed the ways commoners and aristocrats alike relied on the Kamo's waters for life, food, and recreation. The documents left behind from these conflicts reveal the ways the river divided old from new, urban from rural, and inner from outer. At the same time the movement of deities and pilgrims connected the sacred and secular sites on either side of the river. And lying behind its generally benign, daily presence, the constantly flowing waters washed away the city's pollution.

Two consistent themes that recur in these chapters are permeable boundaries and movement. Kyoto had no stable shape during its millennium as imperial capital. It contracted and expanded in directions its founders did not plan for. The river, constantly flowing, constantly reshaping itself and the land, interfering with human plans, was a steady presence in the urban landscape, even as the people of Kyoto reorganized their spatial conceptualisation of the city.

Of the topics covered in this study, important questions remain regarding the rituals that took place alongside and across the Kamo. Foremost among these topics are an in depth exploration of the Gion Festival, as discussed in chapter 4, the ritual use of the Kamo River during imperial investment ceremonies, and the Jōwa 貞和 5 (1349) *dengaku* 田楽 (a frenetic,

spiritual dance) disaster.[1] In particular, future avenues of investigation might focus on what brought these activities to the Kamo riverside in particular instead of one of the many other streams and open spaces that could have been used.

According to historian Amino Yoshihiko, the medieval group of people collectively called *hinin* 非人, "not people," included shrine workers, such as Kiyomizu Temple's *inujinin* mentioned in chapter 4, and those tasked with removing corpses from the streets. It also included performers. Some of these people clustered around the Kamo River and were critical to the development of Noh and kabuki theatre in the medieval and early modern periods.[2] This was beyond the scope of this study, which focuses on the physical environment and its relationship to the people, culture, and imagination of the city. However, *hinin* and those who lived and farmed illegally along the Kamo's embankments also shaped the construction of the Kamo River.

Other topics that shaped the river on a physical level are fishing and cloth dying. Fishing clearly occurred on the Kamo, as evidenced by the fishermen included in the Screens of Scenes in and around Kyoto from the sixteenth century. *Ayu* 鮎, fresh-water sweetfish, were a particular favourite in tax and rent receipts. In the present-day, *ayu* swim the Kamo, but it is unclear what kinds of fish were drawn from the Kamo, or how frequently, whether fishing was an industry or a side-activity.

Cloth dying is associated with the Kamo River during the early modern period, but again it is unclear how far back in time this began. As of right now, I have not been able to research how much of the cloth production process occurred in early modern Kyoto, much less how much took

[1] The stage on which people dance collapsed, killing many of the participants. Moromoriki 師守記 Jōwa 貞和 5 (1349) 6.11

[2] Amino Yoshihiko 網野義彦, *Chūsei no hinin to yūjo* 中世の非人と遊女 (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2005).

place in medieval Kyoto. Whether it moved there following the seventeenth-century growth or was a traditional urban industry would tell its own story about the history of agriculture, craft, clothing, and the environment. Dying cloth requires copious amounts of fresh, clean water to rinse fibres in order to achieve a consistent colour. Though the Kamo River was likely heavily polluted downstream from trash, waste, and agricultural runoff, the many side streams and the upstream areas would have been useful. Flowing water is also an important part of processing flax for linen and nettle for ramie, both important fibres in making clothes. Fibres dyed in Kyoto may have been processed in the provinces and shipped to Kyoto for finishing.

Small, and yet the physical, culturally, and administrative shaping of the Kamo River helped to shape the landscape, culture, and religious life of Kyoto. In the early twentieth century, T.S. Eliot likened the American rivers in his memory to "a strong brown god…almost forgotten by the dwellers in cities – ever, however, implacable." The Kamo River frequently still reminds Kyoto's inhabitants that, though centuries of engineers have tried, it is still "sullen, untamed and intractable" whenever it rains too hard or for too long. As recently as 2020, this small river turned into a torrent of brown, silty water that reached the edges of the first of the two concrete embankments.

> *Keeping his seasons and rages, destroyer, reminder*
> *Of what men choose to forget. Unhonoured, unpropitiated*
> *By worshippers of the machine, but waiting, watching and waiting.*[3]

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[3] T.S. Eliot, "The Dry Savages," in *Collected Poems 1909-1962* (London: Faber & Faber, 1974), 205.

Appendices

Appendix 1

Table 1 Eastern Kyoto Flood Records, 900-1600

Year	Year	month	day	volume	pages	Kamo River indicated
寛平１年	889	6-7		DNS 1:1	201-202	
寛平７年	895	7	9	DNS 1:2	239	
寛平８年	896	5	9	DNS 1:2	329	
延喜１	901	6		DNS 1:4	331-332	
延喜９年	909	5	16	DNS 1:4	50	
延喜９年	909	9	9	DNS 1:4	173	
延喜１４年	914	6	15	DNS 1:14	615	
延喜１８年	918	8	15-17	DNS 1:5	8-9	
延長２年	924	5	7	DNS 1:5	591	yes
延長７年	929	7	26	DNS 1:6	189	yes
延長７年	929	8	10-15	DNS 1:6	195-196	yes
天慶１年	938	5	26	DNS 1:7	215	
天慶１年	938	6	20	DNS 1:7	221-222	yes
天慶１年	938	8	27	DNS 1:7	259	
天慶２年	939	4	14	DNS 1:7	442-443	yes
天暦３年	949	8	1	DNS 1:9	390	
天徳３年	959	5	16	DNS 1:10	551	
応和２年	962	5	29	DNS 1:11	104	yes
康保３年	966	L8	19	DNS 1:11	729-730	
康保３年	966	9	3	DNS 1:11	733	
康保３年	966	9	9	DNS 1:11	733	
天元３年	980	7	9	DNS 1:18	5-6	
永祚１年	989	8	13	DNS 2:1	465	yes
正暦１年	990	8	28	DNS 2:1	640	
正暦３年	992	5	26	DNS 2:1	873	
正暦３年	992	6	1	DNS 2:1	875	
長徳２年	996	L7	10	DNS 2:2	803	yes
長徳４年	998	9	12	DNS 2:3	189	yes

長保２年	1000	8	16	DNS 2:3	838	yes
長保５年	1003	5	19	DNS 2:4	849	
寛弘７年	1010	7	6	DNS 2:6	670	
寛仁１年	1017	7	1	DNS 2:12	1-2	yes
治安２年	1022	4	18	DNS 2:18	64	
万寿１年	1024	5	28	DNS 2:20	229	yes
長元１年	1028	9	2	DNS 2:27	269-270	yes
長元１年	1028	8	9	Shiryō sōran 2:902	87	
長元２年	1029	4	21	Shiryō sōran 2:902	48	yes
長元４年	1031	9	26	Shiryō sōran 2:902	70	
長久１年	1040	5	27	Shiryō sōran 2:902	129	yes
永承１年	1046	5	27	Shiryō sōran 2:902	152	
康平２年	1059	5	2	Shiryō sōran 2:902	194	
承暦２年	1078	5	5	Shiryō sōran 2:902	274	yes
承暦４年	1080	6	19	Shiryō sōran 2:902	284	
寛治７年	1093	8	18	DNS 3:2	978	
承徳１年	1097	8	5	DNS 3:4	837-838	
承徳２年	1098	6	2	DNS 3:5	90	yes
長治２年	1105	5	14	DNS 3:8	133-134	yes
長承３年	1134	5	17	Shiryō sōran 3:903	130	yes
永治１年	1141	8	20	Shiryō sōran 3:903	179	
康治１年	1142	6	1-2	Shiryō sōran 3:903	185	
康治１年	1142	9	1	Shiryō sōran 3:903	187	
康治２年	1143	5	5	Shiryō sōran 3:903	195	yes
久安１年	1145	6	2	Shiryō sōran 3:903	217	
仁平１年	1151	7	8	Shiryō sōran 3:903	289	
仁平３年	1153	5	25	Shiryō sōran 3:903	317	
久寿１年	1154	8	3	Shiryō sōran 3:903	334	yes
嘉応２年	1170	6	1	Shiryō sōran 3:903	497	yes
承安２年	1172	5	20	Shiryō sōran 3:903	514	yes
承安３年	1173	5	9	Shiryō sōran 3:903	525	yes
治承１年	1177	7	5-13	Shiryō sōran 3:903	579	
建久３年	1192	8	28	DNS 4:4	158-159	yes
建保４年	1216	8	28	DNS 4:14	154-155	
承久２年	1220	8	5	DNS 4:15	599	
安貞１年	1227	4	28	DNS 5:3	811	
安貞２年	1228	7	20	DNS 5:4	631	yes
寛喜２年	1230	5	21	DNS 5:5	728-729	yes
寛喜３年	1231	6	4	DNS 5:6	629-630	yes

貞永１年	1232	6	18	DNS 5:7	960-970	yes
嘉禎１年	1235	10	18	DNS 5:10	299	
嘉禎２年	1236	2	10	DNS 5:10	587	
暦仁１年	1238	6	25	DNS 5:11	903	
仁治３年	1242	6	3	DNS 5:14	386-387	
寛元３年	1245	7	15	DNS 5:19	55-56	
正嘉１年	1257	5	6-9	Shiryō sōran 5:905	18	
弘長１年	1261	7	19	Shiryō sōran 5:905	61	
文永４年	1267	5	29	Shiryō sōran 5:905	135	
弘安６年	1283	7	18	Shiryō sōran 5:905	280	
弘安７年	1284	L4	17	Shiryō sōran 5:905	290	
弘安１０年	1287	5	10-11	Shiryō sōran 5:905	324	yes
永仁３年	1295	5	14-18	Shiryō sōran 5:905	418	yes
正和１年	1312	5	23	Shiryō sōran 5:905	592	yes
正和２年	1313	6	2	Shiryō sōran 5:905	597	
正中１年	1324	7	16	Shiryō sōran 5:905	710	
正中２年	1325	6	26	Shiryō sōran 5:905	722	
貞和１年	1345	7	29	DNS 6:9	165-166	
貞和３年	1347	4	28	DNS 6:10	632-633	
貞和３年	1347	5	21	DNS 6:10	651-652	
康暦１年	1379	5	7	Gogumaiki	17	yes
応永１２年	1405	6	9	DNS 7:7	321-322	yes
応永２６年	1419	8	1	Shiryō sōran 7:907	453	yes
応永２８年	1421	7	19	Shiryō sōran 7:907	471	
応永３０年	1423	8	10	Shiryō sōran 7:907	494	
応永３０年	1423	6	8	Shiryō sōran 7:907	494	
応永３２年	1425	6	23	Shiryō sōran 7:907	517	
応永３２年	1425	7	7-9	Shiryō sōran 7:907	517	
応永３２年	1425	7	26	Shiryō sōran 7:907	517	
応永３２年	1425	8	2	Shiryō sōran 7:907	517	
応永３４年	1425	5	21	Shiryō sōran 7:907	537	yes
永享３年	1431	5	29	Shiryō sōran 7:907	588	
永享８年	1436	7	4-8	Shiryō sōran 7:907	622	yes
永享１１年	1439	8	13	Shiryō sōran 7:907	693	
永享１２年	1440	8	24	Shiryō sōran 7:907	703	
嘉吉１年	1441	5	20-21	Shiryō sōran 7:907	711	yes
嘉吉１年	1441	9	6	Shiryō sōran 7:907	719	
嘉吉２年	1442	5	17	Shiryō sōran 7:907	726	
嘉吉３年	1443	3	10	Shiryō sōran 7:907	733	

嘉吉３年	1443	9	6	Shiryō sōran 7:907	738	
文安１年	1444	6	10	Kennnaiki	139	yes
文安５年	1448	7	19	Shiryō sōran 7:907	777	yes
長禄３年	1459	9	10-12	Shiryō sōran 7:908	96-98	yes
寛正１年	1460	6	13-15	Shiryō sōran 7:908	107	
寛正４年	1463	4	4	Shiryō sōran 7:908	153	yes
寛正５年	1464	8	10-11	Shiryō sōran 7:908	173	
寛正５年	1464	5	16	Inryōken nichiroku	470	
寛正６年	1465	6	11	Inryōken nichiroku	541	yes
応仁２年	1468	7	20	DNS 8:1	1005-1006	
文明１８年	1486	5	6	DNS 8:18	391-392	yes
長享１年	1487	6	21-27	DNS 8:20	335-336, IRKNR 1022	
文明１９年	1487	7	23	Inryōken nichiroku	1048	
長享３年	1489	6	15	Inryōken nichiroku	1521	yes
明応１年	1492	5	29	Shiryō sōran 8:908	684	
明応７年	1498	7	14-15	Shiryō sōran 8:909	66	
明応８年	1499	5	22	Shiryō sōran 8:909	79	
大永４年	1524	5	13-17	Shiryō sōran 9:909	456	yes
享禄３年	1530	6	11	Shiryō sōran 9:909	605	
天文８年	1539	8	15-17	Shiryō sōran 9:910	65	
天文８年	1539	6	7	Shiryō sōran 9:910	65	
天文９年	1540	5	14	Shiryō sōran 9:910	87	
永禄７年	1564	7	2	Shiryō sōran 9:910	594	
天正９年	1581	5	19-20	Shiryō sōran 10:911	294	yes
文禄２年	1593	5	26-27	Shiryō sōran 11:913	21	
文禄４年	1594	6	7	Shiryō sōran 11:913	89	
慶長３年	1598	3	26	Shiryō sōran 11:913	150	
慶長４年	1599	5	24	Shiryō sōran 11:913	197	

Appendix 2

Table 2 Weather Records, Summer, 1443, 1460

Kennaiki 建内記			Hekizan Nichiroku 碧山日録		
Bun'an 文安 1 (1443) 5th month			Kansho 寛正 1 (1460) 5th month		
1	sunny/rainy	1	1	na	
2	rain	1	2	na	
3	rainy/sunny	1	3	na	
4	rain	1	4	na	
5	cloudy		5	rain	1
6	sunny		6	na	
7	rain	1	7	na	
8	sunny		8	rain	1
9	wind and rain	1	9	heavy rain	1
10	cloudy/rain	1	10	rain	1
11	rain	1	11	cloudy	
12	sunny		12	na	
13	sunny		13	rain	1
14	sunny		14	na	
15	sunny		15	na	
16	rain	1	16	cloudy	
17	evening shower	1	17	na	
18	sunny		18	na	
19	heavy rain	1	19	na	
20	rain	1	20	rain	1
21	sunny		21	na	
22	sunny/rainy	1	22	na	
23	na		23	na	
24	rain	1	24	na	
25	rain	1	25	na	
26	rain	1	26	na	
27	rain	1	27	na	
28	rain	1	28	na	
29	sunny		29	na	
Days of precipitation		18			6
6th month			6th month		
1	sunny		1	na	
2	sunny		2	na	

3	sunny		3	cloudy	
4	sunny		4	na	
5	sunny		5	na	
6	na		6	rain	1
7	rain	1	7	sunny	
8	na		8	rain	1
9	rain	1	9	na	
10	rain	1	10	na	
11	rain	1	11	na	
12	na		12	na	
13	na		13	heavy rain	1
14	sunny		14	rain	1
15	rain	1	15	rain	1
16	sunny		16	rain	1
17	sunny		17	sunny	
18	na		18	na	
19	rain	1	19	na	
20	na		20	na	
21	sunny		21	na	
22	na		22	na	
23	na		23	rain	1
24	na		24	rain	1
25	na		25	na	
26	na		26	na	
27	na		27	na	
28	na		28	na	
29	na		29	na	
Days of precipitation		6			8

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