A Historical Analysis Of Consumer Culture In Japan
Momoyama-Genroku (1573-1703)

A THESIS

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By

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June 1996

I certify that I have read this thesis and in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and reality, as a thesis for the degree of Master Business Administration.

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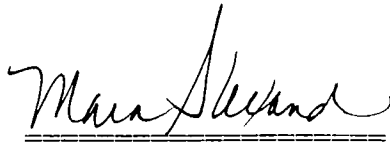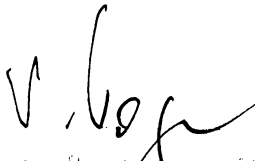
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ABSTRACT

A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF CONSUMER CULTURE IN JAPAN

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Development of consumer culture between Momoyama and Genroku (1573-1703) in the Japanese history is discussed. During this period, there is a rising merchant class, urbanization, eroticism, increase in leisure activities, overconsumption of some goods and a great interest in clothes, fashion and luxury. Art objects are luxury goods which accompany the development of the hedonistic side of the consumer culture. Development of consumer culture is traced in the nature and content of the art works produced and consumed in the Genroku Japan (Early Edo). As the consumption of clothes and other good widespread, so did consumption of massproduced wood-block prints. Hence, it is shown that consumer culture did not originate solely in the West.

Keywords: Consumption, Consumer Culture, Art Consumption, Japan, Momoyama, Tokugawa, Genroku, Edo, Luxury, Urbanization, Merchant Class, Historical Method, Japanese Painting, Leisure, Fashion.

ÖZET

JAPONYA'DAKİ TÜKETİM KÜLTÜRÜNÜN TARİHSEL BİR İNCELEMESİ

MOMOYAMA-GENROKU (1573-1703)

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BİLKENT ÜNİVERSİTESİ
MBA

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Japon tarihindeki Momoyama ve Genroku (1573-1703) dönemleri arasında bir tüketici kültürünün gelişmesi tartışılmıştır. Bu süre içerisinde fazlalaşan tüccar sınıfı, kentleşme, erotizm, boş zamanı değerlendirme etkinliklerinde fazlalaşma, bazı ürünlerin aşırı tüketimi, giysilere, modaya ve lükse fazla bir ilgi vardı. Sanat eserleri lükstür ve tüketici kültürünün hedonistik tarafının gelişmesine eşlik ederler. Tüketici kültürünün gelişmesi üretildiği ve tüketildiği Genroku Japonya'sında, doğasına ve içeriğine bakılarak izlenmiştir. Giysilerin ve diğer ürünlerin tüketimi fazlalaşınca, toptan üretilen, ucuz sanat eserleri olan ağaç baskılarının tüketimi de artmıştır. Böylelikle, tüketici kültürünün sadece Batı'da başlamadığı gösterilmiştir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Tüketim, Tüketici Kültürü, Sanat Tüketimi, Japonya, Momoyama, Tokugawa, Genroku, Edo, Lüks, Kentleşme, Tüccar Sınıfı, Tarihsel Yöntem, Japon Resmi, Moda.

Sevgili Anne ve Babama,
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION

"In the modern world the production of consumption becomes more important than the consumption of production." John Lukács (Campbell, 1987, p. 36).

Today, as a consequence of the globalization, trends and expectations seem quite alike throughout the world. Everybody drinks Coke, listens to Madonna, and watches MTV. Thus, there is strong belief that a global culture emerged, and cultural distinctions or local expectations no longer would be the nightmare of marketing people. However, each society has core values and practices which have high persistence, they are the secondary cultural values which undergo shifts through time (Kotler, 1994; Solomon, 1994). The set of core values and practices originate from the very history of a culture, and has distinct characteristics on its own. Globalization may not mean homogenization of societies in different parts of the world. It may not involve a process where all societies imitate and adopt the ways of the Western world. And, globalization may not mean that marketers can use standard strategies in every country they go to.

It is generally thought that consumer culture is now spreading globally (Ger, 1995; Solomon, 1994). This spread is thought to involve worldwide adoption of Western patterns of consumption, a Western consumer culture, and its consumption ethic. The Industrial Revolution in the capitalist West is accepted as the origin of consumer culture. However, there is emerging evidence that the East practiced the material culture and commodity economics without capitalism (Ger, 1995). "Consumer culture is not reserved for the affluent world: in its multiple unique forms, it is prevalent and salient in the less affluent world. It is critical that we do not fall into the trap of Western chauvinism that what happened in the West will happen elsewhere" (Ger, 1995, p.8). Clunas (1991) argues that China during the late Ming dynasty (1550-1650) manifests similar aspects to

the Western practices in terms of rising merchant class and deployment of luxury consumption. Ger and Belk (1995) states that in the late Ming dynasty, consumption and luxury consumption including art collecting practiced by the society. Therefore, it is understood that consumer culture was not only developed in the West. In addition, one more question arises: Are there some more historical consumer cultures in the East? Prior to this question, the meaning of a consumer culture should be analyzed.

Consumption is constructed upon social, psychological and cultural processes in addition to economic aspects. As a result, the sense of identity is maintained through the possession of goods (Bocock, 1993). There are two patterns hedonistic or utilitarian which determine the evolution of a *consumer culture.* Douglas and Isherwood (1979) discuss that there is a system of goods as a symbolic language to receive and transmit messages about not only the individuals, but also the societies as well. People buy goods for mainly three purposes: material welfare, psychic welfare and display. Display is the consumption of the unneeded products which are named luxury materials. Therefore, the types of possessions and their contemporary meanings can be associated with the consumption patterns. Further, Campbell (1987) brings emotional satisfaction and *romantic* ideals which constitute antidote to the rational and material world as another dimension for consumption and states "... not only the productionist bias in both history and social science, but accompanying assumption that modern cultural development is best characterized by ever-increasing rationality... If it is accepted that parallel cultural processes occurred in relation to both the development of modern production and modern consumption, what is the precise connection between these two sides of equation?" (p. 13). All three claims mention that the idea behind consumption is to give meaning to the images (Ger, 1995). Thus, when those images associated with possessions, the good is consumed. Therefore, goods which are consumed for pleasure or display carry so many meanings to understand a culture.

Art object are special types of luxury goods which point out the hedonistic patterns in a culture. By tracing content, patronage and evolution of art objects, one can learn a lot about the cultures in which they are produced and consumed. Hence, development of consumer culture can be traced in the nature of art. Therefore, art consumption appears as a key expression of what is called consumer culture when it becomes a mass phenomenon (Ger, and Belk, 1995).

This thesis primarily aims to search for the traces of a consumer culture in the Japanese history. In addition, if there was a consumer culture in Japan, when did it happen? Further, the types and the manner of luxury consumption through art collecting, art market, art patronage, obviously are critical to understand the development of consumer culture.

The methodology was deployed is discussed in the Chapter 2. Chapter 3 contains the findings and results of the literature survey. It starts with the general history in terms of socioeconomic and cultural development by analyzing the commercialization, urbanization, social classes, fashion, leisure and their relation with the contemporary consumption. Additionally, the history of art through illustrations is studied in the second part of Chapter 3. The specimen illustrations are shown in the Appendix.

II. METHODOLOGY

Historical method is used n this research. History enables us to analyze particular episodes in terms of social, cultural, political, and economic with empirical evidences (Smith and Lux, 1995). As Bedolla (1992) says historical method is not only appropriate for questions in the past, but it also tries to gather the data about what was happening and about the manner of the reality that was constructed at that time. The techniques of the historical method are flexible and open because their aim is to learn how past intentions were related to things and events due to their meaning and value. Therefore, historical method is similar to the techniques of qualitative researchers or anthropologists who conduct a cultural research (Bedolla, 1992).

In this research, as was suggested by Bedolla (1992), the first step was *investigation* where I selected the data resources that I would be involved with. Consequently, I decided to start with learning the general history of Japan and as of being the easiest way to learn it, I looked up several encyclopedia to have a general insight. Learning that Japanese people had similar evolution as were practiced in Western societies such as feudalism, empires, interior wars, I started to read the historical books. Additionally, to have a general idea about the language which I regarded as another catalyst to understand this very remote culture, I attended to some Japanese classes for a few hours.

After an intensive literature survey on the history of Japan, I gathered the data under certain topics such as urbanization, rulers, social classes, rise of merchant class, commercialization, western influences, romanticism, leisure, entertainment, fashion, luxury and consumption. This followed the *interpretation* part. Related to the time frame of the end of the feudalism, the castes in the society, how and when the merchant class had risen, bourgeoisie and the noble class interaction, how the rulers changed from

nobles to the commoners and what were the consequences of these in the contemporary age, I tried to interrelate the data with the changing consumption patterns. Beginning from the early ages, I compared the life styles, social structure, economic life and consumption habits. Yet, I was able to achieve enough evidence about when and how a consumer culture emerged in the Japanese history. This comparison also carried me to another comparison between the Western practice and manifestations. I also paralleled some of the similarities and contradictions between the Western and the Japanese practices of consumer cultures.

Until the end of survey and interpretation of the general history, I never looked at the history of art not to bias myself. This way, I tried to construct a double-check mechanism to see whether I would be able to use the historical knowledge while tracing the evolution of art content and art materials. Hence, I restarted to scan the literature, but for the art history part that time. At this phase, I primarily focused on the evolution of the art in terms its of schools, content, patronage and the time period for all of the data to see what kind of changes had happened and how they had matched with the consumption patterns.

Furthermore, I examined and selected some of the paintings. Originally the art content, art patronage, the schools of art were analyzed separately. However, I observed that they were more meaningful as a whole rather than in parts, that is why I associated schools of art and society under one section and patrons and the art content in another section. However, it was quite difficult to isolate the art work and the art content from the art patronage and the other socioeconomic influential. Last but not least, I became aware of the importance of the Japanese general history while interpreting the art material. Because I was able to interrelate the contemporary economic and social events with the art easily. This way, I was able to double-check the outcomes when I saw that the corresponding changes in the art and the contemporary life.

During the *judgment*, I connected the art objects i.e. paintings to the contemporary art and social events. Associating the data, I concluded that the end of the feudal society, urbanization, the emergence of de facto shoguns from commoners instead of nobility, extravagant life of the nobility and shogunate, and as a result of the growing trade, rising merchant class who started to imitate the ostentatious life of the upper class, Momoyama Period (1573-1603) can be regarded as the starting point of the consumption culture. On the other hand, Edo (1603-1867) until the end of Genroku (1688-1703), witnessed more liberal trade, widespread leisure activities, social mobility, changing social norms and luxury consumption. Therefore, I regarded the Genroku era as the final point for the emergence of consumer culture.

As a last remark, I was aware of the fact that the data that I have gathered so far were archival at the end, that is why I tried to keep away from the clear-cut conclusions about the subject matter. Nevertheless, this is not the fault of the analyst, but a part of the methodology itself.

III. HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

III.A. General History

    Occupying islands on the most eastern part of Asia, the Japanese people have lived a relatively long and continuous historical development. In figure 1, tomb printings of Yamato[1] people is illustrated. This has contrasted in many essential points with the other East Asian history that is dominated by China. A distinct ethnic and cultural foundation established by long periods of isolation from the Asian continent, have given Japanese history an identity of its own. This distinction has also provided the energy of the Japanese people to construct their political and social institutions into a dynamism that led to the present age of rapid modernization.

    A brief chronological history of Japan is as follows (Duus, 1976; Cortazzi, 1990; Frédéric, 1971; Paine and Soper, 1987; Reischauer, 1990; Sansom, 1963; Sansom, 1987):

Jōmon Period	7000-300 B.C.	
Yayoi	300 - 300 A.D.	(Bronze Age)
Yamato	300 - 592	(Introduction of Buddhism)
Asuka	592 - 710	(The beginnings of Imperial Japan)
Nara[2]	710 - 794	
Heian[3]	794 - 1192	(Rise of military aristocracy)
Fujiwara[4]	858 - 1160	
Taira[5]	1160 -1185	
Kamakura[6]	1192 - 1333	(Rise of shogun feudalism)

[1] Yamato people, real conquerors, legendary unifiers of the nation
[2] City as the capital, ancient name of Heijo
[3] Ancient name of Kyoto
[4] A city name
[5] Name of a noble birth family
[6] Other capital city than Kyoto

Nambokuchō	1334 - 1392	(Introduction of Christianity)
Ashikaga[7]	1338 - 1573	
Muromachi	1392 - 1573	(Unification of courts - South and North)
Sengoku	1467 - 1600	(Rise of Merchant Class)
Momoyama[8]	1573 - 1603	
Edo (Yedo)[9]	1603 - 1867	
Genroku[10]	1688 - 1703	
Meiji	1868 - 1912	
Taisho	1912 - 1926	
Showa	1926 -	

III.A.I. Momoyama

"*The unique characteristics of the Momoyama culture were, its incomparable grand scale; its luxury if not extravagance; and the presence of an overtly exotic element in Japan*" (Elison and Smith 1987, p. 59).

The historians give much importance to the birth of Nobunaga in the Sengoku period who was going to be the starter of Momoyama Japan (Sansom, 1987). This was only eight years before the arrival of Portuguese traders and Jesuit missionaries to Japan that is regarded as the beginning of a major era in Japanese history, so-called 'Christian century' where the presence of Europeans in Japan and the spread of Christianity added a significant impact to the hundred years after 1543 (Frédéric, 1971; Ienaga, 1979; Paine and Soper, 1987; Reischauer, 1990; Sansom, 1963). However, in that sense, the trade and religion should not be separated from the missionaries from Portuguese and later Spanish trading vessels started to enter Japanese harbours (fig. 2). The daimyo[11] of Kyushu

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[7]Name of a noble family
[8]Peach Hill (Name of the residence of the current ruler-shōgun)
[9]Ancient name of Tokyo
[10]Extravagance (?)
[11]Feudal lord

competed with each another to attract European trade to the Japanese ports. Trade in Chinese silks, spices, gold, silver, and exotic European products such as velvet and clocks (Frédéric, 1971; Sansom, 1963) were started to be sold at Kagoshima, Hirado and after 1571 at Nagasaki. The Jesuit fathers, given a regular share of the Portuguese cargos, favored the daimyo by their gifts and capitalized on their influence over the foreign traders (Frédéric, 1971; Ienaga, 1979).

The succeeding *de facto* shogun, Hideyoshi, had reestablished the whole nation by his regulations (Frédéric, 1971; Morris, 1981; Sansom, 1987). It is important to analyze the current social structure of this era since all of these new reforms had built up the following four hundred years of social structure.

Social Structure Changes Hideyoshi's new land regulation drew a rigid line through Japanese society that divided the farming from the nonfarming classes. Hideyoshi reduced the social mobility: before the new regulations, there was greater mobility across social classes, for example, a peasant could more easily become a merchant. Thus, the class system was constructed and ranked from highest to lowest level as *samurai, peasants, artisans* and *merchants* (Smith, 1988). As a matter of social system, no man could rise above the class in which he was born, for it was the purpose of the rulers by legislating against the change to found a self-perpetuating state. Moreover, non-merchant classes were not allowed to deal with trade. This complex social hierarchy required a strict etiquette in social relations (Sansom, 1987). Castle towns became the home of many ordinary, non-privileged artisans and merchants, and the territorial lords enforced a status system that separated the peasantry from the merchants and artisans by keeping these talented people under personal command (Osamu and Mc Clain, 1977).

In 1591, Hideyoshi issued strict orders that the peasants were to remain on their land. As a result of this, he established a rigid social system (Duus, 1976; Cortazzi, 1990; Frédéric, 1971; Reischauer, 1990; Sansom, 1963; Sansom, 1987). This system provided peace at the price of the almost total serfdom of the rural population under the

Tokugawa. This has also brought collective responsibility concept into the social system such that people who resisted the rules were punished by death penalty to all members of the peasant families. There could also be the total destruction of villages to demonstrate the insubordination (Frédéric, 1971). 'If a peasant abandons his fields in order to enter a trade or to become a shopkeeper or workman, he must be punished, and all the members of his village shall be prosecuted with him. All men not serving in the armed forces or cultivating the land must be questioned by the authorities and expelled from the community... In cases of dissimulation, where peasants have abandoned their land to engage in commerce, the entire village or town will be held responsible... No soldier who has left his commander without permission can enter the service of another commander. If this rule is broken and the soldier has gone free, three other men must be offered in compensation to the original commander' (In Frédéric, 1971, P.366, Kokushi Shiryō Shū III. Extract of order dated Tenshō 19, 8th month, 21st day).

In cities the situation was completely different. The craftsmen and the merchants led an easier life, due to the freedom of trade regulations of Hideyoshi (Cortazzi, 1990; Frédéric, 1971; Reischauer, 1990; Sansom, 1963; Sansom, 1987). They started to earn a lot of money from the yield of gold and silver mines, and the exports which created an increasing demand for the manufactured goods.

Hideyoshi Builds Momoyama When Hideyoshi built Ōsaka castle, he ordered various merchants and his nobles to build their homes near to that territory. Hideyoshi and his daimyo followers set a new style of cultural life for the high military aristocracy (Frédéric, 1971; Osamu and Mc Clain, 1977). Bushi[12] life was now increasingly confined to the castle and environs in the palaces that adjoined their castles that daimyo built with boldness and for display. Hideyoshi's residence at Momoyama has perpetuated its name through the gilded screens that typically adorned the walls or formed partitions in these residences where gold or silver leaf formed the background of these screens, on which

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[12]Samurai, warrior

were painted vividly colored and boldly executed designs of flowers, birds and fantastic animals (Frédéric, 1971; Paine and Soper, 1987). The city of Ōsaka developed more and more and replaced the place of Sakai as the center of trade (Frédéric, 1971; Cortazzi 1990; Reischauer, 1990). Hideyoshi who was in fact the son of a poor foot soldier, had gained so much wealth that became proverbial afterwards. He was even able to let himself the luxury -although a shrewd political move- of offering financial assistance to the impoverished imperial court in order to rebuild the emperor's palace. Upon the complete obedience of the court, he celebrated the emperors by a fete magnificently in his own palace, the Jurakudai. His palace was a superb residence decorated with the paintings by the fine artists of the period (Frédéric, 1971). The initial signs of extravagance can be easily traced in that period.

Unification of the Country Hideyoshi was primarily interested in mining, especially development of gold, copper and silver mines, and in 1585 he minted his own coins (tenshō) (Frédéric, 1971). Although the emperor became powerless, since he retained all the prestige as of being the symbol of the nation, Hideyoshi needed his presence in order to unify the country (Sansom, 1987). His most powerful rival, Ieyasu, was considered an ally. Hideyoshi had great ambitions like even to conquer not only Korea but also Ming China (Frédéric, 1971). The new opportunities for transportation developed under Hideyoshi therefore the growth of shipping capabilities was even more rapid than the growth of land transport, because water transport was suited for shipping large quantities of goods, shipping services on rivers also developed rapidly in inland regions for transporting goods from one region to another, thus aiding the growth of commerce (Osamu and Mc Clain, 1977). This is one of the results of the unification, this way Hideyoshi not only established the peace in the country, he also combined the resources and conveyed them into the improvement of the commercial life.

New Regulations for Trade Hideyoshi began implementing policies designed to break guild monopolies and to terminate domination of the trade by court nobles and

religious institutions (Osamu and Mc Clain, 1977; Smith, 1988). Hideyoshi Jiki for the ninth month of 1585 reads: "Dues levied by nobles, religious institutions, and common merchants are to be ended; and guilds are to be abolished", so it can be easily understood by this order that an end came to various taxes. Examples of these taxes were; "sekisen, levied on goods at 4 barrier check points, jobunsen, a kind of business tax that court nobles, bushi families, and certain powerful merchants had exacted from merchant and artisan organizations in return for protection or patronage" (Osamu and Mc Clain, 1977, p. 229). Hideyoshi tried to gain more control over commerce by registration of merchants and artisans which became a basis for levying corvee. In Azuchi, administration offered merchants and artisans special benefits, such as exemptions from corvee levies to make these persons to settle in castle town and therefore more complete control over artisans and merchants provided. This became a general trend and not only administration but the daimyo lords moved to do the same (Osamu and McClain, 1977). An important implementation of the time was the kokudaka system which was instituted by Toyotomi (Hideyoshi) administration. This sytem defined each locality as either urban settlement or village, and a fixed amount of tax (nengu) due from each village. By classifying certain communities with concentration of merchants and artisans as villages, and by holding these men responsible for the payment of nengu, the administration was able to promote the migration of talented people to cities where tax obligations were lighter (Ienaga, 1979; Osamu and Mc Clain, 1977; Sansom, 1987).

Newly rich As the foreign trade increased, ports developed and became richer. Sakai became the most important trading center for rice, and the firearms. The firearms in European models were manufactured upon the increasing demand of the newly rich merchants, perhaps because they wanted to update their older models into new and trendy ones (Frédéric, 1971). It was during this period (late sixteenth century) that some social changes became more significant and consumption of various foreign products were being practiced in Japan: The telescope, buttons for clothing, woolens and velvets,

12

playing cards, bread, various types of cake, soap, tobacco, potatoes, pumpkins (Frédéric, 1971; Osamu and Mc Clain, 1977).

More Liberal Trade and Regulations Ieyasu, who had the power after the death of Hideyoshi in 1598, on the contrary, did not intervene the conversion of the peasants (Frédéric, 1971). This enabled people to involve with trade more. He was more interested in the Christianity and Catholic agents and spies. He accused them to destroy Shintõ[13] beliefs and made many of the priests and priors departed the country (Smith, 1988; Frédéric, 1971). Ieyasu was rather worried about the trade with European countries. Despite that he encouraged foreign vessels to come to Japan to improve his navy. Lots of Japanese merchants established colonial trading offices and banks in Philippines, Cambodia, and Siam. Nevertheless, in 1605, Ieyasu invited the Dutch to trade with Japan in competition with the Portuguese. He needed foreign products such as cannon and technical experts to teach him on their use (Frédéric, 1971; Smith, 1988). The rapid growth of commerce was a product of the agricultural revolution and the quickening pace of the continuing process of the political unification (Osamu and Mc Clain, 1977). "Both Oda (Nobunaga) and Toyotomi (Hideyoshi) administration's objective of urban policies were to encourage the movement of artisans and merchants into their newly emerging castle towns" (Osamu and Mc Clain 1977, p. 233).

"The missionaries and merchants had brought in a few Western books, of which some of them were translated into Japanese and printed in roman typeface (rõmaji) using presses and movable metal type - a Korean invention of the beginning of the 15th century. The first European book to be translated was Aesop's Fables (Esopo Monogatari) in 1593. The most vital imports of Japan, however were the maps and marine charts. With these the Japanese finally became acquainted with their own geographical position in relation to the rest of the world, with the fundamentals of astronomy, and with the other scientific facts" (Frédéric 1971, p.373).

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[13]Confucian philosophy and the national creed

In the Momoyama period, as was mentioned before, the cosmopolitan aspect was caused by the presence of Portuguese traders and by the activity of Catholic missionaries. These merchants were drawn by Japan's abundance of silver and fueled the period's luxurious tastes by the importation of "all the famous products that there are in China and India". This may gives us some hints about the demand towards such import products. Furthermore, Momoyama period coincided with the presence of the "'Southern Barbarians" and the growth of Japanese Christianity and an ending for Momoyama was put when the international dimension was destroyed because of the social and ideological structures arose within Japan which could not tolerate free intercourse with foreign nations (Elison and Smith, 1987).

Furthermore, many contrasts can be detected in such areas as commercial organization, urban formation, and marketing structure which spot the transition between medieval to early modern society in 16th century Japan. As Osamu and Mc Clain (1977, p. 224) says,

. the more obvious changes were the replacement of trade monopolies (guilds) by direct
   daimyo control of trade through the regulation of merchants and artisans,

. the emergence of a country wide marketing system linking the central Kinai region
   merchants with the various domain traders,

. the shift in urbanization patterns from one of self-governing communities to one
   dominated by the castle towns from which military lords and their retainers directed
   the political and economic affairs of their territories.

Urban Life At Kyoto, life had become more comfortable than the previous times. The aristocrats lived calm, refined, somewhat old-fashioned existence. Some of the nobles and merchants, however wishing to prove that they were up-to-date, wore Portuguese style cloths and, typical of snobs of all epochs, included a few Dutch and Portuguese words in their daily conversation (Frédéric, 1971). All of the minor arts - lacquer, textiles, metals, decoration - of the Momoyama period were recognized as

excellence of craftsmanship. The warlords spent their accumulated wealth on displays of luxury that often adjoined by bad taste: Ōsaka castle had ceilings and pillars covered in gold; tableware was solid gold, fusuma (sliding screens) had gold-leaf backgrounds. (Frédéric, 1971; Paine and Soper, 1987; Sansom, 1987).

Entertainment Hideyoshi who continued the work of unifying Japan, was very famous for the splendour of his cherry-blossom viewing parties (Dunn, 1989).After Hideyoshi's death, such entertainments were restarted by the townsfolk, and a wave of enthusiasm for participation in this sort of gay ceremonial, like the Gion Festival spreaded through the cities (Dunn, 1989). In figures 34 and 35, some of these ceremonies are illustrated. In figure 36, an enthusiastic audience inside a puppet theater is shown. "Other new entertainments were developed: the furyu dances were among these and spread far and wide. There were great jollifications often connected with the Buddhist *bon* festival in the height of the summer, when the spirits of the dead come back to earth and are entertained with singing and dancing. In the furyu, disguises and fancy dress were assumed, and there was dancing in the streets" (Dunn, 1989, p. 6).

Fashion Women's fashions became much simpler in form so that movement was easier, but the materials were more elegant in pattern, especially for the wives of the merchants (Dunn, 1989). Figures 5 and 6 draw a different scene from figure 7 in terms of clothing and hair styles. In Figure 7, women wear more accessories and seem more fashionable. "The entertainments and festivies in Momoyama period caried on into 17th century, and became the ancestors of, among other things, the live popular drama" (Dunn, 1989, p. 8). By the Momoyama period, the groups of townsmen in Kyoto that participated in the festival were competing with their elagance of their displays much in the fashion that is familiar to us from the "paegants" which precede American championship football games (Malm, 1987, p. 180).

Bourgeois Culture While battles and destruction continued throughout the period, the general trend was towards the stability along with the creation of new elite, the

affluent merchant, who sought to acquire a cultural cachet in addition to their wealth and power. They released an explosion of popular culture. The old imperial court society was also present and they were holding on their ancient traditions. Japan gained its bourgeois culture at the cost of losing some of the flamboyance that spotted the Momoyama period of change (Elison and Smith, 1987). As Elison (1987, p. 56) says, "It would be intemperate to suggest that Momoyama Japan was populated exclusively by optimists or that Gyuichi's or joshin's exclamations of joy represent the sponteneous consensus of the age. Moreover, these statements emanate from material sense of relief. The Momoyama period meant a type of reneissance for Japan; it pointed a the departure from the perturbed state of the Middle ages".

The findings of this section may be summarized as :

. The reunification of Japan by three heroic and grandiose hegemons which were Nobunaga, Hideyoshi and Ieyasu who were originally commoners.

. Impoverished nobility.

. New social structure which reduced the social mobility.

. As a consequence of the new social structure, only the merchants were able to involve with the commercial or financial activities.

. Sudden affluence of the merchants.

. The development of mining technology and commercialization.

. The large expansion Japan's geographical horizon.

. The development of rich urban centers as a result of the high taxes in the rural area.

. More leisure activities in the urban life.

. Change in the consumption habits into more luxurious and ostentatious patterns practiced by the nobility and imitation of those habits by the newly affluent merchants.

III.A.II. Edo Until the End of Genroku

Under the domination of Tokugawa family which started in 1615, Japan underwent a number of significant changes. The most startling changes followed the trend in increased *urbanization* as a continuation of the Momoyama period (Cortazzi, 1990; Frédéric, 1971; Reischauer, 1990; Osamu and Mc Clain, 1977; Smith, 1988; Sansom, 1963; Sansom, 1987). The city of Edo grew to include perhaps to a million inhabitant by the beginning of the 18th century and nearly ten per cent of the Japanese people were engaged in an entirely urban way of life (Osamu and Mc Clain, 1977)."Edo, which in the eighteenth century reached a population approaching one million, was mainly a consumption center" (Mahler, 1983, p. 70). "Consequently, as growing centres of population, the castle towns were less important than, for instance, the expanded villages in the environs of Ōsaka ... It was a convenient place of residence for well-to-do and for workmen whom they employed in the cotton industry, which florished in that neighbourhood from about 1640" (Samson, 1963, p. 112).

In Genroku (1688-1703) the population of the leading cities, excluding the military, was as follows (Sansom, 1963):

City	Population	Date
Kyoto	400,000	1700+
Yedo	500,000	1700+
Ōsaka	350,000	1700+
Kanazawa	65,000	1697
Nagazaki	64,000	1696
Nagoya	63,000	1692

The cultural aspects of the Edo period reveal a transition from a militaristic civilization to one dominated by the merchantile class. Tokugawa legislation on the separation of the estates were not effective. The city merchants originated from three sources: merchants of the Sengoku period, peasants who dropped their farms, and

samurai who preferred financial power to social prestige. The commercial quarters of the new Japanese cities flourished as the samurai depended on merchants to convert their rice stipends to cash and to supply their special needs (Frédéric, 1971; Osamu and Mc Clain, 1977; Smith, 1988). Merchant families denied access to aristocratic society or influence in government, increased their wealth and developed their own social and cultural life. Thus, despite the content in which the samurai held the merchants something of an alliance of interest developed between the two classes (Frédéric, 1971; Osamu and Mc Clain, 1977).

The leading merchant families of Ōsaka and Edo founded the powerful dynasties of financiers whose influence *still* dominates the economic life of Japan which these merchants often earned enormous fortunes by profiting from various natural disasters like earthquakes and fires (Frédéric, 1971). "Here lies, for example, the genesis of the Mitsui fortune, when Hachirobei Takatoshi (1622-1694) established his shop, the Echigoya (direct ancestor of the Mitsukoshi Department Store), in Edo. Hachirobei's entrepreneurial talent is well reflected in occasional daring innovations, such as the institution in 1689 of a system of cash on demand, instead of credit, in return for which customers would have cloth cut to suit their requirements rather than having to buy it by bulk" (Mahler, 1983, p. 71). "The Mitsui family, which had founded its fortunes in Ise [city], added to its wealth by opening large and imposing drapery shops, such as the celebrated Echigoya, where they sold cotton goods in great variety at fixed prices for cash, a departure from the common practice of chaffering. They aimed at attracting customers in great numbers, they advertised freely, and they were ready to small quantities to poor purchasers. They were thus forerunners of the modern department store" (Samson, 1963, p. 115).

Consequently, Ōsaka and Edo became the two great economic centers of the country. "Yet the growth of population in a city [Yedo] without important industries is difficult to explain, though it is evident that it exercised a great attraction. No doubt most

young men in the eastern and northern provinces wanted to find work in the capital, and of thousands who streamed along the Tōkaidō (the eastern coast road) on errands from the merchant houses in the home provinces or as workmen in search of well-paid jobs, many must have decided to stay in Yedo" (Samson, 1963, p. 115). Transportation facilities (mostly coastal shipping) a unified currency, and privately developed exchange facilities and wholesaling organizations gave rise to a national market economy. Merchant 'princes' controlled the Ōsaka rice exchange and served as financial agents for the daimyo and became the *crème de la crème* of their classes. Before long, daimyo domains and individual samurai were deeply in debt to merchant financiers. Many daimyo tried the expedients of floating loans with paper currency or of making profitable monopolies out of local domain products (Frédéric, 1971; Sansom, 1963). "The seventeenth century, then, was a period of initiative and innovation. Surplus capital obtained from an enterprise was either reinvested in the same enterprise was either reinvested in the same enterprise, for example by seting up branches in the same city as did the Mitsui in Edo or in various parts of the country, or channelled into completely new ventures, such as textiles, sake brewing, the lumber industry, and so on" (Mahler, 1983, p. 71). "It was common for the Ōsaka merchants to say that Yedo people were like children, and did not understand how to use money. Certainly they were not given to saving. Yedo was a free-spending city, where shopkeepers could make handsome profits" (Sansom, 1963, p. 114-115). "... Ōsaka folk having a reputation as hearty-eaters - one proverb says that in Ōsaka bankruptcies were due to over-eating, in Kyoto they arose from over-dressing" (Dunn, 1989, p. 108).

As it is noted above the chief characteristics of the seventeenth century included innovation and diversification (Mahler, 1983; Mason, 1993). Significant surpluses continued to be accumulated but increasingly these were channelled almost exclusively into usury capital which were the loans to the daimyo and shogunate at very high interest rates. It became the easiest and generally the safest way of making money. "The rural

landowners and provincial merchants can be viewed as the rural wing of the bourgeoisie, and the city merchants could be best be termed the urban wing of the feudal order ... There are elements of comparison between the rise of seventeenth century Japanese entrepreneurs and their English counterparts. The latter however were not protected by a comparable policy of sakoku[14], but on the contrary were able to capitalise on England's growing foreign trade and all the ancillary industries it gave rise to. More significantly, English entrepreneurs were able to enjoy the benefits of judicial protection and identity" (Mahler, 1983, p. 74). Hence, while the Japanese merchants were happy about the money they earned and their distinct power to involve with the trade, they were also facing with problems because of their secluded situation in the society, since they were still regarded as the inferior caste. Additionally, as it was noted above, everyone, daimyo, shogunate (officials), samurai and peasant, was in debt to merchants. This can also be summarized as great hostility to the merchant class who were also regarded as the causes of immorality or economic imbalance in the society. "Compounded such elements, the Yedokko (the cockney, we might say) was apt to be a self-reliant, outspoken man, not easy to get on with ... [B]ecause the quiet existence of the ordinary man goes unrecorded, we ought not to suppose that the average citizen was an indefatigable pleasure-hunter" (Samson, 1963, p. 117).

To overcome this semi-disabled -they had money, but they were immobile- situation, the merchants tried to alter the situation in spite of the official prohibitions on the contrary by penetrating the bushi estate via marriage or adoption, or by giving birth to some influential scholars (Mahler, 1983). "For the Edo chōnin[15], it was a matter of ambition to place a daughter in a daimyo's household" (Mahler, 1983, p. 92). Most of these scholars did nothing to provide ideological justification for merchant entrepreneurship, on the contrary they brought their principles as *kikoku-senkin* -revere grain, despise money-. "An exception is made of *shingaku* -heart or mind learning-,

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[14]Seclusion
[15]Merchant

found by a scolar of merchant birth, Ishida Baigan (1685-1744). The anthropologist Robert Bellah (Tokugawa Religion: The Values of Pre-Industrial Japan, 1957) sees in *shingaku* the closest equivalent to the Weberian model of the Protestant ethic; although there are undoubtedly certain similarities, for example the emphasis on frugality and hard work, nevertheless implicit in the concept of the Protestant ethic is an outlook which is assertive, indeed defiant - elements totally lacking in *shingaku*. To the extent that shingaku may be said to correspond to a merchant ideology, it was primarily presented in a defensive manner, in fact it sought to exonerate merchants from evils commonly attributed to them and rather insisted on their perfect compatibility within the feudal order" (Mahler, 1983, p. 75).

Moreover, the capital remained within the enterprise in spite of the mobility between merchants and samurai. Here, we can trace the roots of keiretsu of today's Japan. The nature of the Japanese capitalism differed from the Western counterparts in that sense. Lastly, the revere gain, despise money remained as the ideology in spite of everything throughout the Edo era: Urban merchant money was evil, rural peasant produce was good (Mahler, 1983).

Interestingly, as is noted above, the samurai were changing their classes downto the chōnin because of their economic difficulties which were mainly resulted from their wishing to emulate their lords who are engaged in extravagance (Mahler, 1983). In fact, the 6 percent of the population were the samurai. However, such a desire to become affluent at the cost of their prestige confirms the findings of this paper on the social decadence and irresistable desires for the trendy luxurious life.

Changing Life Standards Improvements in the way of life of ordinary people and an increase in the amount of money they were able to afford to spend on consumer items stimulated craft production at Edo times. The buyers of the craft works are not limited only to ruling class as also wealthy townsmen purchase those items which were produced by artisans (Ienaga, 1979).

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In Edo, particularly which as far as power and importance were concerned had become the capital of Japan. Officially the capital was Kyoto where the emperor resided-the citizenry who were made up of peaceful merchants, quarrelsome samurai, and public officers had a far better living standard than those who remained in the country. They also enjoyed a certain degree of freedom, and although their taxes were heavy, they were not obliged to contribute their labour on public works, and they had *leisure time* (Frédéric, 1971).

At times of Edo period, "accumulation of wealth among merchants and impoverishment of the warriors had a relaxing effect on relations between two classes" (Ienaga, 1979, p. 127). "The ruling classes may not have approved of the burgeoning knowledge among the common people, but the it was impossible to stop the process that started" (Ienaga, 1979, p.141). This way, Japanese society became ready to start a new life, with different consumption habits, in a more extravagant way. "If the merchants resisted the temptations of extravagance, such was not necessarily the case among the bakufu[16] or the han[17]. As with political control, bakufu finances under the first three Tokugawa shogun were carefully administered. Under the fifth shogun Tsunayoshi, who presided over the brilliant *Genroku* era, all fiscal caution vanished. Conspicuous consumption and the construction of the palaces for prestige were indulged in by both shogunate and daimyo. Reliance on merchant administrative expertise and finance increased" (Mahler, 1983, p. 72).

During the Genroku era (1688-1703), the clothing of the upper and lower classes was colorful and gay, but though luxurious, the costumes of the townsmen were not convenient for labor (Ienaga, 1979). Most of the traders and craftsmen lived in the cities, or whatever district they worked. They paid regular visits to the local markets, either to sell their products or to buy raw materials, such as wood, iron, dyes, silk and leather. The development of a strong commodity economy and the elevation of the ordinary

[16]'Tent government', shogunate
[17]Daimyo (feudal lord) domain

townsman's social position were the basic trends of that period (Frédéric, 1971). The feudal society rested on the foundation of maximum agricultural production and the commodity economy tended not to act to its disadvantage but to the destruction of that foundation (Ienaga, 1979).

Leisure and Luxury "The artificiality and inconvenience of the Japanese costume reached a pinnacle in the clothing of leisure-class women, who wore long trailing garments and large cumbersome sashes tied in great bows at the back" (Ienaga, 1979, p. 149). As Ienaga suggests (1979), the women of the warrior class and the wealthy merchant class withhold opportunities for productive activity and freedom of action and restricted to the role of an outlet for the sexual appetites of the males, sacrified efficiency and adopted elaborate clothes and coiffures for the sake of preserving doll like femininity (fig. 7). The alliance of the samurai with the merchants was mainly because of the overmuch expenditure of the samurai who wanted to emulate an extravagant life. Therefore, it can be grasped that the social life and habits changed more significantly compared to Momoyama. Because during the Momoyama era, such an extravagant life was only practiced by the Shoguns and nobility who were financially supported by the Shoguns. In fact, Momoyama was the starting point of all of the chaging items in the society, but Genroku is the initial highest point which was conveyed to the next decades.

New Praxis of Consumption In the great cities, first in Ōsaka and Kyoto and then in Edo, merchant communities developed their own style of life and supported new arts and pastimes. Woodblock painting (figs. 6-9), writing theatre plays and poetry made possible the illustration of popular art (Frédéric, 1971; Paine and Soper, 1987; Sansom, 1987). Such art forms, though considered vulgar by the samurai, nonetheless became the basis of an urban culture enjoyed by the samurai as well as by the townsmen (Baker, 1984; Frédéric, 1971; Mason, 1993; Smith, 1988). "...some of the merchant townsmen felt impelled to squander their gold in amusements in the famous gay quarters of the

large cities. Indeed, it is for this reason that much of the urban culture of this age [Genroku] is related to those very quarters." (Ienaga 1979, p. 149).

Schools giving courses on morals were established (Frédéric, 1971; Paine and Soper, 1987). These institutions reserved for merchants and taught only officially acceptable matters. Their wealth gave the merchants confidence, and the realization that they were so numerous helped the craftsmen and the tradesmen to become the real masters of the country, even though they appeared to be dominated by the samurai (Frédéric, 1971; Paine and Soper, 1987). Cultural imports from the nambanjin (southern barbarians) were "things like rifles and spiritual things like Christian faith" (Ienaga 1979, p.124). Trade relations continue with Spanish, Dutch and English. And lots of new materials became common items in everyday life of Japanese such as hats, trousers, raincoats, beds, chairs, eyeglasses, clocks, tobacco and so on (Ienaga, 1979). In figure 4, hats in European fashion are worn by Japanese.

As Ienaga claims (1979, p.147), "...during Momoyama it had been extraordinary to find two-storied shops in the cities, but in Edo period merchant establishments became most radiant", the most showy, fashionable way of life became the prominent characteristic. For example, tea ceremony in the most trendy quarters of the urban areas became vogue among the townsmen (Dunn, 1989). To build a teahouses (chashitsu) required a rather expensive work because of the rare and choice materials used to obtain a simple appearance. This style led to a new one in domestic architecture known a sukiya (artless structures) residences -or even rooms- of vast dimensions that combined the seeming simplicity of chashitsu with the ostentatious luxury of the shoin style (Frédéric, 1971).

One of the most popular leisure activities was theatre, or in the formal saying Kabuki theatre. The roots of Kabuki theatre can be found in the rather loose song and dance performances held in the sixteenth century. Kabuki was staged at the large theatre, where men and women would sit through many hours of drama. It should be stressed that

this entertainment was entirely for the non-samurai Edoities: in fact, samurai were not even allowed within the theatre (figs. 34-39). The government at various moments to curtail the Kabuki theatre and also related output of prints. Non-productive spending on luxury goods and entertainment was worrying in an apparently overheated economy which will also affect the 18th and 19th centuries in a negative way. The Kabuki theatre, while wildly popular with the fun-loving Edo period townsmen seems to have been patronized by women. For men an alternative outlet for entertainment were the licensed pleasure quarters (Newland and Uhlenbeck, 1990; Paine and Soper, 1987). "Particularly since the 1680s women had formed a large part of the audience, and to a certain extent the early tendencies of the live theatre, with its representation of violence and overt eroticism had been adapted to a family audience. After an initial popularity in the seventeenth century, when the unsophisticated soldiery and their counterparts among the townsmen had enjoyed blood and thunder plays, the puppet drama more or less disappeared in Edo" (Dunn, 1989, p. 186).

There was a great deal of reading for pleasure among the townsmen (Dunn, 1989). Many sorts of fiction came out of fiction came out of the publishing houses. In figure 39, a street vendor of books was illustrated. Books were practically all printed from wood-blocks, and most had illustrations. The simplest were picture-books, whose contents filled the same needs as today's comics. There were super-heroes, warriors of more then human capability, and in the same area as science fiction there were ghosts and malevolent foxes. "Beautiful women met on lonely paths, especially in the country, were not to be taken at their face value; all too often they were foxes -white foxes being the most cunning- in disguise, only too ready to seduce human beings and lead them into trouble. Such sensational reading-matter as this was on the lowest level. Fashions in writing varied from time to time, but long tales of *romantic* devotion and loyalty were hardy perennials, and satirical or salacious accounts of life in the entertainment districts were sure of a wide public. A flourishing trade was done in playbooks containing the the

certified texts of successful dramas, and in critical estimates of actors' abilities " (Dunn, 1989, p. 172).

One final point needs to be made in regard to the *yukaku*, professional female entertainers (which by no means synonymous with prostitute) institution. According to Mahler (1993), *yukaku* became the prominent feature of the Edo upon the great demand from the samurai and chōnin. "First, the social etiquette governing court ladies applied to all women who aspired to follow the general guidelines of the bushidō[18]. Secondly, family life in Edo Japan was a microcosm of the total society, hence involving strict hierarchy and ceremony in every respect: place, speech and so on. Thirdly, although higher samurai may well have kept women in both their joka-machi (?) and Edo, this was clearly impossible financially for lower *samurai*" (Mahler, 1983, p. 92). The most famous *yukaku* was the Yoshiwara.

Yoshiwara and Ukiyo-e The popular place for the print publishers and artists and the 'female services' provided in the Yoshiwara (fig. 10), the most famous licensed pleasure quarter in the Edo period. In 1618, in an attempt to curtail widespread prostitution, the government decided to concentrate the life of pleasure within one district. Here within its gates, teahouses, restaurants, and brothels provided the setting for the ukiyo-e, the floating world. Within this quarter, the prints generally depict the most famous of the courtesans (fig. 5). They provided idolized images of the female beauty and contemporary fashion. In prints current trends and attitudes towards posture, dress and hair style were presented (figs. 11-13), which were much different than Momoyama art works (see fig. 14) and if one compares bijin (beautiful women) as portrayed over a hundred years, one can immediately see the changes overtime (Newland and Uhlenbeck, 1990).

The prints with erotic (*shunga*) content, *yukaku*, became more popular. Figures 8, 15 and 16 illustrates some examples on shunga. "Many plays usually *romantic* tragedies,

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[18]The way of the warrior elite

centered round the amorous intrigues and accompanying emotions of the yukaku inmates, perhaps the most famous being The Love Suicides at Sonezaki by Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653-1725), first performed in *1703*. In the closed society that was Edo Japan and the restrictions imposed on women in accordance with the minatory prescriptions of *bushidō*, there was relatively little outside the *yukaku* which could serve as inspiration for *romantic* stories" (Mahler, 1983, p. 94). The world was floating, that is why they should have taken as much pleasure as they could, on the other hand, it was sad to think that life was that much transient, that is why they should escape from their sorrows by entertaining themselves more and more.

By the turn into the 19th century the Tokugawa regime was faced with a number of fundamental problems. Discrepencies in wealth divided a prosperous village upper class from a landless poor, and wealthy merchants from an urban proletariat. The samurai class was almost generally in financial difficulty while the daimyo domain was deeply in debt. Efforts at shogunal reform, usually by attempting to curtail expenditures and the spread of money economy, had failed, although a few of the daimyo domains, because of the smaller and more controllable size of their economies, have had some success with the practice of domain monopolies.

As a result, historical analysis and data show that Momoyama was an era that the Japanese society started to face with the drastic changes in their lives as a consequence of unification of the country, channelizing all of their resources to improve their economic welfare, and the European merchants who brought them new insights, new products, new trends, new understanding of life. The non-merchant classes poverished, since they were not allowed to involve with trade, and they borrowed money from the merchants to lead an extravagant life. Because, there were more leisure activities and new products to spend money.

Momoyama can be regarded as the Renaissance in the history of Japan (fig. 18) (Elisseeff and Elisseeff, 1985; Swann, 1966; Mason, 1993). Furthermore, the Genroku

period can be regarded as the last phase before the Industrial society where leisure activities with newer contents such as more erotic or superhuman heroes, and new consumption patterns such as books or different clothes became popular among townsmen such as samurai and chõnin in such an extent that some of them were consumed to be a reason of bankruptcy i.e. consuming too much money for dressing in the Kyoto city. The better financial position they attained, the more they spend for luxury. To see if these trends have parallels in the contemporary art work, art consumption, patronage of art and the art content is analyzed in the next section.

III.B. Art History between Momoyama and Genroku

III.B.I. Art and Society

During the period between Momoyama and Genroku (1573-1603), there were mainly four important styles of painting: Yōga, Kanō, Tosa (Yamato-e) and Ukiyo-e. Except Ukiyo-e, all of these schools were started before Momoyama. Yamato-e is the ancient style of the Japanese art which is the continuation of the pre-Buddhist painting starting from the Heian period (794-1192). Yamato-e is also regarded as basis of the Kanō, Tosa (Yamato-e) and Ukiyo-e schools by its colorful paintings which describes the interaction between the artist and the nature. Birds, insects and flowers were the common themes of the original Japanese art (Frédéric,1971; Mason, 1993; Paine and Soper, 1987). In this section, these schools of art and their social consequences will be analyzed in detail.

Yōga was the European style which dealt with non-Japanese subjects in Western manner, influenced by Portuguese missionaries and the Dutch merchants. Its scenes was depicting encounters between Japanese and Europeans, religious subjects of Christian inspiration and there is not much information about the painters (primarily fifteenth and sixteenth century). In figure 3, a group of Europeans who were approaching to a port was described in Kanō style. In this very crowded painting, the Europeans can easily be detected by looking at their clothes and by their servants who carry umbrellas to protect their masters from the sun. The Japanese people are looking at them as if they are very interested in the arrival of foreigners. The Europeans are walking to the Nijō Palace in Kyoto. This palace reflects all of the ostentatious characteristics of the age with gilded ornaments. The common figures of Kanō school such as trees, lively and colorful scenes can be detected from this painting. Figure 40, shows a Dutch and a geisha in Nagazaki, in yōga style. This painting with its relatively pastel colors with diffused brush strokes can

easily belong to a Western painter. The Dutch is looking at the geisha and the geisha prefers to look downside instead. This may be defined as a commercial attempt to fulfill the ultimate phantasies of the Western males about the Japanese professional female entertainers.

Key elements of Western art were suddenly introduced into Japan with some changes that would produce the constricted and untroubled society of the Edo period. In 1583, *Kanō* style were fusing in to a new style the highly colored *yamato-e* (in the form of *Tosa school*) art. In the late sixteenth century, the Japanese discovered materials and techniques that were new to Far Eastern painting: how to thin oil pigments, how to use printing press and copperplate engravings (mainly from Jesuit priests) which would then be used intensely in the later trendy forms of art work. According to Frédéric (1971), the European art has just arrived when court painting (the Tosa school) had fallen into a spiritless repetition of processes perfected before.

Nevertheless, the Japanese Renaissance manifested its wonders in the Kanō school. The foundation of Kanō school, upholding the Chinese style, in the second half of the 15th century, was an event closely related to the political development of the country. Whereas the court in Kyoto, and with it the courtly and national Tosa school, the ancient yamato-e spirit, was gradually being thrust into the background. The reputation of the Shoguns was continually ascendant, they were being in very close touch with China, then flourishing under the Ming dynasty. It was therefore, quite natural that the school which was principally, influenced by the Chinese should have its stronghold and support near the seat of Shoguns in Edo. This school was favored by Shoguns, stood in opposition to the Tosa school, which was favored by the imperial court. In contrast with the subtler method of the older school, which laid special stress on splendor of coloring, the newly arisen Kanō school gave eloquent expression to the daring spirit of youth that reigned in the entourage of the Shoguns by the force (Frédéric, 1971; Mason, 1993).

Reflecting the general tendency of the Japanese art, in Kanō School, the imitation of nature is only a means to an end, in itself. Mere virtuosity in this line does not move them to admiration; were it otherwise, they need only consider their renderings of birds, fishes, insects, and flowers to be sure that, with their splendid powers of observation, they might have achieved far more than they actually have done in this direction. On the contrary, nature in their eyes merely expresses the material from which the artist draws whatever he may require for the embodiment of his personal ideals and individual tastes (fig. 22).

The artists of this school were the followers of Kanō Motonobu[19] (1476-1559) who had energetic brushstroke better adapted to decorating the large panels for the ostentatious rooms of mansions or for the castles. The great master of Kanō school, Kanō Motonobu (1476-1559) not only represented scenes of court and heroic life, but also characters from daily life in the *Sengoku* era. He is recognised as the true classic of the school. The means he employed were extremely simple and the treatment of this subject not very elaborate, but along with all his swift and bold sketchiness his work remained powerful and stimulating (Elisseeff and Elisseeff, 1985). In figure 19, Kanō Matanobu's "Stork on a Branch" is illustrated. This was painted with ink on soft color paper and shows the naive and comfortable brush strokes. The same feeling can be caught from figure 22 as well. On the other hand, the irises of Korin in figure 20 with bright purple and green colors on the gold background completely contradicts with figures 19 and 22. Figure 20 reflects the ostentatious life style of the Momoyama age with its colors as it is discussed below.

Kanō Eitoku (grandson of Motonobu) (1543-1590) while working on Azuchi castle of Hideyoshi, constructed the real form of Momoyama Art (fig. 17). He combined the two types of shōhekiga (paintings mounted on wall, a sliding door, or a folding screen): i. The monochrome Chinese style (fig. 21) and, ii. The colorful yamato-e style

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[19]In the Japanese art, painters are called by the school they belong to.

(fig. 31). Additionally, he started to use the gold-leaf background (first use of kirikane-patterning in gold leaf) which may be a manifestation towards a new aesthetics : Brighter and ostentatious colors, "including gold and silver paint on a ground of leaf or occassionally silver leaf" (Mason 1993, p. 218). Mason (1993) also suggests that gold leaf became popular because it reflected and augmented the dim light in castles or resemblence of Amida's[20] Western Paradise. Therefore, the sudden affluence of Momoyama period can be traced in reflected this manner. On the other hand, Kanō Eitoku eliminated all of the superfluous details and reduced the subject matters to essentials. His successors executed numerous paintings for the monasteries of Kyoto as well as for the residences of the nobility or military leaders. In Kanō school, painters were often patronized by shogunate and worked on commissions from Shogunate or its officials. The other great master of Kanō school is Kanō Masanobu (1434-1530) made an extensive reputation by the foundation of Kanō school, which was destined to a long period of the activity.

In this era, a social upheaval, coupled with the construction of feudal castles for the bushi whose penchant for authority was matched only by their love of ostentation. The newly rich merchants favored the growth of brilliant paintings in which the subjects so dear to earlier artists gradually gave way to austere, Chinese style ink landscapes or to the picturesque scenes in which the European taste supported. These scenes played a crucial role, for their appearance coincided with the full development of genre painting, ukiyo-e, favored by rising fortunes of the new class of patrons, the wealthy merchants (Elisseeff and Elisseeff, 1985; Newland and Uhlenbeck, 1990).

Tosa Mitsunobu who was working almost exclusively at Sakai and Ōsaka became popular in the Edo period as the master of Tosa school which is regarded as the follower of ancient yamato-e school. This caused a noteworthy change in the art. The Tosa school succeeded the old Kasuga school and became the representative of the ancient Japanese

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[20]The Lord of Boundless Light (Sansom 1987, p. 245)

style; the yamato-e became conspicuous when, in the 15th century (figs. 31, 37), the influence of Chinese reasserted itself with renewed strength, and led to the founding of Kanō school. The Tosa masters illustrated literary works on scrolls or decorated fans shikishi (almost square pieces of paper used for calligraphy). Lacking definite character, their work reveals the decadence of this school.

The Tosa school which was mainly preferred by the noble families, represented the courtly art which had its center in Kyoto whereas the Shogun, who at the end of the civil war had achieved independence, and set up his residence first in Kamakura (which also gave the Kamakura period -1192-1333- its name) (figs. 23-24) then in Edo. The painting was particularly on the makimonos, long horizontal rolls with many figures, as also on the screens and in *gift books*, that this school greatly depicted, with delicacy and minuteness of a miniature, those historical scenes from the battles, from the court festivals and the life of chivalry. Such pictures with their brilliant coloring of vermillion, blue, and green, standing out from a background of gold, give an opulent representation of the life of that time such as court ceremonial costumes (figs. 28-32). Figure 32 significantly differ from figure 31. Figure 31 is drawn by ink and color on silk, the dominant color is brown, showing the courtesan of the fourteenth century in the ancient yamato-e style. On the other hand, figure 32 illustrates the courtesan of the eighteenth century in ukiyo-e school. It was also drawn by ink ank and color, this time on paper (this is not a characteristic of the age, silk was used in this era as well). The dominant colors are red, black and white, and this courtesan of the eighteenth century seems more active which is a characteristic of ukiyo-e. In ukiyo-e, the motions of the persons portrayed, as the refined etiquette of the court required, were represented as serious, grave, and dignified, this art never degenerated into pettiness, but always maintained its broad decorative character. On the other hand, the yamato-e painters and the artists of Kanō school had pictured ways of life among people, and ordinary painters of the town

had produced many pictures of such things as coquettish behaviour of prostitutes of the hot - springs resorts.

The world starts floating: Ukiyo-e End of the Momoyama period age gave birth to ukiyo-e secular painting, pictures of the floating (ephemeral) world which used the scenes of the daily life and from leisure (theatres) which was intended to satisfy the taste of ever-increasing the urban classes like rich merchants and the samurai (Smith, 1988; Frédéric, 1971). In the beginning, the subject matter was limited to pretty women and harlots or well-known actors and a great number of artists. Ukiyo-e prints aimed to satisfy customers with not-too-refined tastes. Almost all of the artists produced erotic prints and books out of these which has become one of the most important characteristics of ukiyo-e (Smith, 1988). The basic innovation of Momoyama painting was sliding-door panels, fusuma and folding screens byobu although some distinctions and variations have emerged in the further times (Frédéric, 1971; Mason, 1993; Paine and Soper, 1987; Smith, 1988). Ukiyo-e can be regarded as the combination of the Tosa School's colors and the Kanō School's genre painting (Swann, 1966).

Ukiyo As Edo became a rapidly growing urban center, the congregation of large numbers of daimyo and their followings created mercantile opportunities. The merchant class took over in a financial sense. The samurai consumed *more* than they afford and the lowly ranked townsmen became the creditors of the formal bearers of power. It was in this rapidly urbanized mercantile world of 17th century Edo, that the *ukiyo*, a sub-culture of the non-samurai classes, whereby the unique transient fleeting moment of pleasure stands central, developed. But samurai emulated this trend which was promising pleasures of life. Ukiyo encompasses the hedonistic life in its widest sense: The merchants were active patrons of the literary and pictorial arts, of the theater (fig. 38), and of course of the world of female entertainment. The images with which the artists have tried to capture this atmosphere are called 'ukiyo-e' (pictures of the floating world). Ukiyo-e printmakers derived their inspiration from the various forms of entertainment

34

available to the urbanized population of Edo in the popular pleasure places like Yoshiwara. In figure 10, people who are entering Yoshiwara is illustrated. As it is seen from the figure, people are wearing baskets not to be recognized by the others. So although pleasure was desirable, it was not accepted by the norms of the society. The prints of ukiyo-e which were purchased by everyone fulfilled the same 'needs' as our current pin-ups or photographs of our idols from the world of music, film and entertainment (Newland and Uhlenbeck, 1990).

The fondness of the ukiyo-e artists for painting beautiful women of the pleasure quarters indicates a continuation of the colorful and lively yamato-e tradition. However the significant characteristic of ukiyo-e was that it was in the form of wood block prints in cheap prices, mass produced and accessible (Ienaga, 1979). The popular culture of these times shows its unpleasant aspects in a powerful hedonistic current directed toward the satisfaction of instinctive desires in the end of Momoyama.

The term ukiyo-e means the customs of people and it can also be used for matters of sex. This is an interesting point that the paintings of Hishikawa Moronobu (1618-1694) were generally about the sexual intercourse and pictures of the same kind were produced by all other ukiyo-e artists. Moronobu focused on the pictorial aspect of the subject, relying on figures and events of the ukiyo such as pleasure quarters of the Yoshiwara (figs. 6, 16). He also initiated albums of larger pictures, some showing everyday scenes and erotica (shunga). Erotica pictures was not a new subject. Evidence suggests that first shunga were executed by the Buddhist artists and artisans. With the Edo period, the appreciation of shunga *spreaded* to the urban population as well, no longer being the sole domain of the samurai and aristocratic classes (Newland and Uhlenbeck, 1990).

Yoshiwara was Ukiyo The term ukiyo (uki, floating; yo, world), which denotes a ephemeral, transient nature of life came to represent the bustling urban culture of the Edo period townsman and the transience of fleeting pleasures and a feeling that, if time is

passing, now is the moment to enjoy it. The courtesans and revelry of the Yoshiwara quarter (fig. 10); spectacular entertainments of the Kabuki theatres (fig. 38); the sumo wrestling bouts; boating on the river; festivals and the fireworks - in short, the attitude of eat, drink and be merry - this was the underlying message of the Edo period's 'floating world'. In figure 35, the Gion festival is illustrated. The guy who carries a huge but light weight replica of their shield is a samurai. The other people in the street are fishermen, warehouse keepers, and the oil merchants, yellow and red are the dominant colors. The literature found in the ukiyo-zoshi (erotic novels) portrayed every aspect of this rather hedonistic culture. Figure 39 shows a book vender carries her wares to a prospect who is being massaged. Publishing florished in the seventeenth century. It was witty, fast moving and often obscene. By the Genroku era (1688-1704) the term 'ukiyo' had come to be used to describe anything that was new, trendy and erotic.

"The vitality of the newly emerging chōnin, and their exuberant enjoyment of life coupled with their affluence, produced a climate in which the arts prospered. This period of florescence is called Genroku after the calendrical era that lasted from 1688-1703, but the culture that characterized the Genroku period materialized in the fourth quarter of the 17th century and lasted until well into the first quarter of the 18th century" (Mason, 1993, p. 244). This would provide us enough and significant information on the tendency towards hedonism after the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Europeans who were mainly the first influencers of ukiyo-e through some engravings imported through especially Dutch trading post at Nagasaki, rediscovered these works in the nineteenth century and declared them to be masterpieces (Smith, 1988; Frédéric, 1971). The ukiyo-e prints soon became stereotyped: mechanical expressions, exaggerated dress to achieve salability with no artistic reasons. Beginning as simple broadsheet pictures for popular consumption, the ukiyo-e became the most typical form of Japanese art which in fact has lost a lot of its original flavor (Frédéric, 1971).

It is interesting that the emperors and the aristocracy in general have consistently favoured indigenous and introspective tendencies in the arts (Baker, 1984). This decadence during the Edo period mainly based on the taste of the wealthy merchants. Even if some of the art work like wood-block printing became popular, their content did not reflect the life of the Japanese peasant or laborer, or any member of underpriviliged classes (Frédéric, 1971). The art content had changed due to its new patron: The merchant class.

III.B.II. Patrons and the Art Content

One of the two tendencies in Japanese art was to reflect the external world as it is perceived (direct imitation). This keeps outsiders from grasping the inner significance or the importance and emotional vulnerability. The second one was introspective and insular that reflects the uniqueness and ingenuity which would be observed in Heian (fig. 41), Momoyama and *early* Edo periods (figs.15-17) (Baker, 1984). "Chinese forms tend to be self- contained and relaxed, while Japanese forms are affected by the overall composition of a picture, and emotional tension charges both motifs and the space around and between them. Chinese art can be slightly changed in space without disturbing the overall visual harmony while on the contrary, changing the position of any part would also alter the overall effect in Japanese art" (Baker, 1984, p. 10). Nevertheless, the Chinese art had considerable influences in the Japanese art, despite this very fact, unlike the calligraphy in the Chinese art, painting was the most appreciated form art. Additionally, European signs can also be traced in Japanese art as well.

The examples of Western art was imported directly from Europe; they were fresh, unadulterated, and not yet adapted to the needs of local preachers. Indeed the baggage of St. Francis Xavier, the most well known Jesuit priest, included two works painted in the Flemish style then popular in Portugal: one of them was a portrait of Virgin and the other was Virgin and Child which were quite far away from the tradional content of the

Japanese art (Frédéric, 1971). The departure of Christian priests in the freed art from religious influence and after the devastation of the monasteries which can be given as one of the two important facts on popularization of art (Baker, 1984; Frédéric, 1971; Paine and Soper, 1987; Mason, 1993; Smith, 1988; Swann, 1966).

After the destruction of monasteries by Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, monasteries had no longer support the priest-painters. Patrons of the arts became mainly the great warriors and the merchants (Frédéric, 1971; Smith, 1988). Great castles built by Nobunaga and Hideyoshi in their ascent to power and glory- Nobunaga's Azuchi Castle, and Hideyoshi's pleasure domes of Ōsaka, Juraku in Kyoto, and Momoyama- are representatives of their cultural aspirations and their patronage of arts. "These men of power were also ravenous connoisseurs of artistry" (Elison and Smith, 1987, p. 61).

Painting was highly esteemed and found patrons among both shoguns (traditional Kanō, Tosa and Nãnga schools) and the merchants and other wealthy members of rising middle classes (Sōtatsu-Kōrin-Shijō and Ukiyo-e schools) (Paine and Soper, 1987; Mason, 1993), unlike the sculpture, which was neglected under Tokugawa Shogunate. As it can be seen, the newly rich generally preferred the most current and trendy form of painting to become its patron. The popular movements which followed the taste and the fashions (essentially transitory and fleeting ukiyo-e 'Pictures of the Floating World') of the townspeople; resulted in new and pictorial styles. "In the latter part of the 17th century the newly affluent chōnin class began to influence artistic production. These people were astute and pragmatic businessmen sensitive to minute political, social, and even climatic changes that could mean financial gain if they were assesses and handled correctly, or ruin if mismanaged. Their attention was focused on the world around them, and they cared little for the glories of the past. They were well educated and rich in *worldly* experience, and although they indulged with abondon their fondness for sake, women, and the theater, they were extremely demanding about the quality of the entertainment for which they paid their hard-earned money" (Mason, 1993, p. 244).

The initiative to produce a print was often taken by a publisher. He would see commercial opportunities for a specific type of design and he would approach an artist to make a design. The publisher subsequently supervised the production and employed the engravers and printers. The role of artist during the production process was negligible (Newland and Uhlenbeck, 1990).

Populist Art There is a worship of the imperfect in Japanese art which tells us their efforts to become natural in art. Japanese critics preferred Korean peasant ware instead of perfect and cool Chinese celadons by saying that 'the imperfect Korean bowl waits for me even when I am not at home, whereas the Chinese bowl waits for no one'. Chinese bowl does not need any sympathy like the other art works of China (Baker, 1984, p. 11). Those words explain, in fact, a more humble or easier to understand form of art was preferred by the commoners. This would tell us the tendency towards natural and understandable style in art work, hence, worked on that direction; rather than refined and highest art (figs. 17-18, 20, 22) as it was in Momoyama (Baker, 1984; Frédéric, 1971; Paine and Soper, 1987; Mason, 1993; Smith, 1988; Swann, 1966) or towards commercial, mass production-like art as it can be seen in ukiyo-e woodblock printings (Smith, 1988). Figures 8, 12 and 13 which are ukiyo-e printings do not differ much in terms of their contents.

"The rich ordered paintings, the less rich bought illustrated books" (fig. 39) (Smith, 1988, p.10). The art consumption as a status symbol started in Momoyama and became widespread until the end of Genroku (Frédéric, 1971; Mason, 1993; Smith, 1988; Swann, 1966). Art was there, and it was for everyone. The Hakai poetic form is evolved from renga is the significant part of the art at the Genroku age. In 1681, Matsuo Basho wrote a kind of hakai on which found artistic material in lowly objects of the daily life. "His work in keeping with the general trend of Edo period art to be the art of ordinary people" (Ienaga 1979, p. 141). Art for everyone including ordinary people was highly appreciated in Japan culture. Even though this ukiyo-e seems as the inferior art since it is

mass-production, the evolution of the Japanese painting which conveys the 'art for people' ideology through the centuries may bring us the idea that it could be a predictable event to provide the art work for each purchasing level (Frédéric, 1971; Mason, 1993; Smith, 1988).

The people who were purchasing the art work would surely determine the art content according to their expectations or pleasures. Hardworking and tired merchant class who were the patrons of art, after a stressful day, did not want to see too much sophisticated -or difficult to interpret- art material at their homes. On the other hand, they needed those art objects as status symbols to be seemed more prestigious or for display. As it was discussed in Section III.A.II., they were ready to make everything not to be secluded in the society and to achieve a class shift (to up). It was only few years ago for the merchants to have the restriction not to change their places from one city to another, but they finally had achieved the 'better standards in life' previously owned by the shoguns or the daimyo. Not to lose that place, they were too much busy with protectig what they have achieved so far, since they worked so hard for it. After working that much hard, they were surely deserving to please themselves in the gay quaters, if they had money, by the accompany of the most gracious prostitutes, otherwise they would have at least find their portraits in the market.

"Their [merchants] exacting standards serves as a stimulus to writers of the Genroku period, notably the novelist and poet Ihara Saikaku and the playwright of the puppet theater Chikamatsu Monzaemon. They looked to painting and to the developing woodblock print for illustrations of scenes from their favorite plays and novels, and of ukiyo, the floating, ever-changing world of the theater and the teahouse-depictions of famous male-actors, female entertainers, and illustrated guides to the local brothels and to the activities that went on behind their closed doors. The concept of art as a means of expressing philosophical or religious ideals or of capturing the essence of a great work of classical literature was apparently not important to them; the visual arts in the Genroku

period reflect this ... the art of this period was essentially a reworking in new formats of the themes favored by their middle class counterparts in the Momoyama period" (Mason, 1993, p. 244).

The evolution of painting during the centuries can be exemplified by figures 28-33. Starting from the 12th century's portraits, to 19th century, it can be seen that the Japanese painting lived certain changes during the centuries. Those changes can be traced by a transition to less detailed paintings, finished in a relatively short time, and brighter, attractive colors. However, some of the contemporary art history books which carries the western ideology, underestimates the not-western-looking art, and regards Ando Hiroshige (fig. 26) and Katsushika Hokusai (figs. 9, 25) of the 19th century as the masters of the Japanese painting.

The findings of this section can be given as follows:

The schools of art and the art content were characterized according to their patrons and people who consumed them. The Yōga school was influenced by the European priests. The Kanō school was favored by the Shoguns who were the first rulers without noble rank. Tosa was highly preferred by the nobility. Ukiyo-e was popular among the merchants and commoners who imitated the extravagant life styles of the newly rich merchants. Ukiyo-e had a distinct characteristic on its own. It reflected the ideology of the contemporary age which encompasses the pleasure in various types.

In the seventeenth century, as the daimyos and shoguns became less affluent and as their debts increased to the merchants, they were no longer able to afford the patronage of art. The newly rich merchants, mostly lacking intellectual characteristics and striving for social prestige, were ready to become the new patrons of art, perhaps they considered the art objects as the most powerful one to gain more prestige. Another claim may be made as follows; the leisure activities such as theater, salacious books, or paintings with erotic content were the tools to escape from their stressful routines, and

they were started to be widely consumed initially by merchants and then the townspeople.

Nevertheless, both of the two claims support the conclusions that art consumption became widespread, and the newly rich merchants influenced the content of the art work and leisure activities. Thus, a consumer culture emerged -- seen in the changes in life style and habits of the society. The merchants' and the masses' tastes were reflected in bright colors in ukiyo-e printings which were look-alikes, cheap and with uncomplicated contents.

It cannot be denied that the iris of Hokusai (fig. 9) is significantly different from Korin's (fig. 20), but the interpretation of this change should be left to the art historians. However, it is significant that the spread of art consumption influenced style, design and the content of art.

IV. Discussion and Conclusion

In this paper, it is shown that the era between Momoyama and Edo until Genroku can be regarded as the origin of a consumer culture in Japan and in Genroku there was a consumer culture in Japan.

One of the special characteristics of Momoyama was the use of art as a distinct or authentic power. Although luxury was not the sole, nor even the most important, feature of the period's taste - for we must remember that another aspect of Momoyama was the synchronous existence of exaggeration in style with moderation, of golden dazzle with studied rusticity-. It is often asked what the underlying reason of this opulence was. Art historians and some other commentators have sought it among rich merchants and enterprising bourgeois. The initial changes of the Momoyama in consumption habits and leisure became widespread in the seventeenth century and this created the extravagant era called Genroku.

The emergence of a consumer culture within these 130 years was derived from the changing consumption habits to more expenditure on the leisure activities and luxury products such as paintings or wood-block printings. This was started by the de facto shoguns of the Momoyama art (1573-1603) who were not originally from noble families, and then continued in the seventeenth century by the merchants. In the seventeenth century, the samurai tried to emulate the life style of the rich at the cost of abandoning their higher status level in the society compared to the merchants. Art work, mainly painting which was the most appreciated form of art changed its content into a less sophisticated erotic ones when its patrons became the newly rich merchants and the consumption of art spreaded to each level of society. Only the amount of money that was spent to the luxury was changed; the rich ordered paintings, the poorer ones bought

illustrated books. However, changing consumption habits and hedonistic life were the common points of the society, such that at the early Edo period, a pleasure district, Yoshiwara was established. Because people had a leisure time then and money to spend for their pleasures. *Romantic* books or theater scripts with monstrous things became popular widespread. Illustrated books became fashionable disregarding the purchasing level, since the rich bought them, and the poor bought cheaper, printed ones. In the city of Edo some of the townsmen were told to be bankrupt from *overdressing*. Just like today's 'cool' in English, people used 'uki' to tell something was trendy and fashionable.

The evolution of the liberal trade and the continuous attempts to catch up with the novelties manifest a number of concepts that are present in Japanese civilization. Religion, art, laughter and daily life overlapped and combined in every area of Japanese society to form one interdependent world: The world of life tribulations and pleasures. This resembles the contradictory and complementary yin and yang. When the society became more liberal, their better economic conditions helped them to select a life style which they found as the most pleasing one in Genroku by all means.

There is no doubt that there is a strong evidence that starting from Ashigaka (1338-1573), the rise of merchant class at Sengoku Jidai beginning from Momoyama period (1573-1614) became significant after the hegemony of Tokugawa Family which marked the era by their names as well, Edo period (Yedo Jidai) (1614-1867) until the end of Genroku (1688-1703). This period witnessed living, urbanization, commercialization, widespread leisure activities, overconsumption of some goods such as clothes and emergence of consumer culture period like the other focal of examples e.g. Late Ming China (1550-1650) Dutch Golden Age (1608-1670) and Georgian England (1714-1830).

The art work is undoubtedly one of the most significant tools to trace those changes in the society, even with a less knowledgeable eye's perception. It seems that as it was the case for all, Japan seemed to gain its bourgeois culture at the cost of loosing some authentic and traditional characteristics. Although theater, books and paintings

were popular, and it was meant to be purchased by the commoner as well, their content was not reflecting the life of ordinary people. This resembles today's highly popular life of celebrities which were continuously followed by the 'common' people with an increasing rate of luxury consumption that is seen as the gateway for a class shift.

Thus, there was a consumer culture in Genroku Japan as well as the late Ming China. Therefore, current Japanese consumption is not an imitation of foreign or "American" consumption. It is the integration of the foreign in the historical culture. Moreover, consumer culture did not develop solely in the Western industrialist capitalism. The world involves many consumer cultures (plural), originating in different times and places and evolving in their own way over the time. As a particular culture, such as Japan encounters the Western consumer culture, and it forms its own consumer culture based upon its historical patterns, and core values as well as the newly contacted ones. Thus, marketers do have to "think globally, act locally". Moreover, to be able to succeed globally, they have to understand the local context -- its history as well as its present.

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. "Man and Horse on a boat"
Printing on stone, Takehara tomb (fukuoka)
Kofun Period, 3rd-6th centuries A.D.
from Danielle Elisseeff and Vadime Elisseeff (1985), *Art of Japan*. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., Publishers, Figure 17, page 51.

2. "Landing of Portuguese", by Kano Naizen (Kano Shigesato, 1570-1616)
Detail of six fold screen
Colour on paper, entire screen 1.6x3.6 m
Momoyama Period
from Danielle Elisseeff and Vadime Elisseeff (1985), *Art of Japan*. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., Publishers, Figure 138, page 307.

3. "View of the Capital" by Rakachu Rakugaizu Byobu
A group of European travellers approaches, Nijo Palace
Detail of six-fold screen (one of a pair)
Colour and gold on paper, each screen 94x272 cm
Early Edo period, 1615-1625
Namban Bunkakan, Osaka
from Danielle Elisseeff and Vadime Elisseeff (1985), *Art of Japan*. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., Publishers, Figure 160, page 357.

4. "The Maple-Viewing Party" by Okumura Masanobu (1686-1764)
Large benizuri-e, 16.25x12 in.,
About 1750
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1949 (Ledoux Collection)
from R. Illing (1989), *Japanese Prints*. London: Tiger Books International, Figure 39.

5. "Courtesans", a genre painting (ukiyo-e)
Detailed six fold screen
Ink, color, and gold on paper, entire screen 1.5x3.5 m
Momoyama Period, late 16th-early 17th centuries
from Danielle Elisseeff and Vadime Elisseeff (1985), *Art of Japan*. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., Publishers, Figure 163, page 361.

6. "Pictures of Beautiful Women" by Hishikawa Moronobu (c. 1618-1694)
Sumuzuri-e, 22.6x33.1 cm
Private Collection

from A. Newland, C. Uhlenbeck, consulting eds. (1990), *Ukiyo-e to Shin hanga: The Art of Japanese Woodblock Prints.* Hong Kong: Brompton Books Corp., page 52.

7. "Winter Party", a genre painting (ukiyo-e), by Toyoharu (Utagawa Masaki, 1735-1814)
Detail. Ink, colour and gold on silk, entire dimensions 52.2x96.3 cm
Edo Period
Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.
from Danielle Elisseeff and Vadime Elisseeff (1985), *Art of Japan.* New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., Publishers, Figure 164, page 362.

8. "Couple Making Love with Onlooker" by Sugimura Jihei (fl 1680-1698)
Oban plate from untitled album
23.8x34.7 cm
Mid 1680s
Sumizuri-e private collection
from A. Newland, C. Uhlenbeck, consulting eds. (1990), *Ukiyo-e to Shin hanga: The Art of Japanese Woodblock Prints.* Hong Kong: Brompton Books Corp., page 50.

9. "Kingfisher and Shaga Iris", chuban, by Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849)
22.9x16.5 cm
Courtesy of Trustees of British Museum, London
from A. Newland, C. Uhlenbeck, consulting eds. (1990), *Ukiyo-e to Shin hanga: The Art of Japanese Woodblock Prints.* Hong Kong: Brompton Books Corp., page 81.

10. "Large Perspective of Naka-no-chō seen through the Great Gate of the New Yoshiwara", (Shin Yoshiwara ōmon-guchi naka-no-chō o-uki-e), by Okumua Masanobu (1686-1764), c. 1730
Hand colored print, 43.7x66.4 cm
from A. Newland, C. Uhlenbeck, consulting eds. (1990), *Ukiyo-e to Shin hanga: The Art of Japanese Woodblock Prints.* Hong Kong: Brompton Books Corp., page 53.

11. "The heavy shower" by Shigure Monogatari
Color and gold on paper, height about 30 cm
Edo period, 17th century
Musee Cernuschi, Paris
from Danielle Elisseeff and Vadime Elisseeff (1985), *Art of Japan.* New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., Publishers, Figure 162, page 360.

12. "The Insistent Lover" by Sugimura Jihei
c. 1685
Album print, Sumuzuri-e, hand-colored, 27.3x40.6 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago

from J. Hillier (1991), *Japanese Colour Prints*. Hong Kong: Phaidon Press, page 36.

13. "Lovers observed by an attendant" by Sugimura Jihei (active 1680-1697)
Oban print, hand colored, 10.5x14.25 in., about 1685
Munster, Germany, Theodor Scheiwe Collection
from R. Illing (1989), *Japanese Prints*. London: Tiger Books International, Figure 39.

14. "Tale of Oeyama" by Oeyama Emaki
Attributed to Takanobu (1571-1618)
Detail of handscroll
Colour on paper, entire height about30 cm
Momoyama Period
Tokyo National Museum
from Danielle Elisseeff and Vadime Elisseeff (1985), *Art of Japan*. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., Publishers, Figure 161, page 358.

15. Suzuki Harunobu (1725?-1770)
A chuban yoko-e shunga print, c. 1770. Unsigned.
Collection Hotei, The Netherlands
from A. Newland, C. Uhlenbeck, consulting eds. (1990), *Ukiyo-e to Shin hanga: The Art of Japanese Woodblock Prints*. Hong Kong: Brompton Books Corp., page 14.

16. "Interrupted Lovers" by Hishikawa Moronobu
From an erotic book
"Love's Pleasures" dated
1683, 22.2x32.4 cm
Regensburg, Franz Winzinger Collection
from J. Hillier (1991), *Japanese Colour Prints*. Hong Kong: Phaidon Press, page 32.

17. "Pine Trees" by Hinoki
Folding screen attributed to Kano Eitoku (1543-1590)
Colour on gold paper, 168x456 cm
National Museum, Tokyo
from Peter C. Swann (1966), *Art of the world: Japan*. London: Methuen, Plate 42, page 167.

18. "Sun and Moon" by Nichi Getsu Sansui Byobu
"Spring landscape by sunlight", one of pair screens (the other pair entitled "Winter Landscpe by moonlight"
Color on paper, each panel 147.2x47.9 cm
Momoyama Period, late 16th century
Kongoki, Osaka

from Danielle Elisseeff and Vadime Elisseeff (1985), *Art of Japan*. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., Publishers, Figure 161, page 358.

19. "Stork on a Branch" by Kano Motonobu (1476-1559)
Ink and soft colour paper, 50.8x118.1 cm
Reiun-in, Kyoto
from Peter C. Swann (1966), *Art of the world: Japan*. London: Methuen, page 156.

20. "Irises" by Ogata Korin (Ogata Koretomi, 1658-1716)
Detail of six fold screen (one of a pair)
Colour and gold on paper, 1.5x3.6 m
Edo Period, before 1704
Nezu Art Museum, Tokyo
from Danielle Elisseeff and Vadime Elisseeff (1985), *Art of Japan*. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., Publishers, Figure 117, page 260.

21. "Pine Trees in the Mist" by Hasegawa Tohaku (1539-1610)
Pair of folding on paper
Each screen 156x347 cm
National Museum, Tokyo
from Peter C. Swann (1966), *Art of the world: Japan*. London: Methuen, Plate 43, page 167.

22. Habonoku, "Splashed Ink" by Sesshu (1420-1506)
Ink on paper 147.3x35.6 cm
National Museum, Tokyo
from Peter C. Swann (1966), *Art of the world: Japan*. London: Methuen, Plate 37, page 151.

23. "Tale of a Painter" by Eshi Zoshi
Detail of handscroll
Slight colour on paper, entire height 30 cm
Kamakura Period, 14th century
Imperial Household Collection, Tokyo
from Danielle Elisseeff and Vadime Elisseeff (1985), *Art of Japan*. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., Publishers, Figure 158, page 355.

24. "Legends of the Matsuzaki Shrine" by Matsuzaki Tenjin Engi
Two details of handscroll
Colour on paper
Kamakura-Muromachi 1311
from Danielle Elisseeff and Vadime Elisseeff (1985), *Art of Japan*. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., Publishers, Figure 364, page 431.

25. "The Waterfall of Hoshino" by Katsushika Hokusai
From the series "Going Round the Waterfalls of the Country"
38.1x25.4 cm c.1830
from J. Hillier (1991), *Japanese Colour Prints.* Hong Kong: Phaidon Press, page 118.

26. "Moonlight, Nagakubo" by Ando Hiroshige
One of the "Sixty-nine Stations of Kisakaido"
21.9x34.6 cm, c. 1840
British Museum, London
from J. Hillier (1991), *Japanese Colour Prints.* Hong Kong: Phaidon Press, page 120.

27. Ippen Shonin Eden (Pictoral Biography of Priest Ippen, 1239-1289)
Detail of handscroll
Colour on silk, entire height 38 cm
Kamakura Period, 1299
Tokyo National Museum
from Danielle Elisseeff and Vadime Elisseeff (1985), *Art of Japan.* New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., Publishers, Figure 159, page 356.

28. "Portrait of Minomoto-No-Yoritomo" (1147-1199)
By Fujiwara-no Takanobu (1142-1205)
Color on silk, 1.4x1.1 m
Kamakura Period
Jingoji, Kyoto
from Danielle Elisseeff and Vadime Elisseeff (1985), *Art of Japan.* New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., Publishers, Figure 87, page 197.

29. "Emperor Saga" (r. 809-823) "with the Sanskrit Character 'A' over His Heart"
Detail of handscroll
Color on paper with gold and silver, 26.1x685.7 cm
Kamakura Period, 13th century
Fujita Art Museum, Osaka
from Danielle Elisseeff and Vadime Elisseeff (1985), *Art of Japan.* New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., Publishers, Figure 88, page 198.

30. "Emperor Go-Toba" (r. 1183-1198)
Color on paper, 40.3x30.6 cm
Kamakura Period, 13th century
Minase Jingû, Settsu (Osaka)
from Danielle Elisseeff and Vadime Elisseeff (1985), *Art of Japan.* New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., Publishers, Figure 90, page 196.

31. "Kasuga Wakamiya" (Deity of Kasuga Wakamiya-Jinja, Sub-Temple of Kasugajinja, Nara)
Ink, color, and gold on silk, entire dimensions, 85.3x39.6 cm
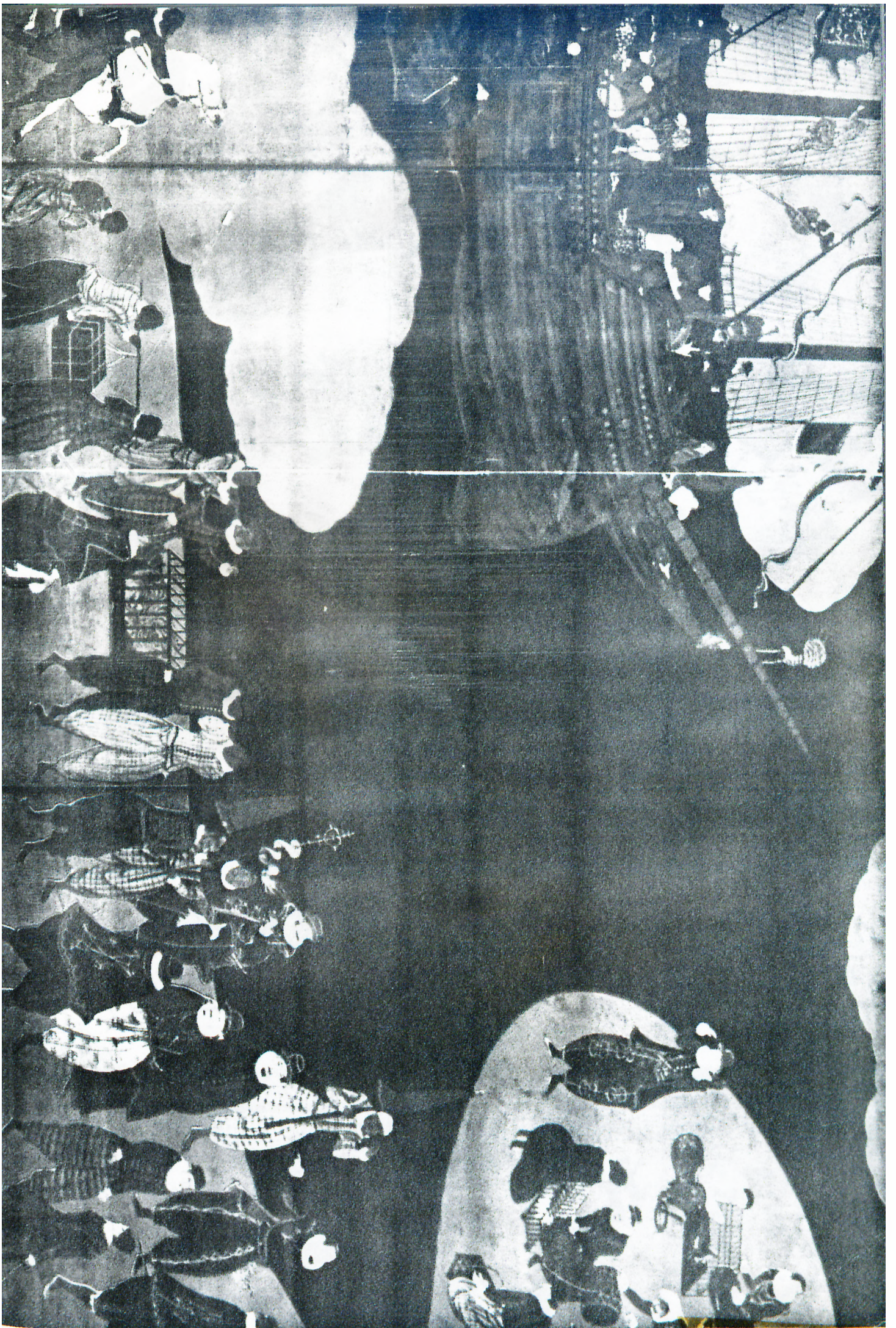Yamato-e School, Namboku-cho-Ashigaka Period,
14th century
Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
from Danielle Elisseeff and Vadime Elisseeff (1985), *Art of Japan*. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., Publishers, Figure 92, page 202.

32. "Courtesan" by Kaigetsudõ Ando (Okazaki Genshichi)
Ink and color on paper, 98.1x45.1 cm
Ukiyo-e School, Edo Period, 18th century
Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
from Danielle Elisseeff and Vadime Elisseeff (1985), *Art of Japan*. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., Publishers, Figure 93, page 203.
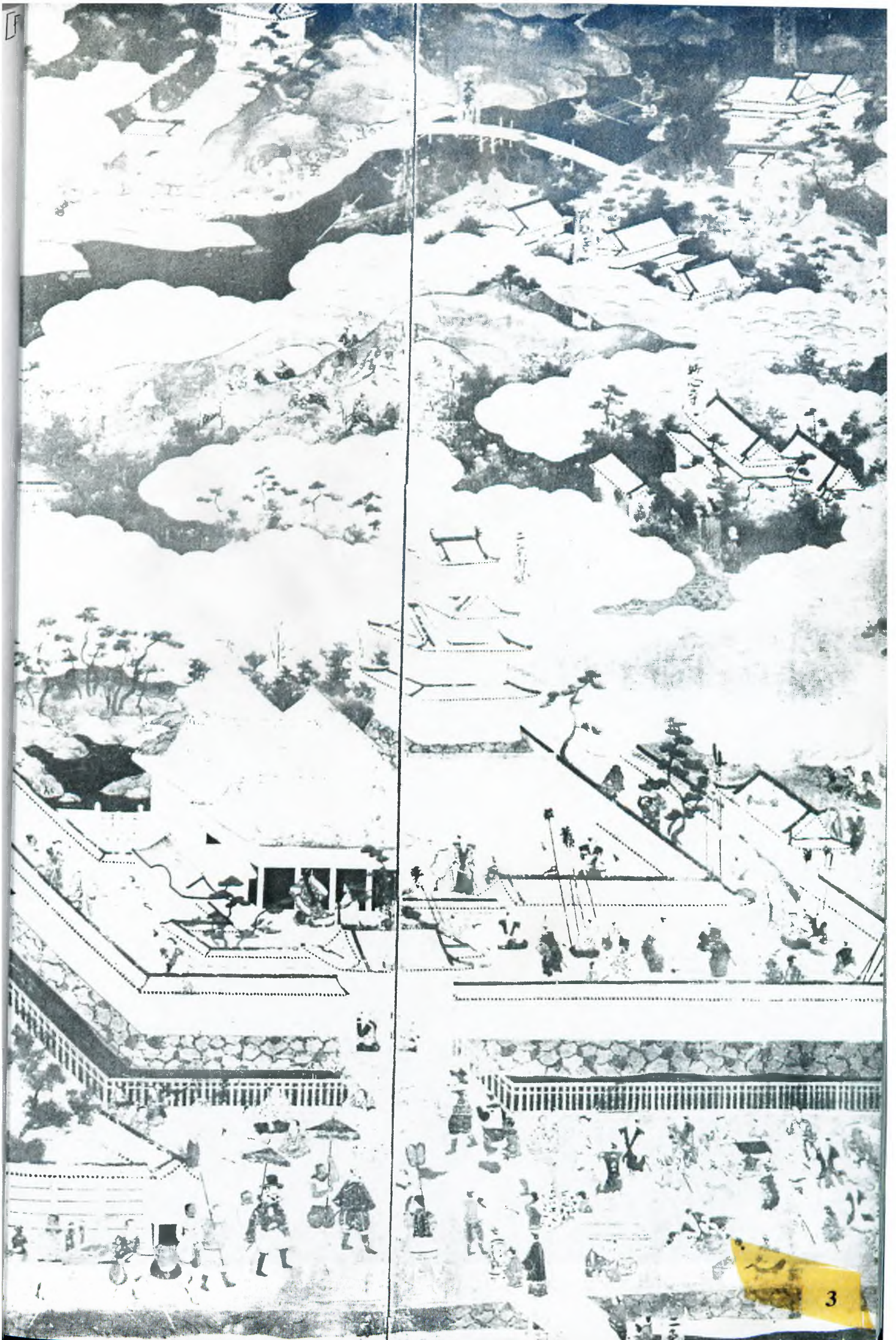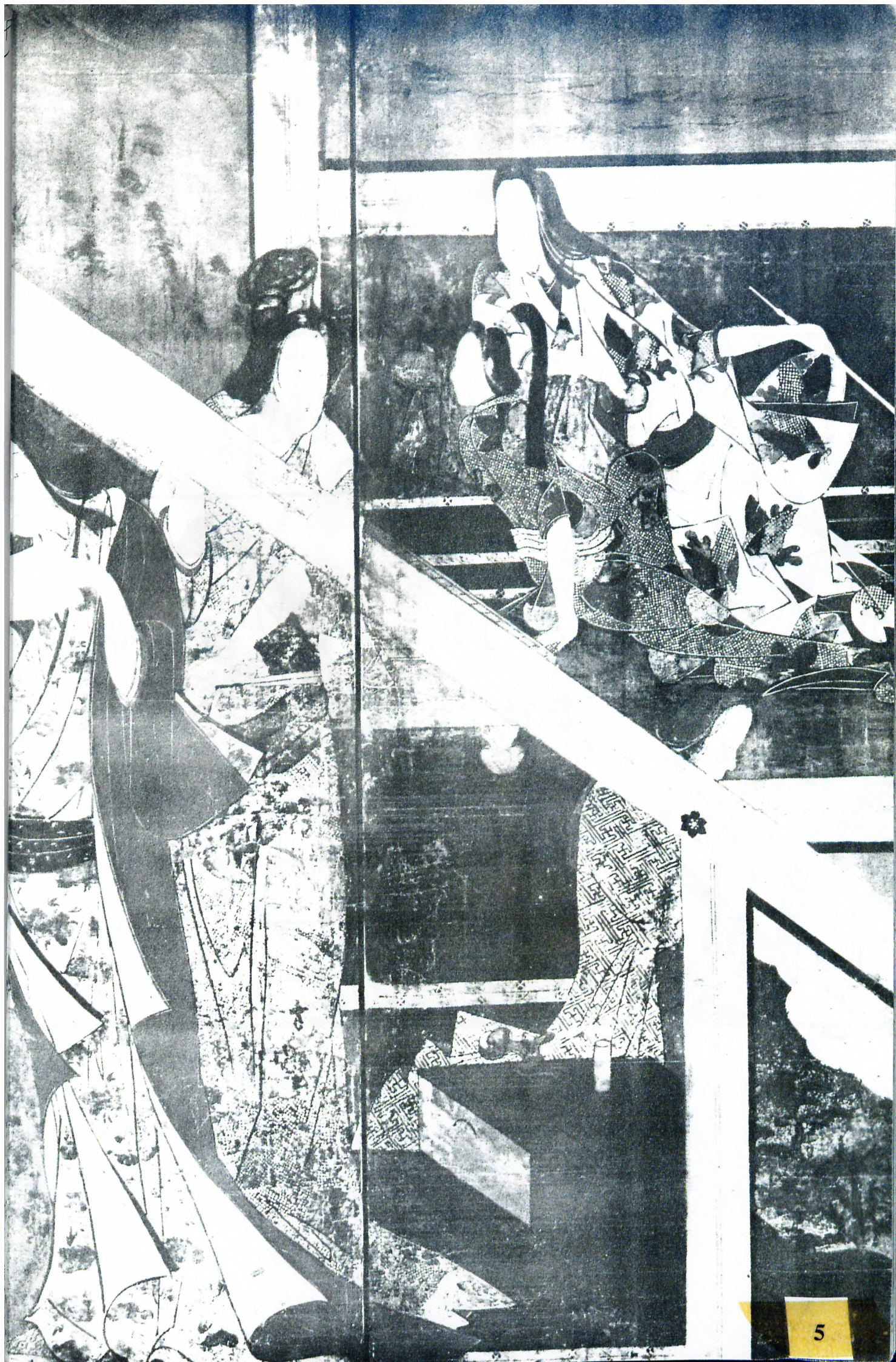
33. "Portrait of Sato Issai (1772-1859)" by Watanabe Kazan (Watanabe Sadayasu: 1793-1841)
Ink and color on silk, entire dimensions 113x51.5 cm
Edo Period, 1824
Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
from Danielle Elisseeff and Vadime Elisseeff (1985), *Art of Japan*. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., Publishers, Figure 94, page 204.

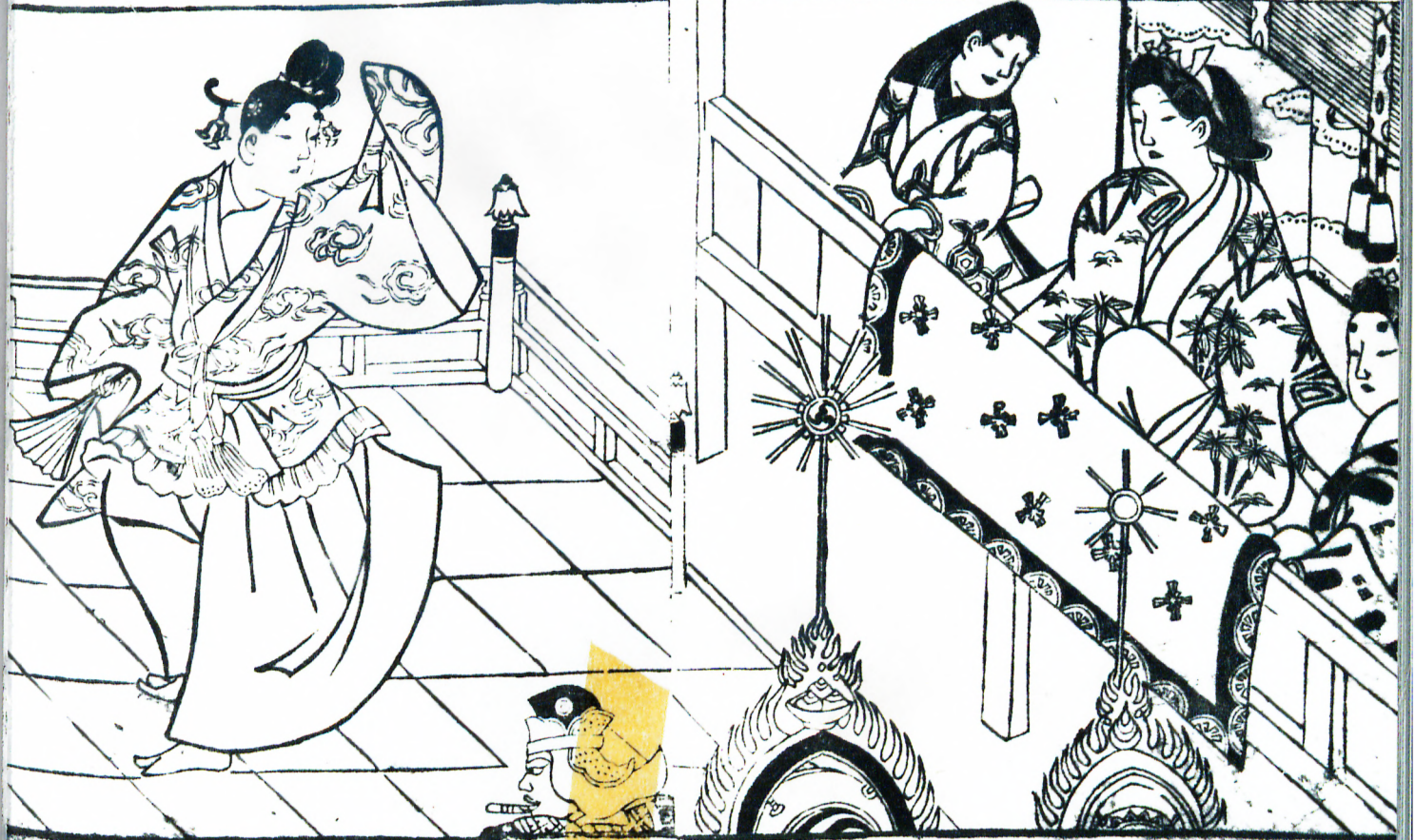34. "Screen of Samurai Sport, Inu ou Mono (Inu ou monozu byõbu)", (artist unknown)
Details, color on gold paper; six-fold
Early 17th century
Tokyo National Museum
Bradley Smith (1964), *Japan: A History in Art*. New York: Simon and Schuster, page 162-163.

35. "Gion festival in Kyoto: A samurai carrying a huge but light-weight of their shield"
"Screens of famous places in Kyoto (miyako meisho zu byõbu)", (artist unknown)
Details, color on gold paper; six-fold
Early 17th century
Tokyo National Museum
Bradley Smith (1964), *Japan: A History in Art*. New York: Simon and Schuster, page 164.

36. "Puppet theatre"
"Screens of famous places in Kyoto (miyako meisho zu byõbu)", (artist unknown)
Details, color on gold paper; six-fold
Early 17th century
Tokyo National Museum

Bradley Smith (1964), *Japan: A History in Art.* New York: Simon and Schuster, page 166-167.

37. "Attributed to Ryōzen (fl. 1348-1355)
Ink and color on silk, 113.1x58.8 cm
Namboku-cho-Ashigaka Period
Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.
from Danielle Elisseeff and Vadime Elisseeff (1985), *Art of Japan.* New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., Publishers, Figure 91, page 201.

38. "View of Kabuki Performance (uki-e shibai-goya)" by Okumura Masanobu
Woodblock print, urushi-e
Early 18th century
Tokyo National Museum
Bradley Smith (1964), *Japan: A History in Art.* New York: Simon and Schuster, page 206.

39. "Street Vendor of Illustrated Books (ezōshi iroiro)" by Torii Kiyomasu
Woodblock print, urushi-e
Early 18th century
Published by Igaya
Tokyo National Museum,
Bradley Smith (1964), *Japan: A History in Art.* New York: Simon and Schuster, page 202.

40. "Dutchman and Nagasaki Geisha (ranjin to Nagasaki yû jo no zu)", (artist unknown)
Color on Paper
Early 19th century
Tsuneo Tamba Collection, Yokohama
Bradley Smith (1964), *Japan: A History in Art.* New York: Simon and Schuster, page 201.

41. "Arhat"
Color on silk, height about 1 m
Late Heian period, second half of 11th century
Tokyo National Museum
from Danielle Elisseeff and Vadime Elisseeff (1985), *Art of Japan.* New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., Publishers, Figure 159, page 200.

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あくまでんの
かしをそれらぢ
のうひとらいよ
くわしつうちよ
りにうちのて
ゆんでつり
りくけんでうの
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えたくゑとゑそ
のうちて夫こを
けらうつてと志
うろうつらうて
かうつくまつて
られくかのこと
うらうつろう
あてたて
そゑたぞ
たうらう
ひらあいり
うそめ
かちつろり
あれそ
うそめ
みうちつり
そあめ
うちうつ
そゑつ
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醫傘
山聲香

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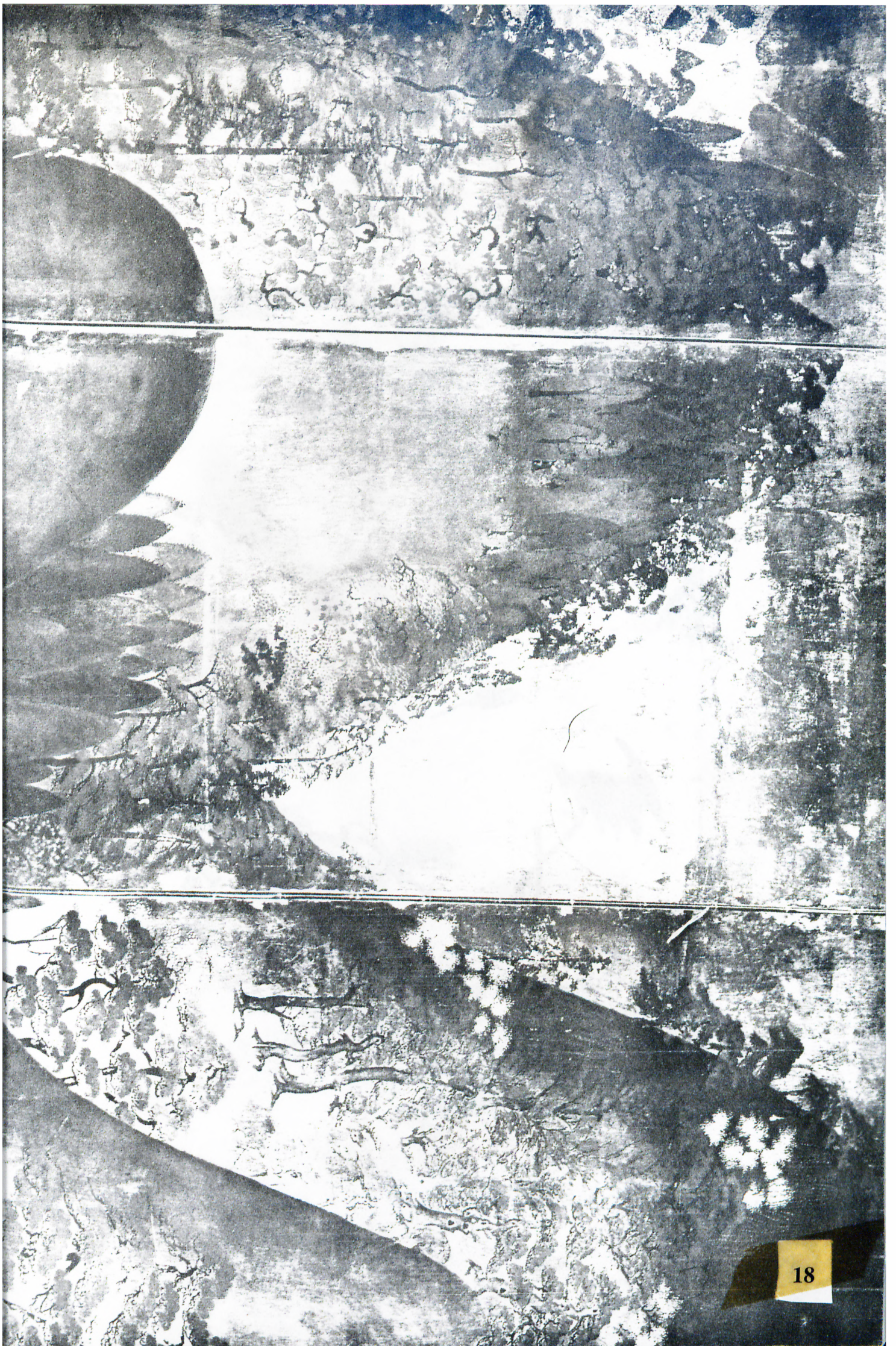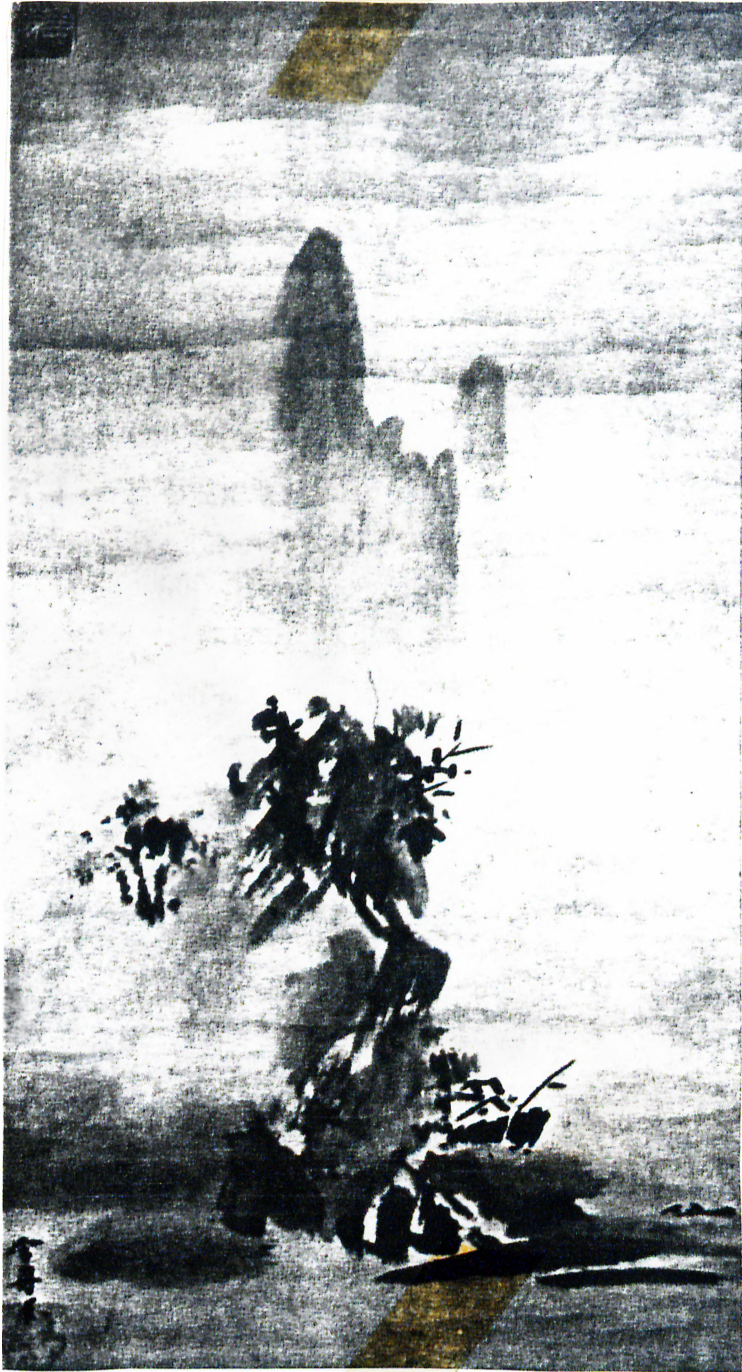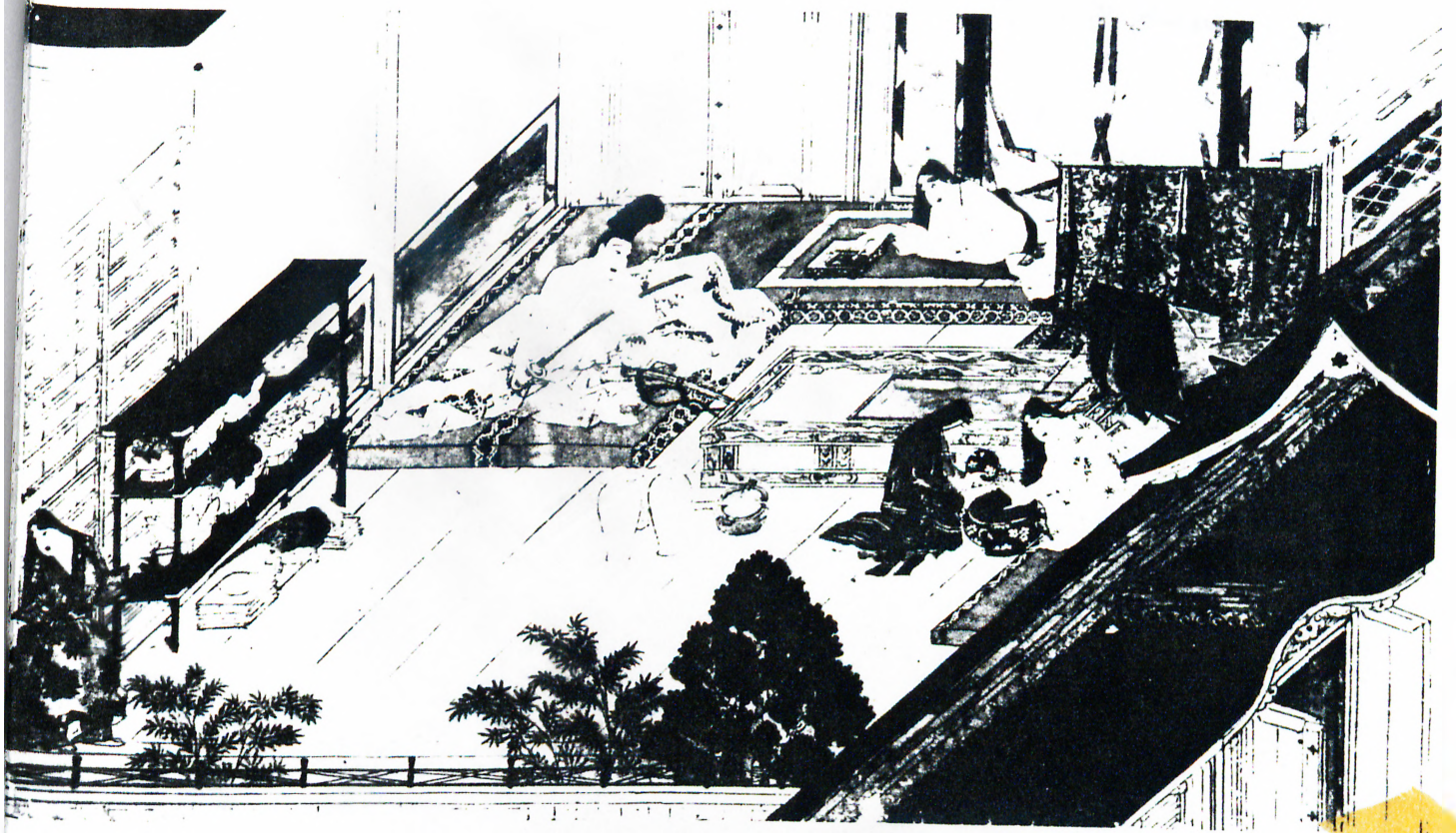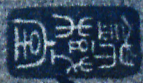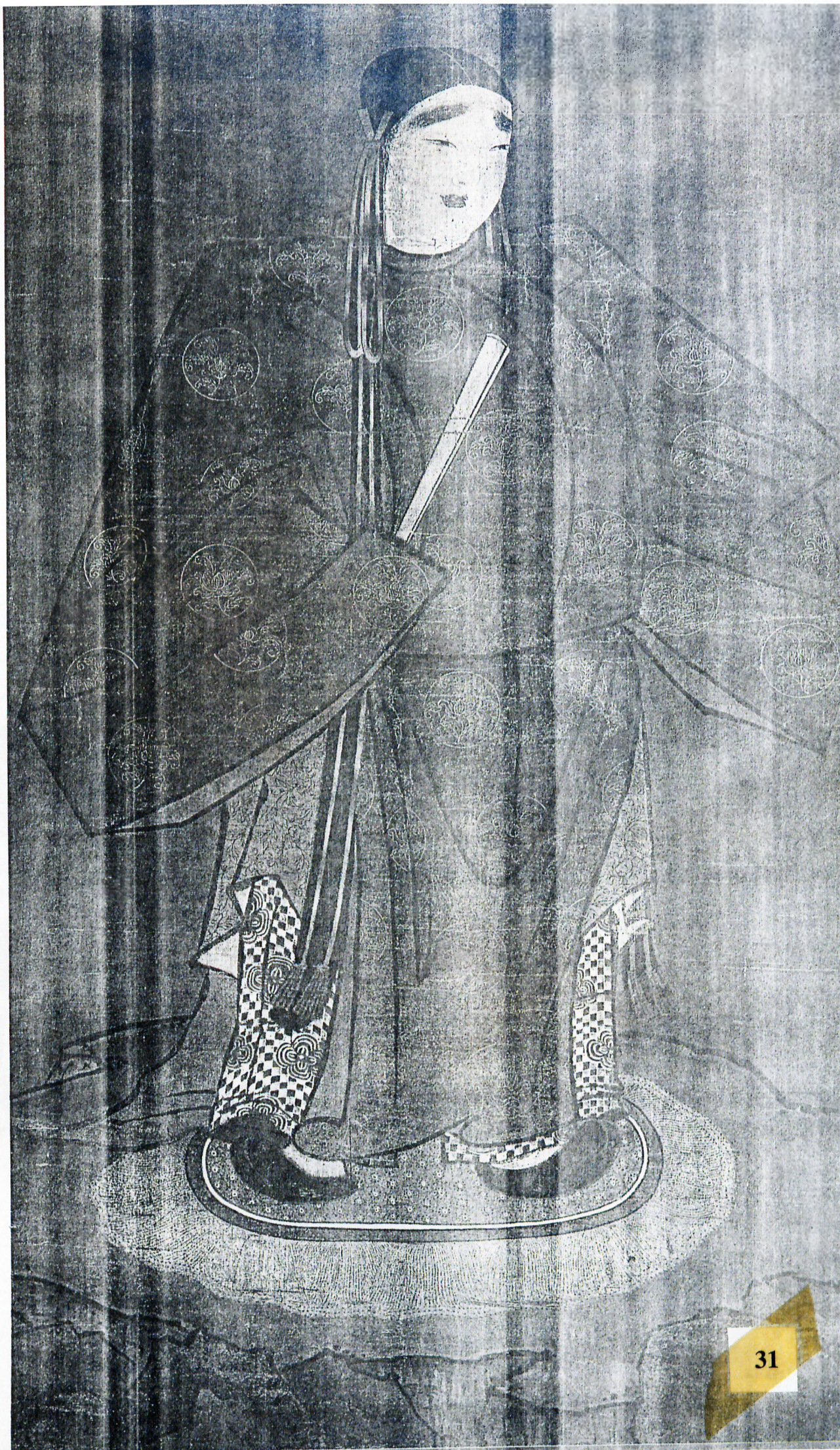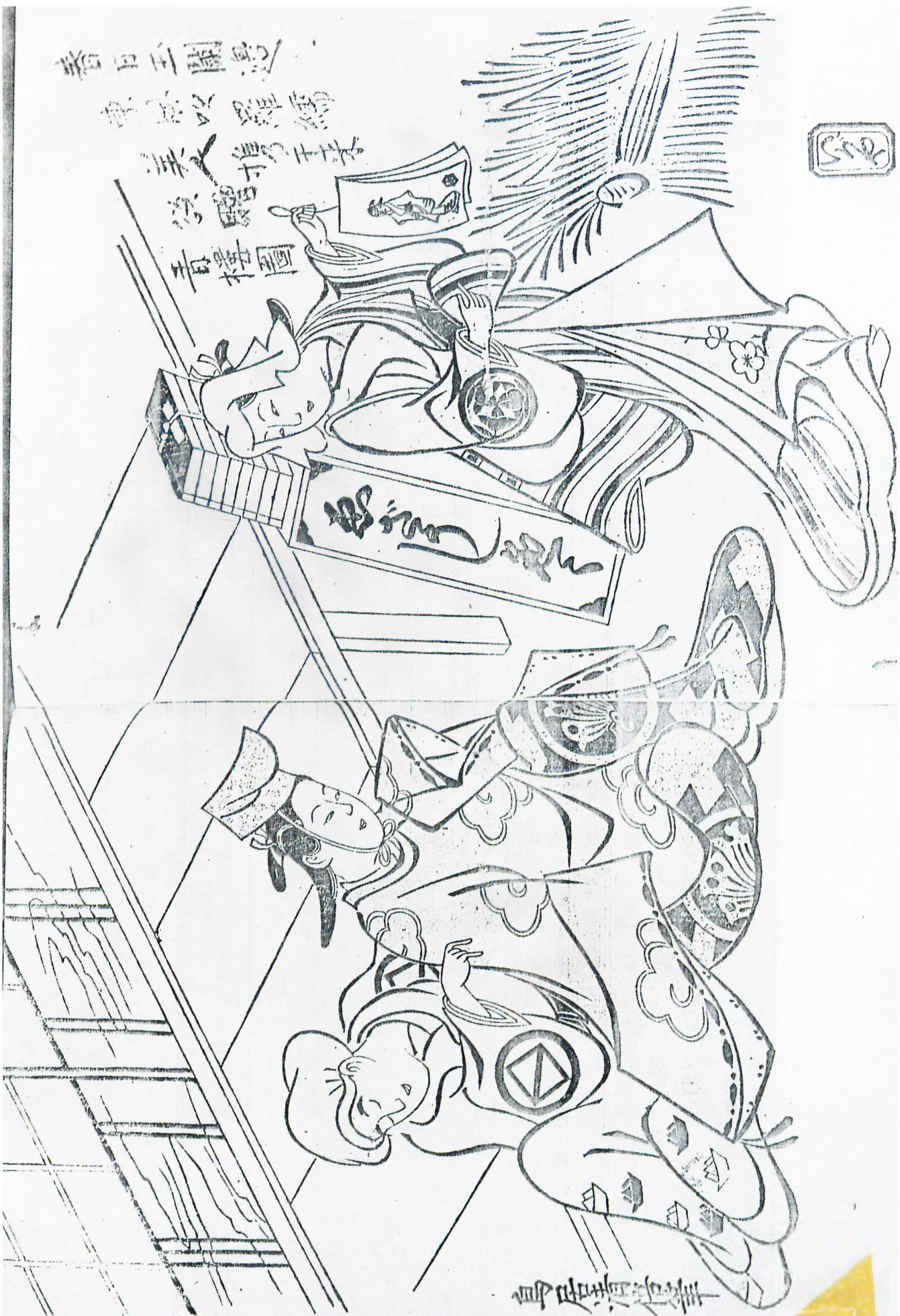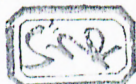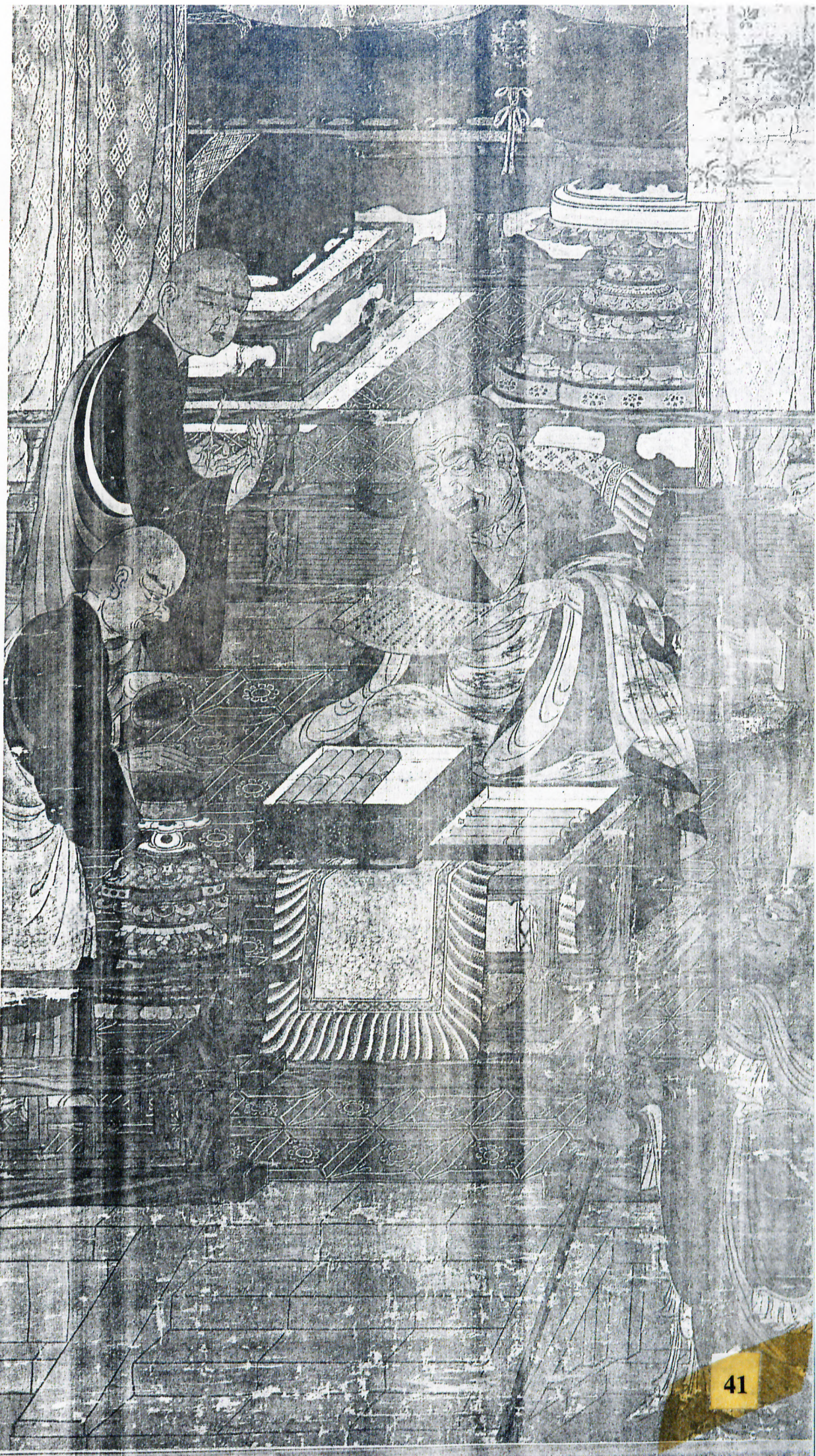
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