

PART TWO

THE SPACE OF *MIYAKO*

Chapter 1

THE *UCHI* AND *SOTO* OF *MIYAKO*

In *Ōkagami* 大鏡 (The Great Mirror) can be found the proverb *gerō naredomo miyako no hotori* 下臍なれども都の辺 (humble, but near the *miyako*).¹ It occurs in a passage in which an old man named Yotsugi 世継 adamantly insists that he can prove his claimed age of 190 years. The validity of his claim rests on the fact that his father lived “near” a *miyako*, in this case Heian-kyō, which is meant to suggest that despite his “humble” or low social standing he was cultured enough to write the birth year of his son on the swaddling clothes.

The implication here is two-fold. Firstly, if merely living in the environs of a *miyako* was enough to indicate this degree of sophistication, then all the more to be said for those actually residing in a *miyako*. In other words, the closer one was to a *miyako*, the more one was considered culturally and intellectually refined, a phenomenon that I refer to as *miyako*-centrism.

Secondly, the phrase reveals that such benefits deriving from a *miyako* were not necessarily dependant on one’s birth or social standing;

1. *Ōkagami*, p. 37.

one could be “humble” and still be cultured. While class considerations were not wholly negated, it would seem that the culture of a *miyako* did to a large extent transcend social divides.

Rather than simply being an abstraction, the concept of *miyako* possesses a definite sense of locality. As such, the relationship between the space within a *miyako* and the space beyond takes on a degree of importance. The reference in *Ōkagami* to areas “near” a *miyako* indicates the space surrounding or in the environs of the inner space. But then what are the factors determining whether a particular locality is “inside” (*uchi* 内) or “outside” (*soto* 外), and if outside, by how far? In general, the relationship of a particular locality to a *miyako* will vary greatly depending on the relative positioning of the locality. Having examined the transition of *miyako* in Chapter 2 of Part One, my focus in Part Two is thus on the spatial relationships of *miyako*.

1. The Relationship between *Miyako* and *Inaka*

Our discussion of *miyako* has up until now failed to mention one crucial element—the concept of *inaka*. Any analysis of *miyako* and its environs is necessarily premised on the existence of a vast *inaka*, a term whose meaning is comparable to the “countryside” or “provinces” in English. Without an understanding of the space of *inaka*, any attempt to adequately grasp the relationship between *miyako* and its environs will clearly be in vain.

So what exactly do we mean when we refer to “*inaka*”? The term is used almost daily, and yet I doubt whether many Japanese have given any serious thought to its actual meaning. Our unconscious usage of the term carries with it tacit images of remote rural locations and sparsely populated mountain villages. Undoubtedly there are also associations to specific outlying regions in Japan such as Kyushu and Tōhoku. However, the term *inaka* does not refer simply to rural areas any more than it does to mountain or fishing villages. It cannot be understood as indicating a

particular geographical location.

The definition and usage of *inaka* reveal two significant characteristics. Firstly, the concept is consistently defined in terms of negation, and secondly, the prescribed meaning of *inaka* has itself led to a whole array of derivative terminology and associations. In regard to this first characteristic, it is quite clear that the term *inaka* only takes on meaning in relation to what it is not, and fails to refer independently to any specific place or location. In the *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam* (Vocabulary of the Language of Japan) published in 1603 by Jesuits living in Nagasaki, *inaka* is defined as “the areas lying outside of principal towns and cities.”² Likewise, *A Japanese-English and English-Japanese Dictionary*, compiled by James Curtis Hepburn and published in 1887, is in basic agreement with the *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam*, giving as the first meaning for *inaka*, “any place away from the capital.” This type of definition is not just restricted to non-Japanese language dictionaries. According to the *Kokugo daijiten* 国語大辞典, for instance, *inaka* is, “Land, districts removed from cities. The parts outside a *miyako*.” These definitions all rely on the same approach of assigning meaning to *inaka* through negative association.

2. The *Inaka-Miyako* Continuum

Given that *inaka* is a relative concept, the need arises to identify the element or elements in terms of which it is defined. The standard definitions given above suggest that *inaka* is not a principal town or municipality, nor a city, nor a capital, nor a *miyako*. Furthermore, since towns and municipalities grow to become urbane cities, and as we saw in Chapter 2 of Part One, a *miyako* can arise through the development of one or even a number of these urbane centers, it is possible to place *miyako* opposite *inaka* on the continuum of spatial values, and

2. *Nippo jisho*.

tentatively define *inaka* as “the regions lying outside a *miyako*.”

Although we seem to defer a degree of autonomy to the concept of *inaka* when we talk about the magnificence of its natural surroundings or the feelings of isolation it might impart, our comments are inevitably couched in relative terms. In the same way that our references to the natural surroundings of *inaka* are premised on the experience of urban life in a city or *miyako*, so it is that the isolation we associate with *inaka* only makes sense in relation to the bustling gaiety of a *miyako*.

My reason for making such apparently inconsequential observations at this stage is to emphasize the interdependence of the two concepts. Theorizing about *inaka* necessarily implies the problematization of *miyako*, and vice versa. It is no more possible for a *miyako* to exist without *inaka*, than it is for there to be *inaka* without a corresponding *miyako*. In other words, we are dealing not with two distinct elements, but rather a relationship characterized by a high degree of interdependence, which might properly be referred to as an *inaka-miyako* continuum. Moreover, the hierarchical structuring of this relationship is evident in the *miyako*-centrism of the standard dictionary definitions of *inaka* given above. Recognizing the nature of this interdependence is particularly important when focusing on areas “near” or in the environs of a *miyako*.³

As mentioned above, the second identifiable characteristic of the term *inaka* is the multitude of derivative terminology and associations that it has given rise to. Although generally used to refer to remote and unpopulated areas lying outside a *miyako*, what is actually being expressed is the “non-urbanity” of *inaka*. Of course, this is not simply an objective expression of attributes, but an evaluation or value judgment of

3. For an interesting study in this area, see Smith 1985, in which the establishment of the “country” in the West is paralleled with that of the “city” in Japan.

what the space of *inaka* represents. The nature of these value judgments can be gauged from the derogatory association of *inaka* with things “unrefined,” “common,” and “uncivilized,” and also in the slang usage of *katō geisha* 下等芸者 (third-rate geisha), and *shakufu* 酌婦 (country prostitutes). The implied meaning of *inaka* is, moreover, expressed most eloquently by the numerous kanji compounds deriving from the characters for *inaka*, examples of which include, *inaka-ebisu* 田舎夷 (country bumpkin), *inaka-gakumon* 田舎学問 (provincial or outmoded schooling), *inaka-kotoba* 田舎言葉 (provincial dialect), *inaka-zamurai* 田舎侍 (uncultivated samurai from the provinces), *inaka-shibai* 田舎芝居 (provincial theatre), *inaka-jimiru* 田舎染みる (countrified), *inaka-zukuri* 田舎作 (thickly or poorly cut sashimi), and *inaka-sodachi* 田舎育 (country-bred).

The assumed inferiority of *inaka* stems first and foremost from its supposed lack of cultural sophistication. The fact that *inaka* 田舎 can also be written with the characters 夷中 (literally “among barbarians” in a derogatory sense), demonstrates once again that in comparison to a *miyako*, the space of *inaka* is generally figured as a cultural backwater of an unequivocally alien nature. In other words, *inaka* is distinguished from a *miyako* not only in kind, but also as a space lacking all manner of cultural refinement. This fact is tacitly revealed in the following *tanka* from the *Man'yōshū* 万葉集.⁴

天離かる鄙に五年住まひつつ都の風習忘れにけり
amazakaru / hina ni itsutose / sumaitsutsu
miyako no teburi / wasuraenikeri

Five years of living
 in this rustic land
 at the far reaches of the heavens
 have made me forget
 the *miyako* ways.

4. Levy 1981, vol. 2, p. 382.

Here *miyako* and *inaka* are placed in opposition to each other, the cultural sophistication and energy of a *miyako* being emphasized through comparison with a space commonly understood as being devoid of all these qualities.

From the above discussion, it should be clear that one cannot theorize *inaka* without closely examining the multitude of value judgments implicit within the *inaka-miyako* continuum. To pursue such an examination requires an explication of the hierarchy of spatial values as it relates to Japan. On this point, Yanagita Kunio 柳田国男 notes importantly that, "It would be imprudent indeed to simply equate the current problematization of urban versus rural communities with the contrast between *miyako* and *hina*."⁵ Drawing distinctions as Yanagita does between "*miyako* versus *hina*" (*hina* being the provinces or *inaka*) and "city versus rural" recognizes the conceptuality of the former in comparison to the concrete nature of the latter. Indeed, when we theorize about *inaka* it is, in my opinion, the conceptual issues involving spatial hierarchies that we are problematizing.

Whereas aspects of the *inaka-miyako* continuum most certainly derive from circumstances particular to Japan, it is equally clear that the implied meaning of *inaka* in Japanese shares essentially the same characteristics, for instance, as "the country" in English. The *Macmillan Contemporary Dictionary* defines "country" as "regions outside of cities or towns," which bears an obvious resemblance to the way in which *inaka* is defined in the Japanese-Japanese and Japanese-English dictionaries reviewed earlier. What is more, listed under "rustic" in the Macmillan dictionary are, in addition to the more general reference to "country people or life," words such as "unsophisticated" and "simple." Thus in the English-speaking world, the conception of "the country" apparently

5. Yanagita 1929, p. 124.

occupies the same low rank on the spatial hierarchy as *inaka* in Japan. While my intention is not to suggest any cultural homogeneity at a global level, it would seem possible to confirm the existence of a phenomenon approximating the *inaka-miyako* continuum in many countries outside of Japan.

3. Spatial Hierarchies

In many instances, a disparity between cultures arises not because one culture lacks the elements of another culture, but because of cultural differences in the structuring of the various elements. Taking the *inaka-miyako* continuum as an example, it seems likely that equivalent concepts engaged in a comparable relationship can be found outside of Japan, but that the particular arrangement and emphasis of the concepts is configured differently. Thus in comparison with other countries, a closer relationship between *inaka* (or its equivalent) and *miyako* (or its equivalent) may be identifiable with respect to Japan. Similarly, it may be possible to characterize the spatial hierarchy of Japan as having more intermediate points than is evident in other countries. The emphasis of my research lies in identifying the degree of similarity and difference between cultures, rather than trying to isolate elements unique to Japanese culture.

As we saw in Chapter 2 of Part One, the concept of *miyako* in relation to Japan is distinguished by the transformation it underwent with the slow decline of Kyoto. This transformation led to the derivation of *tokai* 都会, or the “urbane city,” which is in a sense a smaller version of a *miyako*. This hierarchical relationship is maintained irrespective of whether a particular urbane city has yet to gain *miyako* status, as was the case with *tōto* 東都 during the Edo period, or whether a place that had *miyako* status reverts to being an urbane city, as occurred with the designation of Kyoto as *kōto* 皇都. Although theorists such as Honda Toshiaki 本多利明 rank the urbane city as the pinnacle of urban development, my understanding of the various relationships places the

miyako in this position, while the urbane city occurs at an intermediate stage between the opposing poles of *inaka* and *miyako*. The introduction of the urbane city as a miniature *miyako* allows Japan's spatial hierarchy to realize a definite pecking order.

The nature of this hierarchy might be better illustrated by comparing the experience of France, where Paris has not witnessed a period of decline during its time as the *miyako*. The spatial hierarchy of France is commonly thought of as being composed of only two regions—Paris and the area outside of Paris—with no middle ground. Since Paris, as the active *miyako*, has long been the monarchial, political, and urbane center of France, the need has never arisen to question the foundations of the concept. As a result, there exists an unbridgeable gap in spatial values between Paris and the area outside of Paris, and thus rather than a ranking of spatial values, we have instead the parallel existence of two discontinuous worlds. There is no city in France that one would refer to as being moderately Parisian or more Parisian than Paris itself, and there could hardly exist a more clear-cut separation of spatial values than that represented by the relationship between Paris and the provinces. My point is that in comparison to the extreme polarization evident in France, the spatial hierarchy of Japan is characterized by a strong interrelationship among the component elements of *miyako*, *tokai*, and *inaka*.

4. Heterogeneity within *Inaka*

Having determined *inaka* to be the regions lying outside a *miyako* as well as the lowest ranking element in the spatial hierarchy, we are now in a position to acknowledge the fact that *inaka* is by no means a homogeneous space. In *Le Japon Illustré* (Japan and the Japanese), Aimé Humbert (1819-1910) makes the following perceptive observations.

If the inhabitant of Yédo is proud of his good city, he is additionally proud of the magnificent suburb called *Inaka*, for

he is susceptible alike to the charms of nature and the pleasures of society, and loves the cool retreats on the banks of the Sumida-gawa as well as amusements on the quays of the city.⁶

Of interest to us here is the statement about the “inhabitant of Yédo” being “proud” of the “suburb called *Inaka*.” Are these “cool retreats” on the banks of the Sumida river that Humbert refers to as “*Inaka*” in any way comparable to the *inaka* that we have been discussing so far? And if so, how are we to reconcile the pride held for “nature” by the people of Edo with the low ranking of *inaka* in the spatial hierarchy? This apparent contradiction can be resolved if we consider the assumed superiority of *miyako* over *inaka* as being cultural and social rather than geographical or environmental. Contempt for the “stinking provinces” was, in other words, directed at the people living and working in the space of *inaka* rather than at the space itself. Thus the flipside of this “pride” held by the citizens of *miyako*, long since freed from the necessity of working the fields, was a chauvinistic attitude directed toward the people of *inaka* that crystallized as discrimination for their place of labor.

5. Provincial and Non-provincial *Inaka*

I represent this heterogeneity existing within *inaka* by breaking the space down into areas of provincial and non-provincial *inaka*, the former despised as the place of rural labor, and the latter characterized by the “cool retreats” along the Sumida river noted by Humbert. Provincial *inaka*, which denotes the rural districts and agricultural farmlands, occupies the lower rungs of the spatial hierarchy, whereas non-provincial *inaka* avoids being deridingly compared with the cultural superiority of *miyako*. The failure to explicate this distinction in the discussion to date has resulted in a rather incomplete picture of *inaka*. Identifying the

6. Humbert 1870, vol. 2, p. 44.

heterogeneity inherent within *inaka* will hopefully allow us to better understand the relation of this space with the space of both *miyako* and *tokai*.

Kenneth T. Jackson, professor of history at Columbia University and a researcher in the field of urban history, points out that the urban population density in the pre-industrialized world was roughly the equivalent of present-day Manhattan, a comparison that includes premodern Kyoto.⁷ As a space in which to escape the cramped everyday confines of the city, the areas of *inaka* close to a *miyako* played a crucial role in urban life. For instance, the popularity of the Sumida river for the people of Edo is highlighted in the following passage from *Hashhōjin* 八笑人 (Eight Laughters) by Ryūtei Rijō 瀧亭鯉丈 (?-1841).

One of many famous sights in the great city of Edo is the evening bustle during the cherry-viewing along the Sumida river, an area which is always resplendent whatever the season ... The movement of the working lads and their gals frolicking through the blossoms by the river together with countless others drawn by the crowds—of weight enough to collapse its banks—is not dissimilar to the to-and-fro activity of ants.⁸

Since city life prior to rapid expansion was premised on these high-density inner city living conditions, the need for a space away from the urban center that transcended the daily grind and allowed people to “get close to nature,” to use a contemporary turn of phrase, was also assumed. This function was fulfilled by the “cool retreats” of the Sumida river and other areas of *inaka* considered to be non-provincial.

The distinction between provincial and non-provincial *inaka* is

7. Jackson 1985, p. 5.

8. Ryūtei 1927, p. 799.

crucial for understanding the way in which the process of urbanization unfolded. From the point of view of the urban population, the rather undesirable space of the provincial *inaka* appears in stark contrast to the indispensable existence of the non-provincial *inaka*. The question as to which of these two areas of *inaka* will accommodate urban growth resulting from large population migrations will depend largely on two factors; one is the class structure of those moving away from the inner city, and the other is the particular geography of the urban center and its environs.

6. The Suburbs

The non-provincial parts of *inaka* near or in the environs of urban centers corresponded essentially with what are known in Japanese as *kōgai* 郊外, which closely approximates “the suburbs” in English. *Kōgai* is a term with a relatively long history in Japan, and my usage of it here should be distinguished from the more contemporary phenomenon of dormitory suburbs and bedtowns. In Japanese, the first kanji *kō* 郊 of the two-character compound *kōgai* refers to the open spaces or fields on the outskirts of cities and towns, and shares the same meaning as *shigai* (市外, literally “outside of cities/towns”).

The *Kokugo daijiten* 国語大辞典 defines *kōgai* as, “the districts immediately outside a city; the rural areas lying adjacent to an urban area; the outskirts; the outer city.” Also listed in the *Kokugo daijiten* are the following exemplary usages: *kōgai ni kyo o bokushi jinji mare nari* 郊外に居をとり塵事稀なり (Taking up residence in the suburbs, the world is forgotten.) (Fujiwara no Kintō 藤原公任, *Honchō reisō* 本朝麗藻); *hitohi kōgai ni shōyō shite inuōmono no ato o ikken shi* 日とひ郊外に逍遙して犬追物の後を一見し (One day when out for a breath of fresh air in the suburbs, I caught sight of the remains of the dog-hunting track.) (*Oku no hosomichi* 奥の細道); *kōgai ni asobu mono kore ni yoru toki wa* 郊外に遊ぶものこれに依る時は (People, when out for an excursion in the suburbs, . . .) (*Tōto kinkō-zu* 東都近郊図). The *kōgai* or suburbs were thus

originally conceived as the open spaces on the fringes of cities and towns in which people could enjoy various recreational pursuits away from the hustle and bustle. As an integral part of the lives of the urban population, the suburbs in the traditional sense should properly be included in the space of a *miyako* or urbane city.

Another term closely related to *kōgai* is *kinkō* 近郊 (the outskirts or environs), which Odauchi Michitoshi 小田内通敏, in his classic text *Tēito to kinkō* 帝都と近郊 defines as, “Areas worth visiting in the zone surrounding Edo that are manageable as a daytrip on foot.”⁹ The distribution of these “areas worth visiting,” or what I have been referring to as non-provincial *inaka*, will of course largely depend on the particular geography of the urban center and its surrounds. In this respect, the *inaka-miyako* continuum as it relates to Kyoto, in which clear divisions between urban and rural occur within a well-defined space as a result of the surrounding mountains, is ideally suited for modeling the relationship between the heterogeneous elements of *inaka* and the centripetal patterns of Japanese urbanization. The suitability of Kyoto as a model for this relationship is further enhanced by the intensity with which Kyoto has historically identified itself and been identified with the concept of *miyako*. I pursue this task through an analysis of Edo period maps of Kyoto.

7. Defining *Rakuchū* and *Rakugai*

The terms *rakuchū* or “inside *miyako*,” and *rakugai* or “outside *miyako*,” although referring generally to the space of a *miyako*, have been used specifically in relation to Kyoto since the Edo period. Our understanding of *inaka* as indicating the regions lying outside a *miyako* allows us to readily identify *rakuchū* with the central districts of *miyako* and *rakugai* with the space of *inaka*. However, the question then arises as

9. Odauchi 1918, p. 25.

to the point at which *rakuchū* becomes *rakugai*. In the *Nihon kokugo daijiten* 日本国語大辞典, *rakugai* is defined as areas “outside the *miyako*; beyond the built-up areas of Kyoto . . . Commonly understood during the Edo period to mean those areas within the *odoi* 御土居 constructed by Toyotomi Hideyoshi to the west and south, the Kamo river 鴨川 to the east, and Kuramaguchi-dōri 鞍馬口通 to the north.”

Although the demarcation of where *rakuchū* ends and *rakugai* begins has shifted over time, and is different now than it was during the Edo period, the fact remains that a boundary has always been drawn between the two. There has also historically been a great variation in the treatment of mapped areas depending on whether a particular area lay within or beyond this boundary. For example, Yamori Kazuhiko 矢守一彦 notes the disparate representation of *rakuchū* and *rakugai* in Kyoto maps dating from the Edo period, particularly the enlargement of the former at the expense of the latter.¹⁰ An examination of Edo period maps of Kyoto indeed confirms that regions beyond the *odoi*, or earthen ramparts, to the west and south, and Kuramaguchi-dōri to the north have been scaled down. Areas lying to the east of the Kamo river, however, were an exception to this rule.

Figures 4 and 5 show respectively the *Shinsen zōho Kyō ōezu* 新撰増補京大絵図 (The New Revised and Enlarged Great Map of Kyoto, 1691) and the *Kyōto ōezu* 京都大絵図 (The Great Map of Kyoto, 1696). Although of different lineage, these two sketch maps demonstrate a similar treatment of space. Specifically, the area as far as the *odoi* to the west and south, and Kuramaguchi-dōri to the north, is represented to scale. In comparison, areas to the north of Kuramaguchi-dōri, but still within the bounds of the *odoi*, have either been reduced in scale with little informational content given or not mapped at all, and likewise the areas beyond the western stretch of the *odoi* have largely been left

10. For further details, see Sonoda 1992, pp. 71-87.

Figure 4: *Shinsen zōho Kyō ōezu* 新撰増補京大絵図 (The New Revised and Enlarged Great Map of Kyoto, 1691)

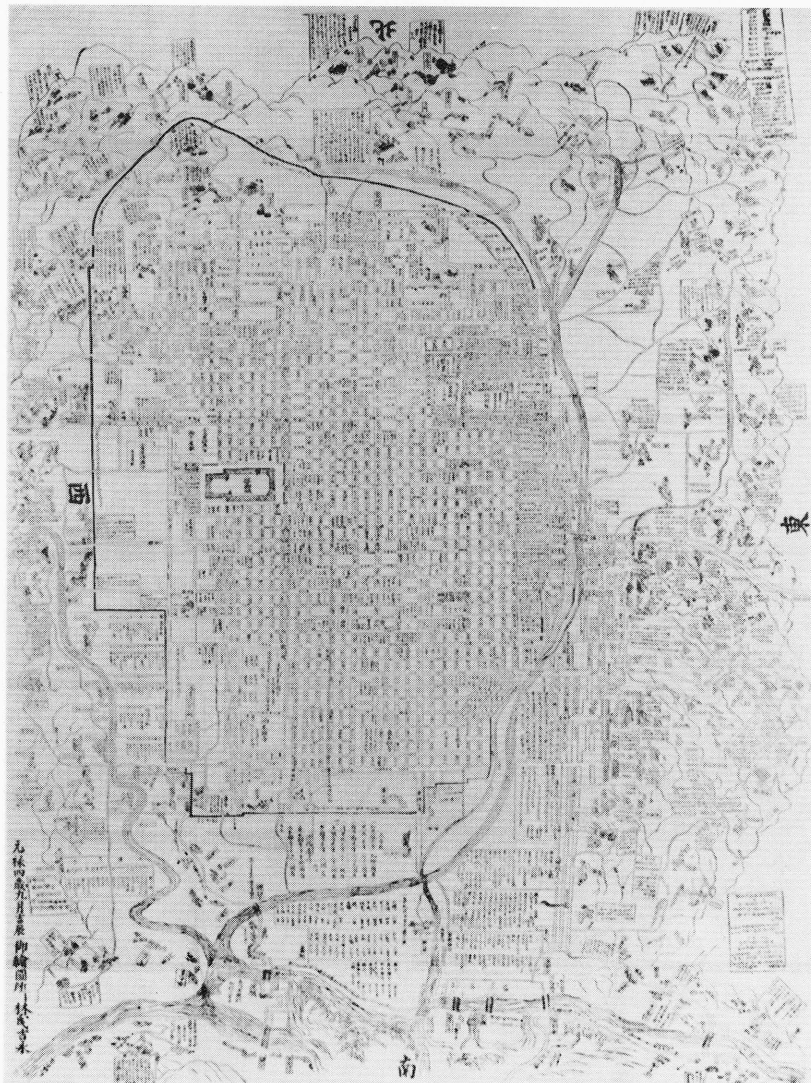
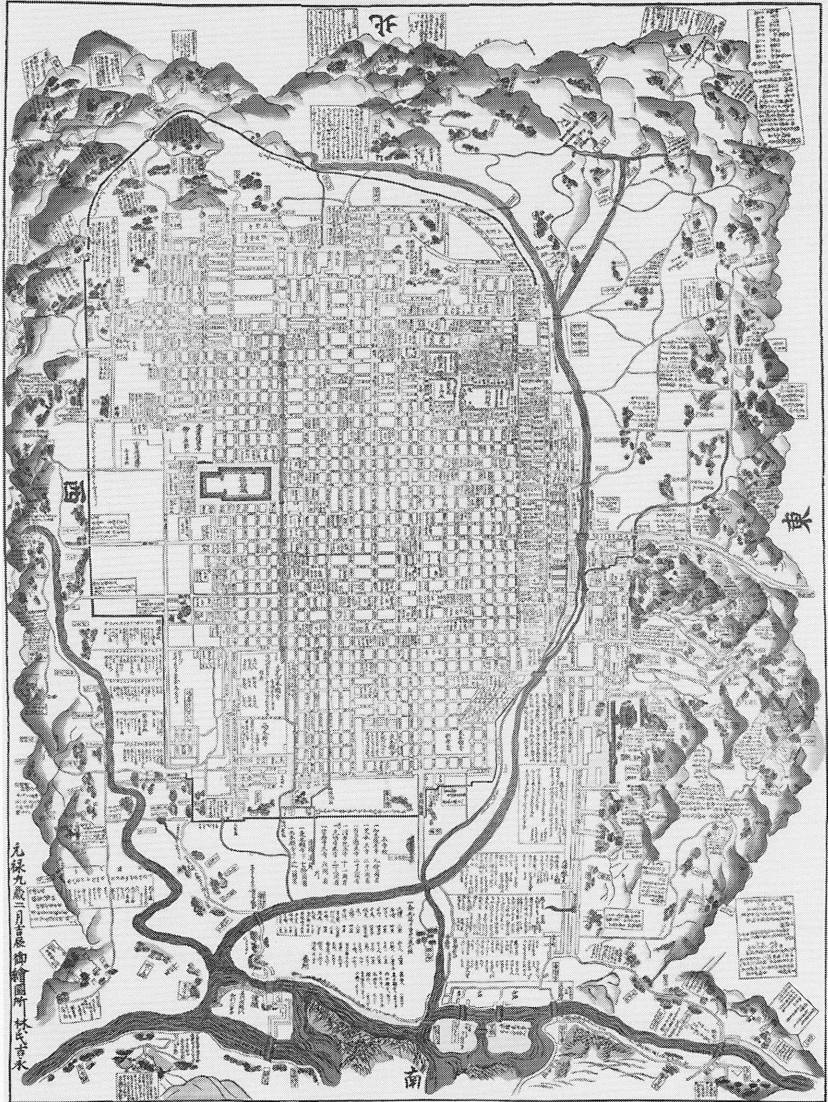


Figure 5: *Kyōto ōezu* 京都大絵図 (The Great Map of Kyoto, 1696)

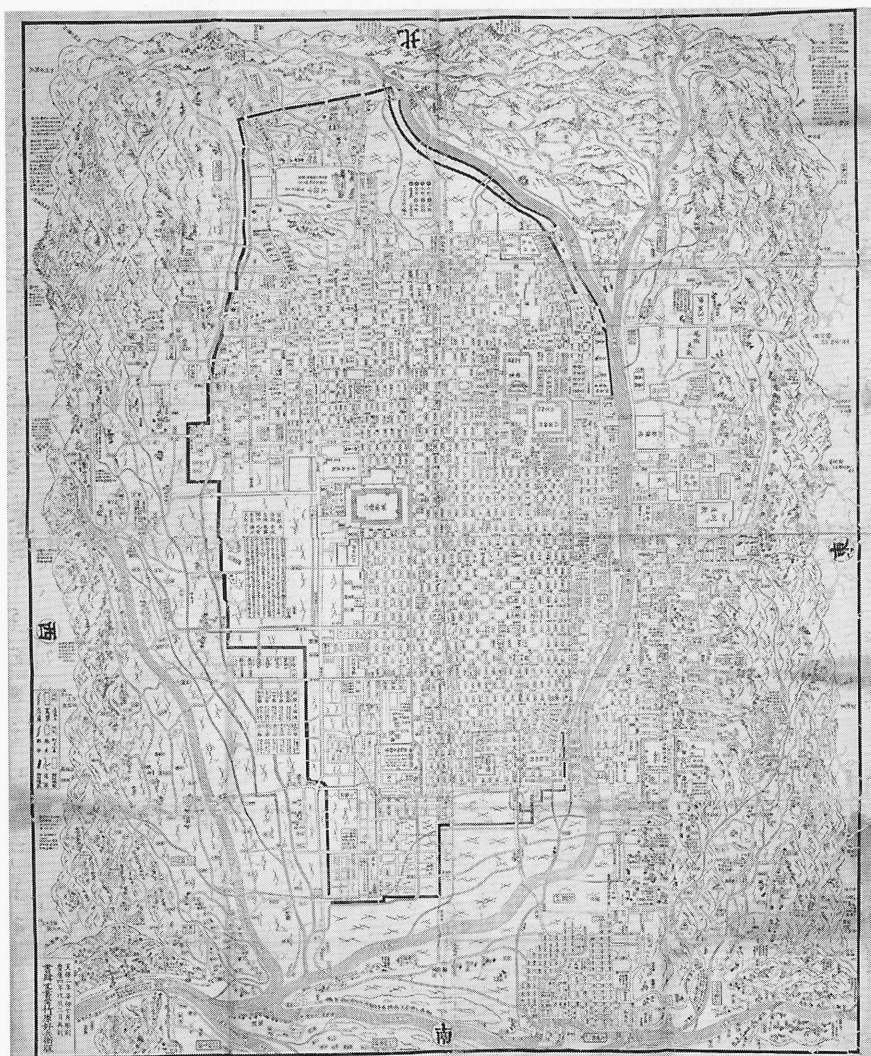


unmapped. As mentioned above, an exception to this rule were areas on the eastern side of the Kamo river, specifically those south of Sanjō-dōri, which have been shown with approximately the same degree of accuracy as areas within *rakuchū*. Thus if the boundary between *rakuchū* and *rakugai* is to be determined on the basis of referential accuracy, these areas east of the Kamo river should properly be considered as part of *rakuchū*.

To gain an idea of how *rakugai* has been treated in different periods, let's now compare the *Shinsen zōho Kyō ōezu* with the *Kaisei Kyōmachi on'ezu saiken taisei* 改正京町御絵図細見大成 (Revised Compilation of Detailed Kyoto Maps, 1831) in Figure 6. Comparison reveals that in the former, *rakugai* basically functions to frame *rakuchū*. *Rakugai* occupies only a thin strip around the perimeter of the mapped area and little informational content has been included. Although the map does cover the areas from Mt. Kurama 鞍馬山 (north), Iwashimizu shrine 石清水 (south), Byōdōin temple 平等院 (east), and Arashiyama 嵐山 (west), it seems clear that the *Shinsen zōho Kyō ōezu* is first and foremost a map of *rakuchū*. A tendency evident in later Kyoto maps and typified in the *Kaisei Kyōmachi on'ezu saiken taisei*, however, is the increased weight and informational detail assigned to *rakugai*. The earlier focus on *rakuchū* thus evolved during the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to encompass both *rakuchū* and *rakugai*.

As we saw in Part One, this gradual increase in the mapped area of *rakugai* reflects the expanding recognition of the sights of *rakugai* that parallels the transformation of Kyoto from *miyako* to *koto* 古都 (ancient *miyako*). The increases in scale and informational content obviously improved the practical value of maps, although there were of course restrictions in terms of overall size that dictated that some of the existing content be sacrificed in order to accommodate the additional information. As we saw above, however, *rakuchū* was not subject to any reduction in scale, and yet at the same time the representational accuracy of *rakugai* was steadily being improved. Thus, even allowing for increases in map size, it was inevitable that some areas had to be sacrificed to allow

Figure 6: *Kaisei Kyōmachi on'ezu saiken taisei* 改正京町御絵図細見大成
(Revised Compilation of Detailed Kyoto Maps, 1831)



for the expansion of mapped space.

8. Spatial Disparities between *Rakuchū* and *Rakugai*

Superimposing Kyoto maps from the Edo period over a 1:500,000 scale map of Kyoto published by the Geographical Survey Institute (GSI) helps to shed light on the handling of increases in mapping accuracy and informational detail. Passing roughly through the center of the GSI map in a straight line from west to east is: Arashiyama → Nishiōji-dōri (approximately where the *odoi* demarks the western limits of *rakuchū*) → Nijō castle → the Kamo river (generally considered the eastern extremity of *rakuchū*) → Nanzenji temple (at the foot of the Higashiyama mountains). Measuring the distance between these five points on the GSI map reveals the following. From Arashiyama in the west to Nanzenji temple in the east is over 10 km. This is the widest east-west length of the Kyoto Basin. From Arashiyama to Nishiōji-dōri, the western boundary of *rakuchū*, is a little under 5 km, and from Nishiōji-dōri to Nijō castle, positioned slightly east of center, is approximately 1.8 km, giving a total of around 6.5 km from Arashiyama to roughly the center of Kyoto. From Nijō castle to Nanzenji temple is another 4 km, and finally, from Nishiōji-dōri to the Kamo river, the east-west length of *rakuchū* during the Edo period, is also approximately 4 km. The table below compares the distances calculated from the GSI map of Kyoto with the corresponding “distances” estimated from the 1696 edition of the *Kyōto ōezu*.

Table 5: Actual distance and estimated distance in *Kyōto ōezu*
(Unit: kilometer)

	Actual distance	Distance in <i>Kyōto ōezu</i>
Arashiyama - Nanzenji temple	10.5	10.5
Arashiyama - Nishiōji	4.7	0.84
Nishiōji - Nijō castle	1.8	2.31
Nijō castle - Kamo river	2.3	5.25
Kamo river - Nanzenji temple	1.7	2.1

The estimated distances given in the table for the *Kyōto ōezu* were based on a total measured distance of approximately 50 cm between the west-east extremities of Arashiyama and Nanzenji temple. Broken down we have: Arashiyama → 4 cm ← western *odoi* → 11 cm ← Nijō castle → 25 cm ← Kamo river → 10 cm ← Nanzenji temple. The estimated figures in the table were gained by equating the measured 50 cm width of the Kyoto Basin with the 10.5 km shown on the GSI map.

The disparity between the two sets of figures speaks clearly of the treatment of space in Edo period maps of Kyoto. The largest discrepancy exists between Arashiyama and the western *odoi*, where an actual distance of 5 km is reduced on the *Kyōto ōezu* to less than 1 km. This tendency can be generalized for areas of the Kyoto Basin lying beyond the *odoi* toward the Nishiyama mountains, as well the parts of *rakugai* beyond the northern and southern boundaries of *rakuchū*. Furthermore, in many Kyoto maps dating from this period, the Kamo and Uji rivers are represented as flowing westward just below the southern limits of the *odoi*. And Yodo castle, positioned on the opposite bank of these rivers, appears to be only shouting distance away from Tōji temple, shown as being barely inside the southern perimeter of the *odoi*, when in actual fact there is approximately 9 km separating the two.

9. Greenbelt versus Agricultural Land

Although the areas of *rakugai* lying to the north, south, and west of *rakuchū* were not accurately represented in Edo period maps of Kyoto, the rate of scaling down was not uniform for all areas, and it is, for instance, possible to identify regions within *rakugai* that were largely shown to scale. An examination of the maps reveals the agricultural farmland (農地 *nōchi*) in *rakugai* as having been reduced or left unmapped, while emphasis was placed on what might be called the greenbelt (緑地 *ryokuchi*) areas. This distinction between the agricultural land and greenbelt of *rakugai* corresponds to our earlier division of *inaka* into provincial and non-provincial parts.

Unlike today, the built-up areas of Kyoto during the Edo period did not encroach immediately to the foot of the mountains surrounding the basin. Rather the agricultural land and greenbelt of *rakugai* were included within the area of the basin, with the agricultural land lying closest to *rakuchū* and the greenbelt set into the foothills so as to encompass *rakuchū* from a distance. Typical greenbelt areas of Kyoto at the time included Kurama to the north, Byōdōin temple to the south in Uji, and Kinkakuji and Ginkakuji temples to the northwest and northeast, respectively, as well as other places of scenic and historic value. These greenbelt areas were located in the natural setting of foothills, ravines, ponds, and fields, with many temples and shrines in close proximity. The sights of Kyoto were, however, characterized not by “nature” in its untouched state, but by an artificial nature shaped through the culture and tastes of the people of *miyako*. As mentioned above, the gradual transformation of Kyoto from *miyako* to *koto* during the Edo period was accompanied by an expanded recognition of the sights in the *rakugai* greenbelt as important cultural resources, a consequence of which was the increased accuracy with which these areas were represented on maps.

While we have identified *rakugai* as comprising both greenbelt and agricultural land, comparisons with *rakuchū* were often drawn with “*rakugai*” being used to refer exclusively to the non-provincial greenbelt areas. As such, my usage of the term below should be understood in the same way. In the *Kaisei Kyōmachi on'ezu saiken taisei* (Revised Compilation of Detailed Kyoto Maps, 1868), full coverage is given to the greenbelt areas of Kyoto, including considerable detail of the various roads connecting the sights, historic or otherwise, dotted around the natural surroundings. Printed at the very end of the Edo period, this map demonstrates clearly the extent to which the mapped proportion of *rakugai* came to rival that of *rakuchū* with the decline of Kyoto as a *miyako*. Maps from this period also tell us that Kyoto was basically formed from two main regions—*rakuchū* and the greenbelt—while the agricultural land was left largely unmapped.

10. Displacement of the Provincial *Inaka*

Yamori Kazuhiko interprets the marked scaling down of what we have identified as the agricultural land in early Kyoto maps as “a technique adopted to enable the expanded inclusion of key regions of *rakugai* within a prescribed map size.”¹¹ Certainly, this “technique,” as Yamori refers to it, can be used to explain in part the failure to accurately map or even include the agricultural land lying between *rakuchū* and *rakugai*. However, we are still left to account for this tendency in periods prior to any move to facilitate the “expanded inclusion of key areas of *rakugai*.” Thus rather than being a matter of necessity, the treatment of the agricultural land in Edo period maps seems more to reflect the inconsequentiality of these areas in the day-to-day lives of the people of Kyoto.

Whether a particular area of *inaka* was considered provincial or non-provincial depended largely on the standpoint of the people making the judgment. The greenbelt or non-provincial areas were spared the discrimination directed toward other parts of *inaka* for the simple reason that, as far as the *miyako* residents were concerned, any people living in these areas were only ever part of the scenery. Thus there were, for all intents and purposes, no “people” in these areas against which to discriminate. While the *rakugai* greenbelt represents a middle ground in the spatial hierarchy, this understates the importance of the “nature” found in these areas for the well being of those living in the densely populated *rakuchū*. Life in *rakuchū* only become viable when balanced by excursions to *rakugai* and the amusements provided there.

On the other hand, the provincial parts of *inaka* were viewed as a production space populated by an unrefined class of people. In terms of the *miyako* consciousness of Edo period Kyoto, according to which

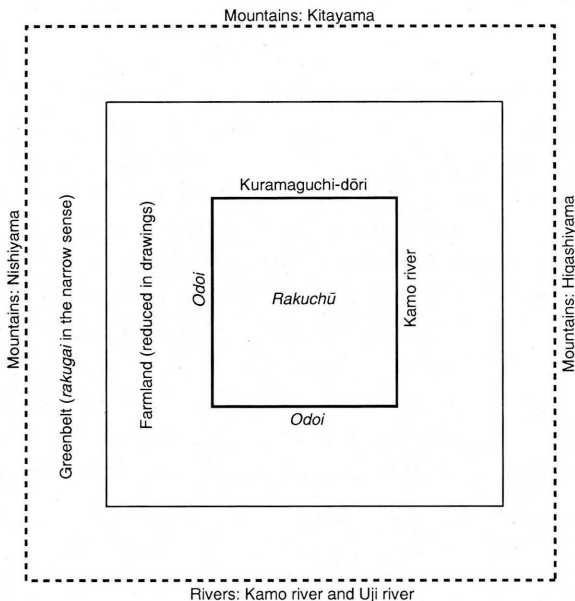
11. Yamori 1984, p. 57.

cultural refinement and prosperity were most highly valued, the agricultural land lying adjacent to *rakuchū* thus ranked very low indeed. Since the very idea of sweaty labor directly offended the *miyako* aesthetic, areas considered provincial were wholly displaced from the conceptual space of *miyako*.

11. The Cosmology of *Miyako*

Whereas *inaka* is defined negatively as the parts lying outside a *miyako*, it is not possible to reverse this process and define a *miyako* in terms of places other than *inaka*. The *inaka-miyako* continuum is, in other words, an explicit expression of *miyako*-centrism. Allow me to summarize the above arguments by referring to the following conceptual diagram of the space of *miyako*.

Figure 7: The space of *miyako*



The spatial configuration described above for Kyoto can equally be applied to Edo after it became the *miyako*. Maeda Ai 前田愛, in *Toshi kūkan no naka no bungaku* 都市空間のなかの文学 (Literature within Urban Space), describes maps of Edo as having a “concentric structure focused around Edo castle,” and comments further that, “Roads are shortened as the distance from the castle increases, and such peripheral agricultural regions lying beyond the outpost towns of Senju, Shinagawa, and Shinjuku are shown in little more than key map form.”¹² Thus, as with Kyoto, the agricultural regions were basically ignored in maps of Edo produced during the Edo period.

In comparison, the non-provincial *inaka* characterized by the “cool retreats” of the Sumida river was an indispensable part of the lives of the Edo population. Unlike Kyoto, however, Edo was not surrounded by mountains, thus complicating the clear-cut triangular structure—central districts, agricultural land, greenbelt—existing in Kyoto. If we take the greenbelt of Edo to include the tableland regions of Ōkawabata, Atagoyama, and Asukayama, as well as the Musashi plain and Tama river areas, it becomes clear that in many instances the greenbelt zones came in direct contact with or were incorporated within the urban districts of Edo. The non-provincial *inaka* thus merged into the city proper much like “Kensington struggles into London,” as Robert Fortune aptly put it.¹³ Despite this rearrangement of the various relationships, there remained, as with Kyoto, a clear separation and hierarchical ordering of the three fundamental elements, and thus an essential similarity between the spatial configurations of Edo and Kyoto.

But what of the relationship between the urban center and the geography of the area in which it is situated? Obviously this is going to have an effect on how the urban population gains access to the greenbelt

12. Maeda 1982, p. 65.

13. Fortune 1863, p. 79.

regions. In comparison with other cities, Kyoto was ideally situated with mountains surrounding on three sides, which ensured that the naturally occurring greenbelt was in close proximity. As João Rodrigues notes:

On going out of the city at any point, you find the loveliest and most delightful countryside of all Japan, and there are refreshing woods and groves round about. Every day crowds of people from the city enjoy themselves there with banquets in a kind of tent which they put up to obtain some privacy.¹⁴

Such ease of access was not typical of all urban centers. When the naturally occurring greenbelt proved inadequate, the need arose to introduce “nature” within the congested urban space. In this respect, Rodrigues’ views on the *shichū no sankyo* 市中山居, which literally means “mountain dwelling in the midst of a city,” prove most interesting. He was of the opinion that the establishment in Sakai of a new form of tea ceremony known as *suki* 数奇, and the building of “small huts” for inviting people to enjoy *cha*, was a result of the city of Sakai being,

. . . situated in a hot dry plain on the sea-coast, or rather, in a sandy plain surrounded to the west by a rough coast; and there are no refreshing fountains and groves of trees nearby, nor lonely and nostalgic places in keeping with *suky*, as there are in the city of Miyaco.¹⁵

. . . and also on account of other relevant considerations certain Sacay men versed in *chanoyu* built the *cha* house in another way. It was smaller and set among some small trees planted for the purpose, and it represented, as far as the small site allowed,

14. Rodrigues 1967, p. 120.

15. Rodrigues 1967, p. 275.

the style of lonely houses which are found in the countryside, or like the cells of solitaries who dwell in hermitages far removed from people and give themselves over to the contemplation of the things of nature and its First Cause.¹⁶

Leaving aside the question of whether the greenbelt was located in *rakugai* or introduced artificially into *rakuchū*, the fact remains that in the case of both Kyoto and Edo, as city and *miyako*, the non-provincial regions of *inaka* were embraced and the provincial parts shunned. Merely leaving the agricultural land off the map was, of course, not enough to deny its actual existence, and when the time came for the urban areas to expand, it was this provincial *inaka* lying “near” the *miyako* that was first encountered. Given that expansion was unavoidable, the alternatives were twofold—either acknowledge the existence of these displaced areas and absorb them within *rakuchū*, or else come up with another means of effecting the expansion. This is one of the questions explored in the following chapters.

Before moving on to discuss these issues, however, we should first consider the approaches that might be used to highlight the characteristics of the urban centers, suburbia, and land of Japan. Specifically, we need to ask ourselves, is it merely a local phenomenon we are attempting to describe, or is our analysis based on an awareness of Japan as one distinctive civilization among many? Until we are clear on this point, there can be no meaningful discussion. In my opinion, it is only through a comparison with other countries and cultures that particular features of Japan can be presented in strong relief. In consequence of the need to make such comparisons, I take a rather roundabout route in the following chapters as I attempt to identify some of the distinctive features of Japan. My immediate focus is on the United States, a country that in many respects appears diametrically opposed to

16. Rodrigues 1967, p. 275.

Japan. In particular, I examine the urbanization and suburbanization of Boston with the intention of defining, through comparison in later chapters, the spatial cosmology of *miyako*.

Chapter 2

CENTRIFUGAL PATTERNS OF URBANIZATION: A STUDY OF BOSTON

1. Japan as Seen through the Eyes of Edward S. Morse

Acknowledged for his discovery of the Ōmori shell mounds and for being the first professor of zoology at the University of Tokyo, Edward Sylvester Morse (1838-1925) is furthermore credited with having introduced the fields of zoology and archaeology to Japan. In addition to these accomplishments, he was also an excellent observer of the urban space of Japan. While Morse's keen powers of observation can be attributed to a natural disposition, the focusing of these powers speaks clearly of his personal experiences growing up during the rapid urbanization experienced by mid-nineteenth century America.

Morse kept meticulous records during his time in Japan, and in terms of accuracy and detail they stand apart from the myriad of similar travel logs. The following passage from *Japan Day by Day* encapsulates the essence of his perspective on the country. "It was marvelous to look across this great city and see the shipping in the Bay of Yedo; not a chimney, not even a haziness: a marked contrast to our smoke-begrimed

cities.”¹ Morse was able to discover in Meiji Japan what the United States had lost through industrialization. In comparison to the “smoke-begrimed cities” of the United States, the cities and towns of Japan during the Meiji period could still be described as aesthetically pleasing.

Morse had, in total, over two and a half years between 1877 and 1882 (the second decade of the Meiji period) during which to observe Japan. Although the process of industrialization was already underway by the time of his first visit, the Japan that he encountered was still very much pre-industrial. The population explosion had yet to unfold, and the majority of the country was still engaged in agriculture and farming. In fact, Japan during the early years of Meiji remained largely unchanged from the agricultural subsistence society of the Edo period. It took time for the new industries to establish themselves, and it was not until the 1930s, a full half-century later, that the number of workers engaged in the primary industries of agriculture, forestry, and fisheries fell below 50 percent.

Morse first arrived in Japan in 1877 during the height of the Seinan War. Although socially pre-industrial, many of the initial political reforms had already been implemented by the end of the first decade of Meiji. These included the restoration of imperial rule, promoted under slogans such as *kyūbutsu no hakai* 旧物ノ破壊 (out with the old) *hyakuji no isshin* 百事ノ一新 (in with the new), and a move toward political centralization through the replacement of the feudal han with a system of prefectures (*haihan-chiken* 廃藩置県, 1871). In addition, the samurai class had all but been dismantled, and the Education Ordinance of 1872 instituted a national education system. Conscription had also been introduced in 1873, and the government force in Kyushu at the time of fighting the Satsuma rebels, the last remaining pocket of samurai

1. Morse 1917, vol. 1, pp. 279-280.

resistance, was composed mainly of these new recruits.

In *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings*, Morse comments generally that, "Having got such a bird's-eye view of one city, we have seen them all."² And again, "The compact way in which in the cities and towns the houses are crowded together, barely separated by the narrow streets and lanes which cross like threads in every direction."³ This crowding together of houses that Morse notes was not particular to Japan, but was also characteristic of many cities and towns in Europe and America prior to the mid-nineteenth century push of urban development. As pointed out in the preceding chapter, the residential population density in major cities worldwide prior to rapid urbanization was roughly the equivalent of present day Manhattan.⁴ It was this high-density form of inner city community that disappeared so rapidly from the American landscape during Morse's time.

The following passage is again from *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings*, and though rather long, I have included it in full for the way in which Morse's experience of urbanization in the United States is reflected in the seemingly innocent observations.

In the cities the quarters for the wealthier classes are not so sharply defined as with us, though the love for pleasant outlooks and beautiful scenery tends to enhance the value of certain classes. In nearly all the cities, however, you will find the houses of the wealthy in the immediate vicinity of the habitations of the poorest. In Tokio one may find streets, or narrow alleys, lined with a continuous row of the cheapest shelters; and here dwell the poorest people. Though squalid

2. Morse 1885, p. 2.

3. Morse 1885, p. 2.

4. Jackson 1985, p. 5.

and dirty as such places appear to the Japanese, they are immaculate in comparison with the unutterable filth and misery of similar quarters in nearly all the great cities of Christendom. Certainly a rich man in Japan would not, as a general thing, buy up the land about his house to keep the poorer classes at a distance.⁵

With the destruction of the compact inner city lifestyle, America lost the one space in which the different classes were obliged to live and work together. Gone were the familiar urban communities that Morse had known from his childhood. Ultimately, the period of rapid urbanization culminated in a fracturing of the urban residential space and a growing polarization between the classes. In this respect, Morse's outlook on Japan can be read as both a lamentation on the state of American society post-urbanization and an expression of nostalgia for an America no longer in existence. I would now like to examine closely the structural and social changes that occurred in Boston from the mid-nineteenth century in an attempt to gain some insight into what Morse might have experienced while growing up.

2. The Urban Space of Boston

Apart from a total of approximately three years in Japan, Morse spent the greater half of his life in Salem outside of Boston. The following examination focuses on the process of urbanization as it affected the city during Morse's time, and also looks beyond to the characteristics of the urban space that arose from this process.

After the early success of the water-powered cotton textile industry, the New England region, of which Boston is a major urban center, had by the 1840s developed thriving industries in glass and rope production,

5. Morse 1885, pp. 5-6.

the manufacture of musical instruments and watches, and the woodworking trade. It was within this context that the urban expansion of Boston gained momentum. A population of 360,000 in 1880 had increased to 450,000 in 1890, and by the turn of the century the city was home to 560,000. However, these figures are based on administrative divisions of the city and do not give a true indication of the situation. If we were instead to consider an area covering a three-mile radius (being an area commutable on foot) around the city center, then in terms of population alone, the figure is closer to 700,000. And the aggregate figure for the Standard Metropolitan Statistic Area (SMSA), or Greater Boston, as it is commonly known, had surpassed 1.3 million by the early twentieth century.

The population growth rate for Boston, an apparently steady 24 percent during the 1880s, was not exceptionally high in comparison to other American metropolises of the same period. What these unremarkable figures fail to reveal, however, is the extent to which the population was in flux. The majority of statistical studies only provide aggregate growth rate figures calculated as immigration minus outmigration, which of course means that the actual numbers of people in transition remains hidden.

In *The Other Bostonians*, Stephen Thernstrom overcomes this problem by conducting a comprehensive analysis of Boston City Directories.⁶ According to Thernstrom's estimates, 157,816 families (approx. 800,000 people) migrated to Boston during the 1880s. This figure amounts to nearly twice the number of households already settled in Boston at the time, and reveals a population mobility of truly astonishing levels. The fact that the overall population growth rate for the period was not remarkable despite this large influx of people, points to a corresponding outflow of considerable proportions. This large

6. Thernstrom 1975, pp. 16-18.

immigration and outmigration of people arose as a result of various factories being erected in and around the Boston area, attracting large numbers of itinerate workers in search of employment opportunities. This trend spelt the demise of the older established Boston, which had basically occupied a very compact space around the port area.

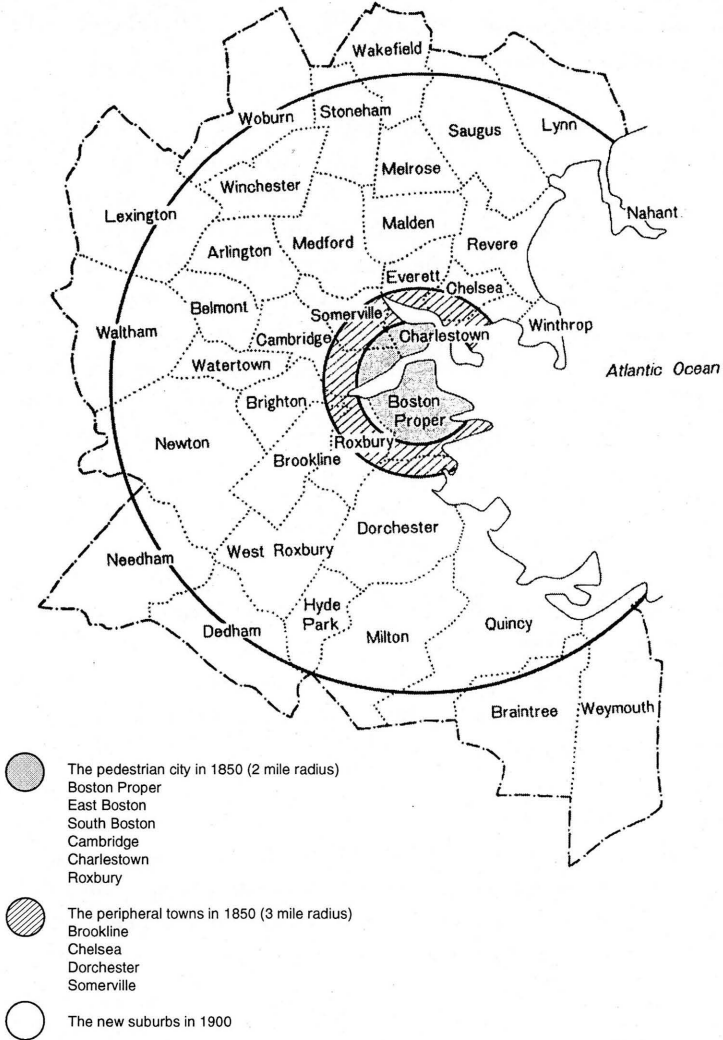
The development of Boston was concentrated around the small peninsula extending into Massachusetts Bay on which the original settlement was established. The peninsula was connected to the mainland by an isthmus enclosed on each side by Back Bay and South Bay. However, the rapid growth of the metropolitan area during the latter half of the nineteenth century saw both of these bays, as well as the marshes and tidal flats beyond, filled in. In 1850, before the impact of expansion, the entirety of Boston fitted snugly into an area of three miles radius. Included within this three-mile radius were Charlestown, Cambridge, and Somerville, not administratively part of the city despite their close proximity, and also districts lying further afield such as Chelsea, Brookline, and Dorchester, from where it was still possible to commute to the inner city on foot.

As a matter of interest, Kyoto around the same period had comparative population figures to Boston, and the two urban centers were also basically matched in terms of the scale of their respective metropolitan areas.

3. Urban Expansion

The traditional urban center was not characterized by a pronounced class segregation of residential space. In the walking city before public transportation systems, necessity dictated that there be little separation of living and working space. Thus, apart from a select few who enjoyed the privileges of wealth and leisure, the rest of the population had little choice but to coexist within the high-density inner city neighborhoods. The norm was for successful businessmen to make their home on the

Figure 8: The expansion of Boston



From Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900*. Harvard University Press, 1978.

second floor of their business premises, and in the back alleys nearby would be lodged day laborers and their families. This was the typical setting in urban centers along the east coast of the United States before the period of rapid expansion.

Boston during the ensuing fifty years witnessed an astounding rate of growth, and by the turn of the century the metropolitan area had extended to include a ten-mile radius. This is larger than the entire area of the Kyoto Basin, which has a radius of around five kilometers, or a little over three miles, and ten times the size of the metropolitan area of Kyoto during the same period. The rapid expansion of Boston was made possible by the introduction of public transportation, which was provided initially by the horse-drawn omnibus (1835), and later by the horsecar (1852) and streetcar (1888). The provision of quick and reliable systems of transport and communication are, of course, essential for a large town or city to function effectively. Thus in the days before efficient public transportation, it was not feasible for cities such as Boston to extend beyond a three-mile radius.

Edo, on the other hand, had by the end of the Tokugawa shogunate already grown beyond a size manageable on foot. Robert Fortune (1813-1880) who spent time in Japan (1860-1862) after the opening of ports to foreign trade and traveled by horse around various parts of Edo, makes the following observations in *Yedo and Peking*.

From the southern suburb of Shinagawa to the north-eastern suburb the distance is about twelve miles, and from east to west it is about eight miles. Of course miles of extensive suburbs lie beyond these points, but these must be looked upon as being in the country and not in the town.⁷

7. Fortune 1863, p. 89.

In the United States, the commencement in 1829 of a horse-drawn omnibus service along lower Broadway in New York City marked the introduction of inner city public transportation. Boston followed suit in 1835 and Baltimore in 1844. From 1852 horsecars began to replace the omnibus, and provided a quantum leap in terms of the speed, comfort, and capacity of transit systems. Cities and towns across Europe also effected similar modernizations of public transportation during roughly the same period. The horsecar, and the omnibus before that, was ideally suited to the short distances and frequent stops of inner city transportation. On the other hand, the use of steam engines, the established means of intercity transportation, was generally ruled out in and around urban centers for these same reasons.

Despite the advantages of horse-drawn transportation, dealing with the dung, in particular, became a major issue with close to eight thousand horses crowded into the confined inner city space of Boston. Dried horse droppings would collect at the roadside and create an awful stench throughout the city. And when it rained the streets were awash with the stuff. So although the advent of the omnibus and the horsecar changed the face of inner city transportation, they were a major factor contributing to the deterioration of the urban environment. This problem was ultimately solved in the late 1880s with the introduction of electric-powered streetcars, otherwise known as trolleys.

To reiterate, in the period before motorization the metropolitan area of Boston expanded markedly to include a ten-mile radius by the turn of the century. The factors contributing to this phenomenal growth and the changes it wrought on the city will now be examined.

4. In Search of Natural Settings in the Suburbs

Following the advent of streetcars in the late nineteenth century, an extensive network of streetcar lines soon began to branch out from the Boston city center, providing a vital link with the surrounding suburbs.

The first streetcar lines extended southwest along the neck connecting the original peninsula township with the mainland. Although the towns of Roxbury, West Roxbury, and Dorchester were officially incorporated into the city of Boston at the end of the nineteenth century, these areas were in fact the first residential suburbs.

It was these outlying towns that during the first half of the nineteenth century originally attracted such wealthy Bostonians as John Hancock to built spacious residences in realization of their pastoral lifestyle ideals. These residences contained conservatories and arboretums, thereby allowing for a total immersion in “pastimes” that included specimen collecting and the study of natural history. This trend was basically an upper-middle class American version of the suburban life of the English country gentleman. Thus aside from providing a getaway for a select few members of society, the farming villages and towns scattered around the Boston area had little to do with the city itself in the years before the streetcar lines went through.

For an examination of the Boston upper classes and their natural history interests, I direct readers to my study, “Mōsu no Nyūingurando ni okeru chiteki kankyō モースのニューイングランドにおける知的環境 (Morse and the Intellectual Environment of New England).”⁸ I will not go into further detail on the subject here, except to briefly introduce an item of interest. *The Boston Society of Natural History 1830-1930* contains a list of 117 families that supported the Puritan church during the centenary following its inception. Comparing this list with a list of Boston’s fifty-one most influential families compiled by Edward Digby Baltzell in his scholarly masterpiece, *Puritan Boston and Quaker Philadelphia*, reveals thirty-nine of these families as having been directly involved in and provided funding for the Boston Puritan Church

8. Sonoda 1993, pp. 327-350.

9. Baltzell 1979.

throughout its hundred-year history.⁹

5. Suburban Cemeteries

The close relationship between Boston and the surrounding towns, which were later to become the residential suburbs of the city, arose from a most unexpected development. The Massachusetts Horticultural Society, which was founded in 1829 by members of the upper class enamored of the suburban pastoral lifestyle, came up with the novel idea of constructing garden-style cemeteries in the country, which through a lack of geometrical and “artificial” planning would express their romantic philosophy. In 1831 the Mount Auburn Cemetery, the first of its kind in the United States, opened to the public on a hillock overlooking the Charles River just west of Boston, and following in 1848 was the expansive Forest Hills Cemetery located in West Roxbury to the south.

Despite the rapid influx of people into Boston, the metropolitan area had failed to expand notably during this period, and inner city living conditions declined steadily. As a result, growing numbers of people were choosing to spend their weekends away in the natural surroundings of the suburbs. In fact, the overwhelming popularity of the new-format cemeteries and parklands dictated that some of the first streetcar stations be constructed at these sites.

Despite the bumpy, slow, and relatively expensive omnibus remaining the sole means of making the trip until the appearance of horsecars in the 1850s, this failed to discourage large numbers of people from using the suburban cemeteries for recreation. According to a newspaper report at the time, the numbers crowding these cemeteries during the warmer months of April through November 1848 were in the vicinity of 30,000 for Laurel Hill Cemetery (Philadelphia, est. 1836),

10. Reys 1965, p. 326.

over 30,000 for Mount Auburn Cemetery, and several times this figure again for Green-Wood Cemetery (New York, est. 1838).¹⁰

Greater access to the suburbs came with the development of streetcar lines in the late nineteenth century. The establishment of an efficient transit system and the growing popularity of weekend outings to the suburbs resulted in eventually the direction of the flow being reversed. Instead of traveling to the suburbs, people started living there and commuting to work in the city. It is thus possible to identify a growing trend during the nineteenth century in which middle and upper class Americans abandoned the deteriorating inner city and escaped to the suburbs.

This trend basically mimicked the pastoral ideals pursued by wealthy Bostonians during the first half of the nineteenth century. Just as exemption from the labor force had allowed them the freedom to make this lifestyle choice, so it was that shortened working hours and improved salaries for certain sectors of society were, half a century later, making the commute feasible. Growing numbers of people now had the economic means to consider either buying or renting in the suburbs. As a result, there occurred a division between working and living space, with the middle and upper classes commuting to the inner city everyday from their homes in the suburbs, while those without the economic means to pursue this option were left to make the most of deplorable inner city living conditions.

As we have already seen, in cities and towns prior to the introduction of modern public transportation systems and the extensive expansion of the metropolitan area, the different sectors of society were obliged to coexist within the same urban confines. The city provided both a place of employment and a home, and the different classes lived, worked, and played side-by-side. Then, as a result of extensive patterns of urbanization, factories were constructed around the verges of these cities, attracting large numbers of workers and giving rise to an itinerant quality not previously evident in urban centers. With overcrowding,

expanding slum areas, increasing crime rates, smog, sewerage, and horse droppings, cities were thrown into a state of disorder never before experienced. This culminated in people with the means to do so abandoning the inner city in search of a new beginning in what were now familiarly known as the suburbs. In fact, the mentality evident in American society today, where one chooses to live with people of the same social standing, is a phenomenon with roots in the mid-nineteenth century during which Morse spent his youth.

6. Class Structure and Residential Segregation

An examination of the class structure of Boston during the mid-nineteenth century reveals an upper class totaling 5 percent of the aggregate population. Of this figure, 1 percent were "gentlemen of wealth and leisure," while the remaining 4 percent comprised an upper-middle class of mainly large-scale merchants, successful factory owners, brokers, and lawyers. Whereas the affluent class had previously made their fortunes in shipping, textiles, and the railroads, the new growth industry was finance, and by 1860 1 percent of the adult population of Boston owned two-fifths of all the wealth.¹¹

Not only were the upper-class elite poles apart from the middle classes in terms of political and economic standing, their lifestyle choices also became the middle-class dream. It was around this time that one began to hear Boston referred to as the "Athens of America," which clearly reflects the extent to which the social elite, as the patrons of "culture," were able to exert an influence on society through their connections with art museums, universities, medical institutions, and a whole range of cultural organizations. Thus the middle-class flight from the inner city to the suburbs that began in the mid-nineteenth century can be read in terms of the substantial influence the affluent class had on

11. Story 1980, pp. 67-95.

social values.

In comparison to the upper classes, the middle classes during the same period accounted for 35 to 45 percent of the Boston population. The upper 15 percent were downtown merchants, lawyers, teachers, and successful sales agents and contractors, while the lower 20 to 30 percent consisted largely of small shop owners, skilled craftsmen, and clerks. The dividing line between the middle and lower classes had previously been drawn with skilled labor/work on one side and semi-skilled labor on the other, which meant that any skills gained through hands-on experience or apprenticeship basically guaranteed one a place in the middle-income bracket. However, this divide was effectively refigured with the emergence of a whole range of new professions in the wake of industrialization. Skilled laborers and workers now found themselves displaced in the middle-income bracket by workers in the new professions as a result of authoritative systematic forms of knowledge becoming more highly valued than knowledge gained through first-hand experience. Although skilled laborers and workers could still draw a line between themselves and other laborers in terms of income and social standing, they were in the end blue-collar. On the other hand, the emerging professions were mostly white-collar occupations. In this respect, the onslaught of industrialization served to further polarize the classes.

Middle-class America is now often characterized as the “culture of professionalism.” The term “professionalism” refers to the establishment in the United States of a meritocratic social order based on the attainment of higher education. Traditionally, medicine, law, and the clergy were regarded in Western societies as the professional vocations. However, emerging in the second half of the nineteenth century was a new middle class of professionals in occupational fields such as pharmacy, dentistry, veterinary science, engineering, architecture, and various sciences.

In Boston, streets branching out from the city center and providing access to the suburbs include Tremont Street, Centre Street, Washington Street, Blue Hill Avenue, and Dorchester Avenue, and from the late nineteenth century the main thoroughfares carried streetcar traffic. It was in the environs connected by these streets that the middle and upper class residential development took place. Schematically, the relationship between the inner city and the suburbs was such that the further out from the center one traveled, the more authentically country was the setting, and consequently the higher the attributed value. Thus it was the lower middle classes that settled close to the city center and the upper classes that ended up living furthest away. The types of residence varied from lavish mansions built in the middle of expansive estates to detached single dwellings having a front and back yard. And for those who could not afford detached housing, there was a choice of duplexes and three-deckers.

As the residential segregation of the classes became more pronounced, living in certain areas came to be seen as a status symbol. The middle and upper class exodus from the inner city thus effectively made manifest the disparity between the classes, and worked to further exacerbate the class polarization. The utopian novel, *Looking Backward 2000-1887* by Edward Bellamy (1850-1898), in which society in the year 2000 is envisioned as a socialist Utopia, contains the following description of late nineteenth century Boston.

. . . it must be understood that the comparative desirability of different parts of Boston for residence depended then, not on natural features, but on the character of the neighboring population. Each class or nation lived by itself, in quarters of its own. A rich man living among the poor, an educated man among the uneducated, was like one living in isolation among a

12. Bellamy 1951, p. 7.

jealous and alien race.¹²

7. Centrifugal Urbanization

Once the spatial polarization of the classes was established, it was only ever going to become more pronounced, not less. With further increases in population, the lower classes began to push out from the inner city and encroach on fringe middle-class neighborhoods. As a result, middle-class families that could afford to moved further out into the suburbs, thus sparking a domino effect as a similar chain of events occurred down the line. While it is certainly true America had the geographical capacity to accommodate such an expansion, unthinkable in Japan, this was not the main factor contributing to the huge residential sprawl. Rather, it was centrifugal forces generated by the growing residential class segregation during the nineteenth century that determined the patterns of urbanization. I refer to this phenomenon as “centrifugal urbanization” in order to contrast it with the centripetal patterns of urbanization evident in Japan as a result of *miyako* consciousness.

It was during this turbulent period of social restructuring that Morse spent his youth, and these experiences undoubtedly lay in the back of his mind as he observed the urban space of Japan. To quote again the passage given previously from *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings*, “In the cities the quarters for the wealthier classes are not so sharply defined as with us . . . Certainly a rich man in Japan would not, as a general thing, buy up the land about his house to keep the poorer classes at a distance.”¹³ Comments such as these express an apparent frustration with the direction in which society was evolving back in his native America.

The class polarization between the inner city and the suburbs has

13. Morse 1885, pp. 5-6.

remained in place since its development during the latter half of the nineteenth century. While I unfortunately have no data that shows the current situation, there are some rather revealing figures relating to the West End of Boston, which has since been converted into a neighborhood of high-rise luxury apartments. The figures come from a report compiled in 1973 as part of the urban redevelopment plan for the area, and show that unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled laborers accounted for 79 percent of the population in what had traditionally been a working-class neighborhood for mainly skilled workers, with a low African-American population.

In order to gain an indication of the contemporary middle class situation, the 1980-1981 edition of the *Directory of Faculty, Professional and Administrative Staff* for Harvard University proves helpful. A survey of 191 addresses listed from AN to AZ in the directory provides the following figures: 31 unknown (local addresses of overseas faculty not listed), 22 inner city (by address rather than distance from city center), and 138 suburban (Arlington, Belmont, Watertown, Brookline, Cambridge, etc.). Based on the assumption that the faculty and staff of Harvard University are on the whole middle class, a simple calculation reveals that approximately 70 percent live in residential suburbia.

The class segregation of living space was not confined to Boston alone. In particular, it was the older more established cities such as New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia along the eastern seaboard, rather than urban centers in the west, midwest, and south, that more clearly evidenced this phenomenon arising from suburbanization. Chicago can also be added to this list, although it does not share the common heritage of the east coast cities, which were founded during the period of colonization and had by the late nineteenth century basically defined their present dimensions. In fact, considering their heritage dating back to the period when England still exerted a strong influence over the fledgling nation, it is perhaps more accurate to view these established east coast cities more as an embodiment of "Anglo-American" rather

than strictly American cultural traditions. As R. J. Johnston points out in *Urban Residential Patterns*, not only the United States, but also other former British colonies such as Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, tend to share spatial divisions of class similar to those of the "Old Country."¹⁴

It should be noted, however, that of all the metropolises in the United States, the suburban residential areas of Boston were the first to develop and did so to the greatest extent. Figures show that of the fifteen largest metropolitan areas in the United States today, Boston, at 83.7 percent, has the highest ratio of suburban to inner city population. Houston has the lowest with 45.1 percent, while the figures for Los Angeles and New York are 66.3 percent and 54.1 percent, respectively.

In the case of Boston, approximately one out of every two people live in residential suburbia, while for Houston, the figure is closer to one out of every three people. An idea of the spatial division of class can also be gained from the racial breakdown within these cities. In this respect, Washington, D.C., at 16.7 percent, has the highest percentage of African Americans living in suburban areas, while the lowest is Boston with 1.6 percent. Again, the figures for Los Angeles and New York are 9.6 percent and 8.7 percent, respectively. Thus it would seem clear that Boston is the city with most extensive and most exclusive suburbia in the United States.

Whereas the different classes had previously lived in compact communities within the urban space, the introduction of modern systems of public transportation and the opportunity this presented to escape inner city Boston, generated centrifugal forces that culminated in the well-defined spatial polarization of class. The centrifugal sprawl of urbanization was then fueled by a middle-class desire, modeled on the

14. Johnston 1971, p. 136.

pastoral lifestyle ideals of the influential elite, to attain the living conditions and social standing they felt they deserved. The legacy of over one hundred years of unabated urbanization is the existing contrast between residential areas set in the natural surroundings of vast suburbs on the one hand, and the dilapidated slums of the inner city on the other. The development of Boston is typical of the way in which valued aspects of urban life have been condensed into the suburbs, while the inner city has come to embody all that is negative about the urban experience.

Chapter 3

CENTRIPETAL URBANIZATION AND THE URBANIZATION OF KYOTO

1. Kyoto as Seen by Morse

Edward Morse visited Kyoto twice, first in 1877 and again in 1882. His observations of Kyoto resemble, to a surprising degree, those made by Rodrigues over two hundred years earlier. They both discerned that Kyoto had the refined, sophisticated urban life befitting an urbane city. Morse wrote as follows:

The city of Kyoto is certainly the artistic centre of artistic Japan. Everywhere you see evidences of it—in the shops, houses, fences, roof-tops, window-openings, sliding screens and the devices for sliding them, trellises, balcony rails. The very advertisements are designed with taste—art and refinement are everywhere. Moreover, I have seen no place in Japan where the girls and little children are more prettily dressed.¹

1. Morse 1917, vol. 2, pp. 258-259.

Morse's comments chronicle that even after Kyoto was no longer a *miyako*, the sophisticated life of the thousand-year-old city remained strong. Despite no longer being the location of the mikado's palace or the political center of the nation, Kyoto had emphatically retained the urbanity of a *miyako*. Morse's observations continue:

Through the city runs a wide, shallow river. At this time the water is low and the river-bed is exposed in many places, showing large, flattened boulders. These large areas are covered with low tables, a foot high and big enough for one mat, sometimes two. The Japanese hire these tables and a large party will place them side by side. Here families gather in the evening to drink their tea, eat their supper, and enjoy the sunset. From the bridges crossing the river the sight is of wonderful beauty, as every stand is illuminated with a number of bright-colored lanterns, and it is a sea of color as far as the eye can reach, with here and there bonfires kindled on the dry river-bottom. Mr. Greenough, who is with us, says it rivals a carnival scene at Venice.²

This scenic, even poetic, description is not just a product of Morse's orientalist sentimentality. Since the Edo period, enjoying the cool evening breeze by the Kamo river has been one of the prides of Kyoto. Even Takizawa Bakin (1767-1848), who was a harsh critic of Kyoto, commented, "The riverbank at Nijō and Shijō is pleasant for enjoying the evening breeze." In sum, even if no longer the *miyako*, Kyoto was still a majestic city. In particular, the refinement of everyday life and the composure of the city were sufficient to impress Morse.

2. Morse 1917, vol. 2, p. 260.

2. Kyoto without the Mikado

However, while Morse was not aware of it, all kinds of self-scrutiny had begun in Kyoto during the period that he was there as a result of a sense of failure from no longer being a *miyako*. At the heart of the matter was the question of how Kyoto would come to terms with its identity as a *miyako* now that it was no longer one. The residents of Meiji Kyoto mistakenly believed their city had been denied the one attribute that had sustained it for over a thousand years: the location of the mikado's residence. Kyoto found itself deprived of the mikado at the very point in time that the mikado was reinstated as a central figure in Japanese politics. From the Meiji period onward, the relationship between the mikado and Kyoto had become extremely distorted. Because they feared that the loss of the court residence would bring about a decline of the sort experienced by Nara, another former *miyako*, it was exceedingly difficult for the people of Kyoto to accept the transfer of the *miyako* to Tokyo. In the first thirty years of the Meiji period, this question of Kyoto's identity as a *miyako* took on an extremely paradoxical aspect.

To begin with, having lost the court residence, Kyoto had to try to survive as an ordinary city. The industrial and modernization policies of Governors Makimura 榎村 and Kitagaki 北垣 reflect this fact. They tried to prevent the decline of Kyoto through the introduction of new machinery and technology. This included both extending the Kyoto handicraft industry, which had flourished from the Edo period, as well as converting Kyoto into an industrial city. A proposal written by Kyoto Prefectural Governor Makimura in 1873 states the following aims.

- To turn Kyoto city into a professional zone, improve the availability of various machinery in the coming years, and ensure manufacturing industry prosperity.
- To develop all the areas that would be useful, enabling local industries to prosper.
- To put through a watercourse, construct roads, improve

transportation convenience, and expand commerce.

- To open vocational schools and inspire unemployed citizens to seek a vocation.
- To broadly inform people about foreign countries and develop knowledge.

To be noted here is that while this proposal advocates industrial modernization, there is absolutely no attempt to take advantage of Kyoto's past history as the former imperial residence and *miyako*. For about the first twenty years of the Meiji period, this Makimura-style modernization represented the main current of Kyoto *saku* 京都策 (Kyoto policy), as it was known in the revitalization of Kyoto debates. While it was in part due to this sense of imminent crisis that Kyoto immersed itself in expositions, jacquard looms, the Biwa canals, hydroelectric power generation, and other policies aimed at revitalization, this revitalization of Meiji Kyoto only became viable as an extension of the industrial urbanization already begun by Kyoto in the Edo period.

3. The Second Imperial City

In the third decade of the Meiji period the situation changed completely. Kyoto, which had until then lived in fear of becoming antiquated in the way that Nara had, began to assert its identity as a *koto* 古都 (ancient or former *miyako*). It is also at this time that the expression *sennen no miyako* 千年の都 (the thousand year *miyako*) became popular. A report on the National Industrial Exhibition of 1892 asserted that, "Kyoto, as a former *miyako*, is unrivaled in the world." Kyoto was, in other words, beginning to discover for itself an identity, not as a *miyako*, but as a place that was once a *miyako*. The establishment of the Imperial Household Laws in 1889 had a decisive influence on these changes in Kyoto policy. The eleventh article of the Imperial Household Laws states, "The Enthronement Ceremony and the Great Thanksgiving Festival are to be held in Kyoto." The fact that some of the court ceremonies, and the

most important ones at that, were to be held in their city indulged the pride of Meiji Kyoto residents. It was then that the relationship between Meiji Kyoto and the concept of *miyako* finally began to take shape.

In the Kyoto City Council petition for a “Festival to Commemorate the Eleven Hundredth Anniversary of the Establishment of Heian-kyō (*Heian-kyō tento senhyakunen kinensai*)” it was written that, “At the beginning of the Restoration, the court residence was moved to Tokyo. Although the original appearance of Heian-kyō has been altered bit by bit, the Laws of the Imperial House are still maintained and provide that the ceremonies of state be held in Kyoto.” Although high-flown expressions such as “the imperial city that had not been moved for one thousand years” and “the honored capital for one thousand years of the empire of an unbroken line of mikado” were used throughout the petition, in short, the city was asserting its pride as a *miyako* due to the fact that state ceremonies were to be held in Kyoto.

As for the new *miyako* Tokyo, transformations were continually occurring in the mikado-centered “imperial city.” While Kyoto’s sense of itself as the former *miyako* in the third decade of Meiji still could not compete with Tokyo’s stature as the *miyako*, Kyoto was also looking to cultivate an identity for itself as the “second imperial city.” Kyoto’s new found identities were a self-conciliatory measure deriving from a complicated mixture of pride in its special relationship with the mikado’s family over the past one thousand years and satisfaction at being selected for holding future imperial ceremonies. But what exactly did the future hold for Kyoto now that it had determined these identities for itself?

4. Kyoto’s Urbanization

From the third decade of Meiji, major cities in Japan began to expand all at once due to increases in birthrate and population influx. The immigration to cities such as Tokyo, Osaka, Kobe, Yokohama, and Nagoya saw a particularly rapid increase after the turn of the century.

The population of Tokyo, for example, grew from 1.3 million in 1889 to 2.35 million in 1917. In this same period, the population of Osaka increased from 450,000 to 1.55 million and Nagoya's population of 150,000 expanded rapidly to reach 420,000 by 1920. This trend was also true of Kyoto, although the population increase was comparatively low.

The population of Kyoto had been steadily increasing since the second decade of Meiji, going from 290,000 in 1890 to 370,000 in 1900 and 470,000 in 1910. Population figures reached 590,000 in 1920, 770,000 in 1930, and topped the one million mark in 1932. As with the United States, this large city population growth could be attributed to industrialization. Looking at statistics for 1920 that compare major city populations by profession, the figures (rounded to the nearest integral) for industry-related professions was 38 percent in Tokyo, 44 percent in Osaka, and 42 percent in Nagoya, while Kyoto, which was looking to develop at least industry if not both commerce and industry, had 45 percent of its population in industry-related occupations by 1920, the highest percentage among the major cities.

Was it the case in Kyoto, as it was in Boston, that population increases and changes in industrial structure resulted in crowded row houses being demolished, the middle and upper classes abandoning the city for the suburbs, and class segregation of residential areas being exacerbated? The answer to this question depends on the way in which Kyoto absorbed these population increases. As is well known, the form of urbanization undertaken in Japan from the Meiji period onwards has been archaic, in the sense that the edges of cities have progressively spread farther outward. While urban populations have increasingly been absorbed as a result of the "sprawl," does it necessarily follow that this outward expansion of city limits was centrifugal as in Boston, or are there basic differences in the pattern of expansion? Despite this question having been dealt with using general concepts of urbanization and suburbanization, it has yet to be fully examined.

Table 6: Population and the growth rate of urban and suburban areas of Japan's six largest cities (unit: thousand, %)

City	Urban area			Suburbs		
	1920	1925	Growth rate	1920	1925	Growth rate
Osaka	1250	1330	6.3	550	840	51.5
Tokyo	2170	2000	-8	920	1180	78.4
Nagoya	420	470	7.1	180	310	74.9
Kyoto	590	680	15	120	160	26.7
Kobe	610	640	5.8	80	120	41.6
Yokohama	420	410	-4	80	110	37.4

Based on Okui Matatarō 奥井復太郎, *Gendai daitoshi ron* 現代大都市論 (Yūhikaku, 1940), p. 364.

The form of urbanization that took place in Kyoto would appear, at first glance, to be unique among Japanese cities. The table clearly shows that, in the mid-Taishō period, Kyoto had the lowest percentage increase in suburban population among the six major cities.³ In comparison, in terms of urban population increase Kyoto was the fastest growing at 15 percent. (The effects of the Great Kantō Earthquake meant that in Tokyo and Yokohama, these figures are negative.) The data shows that it was the city rather than the suburbs that primarily absorbed Kyoto's population increase. More than in any other city, there were dynamics at work in Kyoto that obstructed the development of the suburbs, a large part of which was attributable to the persistent *miyako* consciousness of Kyoto. However, the urbanization process was not so simple that the *miyako* consciousness of Kyoto residents was directly reflected in the urban structure of the city. We need first to look at how people living in Kyoto perceived the *miyako* and its environs, and then to analyze the

3. Okui 1940, p. 364.

complex process by which these perceptions were embodied in the urban structure.

I now turn to a detailed examination of Kyoto's urbanization. Rather than approaching the problem from the perspective of local history, I will conduct a cognitive experiment to examine the types of urban expansion conceivable in the presence of a strong *miyako* consciousness. I present a model of centripetal urbanization that is the extreme opposite of the centrifugal urbanization of Boston. As noted above, it was not only Kyoto residents who possessed a *miyako* consciousness or some other variation of "urbane consciousness." While the centripetal urbanization experienced by Kyoto can also be observed to varying degrees in other Japanese cities, Kyoto represents an extremely pure form of this pattern of urbanization.

5. Urban Reform in Kyoto

The urbanization of Kyoto cannot be discussed in isolation from the city's modern urban reform. The success of Kyoto in implementing far-reaching urban reform was exceptional among modern Japanese cities. The character of this urban reform was clearly responsible for the underdevelopment of suburban Kyoto revealed in the above figures.

The urban reform of Kyoto began with establishment of a special public works committee in 1897 to oversee the widening and extension of roads and the improvement of the sewage system. The principal target of this project was Karasuma-dōri 烏丸通, which was chosen for fashioning into a *miyuki-michi* 御幸道, which would be the road taken by the mikado from Kyoto station (Shichijō station) to the Imperial palace. The debate surrounding the widening of Karasuma-dōri, which was to be completed in June 1912, revolved around the issue of how Kyoto would come to terms with its identity as a *miyako* now that it was no longer one. The following discussion is based on minutes from Kyoto city council meetings.

In 1900, the first mayor of Kyoto, Naiki Jinzaburō 内貴甚三郎, gave a speech at a city council meeting arguing for the repair of Karasumadōri. His line of argument is extremely interesting. In his speech, he maintained that a sewage system and broad roads “are essential urban facilities” and that Kyoto must “make sure to not fall behind the other parts of the country.” To be noted in his speech is the emphasis placed on the size of Kyoto’s population; that Kyoto should not be satisfied with its population at the time of about 350,000. He argued that “even if Kyoto, the capital of Japan, cannot become a city of one million, it must prepare to become a city of at least five hundred thousand.” Naiki’s use of the expression “Kyoto, the capital of Japan,” capital here being *shufu* 首府, is no doubt an expanded interpretation of “Kyoto, the second imperial city.” In other words, despite being number two, Kyoto as an imperial city could still be considered a capital.

Significant here is not this claim to capital status, but that Naiki believed “the capital of Japan” required a large population. This mode of thinking clearly originates from the core of the concept of urbanity, which asserts that a *miyako* be a “land of prosperity.” As such, a *miyako* would naturally attract large numbers of people, and consequently embrace a sizable population. The following was the sincere opinion of a city council member participating in a debate in 1917 about the amalgamation with Kyoto of three neighboring villages.

We should make the area of amalgamation as wide as possible. Otherwise, the size of the population and the number of households in Kyoto will be surpassed by cities like Kobe and Nagoya. (There are those who jeer and call it vanity, but) the city of Kyoto, which is one of the three great cities, should take this opportunity to expand as much as possible.”⁴

4. *Kyōto shikai gijiroku*.

Although diverging somewhat from the topic of Kyoto's urban reform, I want now to discuss the close connection between urban population size and *miyako* consciousness. There is a belief that the urbane city with the largest population is most suited to being the *miyako*. This way of thinking also characterizes the major regional centers, which may be thought of as small-scale *miyako*. In 1988 the evening edition of the Kitakyushu *Asahi shinbun* ran an article commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the city of Kitakyushu, stating that, "At the time of the merger the population of the city, at 1,030,000, was the seventh largest in Japan. It was considerably larger than the population of Fukuoka, at 730,000, which had until then been the largest city in the Kyushu and Yamaguchi regions. Some enthusiastic Kitakyushu residents are demanding that the prefectural government be moved to their city." How did a large population come to be equated with the concept of *miyako*, when population size logically has no connection with determining regional political centers? There is, however, something that brings the two together naturally in the minds of Japanese. It is this that allows Japanese to think of cities that house the prefectural government as small-scale *miyako*.

6. The Central Axis of Kyoto

While Kyoto still had to come to terms with no longer being a *miyako*, it also had to protect its position as one of the "Three Great Cities," a moniker that of course originates in the expression *santo* 三都 from *santoron* 三都論. The difference between these two positions was that the former placed emphasis on Kyoto being the location of the mikado's palace and a center of political power as the second imperial city, while the latter stressed the city's urbane qualities. These two conflicting positions colored the debate surrounding Karasuma-dōri, the so-called "backbone of Kyoto."

The faction holding the first position was opposed to making Karasuma-dōri the *miyuki-michi*. Karasuma-dōri is the road that passes along the west side of the Imperial palace and runs south as far as Kyoto station. If the *miyuki-michi* of Kyoto was, like Suzaku-ōji in Heian-kyō, to run up to the front of the Imperial palace, Karasuma-dōri clearly had a significant defect, since it merely ran alongside the palace. The road running to the front of the Imperial palace was Sakaimachi-suji 堺町筋. A report supporting the widening of Sakaimachi-suji argued that:

As the imperial city for a thousand years, Kyoto has, historically speaking, had a glorious past. It has also, of course, been established by Imperial Household Laws and various other laws and ordinances that Kyoto is to host ceremonies of state. Accordingly, there are many other roads that need widening apart from those roads that are to be widened under current plans. Since Kyoto is to hold ceremonies of state, now is, above all, the time to take appropriate measures to widen the road running from the front of the Imperial palace down to the station in the south. Moreover, doing so will lead to prosperity and development.⁵

This approach was completely validated if Kyoto intended to think of itself seriously as an official city for holding state ceremonies. If the *miyuki-michi* was to be a modern version of Suzaku-ōji, it would have to run directly south from the front of the Imperial palace. It was, however, obvious that state ceremonies would not be held with any great frequency. What I refer to as the fundamentalist imperial city position asserted that, “our city of Kyoto has not only been the imperial city for over one thousand years, but also the Imperial palace is, in actual fact, located here. Thus we must ensure that the city is organized with the Imperial palace at its center.” Those who subscribed to this argument

5. *Kyōto shikai gijiroku*.

were still chasing after the incomplete dream of the imperial city. They were still blinded by the glory of the past.

The faction asserting Kyoto's identity as one of the *santo*, while willing to make the most of Kyoto's history as a former *miyako*, was development-oriented. In line with Mayor Naiki's opinion that commerce and industry were top priority, this position ardently called for urban development in Kyoto that focused on commerce and industry. Rather than Sakaimachi-suji, which terminated in front of the Imperial palace, it was Karasuma-dōri, which could be extended northward beyond the Imperial palace, that was better suited as the central axis of the city around which Kyoto's urban reform would be structured to ensure the "prosperous development of Kyoto city." It was argued that, "Karasuma-dōri is the north-south street that penetrates the center of the city. That is, as the main line, or so-called trunk line, it is the most important artery of the city." Even if Karasuma-dōri were to be used as the *miyuki-michi*, that would only be part of its character and not its entire *raison d'être*.

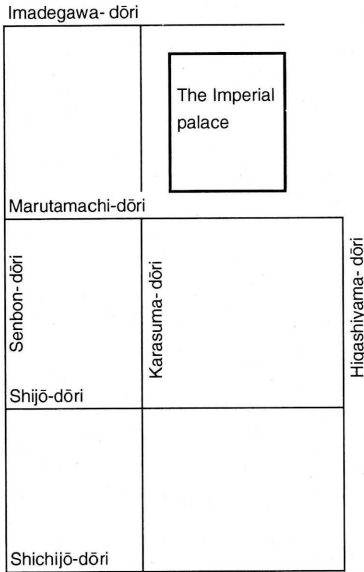
Those in the faction promoting the widening of Karasuma-dōri were calculated in their thinking. Thus they naturally argued that, "Even if we decide to make Karasuma-dōri into the *miyuki-michi* for posterity, the enumeration of any accompanying beneficial attributes of the street that make doing so beneficial" must be carried out. The sole "accompanying beneficial attribute" that Karasuma-dōri had was only that it ran through the center of the city. It was this position that took precedence in the urban reform of Kyoto.

In 1906, Kyoto announced a plan for widening and extending roads that included, not only Karasuma-dōri, but four major north-south streets—Higashiyama 東山, Karasuma, Senbon-Ōmiya 千本-大宮, Yamato-ōji 大和大路—and five major east-west streets—Imadegawa 今出川, Marutamachi 丸太町, Oike 御池, Shijō 四条, and Shichijō 七条. This was part of the "Kyoto Hundred Year Plan," which involved not simply

widening the above-mentioned major roads and constructing new roads where there were none, but also putting down electric streetcar lines. As with the Karasuma-dōri debate, it was again the fundamentalist imperial city faction that opposed this plan: "We should make the Imperial palace, which is like the master, the central focus and construct roads accordingly, while the subordinate roads, which are like head clerks and apprentices, will follow after. In this way, the layout of the city will be such that it can be shared equally by (will be of equal benefit to) the general public."

As in the case of Karasuma-dōri, the proposal underwent various revisions during debate in the city council, although fundamentally the outline of the original proposal was accepted (Oike and Yamato-ōji were not included in the final plan). The general framework of modern Kyoto became evident in the Taishō period. Roads within the city area ran at equidistant intervals and the outer limits of the city formed a square that was enclosed by major roads. The Imperial palace was located in the center of the northern part of this area defined by major roads and the streetcar network. This relationship between the Imperial palace and the major roads in modern Kyoto is strongly reminiscent of that between the Imperial palace and the Ōji in Heian-kyō.

Figure 9: Rough plan of municipal authorities in 1906



7. The Heritage of Heian-kyō

The city streetcar network in 1906 was not, in actual fact, directly modeled on the structure of Heian-kyō. Saigō Kikujirō 西郷菊次郎, the then mayor of Kyoto who proposed the widening and construction of major roads and the electric streetcar network, stated in the city council that the arrangement of roads had been conceived for what he referred to as urban reform (*shiku kaisei* 市区改正 or “redistricting” in the official language of the time), with a view to facilitating the development of Kyoto as an industrial city. Kyoto’s thousand-year plus history, beginning with Heian-kyō, had bequeathed a perfect, orderly grid-like city structure (referred to as the *go* board layout) to modern Kyoto. Kyoto city regarded this heritage of Heian-kyō as “an element of future redistricting” and made its selection of major streets accordingly.

The following opinion regarding this urban heritage was expressed in the city council:

When Kyoto is compared with other cities, we find that it is this *go* board layout of the city that is its distinguishing characteristic. Surely, if it is in relation to this *go* board layout that Kyoto city can pride itself on its history and its particular character, then we should definitely adopt the layout of the old city district as much as possible in the construction of roads.⁶

Into the Taishō period, this basic grid pattern of the streets actually made transportation in the city inconvenient, and resulted in a proposal to construct “radiating” (oblique) streets in the fashion of New York’s Broadway, which was eventually rejected in favor of keeping the “*go* board layout.” According to the *Kyōto hinode shinbun* on 28 December 1919, members of the Kyoto City Redistricting Board representing Kyoto submitted demands to government representatives at a board meeting held by the Interior Ministry that same year, stating that, “We should strive to adopt the *go* board layout in the old city district” and that, “The new city district also needs to be designed based on the old city district.”

This emphasis on the so-called “*go* board layout” meant that major roads should, as much as possible, run in straight lines and at equidistant intervals. Also implied in the original meaning of the “*go* board” was that the city be enclosed by major streets which formed its boundaries. These necessary conditions were met in the 1906 proposal. The city was to be structured with the Imperial palace at the center of the northern part of the city, and the city was to be enclosed by Imadegawa-dōri which ran along the northern side of the Imperial palace, Shichijō which ran in front of Shichijō station (now Kyoto station), Senbon-dōri which ran north-south on the western side of the city, and Higashiyama-dōri which

6. *Kyōto shikai gijiroku*.

ran along the eastern mountains. The heritage of Heian-kyō was thus adapted to the era of urbanization. Rather than being turned toward the past, the underlying stance was directed toward development and the future. This progressive stance is expressed most eloquently in the character of the roads that were chosen as major arteries.

The “old city district” (旧市街 *kyūshigai*) was the area enclosed by the streetcar network devised in 1906 as part of the first city plan, and is now considered the area most representative of the central part of Kyoto. On 18 March 1989, an essay by a female company employee regarding the narrowness of Kyoto streets was carried in the *Dōron iron* 同論異論 (Point-Counterpoint) column of the *Asahi shinbun* (Kyoto edition). She wrote:

Certainly as everyone agrees, “It’s ‘cause Kyoto wasn’t destroyed in the war,” the narrow streets in the area known as the “old city district” (that’s what they all call from Imadegawa-dōri in the north to Shichijō-dōri in the south and from Higashi-ōji in the east to around Senbon-dōri in the west) remains just as they were in the days when ox and horses passed leisurely through.

In other words, it was because the “old city district” had been the center of Kyoto from way back that the narrow streets had remained.

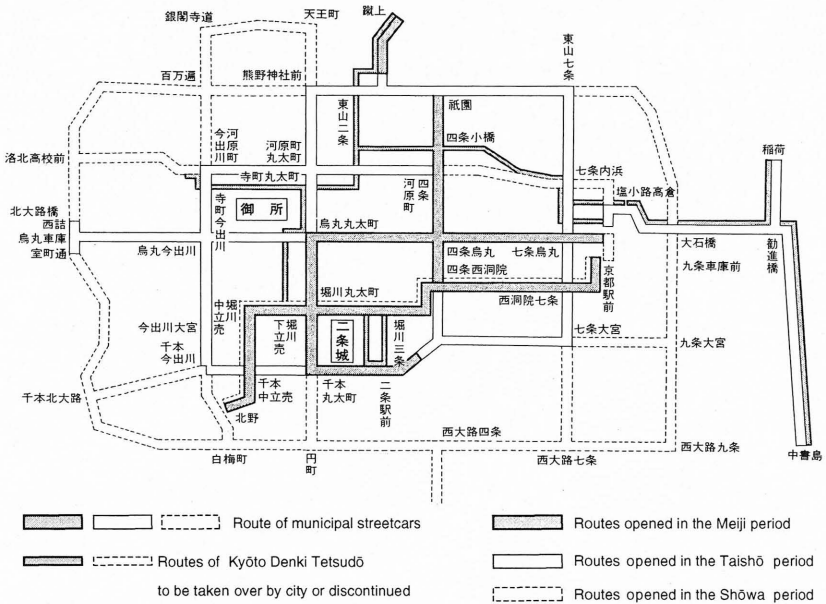
However, at least peripheral areas, if not more of what she refers to as the “old city district,” were not part of central Kyoto in 1906. This is apparent from the arguments against the plan for the streetcar network proposed by the city. One of the city council members contended that:

According to the design of the grand proposal, there is a plan to extend the streetcar line to run around the outer limits of the city where few people go. The only areas carrying heavy traffic where they are planning to run the lines are Shijō and Karasuma.⁷

7. *Kyōto shikai gijiroku*.

Another argued that, "It is not until the streetcar rails are run through areas carrying heavy traffic that we will see any benefit. There will be little advantage to running lines in the outlying areas." Most of the roads the city planned to build and run streetcar lines along were considered to be in the outer limits or outside of the city. Another councilman was opposed to the city's proposal to widen roads that were frequently trafficked at that time; namely, Sanjō 三条, Matsubara 松原 and Gojō 五条, which all run east-west, and Teramachi 寺町, Fuyachō 斐屋町, Sakaimachi 堺町, Shinmachi 新町, and Aburanokōji 油小路, which all run north-south. If city reform had been carried out with a focus on roads that were already heavily trafficked, then Kyoto would probably have lost the square framework of its inner city area.

Figure 10: Diagram of Kyoto streetcar routes



From "Shigai densha no kidō" 市外電車の軌道. In vol. 8 of *Kyōto no rekishi* 京都の歴史, ed. Kyoto City (Gakugei Shorin, 1975).

8. The Logic of Centripetal Urbanization

To build a model of centripetal urbanization we need to analyze the character of the outer limits of Kyoto city. What was the reason for building major roads and running streetcar lines in these fringe areas? As can be gauged from the following statement, immigration to Kyoto meant that the city was becoming increasingly overcrowded.

It is an undeniable fact that all over the world, for whatever reason, people congregate in the cities. In terms of world population densities, Kyoto is ranked seventh. Kyoto has the third greatest population density in Japan after Tokyo and Osaka.⁸

This statement appeared in a report proposing that surrounding areas of Kyoto be absorbed in order to enlarge the city limits and relieve the overcrowding. The following is another argument given in support:

Kyoto is striving to develop, not as a political center, but as an economic center. A great revolution is taking place in Kyoto. Kyoto was in the past divided into Sakyō and Ukyō. However, Ukyō disappeared long ago and now only Sakyō remains. In the past, Kyoto was much larger. We are now trying to expand the size of the city to include an area the same size as the former Ukyō. Despite the fact that the people a thousand years ago made the city that large, there is a faction in opposition to this, their argument being that the city would be too large.⁹

The opposing argument to this idea of a “greater Kyoto” is important in understanding the logic of centripetal urbanization. What

8. *Kyōto shikai gijiroku.*

9. *Kyōto shikai gijiroku.*

might be referred to as the “small Kyoto” argument went as follows:

The fact that there remain agricultural and rice fields smelling of manure within Kyoto city shows the extent to which Kyoto is rural. Even so, we need a little more serious study about the nature of a city.¹⁰

In other words, the countryside “smelling of manure” was a space that needed to be expelled from Kyoto. Before the *miyako* expanded into the countryside, first it was necessary that the countryside within Kyoto be converted into a space possessing the accouterments of an enlightened city. It was important that “today, rather than increasing the area of Kyoto through expansion, we not only be contented with the present city but also make plans to enrich it.” Another city council member, thinking more clearly about the financial aspects of expansion, argued:

As for my thoughts regarding the Kyoto city plan, it would distress me very much if after expanding to cover a huge area, the city then had to shoulder the financial burden of everything from administrative offices to trains, electric lights, water lines, and police administration.¹¹

Accordingly, this city councilman argued that rather than expanding outward, Kyoto should consider enriching the inner city.

The basic thinking behind the “small Kyoto” argument was perfectly articulated in the following: “That the city plan of Kyoto and those of other cities differ in tenor should be given the greatest attention. That is, rather than pursuing outward expansion, I think it is better [for Kyoto] to pursue inward expansion.” (emphasis added). What was the

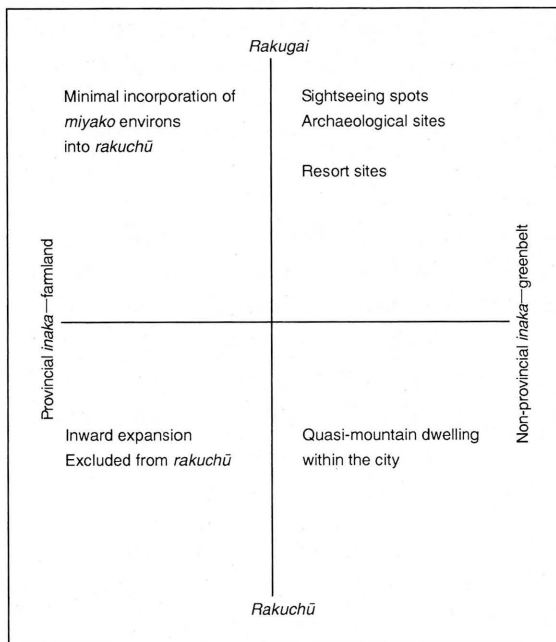
10. *Kyōto shikai gijiroku.*

11. *Kyōto shikai gijiroku.*

energy that prevented outward expansion and promoted inward expansion? Inward expansion, as it was referred to, signified the “civilized urbanization” of the countryside within the *miyako*. It implied endowing the entire city area with the urbanity of the *miyako*, and transforming it into a “land of prosperity.” The countryside, the exact opposite of the *miyako*, was a space filled with “agricultural and rice fields smelling of manure.” For the city to grow and raise its level of urbanity, the countryside within the *miyako* had to be removed as much as possible. It was, in other words, unacceptable to have “*inaka* within Kyoto.” This was the thinking from which the energy for inward expansion was conceived.

9. The Space and Environs of the *Miyako*

The *miyako* was entirely surrounded by the “foul-smelling *inaka*.” As evidenced by the way in which the *miyako* acted as a focal point, the value of the *miyako* depreciated the farther away from the center one moved. Once this way of thinking prevailed, the only spaces that could absorb the increasing urban population, while at the same time sustaining the maximum value of the *miyako*, were the environs. When viewed from the thriving center, the environs probably looked decidedly rural. However, when this perspective was reversed, the “*miyako*-ness” of the environs was greater than in other areas of the countryside, given that the environs were, of all the “foul-smelling countryside,” closest in proximity to the *miyako*. Urbanization in this setting was not centrifugal in nature even when the city expanded outward, but always characteristically inwardly oriented or centripetal.

Figure 11: Relationship of *rakuchū*, *rakugai*, greenbelt, and farmland

Conceptually, the environs occupied an area equidistant from the center of a *miyako*. In the case of Kyoto, the environs seemed to encircle the old city district. Also, the outer ring marked by the streetcar network seemed to thread together different parts of the environs. The *miyako* environs formed a new urban space that answered the mandate of the times for urban expansion while at the same time maintaining the maximum value of the *miyako*, and gradually came to have a new significance appropriate to the era of urbanization. The new meaning of the environs was expressed in the words of one city councilman who proposed developing the environs in expectation of future city growth. He advocated that the city council “should not only make contemporary life as convenient as possible, but also think of how households will

increase in the future and then promote household growth. Moreover, after anticipating the increase in households, we should consider how this will affect other matters, and lay roads and streetcar rails in the city accordingly." The environs were thus a kind of suburb that was developed in "anticipation of an increase in households." However, it was a space that differed vastly from the type of suburbs that developed around Boston.

The centrifugal urbanization of Boston caused a movement of constant outward expansion. In less than fifty years, a giant suburban area had materialized on the outer edges of Boston. However, the centripetal urbanization of Kyoto caused the formation of pockets of suburban residential areas that were nestled up against the *miyako* environs.

10. Inward Expanding "Outer Limits"

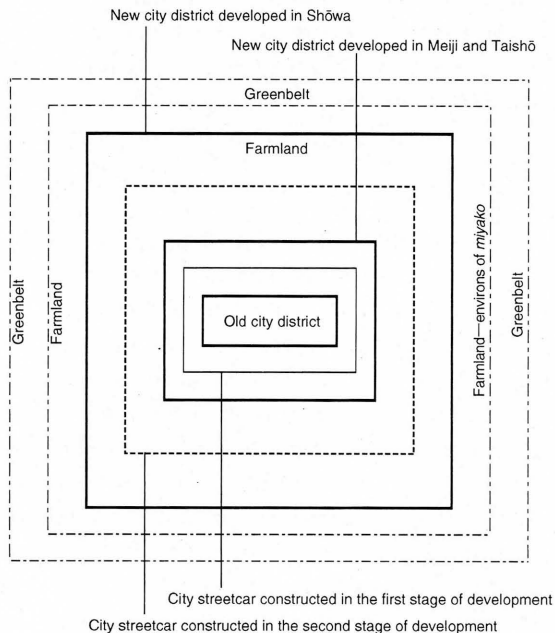
The outer loop of the city streetcar line, which ran in the area between the old city district of Kyoto and the "foul-smelling *inaka*," functioned to contain the energy of outward-oriented expansion. However, when it was no longer possible to contain that energy within the "outer limits" that encircled the old city district in the first stage of urban reform, the "outer limits" were expanded one ring wider. This happened surprisingly quickly.

In 1909, with the first period of construction yet to be completed, a proposal, called the "Karasuma Through Road," was submitted in the city council to lengthen Karasuma-dōri, which only ran between Imadegawa and Shichijō, as far as Kuramaguchi in the north and down past the Japan Rail Tōkaidō train lines to Hachijō-dōri in the south. The proposal was approved unanimously. The other major roads all shared the fate of Karasuma-dōri. Before long, Higashiyama-dōri and Senbon-Ōmiya-dōri were extended both northward and southward, and Imadegawa, Marutamachi, Shijō, and Shichijō were extended farther

west. Thus the outer limits of Kyoto were redefined to encompass Higashiyama in the east, where the mountains prevented any further expansion, the Prefectural Botanical Gardens, which were completed in 1923 on land prepared in Shimogamo village for the abandoned Kyoto Coronation Memorial Exhibition in the north, Kujō, formerly Minamikyōgoku-dōri, in the south, and an area approximately up to the *odoi* in the west.

The centripetal pattern of urbanization meant that Kyoto city expanded at an extremely slow pace. This expansion had no great effect on the basic structure of the city. The major streets forming the outer loop of Kyoto separated the city from the suburbs. The formation of the second outer loop consisted not only of widening and extending streets, as took place in the center of the city, but also of constructing new roads, which, for the most part, ran through empty fields. The major roads ran through the center of the city and, heading toward the outskirts, immediately narrowed where they intersected with the outer loop that enclosed the city. The difference between Kyoto and Boston is brought into relief by comparing their respective urban structures. Unlike Boston, where urban expansion took a directly outward route, the expansion of Kyoto was inwardly oriented. The centripetal urban reform of Kyoto was taking place during the very same period that the city limits of Boston were undergoing rapid expansion.

Figure 12: Conceptual diagram of the expansion of Kyoto



11. Completion of the Modern Heian-kyō

These new outer limits began to clearly emerge in the Taishō and early Shōwa periods of the first half of the twentieth century. Strangely enough, the size of the city was roughly the same as ancient Heian-kyō, making the appellation “modern Heian-kyō” seem appropriate. Perhaps because of its “*miyako*-ness,” Kyoto used both what remained of the basic framework of the ancient city and the *miyako* consciousness of the people to recreate itself as this modern Heian-kyō. Although all that remained of the original form of Heian-kyō was an incomplete portion of a simple plan, the modern Heian-kyō transformed this into a complete city with a population of one million contained within the city

limits. If you disregard the early history of Heian-kyō—its completion in the Heian period and its subsequent decline—and consider instead its long history of measured development and perpetuation as a city, then one could justifiably claim that Heian-kyō was finally complete in the Shōwa period after a thousand years of evolution.

In the “City of Kyoto Redistricting Plan” (*Kyōto shiku kaisei sekkei* 京都市区改正設計) of 1919, the roads that were to be either newly constructed or extended were labeled simply “primary roads” and “secondary roads.” However, beginning with the 1927 proposal, which approved city plan revisions, the widest roads were rated “Rank One Avenues.” Subsequently, the completed roads that formed the outer loop of the city came to be called Kita-ōji (North Avenue), Nishi-ōji (West Avenue), and Higashi-ōji (East Avenue), having been changed from Higashiyama-dōri. The only road to keep its original name was long-established Kujō-ōji,¹² which marks the southern limits of the city. Begun in the mid-Meiji period, the urban reform of Kyoto took nearly forty years to finally reach a completion that, in the end, represented the consummation of Heian-kyō.

Ancient Heian-kyō and modern Heian-kyō are separated by a period of over one thousand years. The main reason that the major roads were widened and extended and that, in the end, the outer limit roads enclosed the city, was neither the outcome of some idea about the revitalization of Heian-kyō nor the realization of some grand design for modern Kyoto. Rather it was the product of a rationality that was sustained by *miyako* consciousness. The goal of this rationality was to create a compact urban Kyoto. The concept for creating a city that did not radiate outward, but one that had a squarely compact coherence was founded in both the *miyako* consciousness of the people, which was

12. The reasons for Kujō not being renamed Minami-ōji (South Avenue) are outside the scope of this monograph.

stronger in Kyoto than in other cities, and in the perception of a distinct *miyako-hina* (*miyako*-provincial) division. Kyoto, the thousand-year-old *miyako*, established itself as a city by, more than anything else, shutting out the countryside.

Major cities in Japan gradually expanded into areas surrounding the city, and although these areas later came to be called the “suburbs” (郊外), they were small in comparison to those in the United States. In Kyoto there basically existed nothing that could be called a suburban residential area until the postwar period of rapid economic growth.

12. The People Who Sustained the *Miyako*

The rapid urbanization of Boston in the second half of the nineteenth century led to the class segregation of residential areas. This kind of phenomenon did not occur in Kyoto, although that is not to say that there was no class-based discrimination. In Kyoto, as well in other Japanese cities, there was a distinct tradition of class-based discrimination that can be found throughout the history of the *machijichi* 町自治 (local self-governing bodies formed out of the unit of the *machi*). First of all, the only people that could participate in the *machijichi* were homeowners. This practice continued all the way up through the prewar period. To borrow Tsuji Michiko's words, this practice was backed by “a three hundred yearlong tradition that was founded on the belief that local self-government was possible precisely because it was limited to a group of homogenous people who lived in the same neighborhood.”¹³ Tenants had no voice in the *machijichi* and, in fact, the mutual consent of the property owners was required in order to be become a tenant. Moreover, the tenants' status in the *machijichi* was determined by whether they were “front-street tenants” or “back-alley tenants” (whether their residence fronted a road or a back alley). Thus,

13. Tsuji 1984, p. 57.

property relations, which were based on house ownership, were easily transferred to determine each resident's status in the *machijichi*. This was the kind of class-based discrimination that sustained the *machijichi*.

I must also point out that Kyoto had a relatively large middle class population. In the Edo period, nearly 90 percent of the residents in most castle towns were tenants. Also, in cities such as Osaka, 90 percent of the population lived in rental housing all the way up to the end of the Second World War. Yet in Kyoto, according to a 1890 survey, 28 percent of the population were homeowners, 41 percent were "front-street tenants," and 31 percent were "back-alley tenants." It was this system of housing ownership that shaped society in the thousand-year-old city.

One prevalent assumption based on the image of the ancient city is of Kyoto being a unique society having little social mobility. However, the Kyoto of the Edo and Meiji periods was not so. As Moriya Takeshi's *Kyō no chōnin* 京の町人 (The *Chōnin* of Kyoto) demonstrates through the study of Kyoto's *hokomachi* (鉾町), there are few cases in which property owners sustained rental properties over several generations in the *machi* of Kyoto.¹⁴ It was this kind of mobile population that made up the crowded and diverse neighborhoods of central Kyoto.

Because a large number of people migrated to Kyoto and resided in these kinds of living quarters, the city could not help but expand. However, as I have already pointed out, the expansion was not centrifugal in nature as was the case in Boston, where the upper classes created an outwardly focused force. Kyoto did not have an isolated, economically powerful upper class that could rival the Boston Brahmin. The powerful merchants, who were known as *machishū* (町衆), were rich, but their wealth was not such that they were able to overpower those below them. Moreover, the *machishū* lived in the center of Kyoto and

14. Moriya 1980.

though they might have yearned for the nature of the “non-provincial *inaka*,” their *miyako* consciousness did not allow them to long for rustic country living in the way that Boston’s upper classes did. Instead, they admired the kind of pseudo-natural environment that could be created within the walls of their urban residences. There was, in other words, no longing for nature in the wild.

While it was the *machishū* who sustained the urbanity of Kyoto, the residents of the city themselves also possessed a *miyako* consciousness. To the extent that the *machishū* exercised cultural influence, that influence worked as a centripetal force that drew people into the center of the *miyako*. If we compare Kyoto with Boston, we can say that Kyoto’s powerful social class was made up of people who embodied the qualities of a *miyako*. For that reason, even if the middle classes chose to model themselves after the *machishū*, they would not have been inclined to leave the center of the city. It was the overflow from the center that was forced out to the suburban area of the environs. The environs of the *miyako* did not embody a different value from the center, but rather it was always relative to the center. This relationship between the city center and the suburbs can basically be applied to all Japanese cities. I will discuss this point later.

13. A Mosaic City

The effects of centripetal urbanization have been accumulating in Kyoto over the past hundred years. What impact has this had on the class-based segregation of residential areas? In order to understand this, I will analyze statistics derived on the basis of Kyoto’s former school districts (*motogakku* 元学区). These school districts were local self-governing organizations that were formed out of *chōgumi* (町組), a unit of self-governance beginning in the Edo period. Moreover, in the Meiji period, the school districts became the proprietors of elementary schools, neighborhood meeting halls, and other such urban institutions. Even now, these school district divisions are regularly used in real estate

advertisements, for example. Such an advertisement might read, “So-and-so school district, Single unit home, One hundred million yen!!”

The “Statistical Survey of the City of Kyoto School Districts” (*Kyōto-shi motogakku tōkei yōran* 京都市元学区統計要覧) from the City of Kyoto Statistics Center defined social class divisions by occupation.¹⁵ According to this class division, professional and managerial occupations ranked highest. The following map indicates the school districts in which 10 percent or less or 20 percent or more of the working population was engaged in these occupations. Since 14 percent of the total working population fell into this category, 20 percent is a little above average and 10 percent is a little below average.

Figure 13 illustrates that in northern residential areas, there are several school districts in which 20 percent or more of the working population is in the professional and managerial class. Also, there is a cluster of school districts in southern parts of the city in which 10 percent or less of the working population was engaged in these occupations. However, the most notable feature of this figure is that in most of the school districts both in the “suburban” areas of Yamashina, Ukyō, and Nishikyō and in the center of the city, between 10 and 20 percent of the working population was engaged in these professions. This trend, similar to that seen in Boston, in which the middle and upper classes prefer to live in the suburban residential areas is perhaps only applicable to residential areas in the north of Kyoto (this area had been fully urbanized and is thus not properly “suburban”). However, even in the Kitashirakawa school district, which had the greatest percentage of the working population engaged in specialty, technical, and management related occupations, the figure was only 29 percent.

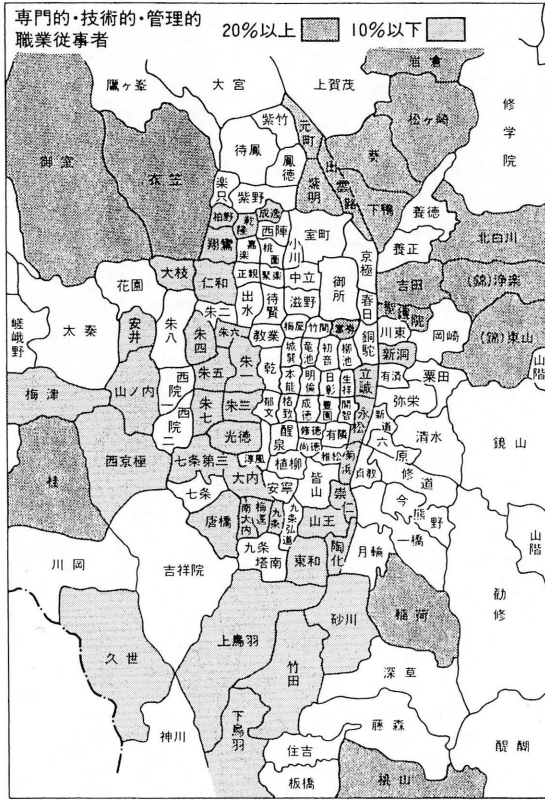
15. *Kyōto-shi motogakku tōkei yōran*.

This next map (Figure 14) shows the school districts in which 20 percent or less or 50 percent or more of the working population was engaged in "skilled and production industry related occupations" (so-called laborers). Laborers comprise 38 percent of the entire working population of Kyoto. The area of the city that had the lowest percentage was the Rissei school district that runs from Kawaramachi-Shijō to Kawaramachi-Sanjō. In this district a mere 3 percent of the population were laborers, while 80 percent worked in "commerce and service industry related occupations." From this figure we can see that both areas have a relatively high percentage of laborers, while areas having an extremely low number of laborers are to be found in the center of the city.

Finally, these maps are combined (Figure 15) to illustrate the areas in which (a) 20 percent or more of the working population are engaged in specialist, technical, or management related occupations and 20 percent or less of the working population are laborers, and (b) 10 percent or less of the working population are engaged in the former occupations and 50 percent or more are laborers.

This combined map shows the areas in which school districts have a fairly strong social class bias. The two school districts of Aoi and Shimei, for instance, have a strong bias toward the upper classes. In the Kitashirakawa school district, which was shown to have the highest percentage of the working population in professional and managerial related occupations, the percentage of the working population that are laborers was 22 percent. For this reason it does not fall into this category. The areas that have a strong bias toward the lower classes were three areas having a large proportion of laborers. The most important fact that this figure reveals is that most of Kyoto, whether it be the center of the city or the suburban area, does not have a strong social class bias either way. This is illustrated by white space filling most of the map. In other words, these school district-based statistics tell us that the various social classes actually mixed together in Kyoto.

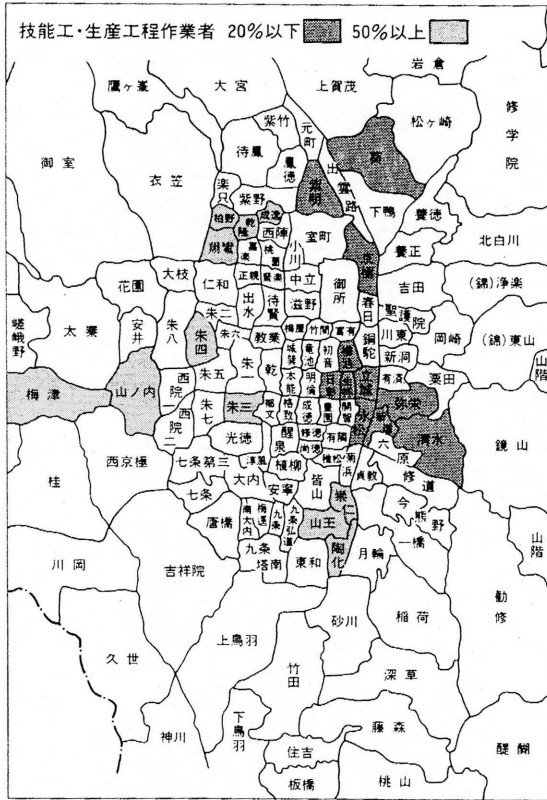
Figure 13: Distribution of population with professional and managerial occupations in Kyoto



- more than or equal to 20%
- less than or equal to 10%

Based on *Kyōto-shi motogakku tōkei yōran* (The City of Kyoto Statistics Center, 1972)

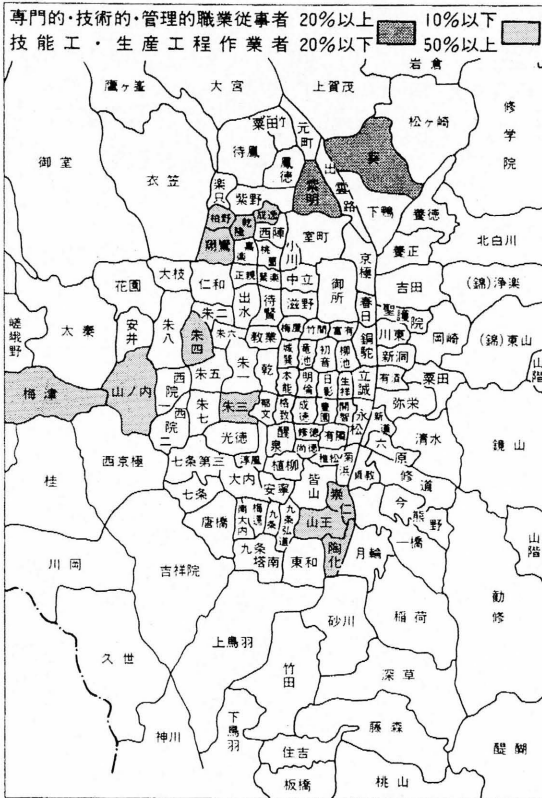
Figure 14: Distribution of population in skilled and industrial production related occupations in Kyoto



- Less than or equal to 20%
- More than or equal to 50%

Based on *Kyōto-shi motogakku tōkei yōran* (The City of Kyoto Statistics Center, 1972)

Figure 15: Distribution of population in professional and managerial occupations, and in skilled and industrial production related occupations in Kyoto



Based on *Kyōto-shi motogakku tōkei yōran* (The City of Kyoto Statistics Center, 1972)

In Kyoto there is neither a beautiful upper-class residential area nor an expansive slum area. These kinds of areas are evenly distributed throughout the city and are differentiated only at a “per lot” level. All of

Kyoto is moderately beautiful and moderately less prosperous. The closer you get to the center of the city, the greater the urban beauty, and generally speaking the closer you approach the "suburbs," if the area removed from the center may be called this, the stronger the sense of desolation. For this reason, the term "environs" seems more suitable than "suburbs." Kyoto is a city of many faces; it was a *miyako*, is a thousand-year-old city, has a strong sense of *miyako* consciousness, and is the successor of the heritage of Heian-kyō. This kind of mosaic city, in which all of the social classes live together, is the result of centripetal urbanization.

Chapter 4

THE ENVIRONS OF TOKYO

1. The *Uchi* and *Soto* of Edo

I would like now to consider the overall nature of the residential areas that developed in suburban Japan as a result of the urbanization that took place in the latter half of the nineteenth century. As mentioned earlier, according to Edo period standards, the word “suburb” suggested a “non-provincial *inaka*.” However, the “suburbs” I would like to address here are the “suburban residential areas” that formed outside of the urban centers along with the expansion of cities. These suburban residential areas were not necessarily new properties built out in the city’s greenbelt. Rather, a large percentage of the land was once farmland in what was considered “provincial *inaka*.” This fact greatly impacted the nature of Japan’s suburban residences, and yet the way in which it affected them was not simple. In the following pages, I use Tokyo as an example to discuss the formation of suburban residential areas in Japan, focusing on how they developed as a result of the centripetal urbanization that was taking place at the time, and on how their formation impacted Japanese society.

In discussing the development of Tokyo, it might seem problematic to use the concept of centripetal urbanization that I used in my previous discussion of Kyoto. After all, it is difficult to imagine a truly centripetal urbanization taking place in a city whose construction stems from

Yamanote 山の手 and Shitamachi 下町 (Yamanote being the name of a hilly residential area in western Tokyo, and Shitamachi being the name of a traditional working-class and commercial area in Tokyo), as these kinds of areas did not exist in Kyoto. To resolve this apparent inconsistency, I would initially like to consider the similarities between Tokyo and Kyoto by focusing on two specific issues.

The first issue relates to the hierarchical division of the city of Edo into two spaces. Edo had two main centers, one being the political center of Edo castle, and the other being the Nihonbashi/Ginza area, which formed an urbane center. Thus the city did not have a simple “inner” and “outer” differentiation of space as was present in Kyoto. However, Edo did possess *miyako* consciousness, and it is clear that the notion of spatially dividing the city into “inner” and “outer” sectors was strongly present. For instance, the area surrounding Edo castle was walled in, creating an inner space (*kakunai* 郭内) and an outer space (*kakugai* 郭外), and entry into the *kakunai* was controlled through gates called *mitsuke* (見付).¹ Furthermore, the *kakunai* area was additionally divided into inner and outer spaces by gates, including Wadakuramon and Babasakimon. Needless to say, divisions of this nature not only greatly affected where particular locations in the city were ranked in the hierarchy of spatial value, but also affected the political and social functions that these locations could serve.

A second example demonstrating that Edo's *miyako* consciousness included the notion of “inner” and “outer” spaces is the designation of the capital's territorial boundary (*shubiki* 朱引). The land within the boundaries was officially categorized as such (*funai* 府内, or, more formally, *gofunai* 御府内) and distinguished from all land beyond the

1. Examples of these gates include Asakusamon, Sujikaimon, Koishigawamon, Ushigomemon, Ichigayamon, Yotsuyamon, Akasakamon, Toranomom, Yamashitamom, Kobashimom, Hibi Yamom, Sukiyabashimom, Kajibashimom, Gofubashimom, Tokiwabashimom, Kandabashimom, Hitotsubashimom, and Kijibashimom.

boundary (*fugai* 府外). It is well known that the boundaries of the region making up the *gofunai* were changed several times over the years. For example, in 1782, all land within Shinagawa, Itabashi, Honjo, and Yotsuya was designated as *gofunai*, while in 1818, the territorial limits were expanded with the boundary in the east marked by Sunamura and Kameido, in the west by Yoyogi, Tsunohazu, and Kamiochiai, in the north by Senju, Takinogawa, and Itabashi, and in the south by Kamiōzaki and Minami-Shinagawa. The land within this region fell under the jurisdiction of township magistrates, suggesting that, regardless of the true state of affairs, the *gofunai* was at least theoretically divided into townships.

According to an official notice released by the Tokyo government in January of 1869, the territorial boundaries were designated as extending eastward to the river in Honjo flowing under Ōgibashi, west to Azabu, Akasaka, Yotsuya, Ichigaya, and Ushigome, south to Shinagawa, Takanawa, Shiroganedai, Azabuhonmachi, and Aoyama, and north to Koishikawa, Ikenohata, Ueno, Sensōji temple, and Hashibachō. In comparison to the area designated in the Bunsei era (1818-1830), this exhibits a considerable reduction in the official territory. The reason for this lies in the fact that in 1869, cultivating land within the territory boundaries was forbidden, and the government was promoting the “reclamation of all homes and vacant properties [outside of the boundaries], with the purpose of appropriately using the land.”

The Tokyo government further ordered all samurai living in the outer areas to move to within the official boundaries of the capital. Again, the reason for this lies in the government’s stated policy at the time (official notice of June 1869) of “keeping land for cultivation outside the boundaries and opening to commerce the city within the boundaries.” This attitude strongly resembles the thinking of Kyoto at that time, where there was a movement to remove any *inaka*, or land for cultivation, from the inner area of the *miyako*, making the center of the city a thriving area by opening it up to commerce. Thus it appears that

even in the case of Tokyo, there was a strong desire to have the farmlands of the “provincial *inaka*” located as far away as possible. The rationale behind this distinction between inside and outside of the boundaries is fundamentally based on the urbanity of Edo. The notion of keeping the *inaka* in the countryside grew stronger and stronger as it was slowly pushed away from the “bustling” heart of the city. Therefore, when considering the suburban residences of Tokyo, it is important to discuss them in terms of their relationship to the above-mentioned territorial boundaries (*shubiki*) rather than the smaller scale walled-in space of the castle area (*kakunai*) located away from the urban center.

A second problematic issue that arises when comparing the development of Tokyo to that of Kyoto involves considering the role played by samurai residences in Edo in the formation of Tokyo’s suburban residential districts. Roughly 60 percent of the land area of Edo was made up of samurai residential lands distributed to retainers of the shogunate according to rank. For example, a *hatamoto* 旗本 (direct retainer of the shogun) of high rank might have received up to 2500 *tsubo* (8 square kilometers), and a lesser rank might be bestowed 400 *tsubo* (1.3 square kilometers). Within these residential properties were landscaped gardens and vegetable gardens as well as servants’ quarters,² causing them to vary considerably from the private residences of present-day Japan. The fact that such lands existed within Edo poses a problem in drawing a parallel between the centripetal nature of the urbanization that took place in Kyoto with the urbanization of Tokyo. Indeed, the samurai residential areas did not fall under the jurisdiction of local magistrates and they did not have officially designated township names. They were not the bustling townships one would associate with urbanity.

So were these samurai residences located in what we should consider *inaka*? The properties would often include vegetable gardens for

2. Shinmi 1967, p. 21.

the purpose of feeding the household, but they were not farmlands. This indicates that, at the very least, these residences were not in the “provincial *inaka*,” in turn suggesting that their location should be categorized as “non-provincial *inaka*.” Although there were samurai residences in areas scattered throughout the urban center of Shitamachi, these were exceptions. The vast majority of samurai mansions were in the Yamanote area, which, at the time, could easily be described as “provincial *inaka*.” This means that there was “provincial *inaka*” within the *gofunai* of Edo, and herein lies a marked contrast between Kyoto and Edo.

From the perspective of Edo as the location of the central government, the samurai residences of Yamanote were located in the heart of the city. Yet in terms of Edo’s urbanity, these residential lands were in the “non-provincial *inaka*” some distance away from the heart of the city. In *Nihon meisshō chishi* 日本名勝地誌 (Scenic Beauty in Japan), Nozaki Sabun 野崎左文 supports this notion with the following observations about Yamanote: “This high country with its many hilly roads cannot compare with the flourishing Shitamachi. Most of the homes out here belong to upper-class gentlemen.”³ Tokyo and Kyoto differed in that while the “non-provincial *inaka*” of Kyoto was in the remote periphery surrounding the city, it could be found immediately in the Yamanote area of Tokyo. If one were forced to seek out a similar example of a “non-provincial *inaka*” that bordered closely with Kyoto’s *rakuchū*, that would have to be the area east of the Kamo river. Just as this region, known as Higashiyama, developed into Kyoto’s first suburban residential district, it was only natural that Tokyo’s initial suburban residential development would take place in the “non-provincial *inaka*” of Yamanote.

3. Nozaki 1893-1901, p. 103.

2. The Yamanote *Okuchi*

By definition, a suburban residence is a private residence. In addition to privacy, such a residence naturally assumes a clear separation from the workplace. In Edo period Japan, however, the majority of farms and businesses combined the owners' and/or workers' living quarters with the work space. While it is true that the samurai residences discussed earlier were residences not associated with the production or selling of goods, by no means were they private spaces. This seems to suggest, and it is indeed the case, that Edo had no inclination toward the development of suburban residences. The "privacy" that was assumed in the development of the suburban areas of the West⁴ simply did not exist in Edo, meaning that the economic and social changes brought about after the Edo period were necessary in order for true suburban development to take place.

The first suburban residences to develop in Tokyo were of two categories: one comprising those residences developed from Edo period vacation villas or retreats, and the other comprising those developed in the Yamanote area primarily from the residences of government officials. In similar fashion to their predecessors, the residences of the first category were created as private getaways by those with the financial resources to build a second home away from the city, contributing very little to any trend of suburban residential development. Those of the second category, however, evolved out of a new trend of economic development that contributed directly to the building of suburban residences. Although this latter type of development is what comes to mind when one hears the words "suburban residence," it is important to note that the "vacation villa" type was strongly present until the early Taishō period. The persistence of these vacation villas as the suburban standard is further illustrated in the paragraphs below.

4. Fishman 1987, p. 43.

The following is an excerpt from an advertisement from 1912 praising the “suburban utopia” of Sakura-shinmachi (an area covering the two villages of Komazawa and Tamagawa) in “Tokyo’s Karuizawa” (Karuizawa is a resort town in the Japan Alps frequented by Tokyo-ites on vacation. This moniker is used to suggest the presence of a similar atmosphere within Tokyo) that was sold in parcels at the time:

This area is a part of the Musashi plain and it stretches along the Tamagawa train line. It is a mere twenty minutes from Shibuya station, but is in the high country abundant with fresh air, pure well water, and fertile fields. With the flowing waters of the Tama river and the Chichibu mountain range off in the distance, the sunrises and sunsets are picture perfect. For a healthy life in a beautiful setting, nothing can compare to the suburbs.⁵

At the time when this advertisement was written, there was no Shibuya railroad terminal surrounded by the massive development we see today. Therefore, it is clear that the description of the “utopia” above as being twenty minutes from Shibuya was not a reference to its convenience. Rather, this advertisement was focusing on the simple beauty of a natural environment. This clearly supports the argument that many of the first suburban residences of Tokyo were vestiges of the vacation homes of Edo. They were retreats for the elite. Indeed, most of the purchasers of the suburban properties that were first sold in parcels were of an elite professional class whose businesses were thriving in bustling downtown areas such as Nihonbashi. As the advertisement cited above indicates with its emphasized seclusion from the city, the most common form of suburban residence in the early Taishō period was still the vacation villa. That, however, was soon to change.

5. Yamaoka 1987, p. 47.

Since these suburban vacation homes rarely served as permanent residences for their owners, it was the “non-provincial *inaka*” that these owners sought despite the inconvenience of their locations, and it is easy to imagine how these residences might have spread farther and farther into the extreme outer reaches of Tokyo. If such a phenomenon did occur and suburban residences grew to a grand scale, Tokyo would have likely experienced a Boston-like centrifugal urbanization rather than the centripetal urbanization that actually took place. Regardless of what might have been, the development of isolated vacation villa-type suburbs was limited. In fact, as a result of Tokyo’s unwieldy expansion, the Sakura-shinmachi area mentioned in the above advertisement soon became a convenient suburban residential location, providing permanent residences for people from many walks of life (soldiers and businessmen; by the middle of the twentieth century, it became popular with “salarymen” and artists).

The primary flow of Tokyo’s suburban residential lands was in the direction of the Yamanote *okuchi* 奥地 (a term meaning “outskirts” or “backcountry,” and in this case indicating the perceived separation of Yamanote from the city center). When the residential development in this former samurai residential area reached its limit, there was no recourse other than to continue the expansion even farther. Eventually, this suburban expansion was so great that it inevitably reached into the farmlands that had the unmistakable air of the “provincial *inaka*,” and by the 1910s, it had reached beyond the territorial boundary *shubiki*. During the Meiji period, the *shubiki* was conceptually replaced by the Yamanote train line that encircled the city, forming a ring that was assumed to demarcate Tokyo’s *okuchi*. Once the suburban residences spread beyond even this extreme boundary, there was no question that the suburbs of Tokyo had come face to face with the “provincial *inaka*.”

In Kyoto during the Taishō period, there was considerable debate regarding how to deal with the problem of the “foul-smelling *inaka*,” and the same issue was being deliberated on a much larger scale in

Tokyo. Being only a medium-size city, the *miyako* of Kyoto had comparatively few problems with suburban residences in the *okuchi* of its environs. However, the environs of Tokyo were expansive as a result of its rapid growth. Exactly what sort of future would these immense environs bring to the *miyako* of Tokyo?

3. Inhabitants of the *Miyako* Environs

The *Shin Tōkyō taikan* 新東京大観 (The New General Survey of Tokyo), which was appended to Tokyo *Asahi shinbun* in 1932, includes an intriguing introduction to the Setagaya area of Tokyo.

Setagaya presently makes up the far western section of “new” Tokyo. In the days of “old” Tokyo, this area was a secondary suburb—covering the townships of Setagaya and Komazawa and the villages of Tamagawa and Matsuzawa—built by residents who, despite the crowds and grime of the city, did not wish to part with Tokyo. Although this secondary suburb originally had the potential of being a lovely area, one now finds tightly packed rows of businesses built along the train lines, such as the Tamagawa line, in an effort to cling to the conveniences of the city. Such squalor makes it hard to imagine that this was once a suburb of “old” Tokyo. In contrast to this is the experience provided by the Odakyū train line, which winds its way through lovely landscapes with tastefully developed country residences.⁶

These sentences effectively convey the distinguishing features of this “secondary suburb” that had developed outside the Yamanote train line. First, the dwellers in the suburbs are described as those who, “despite the crowds and grime of the city, did not wish to part with Tokyo.”

6. *Shin Tōkyō taikan*, p. 88.

Although it is difficult to ascertain from this passage, it is interesting to consider why they “did not wish to part with Tokyo.” It appears that although Tokyo’s suburban inhabitants had a strong attachment to the convenience and bustling streets of the city, they had no choice but to live in the “provincial *inaka*.” From this we can gather that a typical Japanese person did not choose to live in the suburbs because they valued the suburbs as a means of getting away from the city (to pursue gardening, for instance).

At the time in Tokyo history when urbanization truly began in earnest, Satō Haruo 佐藤春夫 (1892-1964) wrote *Den'en no yūutsu* 田園の憂鬱 (A Pastoral Elegy, 1916) based on his experience of living in a village in present-day Yokohama. This is indeed a vivid account of melancholy resulting from living the “rustic life.”

...she had to blame her husband more for saying let's live in the country, for whatever high ideals, than herself for carelessly consenting. Far off Tokyo...nearby Tokyo...nearby Tokyo...far off Tokyo...The streets of Tokyo, the arc lights, the show windows, corridors of the theaters in season, the dressing rooms. All these passed leisurely before the eyes of his wife as she drifted off to sleep.⁷

On the pretext of preparing the kimono robes for autumn his wife announced that she was going to Tokyo. Rather than considering the weather in the sky, she thought to go before a change in the “weather” of her husband, so she finished an early lunch and took off hurriedly for the Tokyo that she longed for every night. It would not be wrong to say that her spirit arrived in Tokyo three hours before her body.⁸

7. Tenny 1993, p. 42.

8. Tenny 1993, p. 59.

“Life in the country” in this case is clearly a reference to life in the “provincial *inaka*.” Reading this novel, one can easily anticipate the outcome of the story foreshadowed in the opening pages. The pivotal characters of the novel are enamored with the idea of the rustic life they chose to embark upon. But upon their arrival, they encounter the first of many disappointments to come when they are greeted by their hostess. She is the perfect embodiment of the “provincial *inaka*.” “She was their guide, a fat redheaded woman who pointed ahead with one hand while using the other to wipe the dripping sweat from her sunburned brow with a dirty towel.” This meeting of the “provincial country bumpkin” with the urbanites who were anticipating a serene life in the “non-provincial *inaka*” does not bode well for the former city dwellers. The lack of etiquette and consideration displayed by meddling children and old women in their neighborhood is more than they can bear. They expected a rustic life in which “on an evening like this how I would like to settle under the dim, red lamplight of a cozy, thatch-roof country home—it matters not where—stretch out my arms and legs, and drift into a deep sleep, oblivious to everything,”¹⁰ but what they experienced was a life that left them drowning in melancholy.

Initially, the male protagonist of this novel tries to enjoy his *inaka* existence, but his wife’s adoration for Tokyo eventually creeps into his heart. Almost as a confession, he asks, “Am I being nostalgic about the city?”¹¹ In the end, he reaches a point where he hallucinates about the sights and sounds of Tokyo: “...the echo of the train, the screech of the streetcar, the music from the movies, that Tokyo street he did not know. He began to suppose that his wife’s nostalgia for the city, through some magical action but perhaps unconsciously for her, might be giving shape and voice to the illusions in his sleepless eyes and ears.”¹²

9. Tenny 1993, p. 15.

10. Tenny 1993, p. 17.

11. Tenny 1993, p. 69.

12. Tenny 1993, p. 77.

Although this novel does not deal directly with suburban residences, it juxtaposes the *inaka* with Tokyo. The wife's feelings of longing for the lively streets of Tokyo must have been similarly experienced by the new suburban residents at the time. Another example of an even more straightforward expression of this idea can be found in Mayama Seika's 真山青果(1878-1948) *Minamikoizumi-mura* 南小泉村 (The Village of Minamikoizumi), which was described as being "beyond comparison in its description of the cruelties of peasantry." More than being an account of the prejudice city dwellers had toward the *inaka*, it conveys an extreme dissonance in the quality of life and cultural sophistication. It is clearly a negative reaction to the utterly unfamiliar world of the savage (夷中, also pronounced "*inaka*," but the characters suggest a place more barbarous and unknown in comparison to 田舎 normally used).

There is nothing so pathetic as a peasant...Just as a barn has that distinct barn smell, a peasant has that unmistakable peasant-shaped head...There is nothing remarkable about a peasant's face, which is slovenly, emotionless, expressionless, and weak. That vulgar mouth. That vile nose. Most of all, what stands out are those eyes. They are the eyes of a cowering beast.¹³

4. Bringing the City to the Suburbs

Let us recall the character of the *inaka-miyako* spatial hierarchy. Ultimately, the *inaka* had the *miyako* (or *tokai*) as its geographic and conceptual core, and the word "provincial" in "provincial *inaka*" implies a value judgment of the *inaka* with the urbanity of the *miyako* serving as the standard. More than the truly isolated and distant rural areas, it was the space in the environs of the *miyako* that was subjected to the violence

13. Mayama 1907, p. 92.

of the pervasive *miyako* consciousness. As the cities expanded, urban dwellers were forced to live in the suburban residences that spanned out into these environs. They saw themselves as *tokaijin* 都会人 (urbanites), and it was inevitable that they would want to bring the “*tokai*” to their suburbs.

Earlier, Setagaya was described as having “tightly packed rows of businesses built along the train lines... [that] make it hard to imagine that this was once a suburb of ‘old’ Tokyo.” Rather than valuing this new living space for its inherent proximity to nature, suburban residents wanted the same life that could be found in the heart of the city and, therefore, they desired for their suburban space the same lively environment and the same conveniences. Even the “vacation villa” type of suburban area, such as Sakura-shinmachi that was cited earlier as an example, succumbed to this tendency. The following description of the area, written shortly after the first governmental subdivision of land, illustrates this point.

After getting off the train, one finds a newly built noodle shop, as well as a sushi shop located adjacent to a mid-wifery. There are also newsstands, public baths, and bars. Add to these developments a new police station and one gets a sense for the prosperous future in store for this garden city.¹⁴

But is a prosperous future truly a promising future for a garden city? That is, if gardening interests were actually the fabric holding Japan’s suburbs together, the inevitable urbanization that would accompany such a “future” would tear that fabric to shreds.

Without question, the initial development of Japan’s suburbs stemmed from leisurely interests such as gardening. A case in point is

14. Yamaoka 1987.

Shibuya, the birthplace of Tokyo's suburbs that extended southwestward from the Yamanote *okuchi*. A company that played a large role in the development of this region was Den'en Toshi Kabushiki Gaisha 田園都市株式会社 (The Garden City Company), now known as Tōkyū Railways. As can be garnered from the name, this company had suburban development as its major goal, and creating a railroad division within their company was but one means to obtain that goal. This contrasts with other railroad companies, such as Hankyū Railways in Kansai, which came into being as a byproduct of residential development. A business prospectus regarding Tōkyū's particular development project reads as follows:

In order to serve the middle-class people suffering from the strain of life in the smoggy capital city that threatens their livelihood, health, and sense of social order, we would like to make available to them the fresh air of the suburbs and the various amenities that make living easier in an effort to preserve their well-being.

A real estate advertisement of that time attempted to attract buyers by emphasizing the natural environment of the suburbs: "Oh, pitiful ladies and gentlemen living under the smoggy skies of Osaka, the city which was once a beautiful city of canals!" This advertisement (from 1910) used by Minō Arima Railways (later to become Hankyū Railways), begins with this aggressive promotion of the suburbs. It continues:

A pleasant life in the lovely rustic suburbs... The sky is clear, and refreshing autumn breezes drift across yellowing rice fields along our railway that extends a total of eighteen and a half miles. We would like to offer you a life in a garden city, where you can enjoy strolling along the paths of Minō park, which boasts the best scenery in Japan. Take in the brocade of brightly colored leaves covering the fields and mountains—a sight more breathtaking than cherry blossoms of April.

Such contrasts drawn between the healthy rustic lifestyle and the countless problems inherent in city life were a reaction to the worsening living conditions in Japan's cities that resulted from rapid urbanization. Such thinking may also have been influenced by the garden city movements taking place in England at the time, and whose concepts were being introduced to Japan.

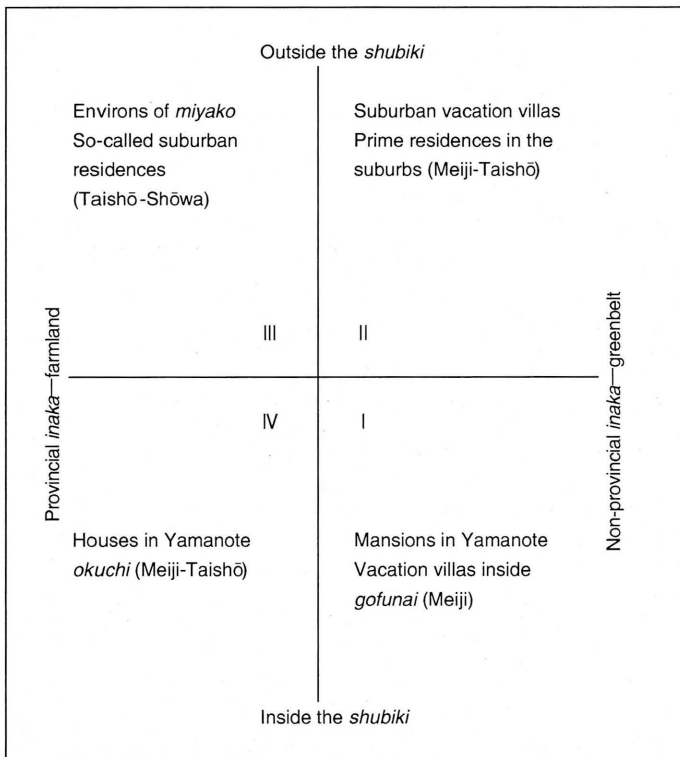
In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the quality of urban life in Western countries, especially in England and the United States, was degrading due to rapid increases in city populations. This led to a massive middle class exodus from the urban centers. As we saw in the case of Boston, these people headed for the countryside in response to the affinity they felt toward nature. The reasoning behind this movement was that simply getting back to nature would result in an improved living environment. Nature in this instance had become more than a reference to being surrounded by a natural environment. It had become an ideology. Put differently, Western countries had *inaka*, including suburbs, which had established their own identity irrespective of spatial values attributed to urban centers.

On the other hand, the Japanese ideology regarding the suburbs was urban oriented and resulted from the prevailing sense of *miyako*. Here, the city dwellers' negative feelings toward the "provincial *inaka*" and their shared adoration for all things urban surpassed any desire for "fresh, clean air." If there was any sort of affection for nature in urban Japan, it was more an attraction toward the earlier mentioned *shichū no sankyo* 市中の山居 (quasi-mountain-dwelling in the midst of a city). Country living could be quite enjoyable for the Japanese, but only if it was in an urban environment. In other words, the value found in one's living space revolved around the city. An article titled "Tōkyō kōgai kenkyū" 東京郊外研究 (Studies of Tokyo Suburbs) from the January 1927 edition of *Nihon oyobi Nihonjin* 日本および日本人 (Japan and the Japanese) effectively expresses this Japanese sentiment toward nature in the suburbs: "A tendency to include nature in suburban life is displayed

by the modest residential areas of the proletarians who have managed to include the greenery of gardens along their streets.”¹⁵

The figure below provides a summary of what has been discussed thus far.

Figure 16: Relationship between suburban residences, inside and outside *shubiki*, greenbelt, and farmland in Tokyo



15. Nishino 1927, p. 327.

The first of Tokyo's suburban residences were cultivated from the *gofunai* vacation villas and the privatization of samurai residences in Yamanote [I]. Once Yamanote became cramped with residences, the Yamanote *okuchi* underwent development to become residential land. This Yamanote *okuchi* was within the *shubiki*, but the more this area reached into the *okuchi* and beyond, the more it took on the characteristics of "provincial *inaka*" [IV]. Indeed, as the Yamanote *okuchi* reached capacity, it was inevitable that the suburban residences would span out into the "provincial *inaka*," finally reaching the *miyako* environs outside *shubiki* [III]. Meanwhile, as the vacation villas struggled to maintain their status by seeking the bounties of nature, they suddenly were pushed out into the "non-provincial *inaka*" beyond *shubiki* (or, beyond the Yamanote train line) to, in the end, become suburban vacation villas. A considerable number of these vacation homes were in prime suburban locations provided with transportation networks and other city-like conveniences [II].

Rather than having rustic interests, Japanese people at the time tended to have urban interests. However, once these city dwellers were forced out into the "provincial *inaka*" as the result of urban expansion, they could no longer avoid the suburban life. Again, the residents of Japan's suburbs did not choose their location because they discerned some sense of inherent value within the suburban space. The heart of the city was called the *miyako*, and, almost by definition, the environs or outer limits of the *miyako* were inherently solitary and intrinsically inconvenient. The residents of Japan's suburbs were not seeking nature. They were seeking the *tokai* itself.

In Japan, the phenomenon of centripetal urbanization, while oriented toward the heart of the city, actually caused the city to expand outward. That is, this phenomenon involved two conflicting movements. While all energy was oriented inward, the people of the city overflowed, spilling over into the outskirts. Like the ripple effect of a rock thrown into a pond, the "environs" of the *miyako* spread farther and

farther from the center. What could the inhabitants of these environs do to deal with these conflicting movements?

As Tokyo expanded, it was necessary that the private spaces of its inhabitants be driven away from the heart of the *miyako*. Moreover, what became clear during this time of *miyako*-centrism was that the farther a place was from the urban center, the less value that place had. It was a grave situation. One strategy for dealing with this had been employed for approximately one hundred years by Japan's suburban inhabitants. It involves, wherever possible, converting the *miyako* environs into quasi-*tokai*. By definition, *tokai* is a bustling place. "The prosperous future of the garden city," observed earlier regarding "Tokyo's Karuizawa," came to fruition in the suburbs of most of the larger cities in Japan, and these suburban residential areas eventually experienced the same urbanization as their respective city centers. As Okui Fukutarō astutely pointed out, "The former suburbs have undergone absolute urbanization, and there are suburbs being pushed out even beyond those."¹⁶

This phenomenon was shared among Japan's suburbs, and this inevitable urbanization of what were formerly suburbs made it impossible for any one suburb to create its own independent suburban identity. In such a context, we see that a suburb is not a static presence completed at the point of its establishment as a residential area, but a dynamic one, continuously developing with an aim to be *tokai*—an urbane city. The suburban residents' *miyako*-centralistic yearning for the convenience, comfort, and vibrant atmosphere of *tokai* almost automatically brought about the development in their neighborhoods. Considering that the primary valuation of the suburbs in Japan is based on their being in the environs of *miyako*, the desire for development, which stems from the longing for urbanity, should come as no surprise.

16. Okui 1940, p. 362.

Another way for the suburban inhabitants to cope with the perceived emptiness of their suburban existence was to bring compact versions of the city into their living space. For example, as will be discussed later, the residents of the “non-provincial *inaka*” of Yamanote found it necessary to create their own urban hubs with names such as “Yamanote Ginza” and “Yamanote Asakusa.” Thus, when suburban residences pushed out to the “provincial *inaka*” such as the Musashi plain backcountry, something was definitely required in order to compensate for their seclusion from the urban center. Something was needed to fill the emptiness resulting from being in the *miyako* environs. As I will illustrate in the following section, the suburban inhabitants built places of refuge to escape from the rural lifestyle that had been forced upon them. They built what I refer to as *sakariba* terminals.

5. *Sakariba* Terminals

As the suburbs developed in Tokyo’s Yamanote *okuchi*, terminal train stations that took on the role of *sakariba* 盛り場 (hubs of entertainment and shopping) also developed. Before discussing *sakariba*, I would like address the issue of whether similar phenomena took place in other countries which also experienced urbanization. The answer to this question is no. Nevertheless, since the Japanese take *sakariba* terminals for granted as a part of daily life, they assume that they exist in most other parts of the world.

In modern cities, public transportation services with buses and trains serving the city center as well as the suburbs are a given. And where there are train and bus systems, there must also be transfer stations and terminal stations. The large concentrations of people at these locations led to the formation of a new variety of *sakariba* with the amenities of the city to serve the shopping and entertainment needs of consumers. Perhaps one might argue that, in this sense, *sakariba* terminals are a universal phenomenon shared among modern cities and, thus, they are not unique to Japan. Let us, then, proceed by considering

the reality of cities around the world. In the case of Japan, there are numerous *sakariba* terminals, such as Umeda, Shinjuku, Shibuya, and Ikebukuro, that can be cited as examples. Additionally, such terminals exist on a smaller scale in a great number of cities scattered throughout Japan, where one might find a “miniature” Ginza, a “miniature” Umeda, or a “miniature” Shinjuku.

However, do similar phenomena exist in other countries? If it is true that wherever there are public transportation systems with major concentrations of people there will be formed some kind of *sakariba*, then it must hold true that *sakariba* terminals can be found worldwide. Again, I would suggest that this is not the case. Upon visiting large cities such as Jakarta, Jokjakarta, New York City, Boston, Washington, D.C., Sydney, London, Amsterdam, and Cologne, I did not observe any *sakariba* terminals at even the largest train stations. The closest examples were Grand Central Station and Pennsylvania Station in New York City, which both possess the basic elements of a *sakariba*, yet cannot compare in scale to the *sakariba* of Japan.

King’s Cross Station in London is one of the primary terminal stations for trains heading to the northern parts of England, and it is also a major subway station. However, it is far from being a *sakariba*. Boston’s South Station is a large terminal with express trains traveling to New York and Washington, D.C., but surrounding the station one only finds dilapidated warehouses and office buildings. In front of and surrounding Washington, D.C.’s central train station, Union Station, there is nothing more than a public park. Perhaps an exception is Kuta Station in the heart of Jakarta, as the area around this terminal clearly has a *sakariba* atmosphere. However, this atmosphere results from the bustling streets of the local Chinatown and was not developed as a product of a terminal station.

Of course one must be careful not to over-generalize, but it appears that in Western countries, at least, there is something that causes people

to avoid lingering for long periods of time at terminal stations or their surrounding areas. In *The Railway Handbook* published in 1865, Padney writes the following regarding city dwellers' reactions toward train stations.

There has been a long-held mistaken notion that the train stations are of key interest to urban residents. In fact, the opposite is true in that today's city dweller actually prefers to be as far from the bustling centers as possible. Generally, the hotels in close proximity to the stations are doing poorly.¹⁷

In Japan, it is difficult to imagine a hotel in front of a large terminal station that does not do well. The presence of such a phenomenon as that referred to above suggests that in Western countries, regardless of the number of people who might pass through a terminal station for commuting, such a space is not seen as serving any other purpose.

What are the characteristics that make the *sakariba* terminal a particularly Japanese phenomenon? At issue here is the manner in which these *sakariba* utilize an apparatus of modern civilization—the railways—to express on a grand scale a facet of Japanese culture. I would like to approach this issue from two separate angles, the first being an analysis of the meaning of *sakariba*, and the second an examination of the relationship between the characteristics of the suburban residential areas that serve as the backdrop for these terminals and the characteristics of the terminals that qualify them as *sakariba*.

Before discussing the definition of *sakariba*, I would like to briefly consider the way in which the formation of Japanese *sakariba* terminals took place. *Sakariba* terminals did not form on their own, but rather took on their unique characteristics as a result of pre-existing urban

17. Schivelbusch 1982, p. 210.

sakariba that worked their way out to the terminal stations. The converse of this is true for large cities in Western countries. That is, while *sakariba* terminals in Japan developed as an outgrowth of pre-existing *sakariba*, one of the reasons *sakariba* did not develop at terminal stations in Western cities is because *sakariba* were not present before public transportation systems were introduced.

Dictionary definitions of *sakariba* include: “A bustling crowded area, having large concentrations of restaurants, shops, and entertainment facilities” and “a location where large numbers of people gather; a thriving urban district.” By these definitions, we can understand *sakariba* to be bustling, thriving locations, or urban districts, where large numbers of people gather. People do not gather at *sakariba* for productive purposes. They are there to consume. Rather than work, they are there for pleasure. Let us consider, for example, a large factory with a busy road in front filled with workers commuting to or from the factory. By definition, this cannot be seen as a *sakariba*. Such a location would not qualify as such until it was provided with city-like facilities, such as supermarkets, restaurants, and bars, intended for consumption by or, more simply, the “enjoyment” of, those factory workers.

It is difficult to ascertain an English language equivalent to *sakariba*. According to *Kenkyūsha's New Japanese-English Dictionary*, a *sakariba* is defined as “a public [popular, pleasure] resort; amusement quarters; the busiest quarters; a bustling place.” Here, however, the description as “a public [popular, pleasure] resort” is overly broad and vague, while “amusement quarters” is too limited. Without question, *sakariba* did originate as entertainment quarters, and, as will be discussed later, the word did connote such a meaning during the Edo period. However, the modern *sakariba* in question cannot be defined in the same manner. Essentially, there is no fitting English term to serve as a translation of *sakariba*, and from what I have observed in Western countries, “bustling, crowded areas having large concentrations of restaurants, shops, and entertainment facilities” do not exist on the

grand scale that one finds in Japan.

According to Moriya Takeshi, *sakariba* were originally made up of playhouses and pleasure quarters. In the Edo period, *sakariba* were urban amenities operating under licensed permission of the government. These spaces were separated from the everyday life of the city and were designated as being “for theatrical entertainment and the enjoyment of female company.”¹⁸ The *sakariba* of modern Japan that developed following the Meiji Restoration were not formed from these pleasure quarters as one might imagine. Rather, the modern *sakariba* stemmed from the late Edo period trend of “making the cities more enjoyable for temple and shrine visitors,” a trend manifested in the “emergence of playhouses in permanent structures” as opposed to the “makeshift playhouses” of the past. As we see in the examples of Shinkyōgoku 新京極 in Kyoto, Sennichi-mae 千日前 in Osaka, and Asakusa 浅草 in Tokyo, they were born from temple and shrine neighborhoods and the festivals held there.

Referring to *sakariba* formed after the Meiji Restoration, Moriya asserts, “The characteristic of modern *sakariba* that causes them to stand out from the entertainment and pleasure-oriented *sakariba* of the Edo period can be found in their sheer diversity.” The showhouses, restaurants, and haberdasheries that made up the modern *sakariba* “cultivated a wide variety of desires among the urban population,” and these city dwellers did not visit the modern *sakariba* with the specific objective of one who might have frequented the pleasure quarters in the past. Indeed, when the modern city dweller enters this new urban space, he or she can select from a variety of services provided by the *sakariba*. Thus we see two trends addressed by Moriya in his discussion of the transition undergone by *sakariba* from the premodern to modern periods. The first of these is the trend toward increased diversity in the

18. Moriya 1985, p. 382.

services provided by the *sakariba*, and the second is the trend of *sakariba* becoming more mundane, addressing the everyday needs of the urbanites. It is important to note, however, that these trends continued beyond the era of the “modern” *sakariba*.

These two tendencies toward increased diversification in services and an increase in the mundane nature of those services occurred to an even greater degree in the new *sakariba* that appeared on the scene after the “modern” *sakariba* mentioned above. By the modern period, *sakariba* had been transformed from those of Edo that were more for entertainment of a sexual or “shady” nature into a diversified space fulfilling typical, everyday needs. However, I propose that the new *sakariba* terminals displayed this trend to an even greater degree. As alluded to earlier, the development of *sakariba* at terminal stations was, in a sense, a result of the process of pre-existing *sakariba* advancing into the space of the terminals. This, though, was not simply a process of relocation. That is, the *sakariba* that found their way to the terminals took on an entirely different form as compared to their predecessors, and this was due to the unique character of the train stations themselves as well as the residential areas surrounding those stations.

6. The Compacted City

Let us next examine the formation of the *sakariba* at Shinjuku. The Shinjuku of Edo was a post station formed where two major roads, the Kōshū highway and the Ōme highway, diverged as they headed west out of the Yotsuya gateway. The original Shinjuku embodied the characteristics of the “provincial *inaka*” outside of the territorial bounds of the *shubiki*. Without question, it was located in the “outskirts” of Edo. In 1885, Nihon Tetsudō, a private railway company that established its service connecting Akabane and Shinagawa (a part of the present-day Yamanote line), and in 1889, Kōbu Railways (the present-day Chūō line) opened a route connecting Tachikawa and Shinjuku. However, the true impetus for the development of Shinjuku came about

in 1903, when the Tokyo street car system connected Shinjuku with Hanzōmon, and in the following year when Kōbu Railways was extended to reach the town of Iida. As a result of the opening of these two transportation routes, Shinjuku became directly connected to the heart of the city within the *shubiki*. However, this was before the Great Kantō Earthquake, and the residential areas of the Yamanote *okuchi* were still under development. Needless to say, Shinjuku, being located even farther away from the city than the Yamanote *okuchi*, was no more than “newly developing land in the outskirts.” Up until the time of the Kantō Earthquake, the area surrounding Shinjuku station had the typical characteristics of a city’s outskirts. Among other fixtures, there were tank batteries belonging to the Tokyo Gas Service that were installed in 1912 and the Yodobashi water purification plant that began operations in 1899.

Following the Kantō Earthquake, the sparsely distributed suburban areas to the west of Yamanote experienced a sudden explosion, greatly changing the character of Shinjuku. The fact that the suburban growth reached Shinjuku means that they had reached the “*okuchi* of the Yamanote *okuchi*,” also indicating that, by this time, Tokyo had come face to face with the “provincial *inaka*.”

The private railroads that formed primarily in large cities such as Tokyo and Osaka bound together the city centers with the suburbs. According to the laws enacted in 1906 regarding the nationalization of railroads, it was not the intention of the government to “nationalize the railroads that serve the transportation needs of a single region.” Consequently, it was mostly private railroad companies that ran between the large cities and their suburbs. Such companies flourished from the end of the Meiji period, a time when Japan’s large cities were experiencing tremendous growth. Keihan Railways began operations in 1910, as did Minō Arima Railways that later became Hankyū Railways. These were followed by Keisei Railways in 1912, Keiō Railways in 1914, the Tōyoko train line in 1926, and the Odakyū train line in 1927. In this

manner, networks of private train lines spanned across Japan's large cities from late Meiji to early Shōwa. By early Shōwa, it became possible to reach Shinjuku by private train lines such as the Keiō, Seibu (unlike the Seibu Shinjuku line of today, this line ran between Shinjuku and Ogikubo), and the Odakyū line. This paved the way for full-fledged development of suburban residences in this "provincial *inaka*."

In the *Shin Tōkyō taikan* published in 1933, Shinjuku is described as follows.

The most outstanding geographical characteristic of Yodobashi ward is that it contains the Shinjuku *sakariba*. The entertainment district of Shinjuku is without question a floodgate that captures the crowds overflowing from the city center. With its narrow streets crammed with department stores, cafes, and cinemas, this area has become the "Yamanote Ginza," stealing that title from Kagurazaka immediately following the Kantō Earthquake.¹⁹

In this way we see that one of the main characteristics of today's Shinjuku was already exhibited in the early Shōwa period. Shinjuku, the terminal station, was an "entertainment district" that served as a "floodgate" to catch "the crowds that overflowed from the city center."

During the following year, another characterization of Shinjuku was printed in *Dai Tōkyō hanjōki* 大東京繁昌記 (Prosperity of Great Tokyo):

Kagurazaka, the Yamanote Ginza built around Bishamon-sama and Anahachiman, has been stripped by Shinjuku of its status as the premiere *sakariba*. As its name suggests, Shinjuku is a new development, but it has managed to replace Kagurazaka as

19. *Shin Tōkyō taikan*, p. 27.

the capital city's most thriving area. The roar of the innumerable masses is the sound of Shinjuku expanding... On both sides of the narrow streets are high-rise department stores reaching up to the heavens. Theaters have been built. Cafes have been opened. Indeed, an immense entertainment district has suddenly, as in a dream, sprung up in this corner of the Musashi plain.²⁰

Both of the above accounts indicate that Shinjuku had stolen the "crown" from Kagurazaka, replacing it as the "Yamanote Ginza" or, as referred to below, the "Yamanote Asakusa."

Before continuing with our discussion of the development of Shinjuku as a new category of *sakariba*, it will be helpful to illustrate the characteristics of Kagurazaka, the *sakariba* that was surpassed by Shinjuku. Although Kagurazaka was located within Yamanote, it was, without question, a modern *sakariba* basing its existence on the crowds that would gather before the temple gates of Zenkokuji temple (home of the popular deity, Bishamon-sama) and the gates of Anahachiman shrine. It was a *sakariba* catering to the people referred to as the "Yamanote-ites," the suburban residents of Tokyo's first suburb. In *Tōto hanjōki* 東都繁昌記 (Prosperity of Tōto), prior to the Kantō Earthquake, Kagurazaka is introduced in the following manner:

These streets fronted by *geishaya* 芸者屋 (geisha houses) and *machiai* 待合 (brothels) are regarded as 'Yamanote Asakusa.' The Yamanote-ites gather at Kagurazaka in greater numbers than at Ushigome, Koishikawa, Ōtsuka, Ichigaya, and even Kōjimachi. This is the center, the heart of Yamanote.²¹

20. *Dai Tōkyō hanjōki*, p. 217.

21. Yamaguchi 1918, p. 260.

Clearly, Kagurazaka was the *sakariba* of the residents of Yamanote and the Yamanote *okuchi* (the Yamanote-ites). What is most important to note here is that there was a need for a *sakariba* even for these Yamanote suburbanites.

In 1918, Kagurazaka was dubbed “the premiere urban hub of Yamanote,” and the following description from *Tōkyō no yokogao* 東京の横顔 (The Profile of Tokyo) written by Miyake Koken 三宅孤軒 in 1930 indicates its perceived status by that time. Although it would eventually be made obsolete in comparison to Shinjuku, Kagurazaka was unscathed by the earthquake and, consequently, experienced momentary growth with newly built department store branches and specialty shops that “appeared to have surpassed the bustle of Shitamachi in one clean sweep.” “Yamanote Ginza... that moniker now completely belongs to Shinjuku. Although Kagurazaka is the original *sakariba* of Yamanote, it is now more a *sakariba* of the night than of the day.”²² These sentences articulate to us the “night life” *sakariba* characteristics that Kagurazaka was left with after Shinjuku stole its “day life” characteristics to incorporate them into the formation of a new *sakariba*.

The phenomenon that eventually became the *sakariba* of Shinjuku was basically formed from the same elements as the Kagurazaka *sakariba* of old. However, Shinjuku adopted these elements on a far grander scale and, to complete its form, it further added new *sakariba* characteristics to those it had adopted. What exactly was this “newness” that suddenly blossomed in Shinjuku following the Kantō Earthquake? It is explained in *Dai Tōkyō hanjōki* that today’s Shinjuku is not a mere extension of an outpost town. While it is true that in mid-Meiji this area was still a part of the outskirts with only scrap dealers and pleasure quarters, it was on the brink of burgeoning into a full-fledged *sakariba*: “Today, when looking out the train window, one notices that hospitals and furniture

22. Miyake 1930, p. 167.

stores have taken the place of brothels.²³ Shinjuku was no longer just an entertainment or pleasure district as it once had been. Of course, it cannot be denied that such *sakariba* elements still remained, but the overall character of Shinjuku was one of a “straight-laced *sakariba*.”

In the instances of modern era *sakariba* that developed as spaces for consumption for the crowds visiting temples and shrines (representative examples including Asakusa, Sennichi-mae, and Shinkyōgoku), they are described as “having few stores catering to the everyday needs of consumers,” primarily providing specialty stores such as haberdasheries, accessory shops, and woodblock print shops. The new variety of *sakariba* found in Shinjuku was different. In *Tōkyō no yokogao*, the outstanding traits of Shinjuku are pointed out as follows: “The needs of the public are appropriately provided for (in Shinjuku), whereas Ginza and Asakusa provide more than what is necessary.”²⁴ In this way, Shinjuku reflected the character and behavior of the people who gathered in this space by “appropriately providing for” their needs.

The observations continue:

The congestion of Shinjuku—this is the world of the student and the “salary man.” But what actually makes Shinjuku unique are the overflowing crowds of housewives and young single women from the suburbs.... Consider the masses that gather in such a place during the evening rush hour or on a Sunday or festival day.... Although these might be the only busy times at other train stations, Shinjuku station constantly experiences such a flow of masses from before dawn until after dark.²⁵

23. *Dai Tōkyō hanjōki*, p. 221.

24. Miyake 1930, p. 167.

25. *Dai Tōkyō hanjōki*.

Whereas the *sakariba* of the Edo period were limited by catering only to sexual and other entertainment desires of a particular group of consumers, the “modern” *sakariba*, such as Asakusa, provided a wider range of services and therefore attracted an even greater number of consumers. Shinjuku, however, surpassed both of these types of *sakariba* in scale and in diversity of services offered. Indeed, it was an entirely new variety of *sakariba* attracting untapped sectors of the suburban population.

7. A “Straight-laced” *Sakariba* is Born

Although the modern *sakariba* that evolved by the Meiji period were not built entirely on the business of pleasure, it was inevitable that this facet would play a part. The same is true in the case of the new *sakariba* terminals. However, if the initial growth of this new brand of *sakariba* had relied solely on this element, the terminals that we know today may not have come into being. The reason for this is that a *sakariba* catering to specific pleasures inherently limits itself in the number of consumers it can attract. The Shinjuku perceived as an entertainment or pleasure district in *Shin Tōkyō taikan* and *Dai Tōkyō hanjōki* was limited in this exact way. Shinjuku, as well as all other *sakariba* terminals that flourished upon the establishment of the private railroads, could not achieve their new status without stepping outside the confines of the *sakariba* of the past, and they would be dependent on more than the adult male commuters. These commuters’ wives and children who remained in the suburbs during the day would become the key to the ultimate formation of the *sakariba* terminals.

I refer to this new style of *sakariba* as “straight-laced *sakariba*.” This is because the new *sakariba* terminals were not “*sakariba* of the night” servicing adult male desires. They were not “modern” *sakariba* creating, day after day, a festive atmosphere before shrine and temple gates. Indeed, rather than the raucous atmosphere of a festival, these new *sakariba* were brimming with the hustle and bustle of everyday life. The

“Data on *ryōriya* 料理屋 and *machiai* 待合 in Tokyo” table below indicates how, despite being an enormous *sakariba*, Shinjuku had a minimal number of “geisha houses” and facilities of that nature.²⁶ This also points to the fact that Shinjuku was not an entertainment district for adults, or, in other words, “*sakariba* of the night.”

Table 7: Data on *ryōriya* and *machiai* in Tokyo

	Rank	Number of geisha houses	Number of geisha	Number of <i>ryōriya</i>	Number of <i>machiai</i> or <i>kashizashiki</i>	Charge for a geisha (Unit: yen)
Yoshichō	1	324	576	23	246	5.4
Shinbashi	1	258	600	11	154	5.9
Karasumori	1	212	263	10	94	4.8
Akasaka	1	137	351	7	90	5
Shitaya	1	179	340	22	112	4.4
Shinjuku	2	9	18	42	53 (<i>kashizashiki</i>)	3.3
Yanagibashi	1	196	334	15	78	5.5
Asakusa	1	266	612	31	235	4.7
Shibuya	2	125	334	30	115	3.5

Note: *ryōriya* 料理屋 (catering service for *machiai* and *kashizashiki*); *machiai* 待合, *kashizashiki* 貸座敷 (certain types of brothels).

Based on Miyake Koken 三宅孤軒. *Tōkyō no yokogao* 東京の横顔, 1930.

By 1927, Shibuya station along the Tōyoko train line was complete, and along with this terminal came restaurants and supermarkets conveniently located for the residents living along the train line. Although it was not the first of its kind, Tōyoko Department Store had

26. Miyake 1930, p. 173.

its grand opening at Shibuya in 1934. (The first example of a department store at a private railway terminal was Shirokiya Department Store—later to be renamed Hankyū Department Store—built at Hankyū's Umeda terminal station.) The public greeting announcing the grand opening of Tōyoko Department Store included the following message: “Without question, the suburbs of Tokyo are on course to true development. However, as these regions continue to grow, we feel it is regrettable that shopping centers are increasingly distant and inconveniently located for the suburban residents.” These words appear to have been chosen quite casually, but they must have spoken directly to the hearts of the suburban dwellers who found themselves in the “provincial *inaka*” while maintaining their “lingering affection for the conveniences of the city.”

Most of these department stores were built to be seven stories tall. One could find an amusement park on the roof and restaurants on the top floor, and each of the remaining floors had departments selling goods such as furniture, appliances, books, toys, apparel, kimono and Western clothing fabrics, undergarments, handbags, and cosmetics. Essentially, they were the same as the department stores of today. A poster from that time advertising the grand opening of one such department store depicts a mother dressed in traditional Japanese attire and her child smartly dressed in Western clothes. Both mother and child are shown holding packages imprinted with the store's logo. This poster vividly illustrates the nature of these new *sakariba*, whose essential character developed on the assumed presence of women and children. In the background of this were the suburban residential areas specially designed for family life and nothing else.

As a result of this mother-and-child nature inherent in the new *sakariba*, the role played by the adult males who passed through these spaces on their way to and from work shifted dramatically. In essence, the adult male was molded into a “straight-laced” consumer of *sakariba* services. For example, a father might enter a *sakariba* with his family on

an evening or weekend to spend some leisure time shopping or dining out. Such a phenomenon was extremely rare in Japan before this time. These *sakariba* terminals had become the first city-like facilities catering to family entertainment outside of the household, bringing the private space of the family living room out into the public sphere. Due to this orientation of the new *sakariba* toward women and children, or men with their wives and children, the elements carried over from the premodern “*sakariba* of the night” were held in check and kept to a minimum.

Whereas in the past, the public role of the adult male in Japanese society was simply to be precisely that, an adult male in Japan, these *sakariba* terminals born of suburban family needs forced the role of husband and father upon the adult male consumers in that space. The suburbs developed as residential areas and therefore were, above all, spaces for “family life.” They were strongholds of private life. This new way of life, focusing on the family and the separation of work and living space, was absorbed into these condensed city-like terminals.

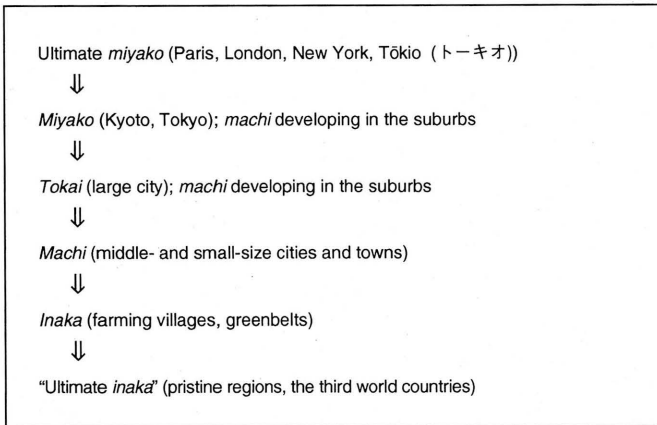
In sum, family outings, housewives, shopping, department stores—these new facets of urban culture were born from the “straight-laced *sakariba*” newly formed in Taishō and Shōwa Japan. It was the sense of loss shared by these suburban residents who were forced to live in the “provincial *inaka*” that caused them to gather at the *sakariba* terminals. In this manner, the *miyako*-consciousness greatly impacted the way one experiences a Japanese city even today.

Chapter 5

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE SPACE OF *MIYAKO*

1. The Hierarchy of National Lands

Figure 17: *Inaka-miyako* continuum



I would like to take a bird's-eye view of the *miyako* space of contemporary Japan. The *inaka-miyako* continuum represents a value-based ranking of space. Being a continuum, there is not an empty void between *inaka* and *miyako*, but a loose ordering of the different kinds of space. In this

diagram, I have presented a comprehensive outline of the *inaka-miyako* continuum. In between the spaces of *miyako* and *inaka*, we find *tokai* and *machi*.

As I have already shown, *tokai*, or “urbane cities,” being a variation of the *miyako*, are continually developing toward becoming *miyako*. Urbane cities are always striving to acquire the political, economic, and cultural sophistication and prosperity that characterize a *miyako*. As we saw in the example of Kitakyushu, the presence of a large urban population is equated with prosperity, and this prosperity is seen as evidence of an urbanity associated with the concept of *miyako*. Thus it is assumed that if a city is prosperous it should be a political center. In other words, prosperity is equated, at a regional government level, with the “capital city” quality of a *miyako*, and a city that has this quality should become the prefectural capital (*kento* 県都). Thus, the status of an urbane city in the continuum depends on the extent to which it magnifies the qualities of a *miyako*. In this context, it is clear that after the concept of *miyako* took root in Japan, the idea of a political city no longer existed. That is, in order for a political city to maintain its status as the center of politics, it had to relinquish its simple political identity and acquire the characteristics of a *miyako*.

Machi are both small *tokai* and miniature *miyako*. Yanagita Kunio pointed out that under the feudal system, there were small cultural centers in the middle of each of the provinces. It was the *machi* that functioned as these cultural centers. *Machi* were small-scale *miyako* that supported flourishing and sophisticated local cultures. The area surrounding these small cultural centers was *inaka*. In this value-based hierarchy of space, *inaka* occupies the lowest position. Although I will later consider a revision of this diagram, first I would like to confirm this *miyako-tokai-machi-inaka* spatial continuum.

This diagram does not sufficiently illustrate the *inaka-miyako* continuum in contemporary Japan, being inadequate on two counts.

First, it does not fully account for the enormous suburban residential areas that occupy the surrounding areas of the large cities.¹ Second, because the *inaka-miyako* continuum is a value-based ordering of space, it should not be limited to Japan. Thus, I would like to consider what would happen if this model were applied on an international level.

As I have already discussed this first point at length in the preceding chapter, I will only give a brief exposition here. The basic characteristic of these suburban residential areas is that they are developing *tokai* or developing *machi*. Even though each suburban residential area differs to some extent according to the character of the city with which it is affiliated, suburban residential areas are not spaces that have particular values. Rather, they share the tendency to develop in the same way as their “mother cities.” This is an obvious conclusion drawn from the fact that the suburbs share the same character as the *miyako* environs.

Let us move on to the second issue. Given that the *miyako* is at the apex “of the hierarchy of *miyako* space, by extension there should also be a space for the “ultimate *miyako*.” If the *inaka-miyako* continuum were extended to an international level, the ultimate *miyako* would designate the *miyako* that is at the center of the world. The character of the ultimate *miyako* is suggested by the following account of Tokyo found in *Tōkyō gaku*: “Tokyo is the source of all that is thought to be culture. This culture reaches not only all of Japan, but also as far as the countries of China and Korea. The magnitude of its influence is unimaginable.” What I am suggesting here is that Tokyo is no longer only Japan’s Tokyo. Tokyo is basking in the limelight of being the “ultimate *miyako*.”

From the perspective of the world-class *miyako*, Meiji Tokyo must have seemed like *inaka*. But where was the world-class *miyako* to be found? Depending on the period and one’s perspective, London, Paris,

1. Ishikawa 1909, p. 1.

and New York City are all possible candidates. Because each of these cities is both prosperous and sophisticated, they could all be considered the ultimate *miyako*. The recent expression “world-class Tokio” (トーキョー) no doubt voices the intuition of the Japanese that Tokyo is on its way to becoming the ultimate *miyako*. Or is the very idea of there even being an “ultimate *miyako*” merely a Japanese fantasy?

If there is an ultimate *miyako*, then logically there must also be an ultimate *inaka*. The metaphor “Tibet” is used in daily conversation in Japan to indicate the ultimate *inaka*. For example, it is used in expressions such as “Japan’s Tibet,” “Kyoto’s Tibet,” and “Tokyo’s Tibet.” Of course, these expressions have nothing to do with the real Tibet. This metaphor is used to signify two different “Tibets,” each of which correspond to a different level of *inaka*. The first “Tibet” contains the nuance of a remote mountain region; as such, it represents the “ultimate *inaka*,” which is an extension of the “non-provincial *inaka*.” The other “Tibet,” as an extension of the “provincial *inaka*,” refers to the ultimate *inaka* of the unrefined farming village. That is, some “Tibets” are part of the genealogy of provincial *inaka* and others are in the genealogy of non-provincial *inaka*. I am not certain when or why Tibet came to have this significance in Japan, but the lowest rung on the *miyako* hierarchy of space is occupied by these two Tibets.

When this hierarchy is extended to the international level, we find that just as there are ultimate *miyako*, there are also ultimate *inaka*. Places that have a pristine image, such as the Himalayas, are considered the extreme of the non-provincial *inaka*. There are also places, such as third world countries, which are thought of as the international version of the provincial *inaka*. However, there is no concrete image of a specific place that can clearly be identified as the ultimate *inaka* of the world. Indeed, there is no need to make it clear. While the concept of *miyako* is closely identified with specific cities such as Tokyo and Kyoto, the concept of *inaka* signifies an extremely vague, negatively defined spatial expanse. That is, *inaka* refers to everywhere outside of a *miyako*. We find

that this is true not only of *inaka* in Japan, but also of the international version of *inaka*.

Once you begin to think in this way, it is easy to understand how the *inaka-miyako* continuum shapes the Japanese world-view, in which an “ultimate *miyako*” occupies center stage. The ultimate *miyako* is surrounded by ordinary *miyako* and *inaka*. Thus, the cities and countries of the world are classified as if the entire world is divided into two categories: *miyako* and *inaka*. The nineteenth-century Western theory of civilization (*bunmeiron* 文明論) divided the world in exactly the same way. There were places upon which the light of Christianity and industrial civilization shone and places that remained in darkness. The former were considered “civilized” and the latter “uncivilized.” The Japanese concept of *miyako* serves the same ideological function. Does this value-based hierarchy of space allow us a comprehensive view of the world? It can at least be concluded that when the *miyako* hierarchy is applied at a world level, Japanese inordinately perceive international society through the lens of status.

2. The Reality of *Miyako* and *Tokai*

The immense cultural gap separating *miyako* and *inaka* has allowed them to maintain such significance throughout Japan's history. The *miyako* before the development of transportation appeared as a distant, magnificent land to the inhabitants of *inaka*. The more those in the *inaka* heard about the *miyako*, the more splendid the *miyako* appeared in their imaginations. Since the majority of the population lived in farming, mountain, and fishing villages, the culture of the *miyako* was valued for its scarcity.

However, the progress of industrialization and urbanization in Japan shattered this notion. If we look at statistics comparing the percentages of the working population over fifteen years of age by industry, we find that in 1920, 54 percent of the working population was employed in primary industries. However, in 1960 this figure was as

low as 32 percent, and in 1980 it dropped below 10 percent.² Whereas it was once the Kyoto population that had notable characteristics, these days it is the population of farming villages which has that honor. This change in the makeup of the population could not help but greatly affect the *inaka-miyako* continuum.

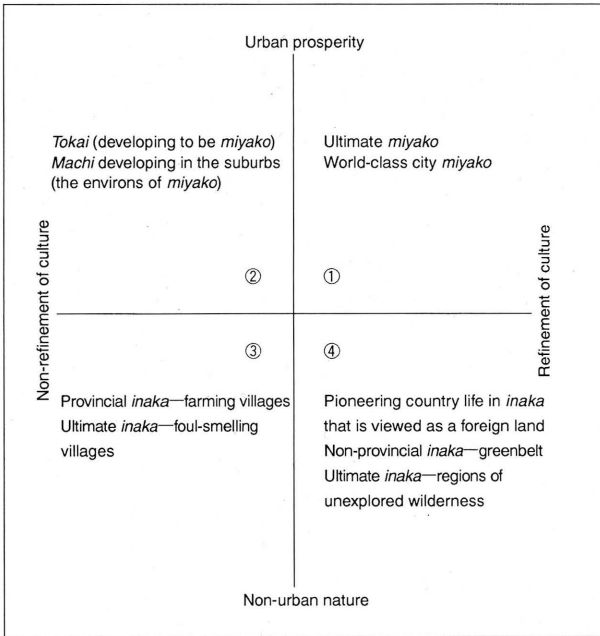
Nor is it only the makeup of the working population that has changed. Due to the development and propagation of education, mass communication, and transportation facilities, the cultural gap between the cities and the villages has become increasingly narrow. It is the outcome of what Raymond Williams refers to as the “long revolution.” Should we assume that because cultural differences that once marked the various areas of Japan have been decreasing, the *inaka-miyako* continuum, which was based on cultural discrimination, is breaking down? Keeping this in mind, let us overview the present state of the *inaka-miyako* continuum.

In Figure 18, I have placed “degree of urban prosperity” on the horizontal axis and “degree of cultural refinement” on the vertical axis to create four different quadrants. In the concept of *miyako*, prosperity and refinement are bound together so as to make it difficult to separate them. The more prosperous a place becomes, the more refinement it has and, inversely, the more refined a place is, the more prosperous it will become. This is the tacit assumption of *miyako* urbanity. However, the relationship between these two characteristics is not a logical inevitability. It only represents the reality of the *miyako* in the past. Accordingly, it is analytically possible to separate prosperity and refinement and treat them individually. Thus, at one end of the horizontal axis I have placed “urban prosperity” and the other end I have labeled “non-urban nature.” This opposition signifies that a space more

2. *Nihon chōki tōkei sōran*. (“Long-term Statistical Survey of Japan” supervised by the Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency).

closely approaches pure nature as the degree of prosperity decreases. On the ends of the vertical axis I have placed “refinement of culture” and “non-refinement of culture.”

Figure 18: Bird's-eye view of *miyako* space



With the above stated specifications in mind, I will now explain the four categories designated by the four quadrants. The first category represents space that possesses a combination of both urban prosperity and cultural refinement. This category applies directly to the *miyako* space that I have been discussing throughout this monograph. In considering this category, I would like to say a few words now about the relationship between urbanization and refinement of culture. An

industrial society is said to also be a civilized urban society. In the new cities, urbanization, which began at roughly the same time as industrialization, pushed those cities to develop into prosperous urban centers. It is only with the period of high economic growth in Japan that Japanese, who had acquired a higher standard of living, had energy and resources enough to invest in education and culture. This had the effect of increasing the level of cultural refinement.

The space represented by the third category refers most closely to what I have been calling “provincial *inaka*.” As a result of the “long revolution” brought about by the spread of education and the rise of mass communication, the cultural gap between *inaka* and the *miyako* and *tokai* has been narrowed. Because of this, the level of urban culture shared by the *miyako* and *inaka* has increased. It has reached the point where *inaka* is no longer the boorish *inaka* (夷中) of the past.

It is clear that there has been an upward trend in cultural refinement and that the characteristics that once distinguished *inaka* are no longer as apparent. What is more, with the mechanization of the agricultural industry and the motorization of farming villages, *inaka* has acquired a high degree of “urban prosperity.” This means that all of Japan has become urbanized as never before.

Most of the “Tibets” (of the provincial type) that were scattered across Japan are now fading away. Nerima, which used to be called “Tokyo’s Tibet,” has been transformed from countrified radish fields to an average middle-class suburban residential area. Yamashina, which used to be the “Tibet” of Kyoto, is developing into a crowded residential area. Areas that used to be considered *inaka* are now *miyako* environs. That is to say, areas that used to fall into the third quadrant of this graph now belong in the second. This testifies to the commonplace fact that present-day *inaka*, which exists in the midst of an industrial society, is not free of the totalizing trends of that society.

It is relatively easy to identify the kinds of spaces that fall into the first and third categories because they closely resemble the stereotypes that have been used to talk about cities and farm villages. However, the second and fourth categories refer to completely new kinds of conceptual space. The Japanese concept of *miyako* and the high industrialization levels of society form the background of these two spaces. As such, these two kinds of space are very significant for the future prospects of land development in Japan. The second quadrant represents the places that are changing dynamically as a result of urbanization. Typically, *tokai* is considered, without a doubt, to belong in the first category. However, *tokai*, as developing *miyako*, should not be included in the same category as *miyako*, and thus belong to the second category. Similarly, *machi* are developing *tokai* and the suburban residential areas in the environs of the *miyako* are developing *machi*. This shifting relationship between the spaces represented by the second and third quadrants is precisely what I have been analyzing in the second half of this monograph. The developing areas referred to as the suburbs, surrounding the *miyako*, *tokai*, and *machi*, are leaving *inaka* behind and slowly becoming more like the urban areas of their mother cities. This trend will no doubt continue in the future. As long as Japanese continue to be caught up by their *miyako* consciousness, the city areas and suburbs of Japan are bound to be urbanized into *miyako*. In his 1907 *Tōkyō annai* 東京案内 (Guide to Tokyo), Shinoda Kōzo 篠田鑛造 described Tokyo as “the epitome of hustle and bustle.”³ In Japan it is not just the large cities, but also the towns and countryside that share this drive toward “hustle and bustle,” as the effort to prevail over *inaka* continues.

The most interesting feature of this graph is the remaining fourth quadrant. The sense of superiority that the *miyako* held over *inaka* was essentially a sense of cultural superiority, and it defined hierarchical relationships among individuals. The people who had acquired the

3. Shinoda 1907, p. 24.

elegant culture of the *miyako* regarded themselves above the people who smelled of the sweat of their labor. While the residents of the *miyako* once viewed *inaka* with disdain, urban dwellers now generally hold *inaka* in high regard. To the residents of the *miyako*, the more prosperous their urban space becomes, the more they feel a need for the greenbelt areas (*ryokuchi* 緑地) of the uninhabited “non-provincial *inaka*” to bring balance to their lives. Most of the people who yearn for “country living” (which shows signs of being in fashion these days) are interested in the wilderness rather than the farming villages. A “wild” life in the middle of a mountain forest is the modern version of what was once called “retirement”—a secluded life in a hermitage just beyond the environs of the *miyako*.

However, this does not represent the entire spectrum of the yearning for “country living.” Now that the populations of Japan’s farming villages have reached their lowest level ever, the attitude toward the “provincial *inaka*” is rapidly changing. I would like to refer to this as “*inaka* viewed as a foreign land.” In the past, the world of the farming village pervaded the area surrounding the city dwellers. The city residents did not have to go far to find frogs, pots of nightsoil, and radish fields, and scenes of the planting and harvesting of rice were close at hand. However, in contemporary society in which urban living has become the norm, this world, which was once pervasive, is now valued for its scarcity. The *inaka* featured in special magazine editions with articles titled “A Chat with a Country Granny (*Inaka e itte tochi no obāsan to shaberō* イナカへ行って土地のお婆さんと喋ろう)” is now an object of curiosity rather than discrimination. There is an admiration for the (presumed) “innocent *inaka*.” This is perhaps an orientalism of sorts that Japanese have begun to harbor for Japan.

At the root of this kind of transformation is the strengthening of *inaka*’s identity as a space that is increasingly for city dwellers. The following quote is from an essay written by a country housewife that appeared in the “letters to the editor” column of a newspaper. It is an

excellent representation of the complicated relationships between the “provincial *inaka*” and the “non-provincial *inaka*,” between the residents of *inaka* and city dwellers, and between farming villages and nature as seen from the perspective of *inaka*.

I live in a distant place pretty far removed from the nearest town. Transportation here is inconvenient, though there are houses dotted here and there. When you think about it, this is the very same *inaka* that you can find anywhere. There are those who say things like, “*inaka* is nice and quiet,” though I don't think they would say that if they knew anything about life in the country. Although I realize that it is meant to be a compliment, it really infuriates me. I outwardly listen to them with nonchalance, but inwardly I'm seething. What do these people know? I wish they would refrain from saying things like, “The countryside is great” in such a cavalier manner. I realize that in comparison with the city, the air here is clean and there is no need to worry about pollution. (Although recently even this is questionable.) However, it is not only the forces of nature that we confront out here. Social relations are no different in *inaka* than anywhere else. Social relations are complicated everywhere, but there is in fact no place where they are as troublesome as *inaka*. Because land and blood ties bind so tightly, there is no place to escape. If you stick out even a little bit, you are soon beaten down. It is still backwards. What really angers me are the writers, painters, and families who come in search of nature. Seeing only nature, they foolishly say things like “The countryside is wonderful!” The locals accept them, but when it comes down to it they never forget that these people are outsiders. This is evidenced by the fact that they neither invite them nor press them to participate in local events or customs.⁴

4. From the column of letters to the editor, *Asahi shinbun*, 24 November 1989.

Perceptions of *inaka* are undergoing a great transformation. If the “provincial *inaka*” continues on the path toward natural extinction, it will have a great effect on the concept of *miyako* and the *miyako* consciousness that has been with Japanese for over a thousand years. Moreover, it cannot help but change the way Japanese perceive Japan. However, this does not portend the death of the concept of *miyako*, but rather its completion. *Inaka* has always been nothing more than a space defined from the perspective of the *miyako*; it signifies everywhere that is not the *miyako*.

The natural extinction of the provincial *inaka* represents the thorough transformation of all of Japan into *miyako* environs. Just as the greenbelt (*ryokuchi*) came to be perceived as a space that existed for the inhabitants of a *miyako*, so it is that the non-provincial *inaka* is now valued on a scale never before seen. We have not overcome the concept of *miyako* in Japan, but instead are transforming the entire country into a *miyako*. This process signals the beginning of a new era.