

Living Tradition or Panda's Cage?



RIITTA 'RI' SALASTIE

# Living Tradition or Panda's Cage?

AN ANALYSIS OF THE URBAN CONSERVATION IN KYOTO.  
CASE STUDY: 35 YAMAHAKO NEIGHBOURHOODS

Academic Dissertation for the Degree of Doctor of  
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*To Mr. and Mrs. Sugiura*





*“Hmm, it’s excellent. The color harmony...fine. You’ve never drawn anything so novel before; nevertheless, it’s restrained. Weaving it will be difficult. But, we’ll put our hearts into it and give it a try. The design shows your daughter’s respect for her parents and her parents’ affection for their daughter.”*

*“Thank you. Nowadays, people would be quick to use an English word like ‘idea’ or ‘sense’. Even colors are now referred to in faddish Western terms.”*

*“Those aren’t high-quality goods”.*

*“I hate it that Western words have come into use. Haven’t there been splendidly elegant colors in Japan since ancient times?”*

*“Even black has various subtle shadows,” Sosuke nodded.*

*“Yes, I was just thinking about that today. There are some obi makers like Izukura. They have a modern factory in a four-story Western-style building. Nishijin will probably go the same way. They make five hundred obis a day and soon the employees will be taking part in the company’s management. The average age of the employees is in the twenties and thirties. Small house business like mine with hand looms will probably disappear within twenty or thirty years.”*

*“That’s ridiculous.”*

*“If one survived, wouldn’t it have to be under government sponsorship as an ‘Intangible Cultural Treasure’? ... Why, even a person like you, Sada, with your Klee or whatever...”*

Yasunari Kawabata, *The Old Capital*. San Francisco: North Point Press 1987 (1962).





# Abstract

Salastie Riitta 'RI', Living Tradition or Panda's Cage? An Analysis of Urban Conservation in Kyoto.

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The focus of the research is the city centre of Kyoto and there, the group of thirty-five *hoko* neighbourhoods known for the organisation of the Gion Festival. At the present moment the wooden town heritage in the area is threatened in a number of ways. Such threats are both the threatening effects of town planning as well as the lack of appropriate urban conservation policies. Focusing on a few, selected landmarks and areas has led to the compartmentalising of the city and to the failure of municipal authorities to identify culturally dependent and place-oriented value-categories. In the process the heritage evaluation methods in use have played more than a minor role.

The methodological approach taken in the thesis aims to an approach where the dwelling patterns and cultural patterns are identified as an inseparable entity. Such an approach is especially important in Kyoto where traditional townhouses were never just residential spaces but had important production and cultural functions as well. Cultural values are analysed through the tradition of the Screen Festival. The wooden townhouse context plays an important role as the scenic stage of the festival.

The interpretation of the Japanese context and its implications for urban conservation work are an essential part of the research. The inter-relationship between the urban dwelling and the street and the importance of place are defined as major cultural values to be focused on. The heritage argumentation methods are seen as an important tool how to enhance cultural values and continuous use. On-site recording is used as an important evaluation tool.

The author measured for the thesis approximately one hundred wooden facades of traditional townhouses in the survey area. Furthermore, as a member of the Kyoto University research team the author participated in an extensive field research during the Gion Festival in three following years, where all screen displays and their urban settings were documented including more than 160 antique screens.

The conclusions of the thesis suggest that the wooden town heritage cannot be assessed through selected (expert) values alone, but also other values and meanings must be taken into consideration. The wooden town heritage is appreciated, not only because of its visual and historical characteristics but also because of its capacity to hold cultural values and ways of life. Individual interpretations and cultural readings add to

the significance of place. The traditional display patterns are identified as key cultural values that should be an essential part of heritage assessment work.

The conclusions of the research do not apply only to Kyoto but are closely related to the urban conservation problems of wooden towns in general. Because of the fragility of the wooden town tradition and the authenticity problems involved, the methodological approach should be paid special attention. The wooden town heritage cannot be evaluated using same criteria as towns built in stone or brick. Changes and alterations must be tolerated if any of the wooden town heritage is to be preserved. Social values, cultural practices and individual interpretations should be added as an important element in the evaluation practices of heritage.

Keywords: Japanese architecture, Kyoto, urban conservation, wooden town heritage, Gion Festival, Screen Festival

# Contents

<b>Preface</b> .....	17
----------------------	----

## **PART I GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE WORK**

### **Chapter 1 THE CONTENT OF THE THESIS**

#### **Chapter 2 THE YAMAHOKO PROGRAMME**

General Outline of the Programme .....	27
Content and Objectives of the Programme .....	28
Key Results of the Programme .....	29
Key Persons Met through the Programme .....	31
Author's Contribution to the Programme .....	31
The Cultural Heritage Documentation Programme and the Current Research .....	32

#### **Chapter 3 THE GION FESTIVAL**

History and General Outline of the Gion Festival .....	33
The Gion Festival and Thirty-five <i>Hoko</i> Neighbourhoods .....	34
The Screen Festival .....	35
List of the Main Festival Events .....	36
Cultural Protection and the Gion Festival .....	37
Cultural Protection and the Screen Festival .....	40

#### **Chapter 4 THE CITY CENTRE AND THE *HOKO* NEIGHBOURHOODS**

Historical Outline and Character of the Grid-Plan Area .....	43
<i>Kyō-Machiya</i> , the Kyoto Townhouse .....	45
City Centre with Multiple Cores .....	45
Description of the Survey Area and the <i>Hoko</i> Neighbourhoods .....	47

#### **Chapter 5 THE LATTICE *KŌSHI* FACADE AND EVOLUTION OF THE UNIFIED TOWNSCAPE**

The Evolution of Kyoto's Townscape and the <i>Rakuchū-Rakugai</i> Paintings .....	49
The City and its Outskirts - One Entity .....	50
Evolution of the 16th and Early 17th Century Townscape .....	51
The Kaleidoscopic Edo Period Townscape .....	52
Towards a Unified Townscape since the Latter Half of the 18th Century .....	52
City Fires in the 19th Century and the Evolution of the Modern Townhouse .....	54

## **PART II DESCRIPTION OF THE FIELD OF THE RESEARCH**

### **Chapter 6 THE INTERPRETATIVE ENVIRONMENT OF THE WORK**

Japanism and Interpretations of Japanese Architecture .....	59
---	----

The Problematic ‘Otherness’ .....	60
The Values of a Traditional Artisan .....	61
The Academic World and the Kimono Artisan .....	62
The Cultural Background of the Urban Festival .....	65
The Temporary Character of the Festival Space .....	66
Urban Festival that Favours Accidental Meeting .....	67

### **Chapter 7 CITY PLANNING POLICIES AND THE HISTORIC GRID-PLAN AREA**

The Legislative Structure versus Local Context .....	69
Attitudes towards Heritage versus Modern Life .....	72
Perception of Place and Changing Meanings .....	73
City Planning Directives and the Historic Grid-Plan Area .....	74
The Master Plan 1983 .....	74

### **Chapter 8 THE PROFILE OF CURRENT CITY DEVELOPMENT**

The Grid-Plan Area after the Second World War .....	77
The Profile of Housing Production in the Late 1980s .....	78
The Disintegration of the Built Environment .....	79
The Profile of Traditional Townhouses Today .....	80

### **Chapter 9 HISTORIC PRESERVATION IN KYOTO UP TO THE PRESENT DAY**

Kyoto as a Pioneer of Historic Preservation .....	83
From Conservation of Historic Monuments to Preservation of Landscape .....	84
Preservation of Historic Townscape .....	84
Critical Evaluation of Townscape Regulations .....	86
New Building Code and the Kyoto Hotel Project .....	87
Selective View of Heritage and the Conservation of Everyday Buildings .....	89
Urban Preservation and the Kyoto Townhouse .....	89
Shifting the Focus: Conserving the Urban Heritage .....	90

## **PART III THE OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH**

### **Chapter 10 THE OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH**

The Cultural Significance of the Kyoto Townhouse and Urban Heritage .....	95
Living Tradition versus ‘Living History’ .....	96
Definition of Urban Conservation .....	97
The Objectives of the Research .....	97

## **PART IV THE METHODOLOGY OF THE WORK**

### **Chapter 11 THE METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH IN THIS RESEARCH**

New Areas of Interpretation .....	103
The Importance of Place .....	104
Expert Values versus the Preservation of the Whole .....	104

The Character of the Japanese Indoor/Outdoor Relationship .....	105
The Inter-Relationship between the Urban Dwelling and Street as a Cultural Value .....	106
Critical Evaluation of Heritage Arguments .....	106

## **Chapter 12 RECORDING AS A MEANS OF EVALUATION**

Definition of Recording in International Standards .....	109
Recording as a Method in the Current Work .....	109
The Use of Terminology .....	110
Sources and Related Research .....	111
Perceptions of the Past .....	112

## **PART V DEFINING THE CONCEPT OF HERITAGE**

### **Chapter 13 THE CONCEPT OF HERITAGE IN JAPAN**

Preservation in the Japanese Context .....	117
Universal Values versus the Context .....	118
Authenticity of Design versus Authenticity of Material .....	119
Cultural Adaptation and the Japanese Preservation Methodologies .....	119

### **Chapter 14 THE CONCEPT OF HERITAGE IN THE CURRENT WORK**

International Charters and Standards .....	121
The Wooden Town Heritage and the World Heritage Listing .....	122
The Importance of Everyday Buildings .....	122
The Value of Continued Everyday Use .....	123
The Needs of Local People versus Visitors .....	124
Social Value as a Measure of Cultural Significance .....	124

## **PART VI URBAN CULTURE OF THE HOKO AREA**

### **Chapter 15 STREETS AS COMMUNAL SPACE AND THE SELF-GOVERNING TOWNSHIP COMMUNITIES**

The Pre-Modern Township System and the Concept of <i>Ryōgawachō</i> .....	129
The Self-Governing Township Communities .....	130
Street as Communal Space .....	131
The Pre-Modern Common Facility .....	132
The Heritage Value of Common Facilities .....	132
Questioning the Heritage Criteria of the Common Facilities .....	133

### **Chapter 16 DWELLING PATTERNS**

<i>Unagi no Nedoko</i> – ‘Sleeping Places of an Eel’ .....	137
The Tokugawa Era Dwelling Plan .....	137
Dwelling Patterns in <i>Yatachō</i> .....	139

**Chapter 17 THE SCREEN FESTIVAL**

Screens and the Japanese Dwelling Space .....	143
History of the Screen Festival .....	143
The Inter-Relationship between the Urban Dwelling and the Street .....	144
The Picture Window Effect and the Visual Significance of the Screen Festival .....	146

**Chapter 18 THE CURRENT PROFILE OF THE HOKO NEIGHBOURHOODS**

Introduction .....	147
Population Trend .....	147
Age of Population and Number of Households .....	148
Profile of the Built Environment .....	149
Use of Buildings .....	149
The Current Profile of the <i>Hoko</i> Neighbourhoods and the Future of its Heritage .....	149

**PART VII FIELDWORK IN THE HOKO NEIGHBOURHOODS****Chapter 19 INTRODUCTION TO THE FIELDWORK ON ARCHITECTURAL PATTERNS OF THREE HOKO NEIGHBOURHOODS**

Description of the Survey Area .....	155
History of the Neighbourhoods .....	155
The Built Environment .....	157
The Survey Area and Urban Conservation .....	158
Description of the Recording .....	158

**Fieldwork No. 1 BUILDING INVENTORY**

The Content of the Fieldwork .....	161
Survey Results .....	165

**Fieldwork No. 2 USE OF BUILDINGS**

The Aim of the Fieldwork .....	168
Survey Results .....	168

**Fieldwork No. 3 THE ARCHITECTURE**

The Aim of the Fieldwork .....	170
The Method of the Survey and the Major Results .....	170
Conclusions of the Architectural Vocabulary Fieldwork .....	174

**Chapter 20 INTRODUCTION TO THE FIELD SURVEY ON TRADITIONAL DWELLING PATTERNS**

The Aim of the Fieldwork .....	177
--------------------------------	-----

**Fieldwork No. 4 FIELD SURVEY ON SEVEN HISTORIC URBAN DWELLINGS**

The Aim of the Fieldwork .....	179
Description of the Seven Documented Houses .....	179
The Future of the Houses .....	188

Fieldwork No.5 FIELD SURVEY OF AN URBAN TENANTED HOUSE, NAGAYA	
Description of the Survey .....	190
History of the Sugiura Family .....	191
The Floor Plan Before .....	192
The Floor Plan Now .....	193
The Future of the House .....	194
Conclusions of the Dwelling Pattern Fieldwork .....	195

**Chapter 21 INTRODUCTION TO THE FIELDWORK ON CULTURAL AND URBAN PATTERNS OF THE SCREEN FESTIVAL**

General Outline of the Fieldwork .....	197
The Hayakawa Survey in 1977 .....	197
Content of the Fieldwork .....	198

**Fieldwork No.6 THE PROFILE OF THE DISPLAYED ARTICLES**

The Aim of the Fieldwork .....	199
General Description of the Screens .....	199
The Age and Topics of the Screens .....	200
The Profile of the Displayed Articles Today .....	202

**Fieldwork No. 7 THE CURRENT PROFILE OF THE SCREEN FESTIVAL**

Introduction to the Fieldwork .....	205
The Profile of Displays in 1991-92 .....	205
The Profile of the Exhibition .....	205
The Profile of the Display Facility .....	206
Summary .....	206

**Fieldwork No. 8 INVESTIGATION OF THE STAGING PATTERNS**

Introduction to the Fieldwork .....	208
Description and Classification of the Display Patterns .....	208
Name and Location of the Display Room .....	209
Viewing Pattern and the Route Taken by Public .....	210
Partition between the Outdoor and Indoor Space .....	212
Summary .....	213

**Fieldwork No. 9 THE PROFILE OF ONE KIMONO HOME DISPLAY**

Introduction to the Fieldwork .....	217
Description of the Content of the Display .....	218
The Sugiura Display in 1991-1992 .....	219
Summary .....	220

**Fieldwork No. 10 SEVENTEEN SCREEN DISPLAYS**

Introduction to the Fieldwork .....	222
Description of the Seventeen Screen Displays .....	224
Conclusions of the Screen Display Fieldwork .....	232

## PART VIII CONCLUSIONS OF THE WORK

### Chapter 22 CONCLUSIONS OF THE RESEARCH

Questioning the Current Definition of Heritage .....	239
From Expert Values to the Preservation of the Whole .....	240
The Screen Festival Tradition and the Meaning of Place .....	241
Revising the System of Protection Priorities .....	241
Questioning the Argument of Age .....	242
The Need for a Place-Oriented Urban Conservation .....	243
The Conservation of the <i>Hoko</i> Area as a Cultural Heritage .....	244
Conservation Plan as an Enhancement of Living Tradition .....	245
The International Perspective .....	246

## PART IX POSTSCRIPT

### Chapter 23 THE CHANGING STAGE OF THE TRADITION

-LIVING TRADITION OR PANDA'S CAGE? .....	251
--	-----

## PART X SUMMARY

Description of the Field of the Research and Urban Conservation. Problems Involved .....	259
Case Study Area and the Tradition of the Screen Festival .....	260
Fieldwork as an Evaluation Tool .....	261
Questioning the Heritage Evaluation Methods in Use. The Methodology of the Work .....	261
Conclusions .....	262

REFERENCES .....	265
------------------	-----

SOURCES .....	273
---------------	-----

ILLUSTRATION SOURCES .....	281
----------------------------	-----

Appendix 1 JAPANESE ENGLISH GLOSSARY .....	283
--	-----

Appendix 2 ENGLISH JAPANESE GLOSSARY .....	292
--	-----

Appendix 3 THE NAMES OF THE <i>HOKO</i> NEIGHBOURHOODS AND THEIR FESTIVAL FLOATS .....	295
--	-----

Appendix 4 STATISTICS COLLECTED IN YAMAHOKOCHŌ .....	296
--	-----

Appendix 5 SURVEY FORM FOR THE SCREEN FESTIVAL .....	303
--	-----

Appendix 6 LIST OF THE SCREEN DISPLAYS .....	304
--	-----



# Preface

I became acquainted with the laboratory of Prof. Koji Nishikawa at Kyoto University in 1984 and since that time I have struggled with the problems of urban conservation in Kyoto. My licentiate thesis, which was published by Helsinki University of Technology in 1989, was my first attempt to portray the basic outlines of urban conservation as adopted in Kyoto until now.

The laboratory of Prof. Koji Nishikawa is well known, both in Japan and internationally, for its pioneering work in the field of urban preservation. In the 1970s it pioneered the defining and developing of urban preservation methodology in Kyoto, and took the leading role in this field. Large groups of wooden buildings or entire city neighbourhoods, such as the four historic preservation areas, the major urban preservation areas in Kyoto, were preserved as representative of the wooden townhouse tradition and the architectural heritage of Kyoto. Furthermore, the laboratory contributed to the preservation of the historic urban landscape of Sanjo Street which in Kyoto represents fine brick buildings of the Meiji era.

I joined Prof. Nishikawa's research team in 1984 when I worked in the laboratory for a period of six months. Later, I rejoined the laboratory in 1987 for a period of one year, returned for three months in 1989 and for this thesis, I worked there for a period of three years in 1990-1993. Additional information for the purpose of this thesis was collected during a visit of two months in Kyoto in 1996 and shorter visits 1997.

In Prof. Nishikawa's laboratory the research was part of the so called *Yamahoko* programme, the object of which as its name indicates, was to draw a profile of the thirty-five *hoko* neighbourhoods, the historical city neighbourhoods known for their responsibility for the *Gion Festival*. The festival has been the major religious celebration of the city centre for centuries. The *Yamahoko* programme, which focused on the documentation of the Gion Festival, was one of the key projects of Prof. Nishikawa's laboratory for more than three years.

In the thesis, where I focus on the preservation of everyday buildings and wooden town heritage of Kyoto, the Gion Festival tradition came to play an important role because of its great cultural significance. With its historic assets and traditions, the Gion Festival is among Japan's priceless cultural possessions and parts of that heritage may be considered even to be of outstanding universal value. The thesis, in particular, concentrates upon the screen displays, which are performed during the festival by kimono merchant and artisan families. During this performance the light wooden lattice partitions, which are the major architectural elements of wooden-frame townhouses, are temporarily removed, and the interior of the house is exposed to the street as if it were a stage.

Through the *Yamahoko* programme, after visiting and surveying many uniquely beautiful everyday structures and their screen displays, I became aware of the urgency of urban conservation in the historic

grid-plan area of Kyoto. The area is characterised by one of the world's most sophisticated wooden townhouse traditions. Or to put it more precisely: perhaps more than ever during my visits to Kyoto I became painfully aware of the entire lack of the concept of urban conservation in this important area of the architectural and urban history of Kyoto.

Therefore, when I was given the opportunity to join the Yamahoko programme, I took the formulation of the urban conservation thesis as my major task in Kyoto. It was also my major contribution to the Japanese research programme that I was able to make as an outside observer. In identifying a town's historical values or indeed any type of environment an international perspective is important and may help to see conservation problems in new and unexpected ways.

Professor Koji Nishikawa was my academic advisor during all my stays in Japan. To stay in his laboratory and study, which he generously allowed me to do, deepened my knowledge of Kyoto's architectural and urban history and its efforts at preservation, and also my knowledge of Japanese culture in general. Without this experience it would have been impossible to accomplish the research.

To attempt to thank all those who have helped me over many years in the project would be impossible. While remaining grateful to all of them I shall confine my special thanks and gratitude to Prof. Koji Nishikawa, who's authority and support opened all the doors necessary for the accomplishment of the work.

In Prof. Nishikawa's laboratory, I owe a special gratitude, both professionally and personally, to Assoc. Professor Masaya Masui in particular, who was the project leader in the Yamahoko programme and who kindly and wholeheartedly sacrificed his time helping to arrange the fieldwork necessary for my research and generally to make the project a reality. Furthermore, in Prof. Nishikawa's laboratory, I owe a special debt to Prof. Masafumi Yamasaki, who provided me with valuable insight on the urban character and heritage of Kyoto and helped me to look critically at present city development. His comments on the principles of urban preservation methodology in Kyoto are very illuminating. They make the Japanese context more easily understandable.

Outside Kyoto University I wish to extend my special thanks to Dr. Akira Shintani of the Cultural Heritage Office of the City of Kyoto. I am grateful for his help during my fieldwork and his valuable comments on the system of cultural protection in Kyoto and on the selection criteria for historic buildings. The documentation work of the Yamahoko programme in Prof. Nishikawa's laboratory was carried out in close cooperation with the municipal heritage authorities.

The writing and completion of the research was carried at Helsinki University of Technology under the guidance of Prof. Vilhelm Helander to whom I also acknowledge my life-long gratitude for his support and help, and for his many valuable suggestions. Furthermore, special thanks go to Prof. Masafumi Yamasaki, Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto and to Dr. Tapio Peräiäinen, Helsinki, as examiners, for their valuable comments and advice of my work. In particular, Dr. Peräiäinen's guidance was decisive at the finishing stage of the

manuscript. The English language has been kindly corrected by architect Nicholas Mayow. The graphic layout is made by graphic designer student Reetta Kyttä. Sari Yli-Tolppa has assisted in drawing the lay-out of drawings and maps.

Last but not least I wish to express my gratitude to the Wihuri Foundation, the Sasakawa Foundation, the Japanese German Centre and the Finnish State Committee of Arts who gave financial support to the project.

Helsinki, March 28th, 1999

Riitta 'RI' Salastie

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GENERAL  
INTRODUCTION  
TO THE WORK



## Chapter I

# The Content of the Thesis

The subject of the thesis is the historic city centre of Kyoto and the thirty-five *hoko* neighbourhoods. The thesis is in ten parts:

PART I, the general introduction to the work (chapters 1-5) describes the Yamahoko programme, the academic background for the accomplishment of this work. A short outline of the Gion Festival orientates the reader to the cultural background and the subject of the work, the thirty-five *hoko* neighbourhoods. Also, a general outline of the survey area, the historic grid-plan area and the *hoko* neighbourhoods is given. Chapter 5 explores the development of the lattice, *kōshi*, facade and the evolution of Kyoto's unified townscape.

PART II, description of the field of the research consists of four individual chapters (chapters 6-9):

*Chapter 6 focuses on the interpretative environment of the work.* This includes three areas of focus:

1) The European researcher in the Japanese cultural context

2) The conflicting values between the academic world and the kimono artisan

3) The cultural background of the urban festival  
*Chapter 7 and 8 describe the profile of current city development.* In both these chapters, the author focuses on the symptoms of city development over the past 30 years. The failure of city planning policies to protect the built fabric and the wooden town heritage as larger entities are defined as major issues to be focused on.

*Chapter 9 explores historic preservation in Kyoto up to now.* In particular the inability of conservation policies to protect and conserve everyday buildings is pointed out.

PART III (chapter 10) describes the objectives of the work. The widening of the concept of heritage and the critical evaluation of heritage argumentation methods are defined as the major objectives of this work. The *hoko* neighbourhoods are chosen as the test area because of their continued cultural practices and traditions.

PART IV (chapters 11-12) describes the methodology of the work.

*Chapter 11 introduces the basic methodological approaches of this work.* The inter-relationship between the urban dwelling and the street and the importance of place are defined as the major cultural values to be focused on. Furthermore, an important part of the methodology is the exploring of listing priorities. The heritage argumentation priorities are examined in a critical light.

*Chapter 12 focuses on recording as a method of evaluation.* In the thesis on-site recording is used as an important evaluation tool.

PART V discusses the definition of heritage. This includes two areas of focus: exploring the concept of heritage in Japan; and the definition of heritage in this work (chapters 13-14).

*Chapter 13 explores preservation in the Japanese context.* Interpretation of universal values and the definition of authenticity in a cultural context differing from our own are key areas to be focused

on. The thesis stresses the importance of context in the heritage evaluation work.

*Chapter 14 focuses on the definition of a heritage.* The emphasis is on the preservation of everyday buildings and values. Social value is explored as a measure of cultural significance.

PART VI explores the cultural and urban testimony of the *hoko* neighbourhoods (chapters 15-18).

*Chapter 15 describes the role of street as communal space and the pre-modern township system, ryōgawachō.* The system survives, because of the Gion Festival, only in the *hoko* neighbourhoods. From the pre-modern building stock the work presents the common facilities. In the work they are seen as one potential group for heritage structures and now, except a few cases, without proper protection.

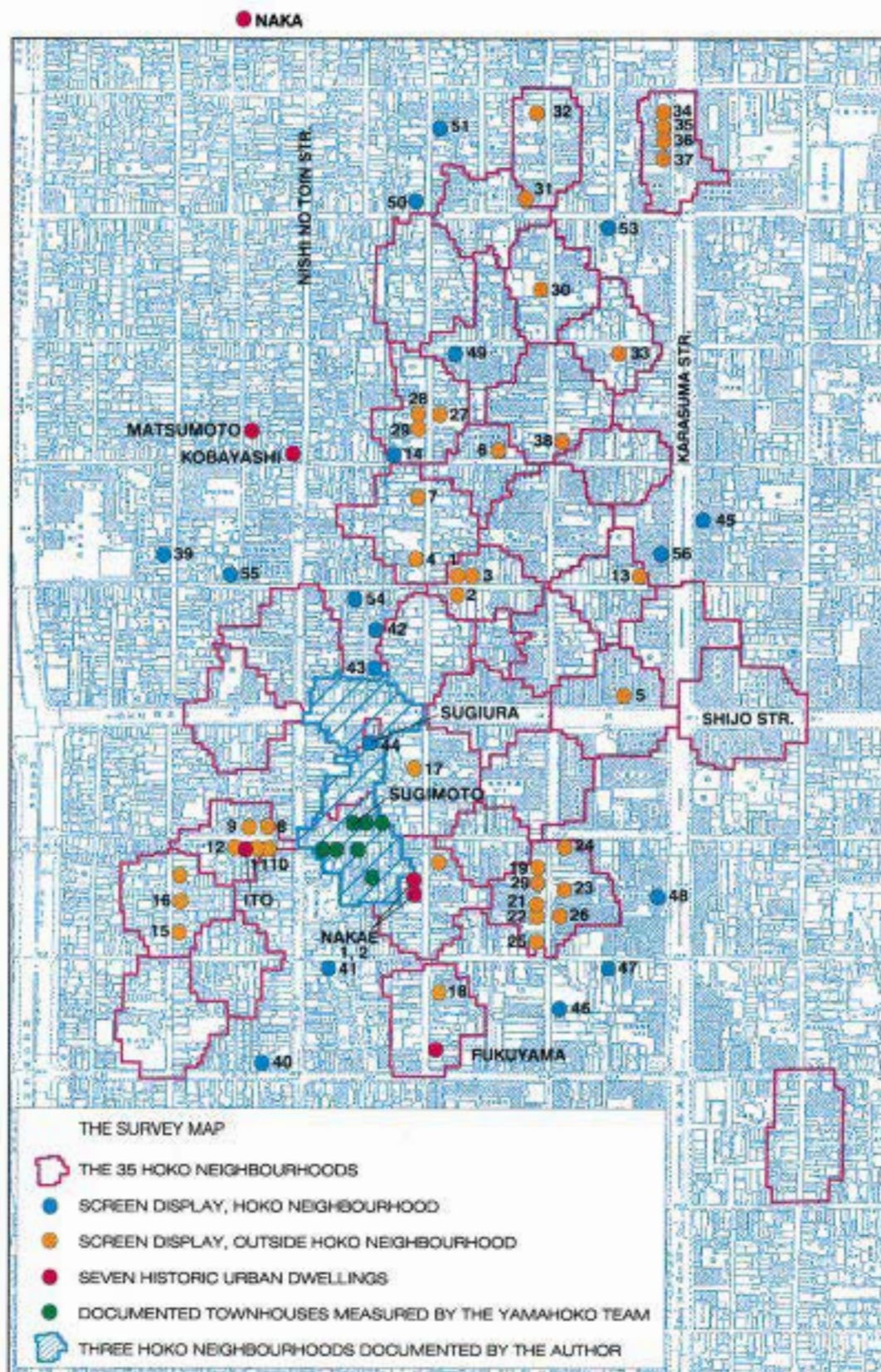
*Chapter 16 describes traditional Kyoto dwelling plans.* As a case area is used Yatachō. The work presents seven townhouses including such classic dwelling patterns as the ‘sleeping place of an eel’, *unagi no nedoko*, and the tenement pattern, *nagaya*.



**FIG.1** LOCATION MAP. THE *HOKO* AREA WEST OF SHIJO KARASUMA CROSSING. CGM.

**FIG.2** (OPPOSITE PAGE) SURVEY MAP. THE LINING OF THE 35 *HOKO* NEIGHBOURHOODS, THE SURVEYED TOWNHOUSES AND THE SCREEN DISPLAYS. RS.





*Chapter 17 describes the tradition of the Screen Festival.* In the thesis the display tradition represents outstanding cultural traditions of the *hoko* neighbourhoods.

*Chapter 18 describes the current profile of the hoko neighbourhoods.* As a main indication the author uses population trends. The general profile of the built environment and the use of buildings are also examined.

PART VII consists of fieldwork in three *hoko* neighbourhoods. The monitoring includes three major elements (chapters 19–21):

*Chapter 19 monitors three, arbitrarily chosen, hoko neighbourhoods.* Instead of focusing on historical landmarks or individual buildings, the inventory consists of whole streetscapes and historic neighbourhoods. Altogether the inventory covers almost one hundred buildings, the facades of which were measured for the survey and then examined as to their building categories, building styles and building materials. The inventory aims to develop monitoring tools for vernacular, everyday buildings.

*Chapter 20 explores seven historic urban dwellings.* The sample buildings illustrate the variety and richness of traditional Kyoto dwelling plans. Fur-

thermore, the fieldwork portrays a common, but less-known, vernacular building type, the urban tenement, *nagaya*. Through the fieldwork the heritage argumentation criteria are explored on site.

*Chapter 21 portrays the open exhibition houses of the Screen Festival.* The thesis provides a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the display tradition from traditional kimono homes to modern window displays.

PART VIII draws the conclusions of the work (chapter 22).

*Chapter 22 describes the conclusions of the work.* Most of the conclusions of the work are related to the perception of heritage and to the problems of criteria in the heritage argumentation work. The conclusions of a work do not apply only to Kyoto, but to the wooden town heritage in general. Everyday values and cultural traditions are identified as an important factor in the definition of heritage.

PART IX (chapter 23) is a postscript, where the author examines the origins of the Japanese aesthetics and our relationship with the past.

PART X is the summary of the work.

## Chapter 2

# The Yamahoko Programme

### General Outline of the Programme

The Yamahoko programme was organised by the laboratory of Prof. Koji Nishikawa and carried out as a multidisciplinary project with the laboratory of Prof. Naoki Tani of Osaka City University. The project leader in Prof. Nishikawa's laboratory was an architect, Dr. Masaya Masui, who in 1993 moved to the Nara Women's University where he is now Associate Professor. Since then, the programme has been continued in Nara.

In 1993 when the major research topic was the Screen Festival, participants from a total of five Japanese institutions and universities, with altogether seventeen staff members joined the programme. The extended research team included members from Kyoto University, Osaka City University, the Art University of Osaka, the Nara Women's University and Setsunan University, Osaka. The author worked as a member of the research team. Besides architects and university students, the research team included a specialist in cultural anthropology, an art historian and a professional photographer. In addition, necessary

research assistance was provided by a highly motivated and site-trained group of university students throughout every stage of the work.

All the fieldwork had to be carried out over a short period of time during the few days of the festival. Many of the screen displays were exposed for only a few hours during the last two nights of the festival. Moreover, all the fieldwork had to be carried out in extreme working conditions which included both damp and hot weather that is characteristic for Kyoto in this season as well as the crowds of tourists that fill the streets and festival locales during the festival nights. No less than a half a million people visit the Gion Festival every year. The extensive and laborious fieldwork would not have been possible without an well-organised and efficient research team. These inventories, which were carried out during the festival, provided an indispensable basis for the accomplishment of the current research.

## Content and Objectives of the Programme

The major objective of the Yamahoko programme was to study the urban heritage of the Gion Festival. The emphasis in the programme, which took place in four stages from 1990–93, was on the historic documentation work. The extensive fieldwork which took place in the hoko area in the following years, was focused on three major research topics in the Gion Festival:

1) *The documentation of the festival exhibitions, okazariba, and the common facilities, chōie, thirty-five in all.* In the field surveys all the festival exhibitions (every hoko neighbourhood) as well as their manifold display patterns were investigated and documented in every detail. This included not only the measuring and documentation of the historic structures that serve as exhibition facilities, but every item that was on display. One example of such measurement drawings is shown in Fig. 5. The drawing gives the plan and section of the festival exhibition in Komusubidanachō. This is one of the altogether four pre-modern facilities that has been designated as a cultural asset so far.

2) *The documentation of the street decorations, which adorn the streets and other public places during the urban festival.* One such street documentation is shown in Fig. 26, which shows the street decorations in Ashikariyamachō. As can be seen from the drawing, all the various types of street decorations

deriving from pre-modern times, such as the location of the float in the neighbourhood, different types of lanterns, decorative clothes and other decorations have been investigated and documented down to the smallest detail. The screen displays with their screens and their position in the display room are also indicated in the plans.

3) *The documentation of the Screen Festival as one expression of the Gion Festival.* In the extensive fieldwork all screen displays in or near the hoko neighbourhoods, which had been staged for public display, were recorded in the very detail including the exact location of the displays, the name and field of displaying person/enterprise and also the content of the displays. The reader can get some idea of the comprehensiveness of the fieldwork from the investigation form that is attached in Appendix 5. The fieldwork provided the author with the opportunity to see a large number of historic screens (the total number of which exceeded more than one hundred) and document many uniquely beautiful traditional wooden townhouses and historic urban dwellings, a task that would otherwise have been impossible.

All these three pieces of fieldwork were an immense task and provided a fascinating insight into the cultural and urban history of the hoko neighbourhoods. Among the documentation carried out by the Yamahoko programme, the major focus of interest for the author was the Screen Festival. As an integral part of the urban dwelling culture, the festival is one of the outstanding cul-



**FIG.3** INTERIOR VIEW OF THE FESTIVAL EXHIBITION, OKAZARIBA, IN ENNOGYŌJACHŌ. HK.



**FIG.4** THE SUGIMOTO HOUSE DECORATED FOR THE GION FESTIVAL WITH *SHIMENAWA*, A SACRED ROPE AND *MANMAKU*, A DECORATIVE CLOTH WITH THE FAMILY CREST. RS.

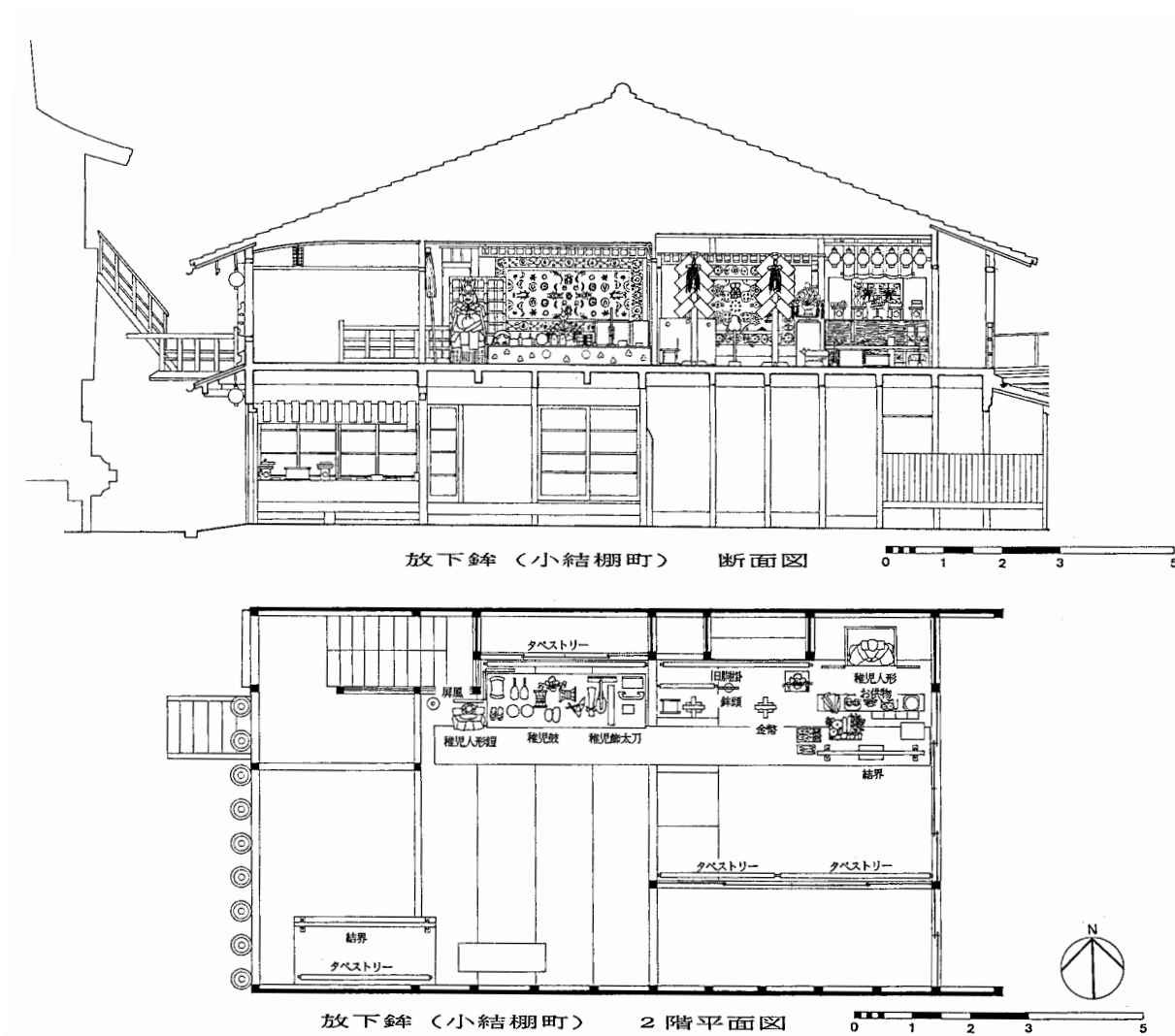
tural traditions of the *hoko* neighbourhoods. The author participated in the investigations carried out on this festival during two basic field surveys in 1991 and 1992 and later, in 1996 and 1997, to complete the total picture of the festival. The information that is provided in the thesis is thus based on first-hand knowledge and personal records acquired on site.

### Key Results of the Programme

An integral part of the Yamahoko programme was the interviews that were carried out in the *hoko* neighbourhoods. Among the persons interviewed were chairmen of preservation organisations and *hoko* neighbourhoods and also, many individual displaying kimono families. Most of those interviewed lived in the area and they had participated in the festival from early childhood. In other words they were first-hand living sources of the collective tradition of the Gion Festival. All these field surveys, in which the author participated as a member of the Yamahoko team, provided indispensable and authentic material for the current research.

As well as a mountain of photographs, site reports, texts and sketches, the Yamahoko programme produced a number of papers which were published in the annual meetings of the Architectural Institute of Japan (AIJ), four Master of Engineering dissertation theses and a book, which was published in 1994. The Japanese title of the book, which contributed to the celebration of Kyoto's 1200th anniversary, is *Machi, Gion Matsuri to Sumai* ('The City, the Gion Festival and the Urban Dwelling'). Some of the field material, if not all, presented below was published in the book. In the present thesis the material is available in English for the first time.

In 1992 the Master Thesis of Toshihiro Tanaka, *Toshi Sairei ni Okeru Kūkan no Riyō to Enshutsu* ('The Urban Space and the Urban Festival'), was chosen by the Architectural Institute of Japan as Master's Thesis of the Year. It also provided valuable material for the current research. The list of papers that the Yamahoko programme published is given in the sources including the papers in which the author participated or was directly responsible for.



**FIG. 5** FESTIVAL EXHIBITION, OKAZARI/IBA, IN KOMUSUBIDANACHŌ. ONE OF THE FOUR PRE-MODERN COMMON FACILITIES THAT HAVE BEEN DESIGNATED AS CULTURAL ASSET. PLAN AND SECTION MEASURED BY THE YAMAHOKO TEAM.

## Key Persons Met through the Programme

Through the Yamahoko programme the author was introduced to such influential persons in the Gion Festival as Mr. Kojiro Yoshida. He is an enthusiastic soul who, as one of the coordinators for the local float (Kitakannyōyama) in Rokkakuchō, is a living example of the devoted commitment characteristic of the spirit of the Gion Festival throughout the centuries. In addition to his role in the city community, he has painstakingly restored the screen display in his own house. The display is now a superb example of the historic displays where one can see through the open facade deep into the house. Part of the marvel of such sights is due to the elegant Japanese interiors that during the festival are open to the public. The house is the only one that has kept the classic pattern in its basic, open form. Its vital role in the display tradition is studied below.

Furthermore, through the Yamahoko programme the author was introduced to Mr. Sugimoto, a Professor in French literature and the head of an old kimono merchant family. He is the owner of one of the most elaborate traditional townhouses or *machiya* structures in the *hoko* area today. In 1990 the Sugimoto house was nominated as a cultural property by the municipal authorities. The Sugimoto house and six other townhouses were surveyed by the Nishikawa laboratory in 1990 as part of the municipal heritage documentation programme. This was why the Sugimoto house and the neighbourhoods around it became the key areas in this research.

The Sugimoto house is one of those incredible structures where the architectural and carpenter craft of the Tokugawa era is preserved right up to the present day. The house has been superbly maintained and is in excellent condition. The understanding and knowledge of the sophisticated carpenter and design methods, which were needed to build the house, were recognised as guidelines for conservation when the house was nominated as a cultural property. Compared

with other structures in the research, the Sugimoto house is, therefore, in a category of its own. Besides Yatachō, two historic city neighbourhoods around Yatachō, Shinkamanzachō and Kakkyoyamachō, were surveyed and documented as part of our fieldwork (see part VII, chapter 19).

## Author's Contribution to the Programme

That part of the Yamahoko programme which the author initiated and was directly responsible for, was the measurement of the streetscapes of the above-mentioned three *hoko* neighbourhoods including the facades of approximately one hundred traditional Kyoto townhouses. The Yamahoko programme provided the author with the technical assistance and the necessary authority to accomplish the measurement work. The building inventory although common in historic preservation areas, was the first systematic documentation of this kind in the grid-plan area so far. In Shinkamanzachō, besides the streetscape, the author measured one kimono manufacturer house. The house is owned by Mr. and Mrs. Sugiura, a kimono artisan family that is one of the displaying families in the Screen Festival.

The family generously made their house and family treasures available to be examined for the research. The author was kindly provided the opportunity to participate in staging the screens for the festival with the family twice in 1991 and 1992. In fact it was Mrs. Sugiura who first initiated me into the charming tradition of the screen displays. The house and family play an important role described below. In the thesis the house illustrates the unpretentious everyday building stock which at the moment exists in large numbers in the city centre, especially in the inner parts of the urban blocks. Through the Screen Festival the house has gained the status of a local landmark.

## The Cultural Heritage Documentation Programme and the Current Research

Within the Yamahoko programme the author participated in a field survey organised by the Cultural Heritage Office of Kyoto City to investigate seven historic urban dwellings. The survey was part of the municipal documentation programme and it was carried out by the heritage authorities with the assistance of the Nishikawa laboratory. The field survey provided the author with valuable information not only on the physical character and architectural qualities of the wooden townhouses but also, on the documentation and evaluation methods of the heritage authorities.

All the houses studied are fine examples of historic urban dwellings and the architectural

heritage of Kyoto, which still survives but is severely threatened by the modernization of the town. All seven houses are described below and are used as examples through which the problems of urban conservation and listing are discussed. It is these kind of ordinary everyday structures and their environments that the author requires to be more adequately protected and preserved against unexpected and in most cases, a brutal change. Five of the structures have been published by the Cultural Heritage Office but they have not been designated as cultural properties.<sup>12</sup>

The survey map, which shows the outlining of the Yamahoko area, the location of the measured three *hoko* neighbourhoods, the documented urban dwellings and the screen displays, is shown in Fig. 2.



## Chapter 3

# The Gion Festival

### History and General Outline of the Gion Festival

According to legend, in the 9th century (869) a disastrous epidemic broke out in Kyoto. In order to calm it down, the citizens of Kyoto made sixty-six large decorated carriages, *hokos*, symbolising the sixty-six districts of Japan. The carriages were offerings to the deities of the Yasaka Shrine to pray for deliverance from the disease. The head priest organised a procession of sacred carriages, where the halberds were enshrined. It is said that as a result the terrible plague disappeared and people showed their gratitude with the celebration of the festival. Since 970 the ceremony, *Goryōe*, has been continued as an annual ritual of the shrine. The Yasaka Shrine is one of the oldest shrines of the central area and also, the ‘mother’ shrine of the *hoko* neighbourhoods.

Along with the Kanda Festival in Tokyo and the Tenjin Festival in Osaka, the Gion Festival is one of the three greatest town festivals in Japan and the largest and the most splendid of them all. The festival floats, which are called *Ugoku Biju-*

*tsukan*, ‘moving art museums’ by Japanese art historians, are gorgeously adorned with textile fabrics, embroideries and other priceless ornaments. Alongside the many Chinese heroes, who appear as major symbols of the festival, many exotic motives occur which were introduced to Japan for the first time through the Gion Festival. The names of the floats such as the ‘Moon’ float (*Tsukihoko*), ‘Chrysanthemum Water’ float (*Kikusuihoko*) and ‘Umbrella Shape’ float (*Kasahoko*) tell of the legends and rich history of the festival. Furthermore, there are luxurious brocades and tapestries imported to Japan in the 17th and 18th centuries from different parts of the world.

The society of the Tokugawa period and the growing power of the urban merchant class reflected in the art works that were displayed in the festival. The increased industrial output of the period resulted in great advances in all industrial arts. Gorgeous silk brocades were produced by the expanding textile industry, and lacquer ware of great decorative beauty was made in quantity. In the industrial arts as well as in decorative screens

and panels for building, the Japanese showed great skill in using elements from nature. Sophisticated design verging on the abstract as is seen even today in many displayed screens during the Screen Festival, gained great popularity together with luxurious gold and silver painted screens.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, which in the early 1990s undertook a six-year examination of the Gion Festival and its festival collections, considers the festival float decorations to be one of most precious collections in the world for their quality, volume and variety.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, many of the tapestries and other valuable items found in the Gion Festival have been well cared for up to the present, though most similar items still existing in the countries where they were originally made have been badly damaged or entirely lost. With its historic assets and traditions, the Gion Festival is among Japan's priceless cultural possessions. Parts of that heritage may be considered to be of outstanding universal value and as such might qualify even as 'world heritage'.

## The Gion Festival and Thirty-Five *Hoko* Neighbourhoods

Since the 16th century the Gion Festival has been organised by the thirty-five city neighbourhoods known as *Yamahokochō*. The name of these neighbourhoods is derived from the *yama* ('mountain' float) and *hoko* (large float) of the Gion Festival. The fact that the Gion Festival is organised by city neighbourhoods and not by a shrine or temple institution as in some other great festivals in Japan emphasises the historical importance of the *hoko* neighbourhoods.

The practice began after the civil wars in the early 16th century, when the festival tradition was interrupted for more than ten years because of the devastating civil wars. It has been estimated that in these wars two thousand buildings were destroyed and the population of the city was reduced from half a million to forty thousand.<sup>2</sup> The central areas were devastated and rebuilding of the city after the wars took a long period.

After the civil war the parishioners demanded that the central government, shogunate, revive the festival.<sup>3</sup> According to a famous Tokugawa era declaration, the Yasaka Shrine was forbidden to conduct the festival. The citizens of the *hoko* area, however, insisted the procession should take place and took the initiative in the organisation of the festival. The revival of the festival after the civil wars was much due to the power and wealth of the *hoko* neighbourhoods. Even today, the thirty-five *hoko* neighbourhoods take the major responsibility for the organisation of the festival.

The Gion Festival, as we know it today, with its richly decorated festival floats and other elegant works of art, became established in the middle of the 17th century. With the growing wealth of the *hoko* neighbourhoods the floats became more and more elegant. The floats were given their fixed form much later, however, in the Tokugawa era. Until this time the decorations were changed every year. In the Meiji era, with its radical social reforms, the festival tradition and its institutions went through major changes. In addition, many historic floats were destroyed in the city fires of the period.

In the Showa era the festival routes were changed from the narrow dwelling streets to the broad main streets, Oike, Kawaramachi and Shijo Streets. The atmosphere of the narrow dwelling streets can still be experienced in such places as Shinmachi Street, through which all the festival floats pass in the end of the festival in order to return to their 'home' neighbourhoods. The location of the festival floats during the festival weeks and the route taken by the floats in the procession is shown in Fig. 7.

The key role of the *hoko* neighbourhoods as the main urban stage for the Gion Festival has been observed, for instance, by the Japanese Nobel Prize winning novelist Yasunari Kawabata, who in his novel *The Old Capital* (San Francisco: North Point Press 1987) described their role in the following way:

"...Tourists who came afar were apt to think that the Gion Festival consisted of only the parade of floats on the seventeenth of July. Many also came to the Yoiyama



FIG.6 FESTIVAL DECORATIONS BEFORE THE SECOND WORLD WAR. KB.

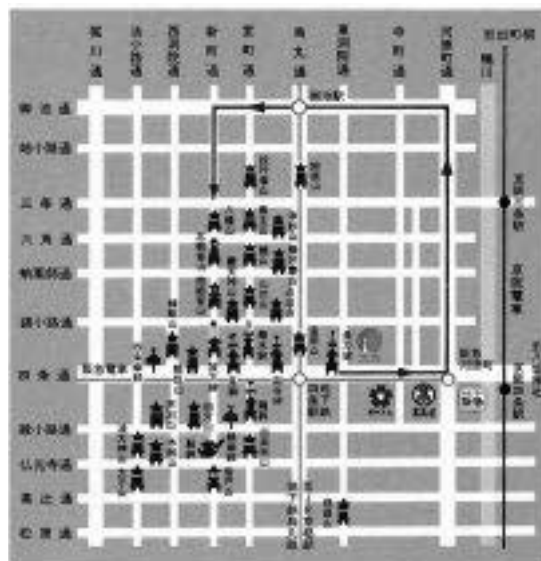
*festivities on the night of the sixteenth. But the real ceremonies of the Gion Festival continued all through July. In the various districts of Kyoto, each of which had its own Gion float, the festival bands began to perform and the amulet rituals commenced on the first of July.”<sup>4</sup>*

The Japanese names of the *hoko* neighbourhoods and the names of the festival floats are given in Fig. 13. The figure also shows schematically the location of these neighbourhoods. See also Appendix 3, which gives the list of their Japanese names and the names of the floats written in *romanji*-pronunciation.

## The Screen Festival

Among the continued cultural traditions characteristic of the Gion Festival, one of the most imposing is the Screen Festival, *Byōbu Matsuri*, the display of folding screens. During this performance the light wooden lattice partitions, *kōshi*, which are the major architectural elements of wooden-frame townhouses, are temporarily removed, and the interior of the house is exposed to the street as if it were a stage. The rooms, which open to the streets, are decorated with folding screens and other home treasures owned by kimono families. Dr. Morse, who visited Kyoto at the end of the 19th century, described the Screen Festival tradition in the following way:

**FIG.7** THE LOCATION OF THE FESTIVAL FLOATS AND THE ROUTE TAKEN BY THE FESTIVAL PROCESSION. GFM.



“... On certain festival days, it is customary for the people bordering the wider thoroughfares to throw open their houses and display their screens; and in Kyoto, at such times one may walk along the streets and behold wonderful exhibitions of these beautiful objects”.<sup>5</sup>

Many of the displaying kimono families were, and still are, wholesale dealers of luxurious kimonos and other kimono textiles adding to the splendour and artistic quality of the displays. There are also kimono designers and other kimono-related artisans. In earlier centuries wealthy kimono merchant families served as patrons for Kyoto painting schools. Even today there are screens which are specially designed for the display. The wooden town architecture plays a vital role as the scenic stage of the festival. The history of the area also explains the excellent quality of the displayed articles and screens. With this background the Screen Festival is unique, not only in Kyoto but in the whole of Japan.

### List of the Main Festival Events

July 2: *Kujitori-shiki*, the order of festival floats in the procession is decided by drawing lots. Only the place of the first float in the procession is fixed.

The leading float in the procession is the Naginatahoko, which is also the float of the living pageboy.

July 10 evening: *Omukae-chōchin*, welcoming of lanterns. Parishioners go in a parade to the Yasaka Shrine to greet the palanquins and welcome them into the festival.

July 10: *Mikoshi arai*, the rite of cleaning the sacred carriages, *mikoshi*. The ritual takes place in the Kamo River by the Shijo Bridge.

July 10–11: *Hokotate*; July 13–14: *Yamatate*, the assembled parts of the festival floats are taken out from their storage and the floats are assembled using traditional carpentry techniques in the *hoko* neighbourhoods.

July 13–16: *Yōiyama, Yōiyoyama*, two last evenings of the festival. When the construction of the floats begins, the streets around the *hoko* neighbourhoods are changed to pedestrian roads and decorated for the festival. The festival floats appear even more splendid after dark when the lanterns decorating the floats are lit. Important elements of the street decorations are the screen displays, *Byōbu matsuri*, staged by the kimono families during the last two festival nights.

July 17: *Yamahoko junko*, the festival procession, which is the climax of the festival. In the proces-

sion 31 floats are pulled along Shijo, Kawaramachi and Oike Streets.

July 17: *Shinkosai*, the procession of the sacred carriages.

July 24: *Hanagasa junko*, the procession of flower sunshades.

July 24: *Kankosai*, the procession of the sacred carriages. The palanquins are returned to the Yasaka Shrine.

July 28: *Mikoshi arai*, the rites of cleaning the sacred carriages. This is the ending ceremony of the festival.

## Cultural Protection and the Gion Festival

Originally, each *hoko* neighbourhood administered the urban festival. In Rokkakuchō (neighbourhood of the Kitakannyōyama, 'Northern Boddhisattava' float) historical document records all yearly donations that were collected by every household in the city community to support the organisation of the festival. Parts of these donations were used to acquire new ornaments for the local festival float. The ornaments are preserved and used even today.

After the First World War, the social standing of the *hoko* neighbourhoods weakened and the management of the festival became endangered. To be able to keep the priceless cultural property such as the historic floats and their ornaments and

to secure the continuity of the festival, local preservation organisations were established in every *hoko* neighbourhood, the first ones in 1923.

Today these organisations, take the main responsibility for the organisation of the festival and the maintenance of the cultural heritage.<sup>6</sup> In recent years the importance of the preservation organisations has grown with the declining numbers of inhabitants and the falling economy of the *hoko* neighbourhoods. Only eight floats are directly owned by the *hoko* neighbourhoods.

Following the Second World War Kyoto artists and artisans have attempted to restore many previously destroyed floats to their original grandeur. In addition, proper conservation measures have been taken to preserve and restore the priceless gobelins and tapestries, which have deteriorated from their original splendour. In 1983 a special council was established to advise city communities about the laborious and difficult restoration work. Many antique tapestries have been restored since then.

Three of the floats that were destroyed in the Meiji period city fires, have not been reconstructed.<sup>7</sup> Despite the ravages of many city fires and having been rebuilt many times, from the thirty-five floats that existed at the beginning of the Meiji era, thirty-two still survive. This heritage is preserved by law. The main nomination took place in 1962 when the Gion Festival was nominated as an important cultural property of Japan. The nomination consists of two parts:



**FIG. 8** RITUAL OF THE SACRED CARRIAGE, MIKOSHI. THE YASAKA SHRINE. RS.



**FIG. 9** A FESTIVAL FLOAT DECORATED WITH LANTERNS IN ITS 'HOME' NEIGHBOURHOOD. RS.





- 1) the Gion Festival is preserved as an important folklore tradition
- 2) twenty-nine floats are preserved as important folklore assets<sup>8</sup>

The concept behind the twofold nomination is that in addition to the material objects, which can be designated as cultural properties, an essential and important element of the system of cultural protection in Japan is the protection of intangible traditions, such as special skills, attitudes, and spiritual traditions. In the first group of preserved tangible objects are paintings, sculptures, historic documents, and also, historic buildings, groups of buildings and heritage sites.

In the group of intangible objects are not only folk arts but also artistic or professional competence. Japan is one of those few countries in the world, which acknowledges personal competence as having the value of heritage. Thus, Japan recognises individuals as 'living national treasures' and Japan has acknowledged such individuals even in the field of heritage conservation.<sup>9</sup> In the Gion Festival the intangible traditions are represented in the folk customs (such as festival dances, music and other rituals), religious rituals and other spiritual traditions related to the festival. The religious rituals include time honoured purification ceremonies that take place at the beginning and end of the festival. The author observed a number of such ceremonies in the *hoko* neighbourhoods.

Besides the historic floats, the *hoko* neighbourhoods own numerous old documents and other valuables. Many of them are designated as cultural properties. The national list includes, among other things, one piece of kimono from the Momoyama era, a 16th century gobelin in three pieces from Belgium and old armour.<sup>10</sup> In addition, the municipal list includes approximately nine hundred old documents or other historic assets.

## Cultural Protection and the Screen Festival

The Screen Festival tradition, although an important part of the Gion Festival, is not included in

the above-mentioned law. Among the screens displayed, besides many more modern or, later screens from the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, there are many fine antique screens from the Tokugawa and Meiji periods. In other words, the oldest screens are already more than two or three hundred years old. Individual, historically valuable screens have been listed by art historians and heritage authorities. In this work they are to be found in part VII, chapter 21, field-work no. 6. Screens owned by private kimono families are outside the municipal restoration programmes, except those that have been brought to public museums.

The Yamahoko programme included, among other things, a comprehensive recording of the screens that are displayed in the current festival. A short description of the screens displayed is given in chapter 21. The scope of this research is not, however, limited to the protection and conservation of individual screens, but extends to their urban and cultural context as well.

Municipal authorities and conservationists have paid attention to the Screen Festival only when it has been able to boost tourism as a clearly measurable tourist asset such as displays of many years of patronage or of special historic and aesthetic value. In other words, the focus has been on the few, carefully selected landmarks. The more ordinary home displays, as well as the whole urban context, have been given less if any attention. There is an acute lack of appreciation of such socio-cultural values as the inter-relationship between the house and the street and their cultural expressions during the urban festival. City planning having failed to enhance such values has not only caused deserted spaces to be created in the city but has also resulted in the disappearance of cultural patterns and local landmarks vital for the city. Moreover, a set of cultural values, the special Japanese comprehension of space, has been sacrificed for more practical and material values. Among the 'forgotten' heritage is the wooden townhouse context as the indispensable 'stage' for the festival.





**FIG.10** (PREVIOUS PAGE) INTERIOR VIEW OF THE BAN DISPLAY, HONEYACHŌ. HK.

**FIG.11** THE LIVING PAGE BOY WITH ITS ATTENDANTS. THE GION FESTIVAL IN NAGINATAHOKOCHŌ AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR. IN THE BACKGROUND THE COMMON FACILITY, CHŌIE. TS.



## Chapter 4

# The City Centre and the *Hoko* Neighbourhoods

### Historical Outline and Character of the Grid-Plan Area

The thesis deals with the historic city centre of Kyoto, the basis of which is the grid-plan area adapted according to Chinese city planning models in the 8th century. From its founding in 794 Kyoto was the capital of Japan for more than one thousand years until 1868, when in the Meiji restoration, the capital was moved to Tokyo. The present day city centre corresponds very closely to the city area as it was rebuilt after the civil wars in the 15th and 16th centuries. This area is known in Kyoto as *Rakuchū*, literally: inside the capital. The area outside the city centre, *Rakugai*, was suburban farmland almost until the late 19th century. Only in the past few decades has the urbanisation process reached the outer edges of the suburban land.

The *Rakuchū-Rakugai* relationship has had an important cultural and spiritual significance in the history of Kyoto up to the present day. Since early times, the city centre, the historic grid-plan area, and its environs, were spiritually regarded as one

entity. Unlike most Western cities, the fact that in Kyoto the major temples and shrines were located on the outskirts of the city contributed to the cultural significance of the sub-urban land. By the middle of the 13th century, there was a concept of actually manipulating the landscape outside the city centre for aesthetic or cultural effect.<sup>13</sup>

When considering the development and make-up of the natural landscapes on the outskirts of Kyoto, there was a well-known compositional system, which was adopted in Zen temples and influenced by the Zen philosophical thought. The system was made up of a number of landscape elements, *jikkyō*, (literally: 'ten stages') as they were called. They were landmarks attached with a symbolic and spiritual meaning. The *jikkyō*, meaningful landmarks such as mountain tops, rivers, bridges were part of a culturally appointed environment with specific (Zen related) meanings attached to them. In protecting and preserving these landscape areas, they were acknowledged to own a value of an important, culturally ap-



大同デナシ

Konica

コニカカラー

今村客車場

YAMAHA

ヤマハ

B

監査法人  
朝日新和会

料主巨易

洋設計 吉忠きもの  
住友製薬 東京証券

東都インクリッションセンター  
日本郵政 合信用

大塚 池田 宝塚 阪急電車のりば

住友信託銀行

東京都立行雲館

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No Right Turn

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pointed environmental heritage. How important a similar kind of concept of an architectural heritage layered in history would have been in the historic grid-plan area, is one of the key questions of this work.

The cultural relationship between the city and its environs was interpreted in paintings known as *Rakuchū-Rakugai-e*, paintings which depict scenes and landscapes inside and outside the capital. Prof. Yamasaki, for instance, has remarked how the real distance between the outskirts and the central areas of the city were distorted in all *Rakuchū-Rakugai* paintings and how one can therefore interpret this to mean that as far as people in those days were concerned, they were conscious of their surrounding areas as being close to the main parts of the city. This hinterland now constitute part of the heritage, the 'garden landscape' as Prof. Yamasaki called it, that exists on the outskirts of Kyoto today. The cultural significance of the city centre, on the other hand, culminated in such traditions as the Gion Festival.

### *Kyō-Machiya*, the Kyoto Townhouse

In the Kamakura era, with the withering power of the emperor and imperial court, the social stand of urban merchants in Kyoto began to grow although their social status in the social hierarchy was low. By the 13th century city areas between Muromachi and Nishi no Tōin Street had developed to a flourishing trade and merchandise centres. The residents of Kyoto were independently working artisans and urban merchants and not bound to the land as peasants in the countryside. Free trade evolved. Urban blocks and streets that had shops, began to be called as '*machi*' and the townhouses along them as '*machiya*'. *Kyō-machiya*, a townhouse which combines dwelling and shops, became the most common building type in Kyoto and also, one of the urban keys for Kyoto's uniqueness.

Traditional industries developed in Kyoto under conditions that were favourable to the pro-

duction and distribution of high-class consumer goods. They served not only people associated with the imperial court but also numerous headquarters temples of Buddhist schools and sects, as well as the headquarters of art schools for tea ceremony and flower arrangement, and other artistic activities in the service of the court and religious institutions. When the central government was moved to Edo (the present day Tokyo) in 1603, the wealth of Kyoto became dependent on the Nishijin silk textile industry. The growth of the Nishijin silk textile industry and Yūzen dyeing industries created the basis for the wealth of Kyoto and allowed Kyoto to continue to flourish as a national centre of production for fine handicrafts.

### City Centre with Multiple Cores

The city centre of Kyoto, which consists of the historic grid-plan area and some historic urbanised areas outside it, is characterised by small and medium sized traditional industries such as the Nishijin silk textile industry, Yūzen silk dyeing industry, Kiyomizu pottery industry and the distribution function of the Muromachi kimono wholesale district. In these areas there is a concentration of people engaged in similar industries who live and work in certain geographically limited city areas taking different roles in the production process from design to manufacturing and wholesale functions.

The basis for the decentralised urban pattern was created in the Tokugawa era with its highly developed group-coordination and skills in co-operation, which are not only distinct features of Kyoto's silk textile industry but for all Tokugawa era culture as, for instance, Edwin O. Reischauer has noted.<sup>14</sup> The group coordination meant that every individual working phase in the production process was carried out by a different group of specialised people so that each group focused on a relatively narrow field in the process such as design, weaving, painting, or carry-

FIG. 12 (OPPOSITE PAGE) VIEW FROM SHIJO STREET. SHOP SIGNS AS STREET FURNITURE. RS.

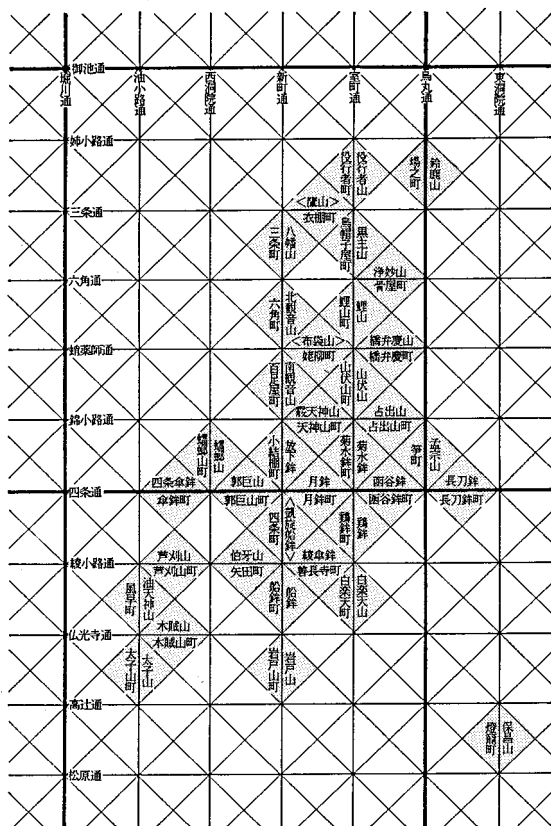


FIG. 13 CITY CENTRE AND THE 35 YAMAHOKO NEIGHBOURHOODS. SCHEMATIC ILLUSTRATION OF THE TRIANGULAR SHAPE OF THE RYŌGAWACHŌ, 'ON BOTH SIDES OF THE STREET NEIGHBOURHOOD', PATTERN. YT.

ing half-finished products from house to house. There were even different makers for the different parts of kimono such as obi designers or those who were specialised in making kimono string. This developed system of production process created the basis for Kyoto's crafts and skills and thus, for the outstanding artistic quality of the kimono craft and other handicraft. In this research the author will present a number of such highly specialised kimono artisans and craftsmen involved in the kimono production such as kimono merchants, wholesale dealers, dyers, gold painters and kimono designers.

In the Tokugawa era with its general increase in national productivity and improvement in technology, the chief consuming areas were the great cities such as Osaka and Kyoto, each of which had a population of upward of 300 000 people. At the same time, by the early 18th century, Edo had a population of at least a million and may have been the largest city in the world at that time. Despite

Edo's leading economic role, most of the domains in western Japan maintained economic agencies in Osaka, which became the major entrepôt for trade in that part of the country, while Kyoto re-established its position as the religious and cultural capital of Japan, a position it still holds today.

During the 1860s, Japan's first decade of foreign trade, a silk blight in Europe created a strong demand for Japanese silk and silkworm eggs. As a result Japan developed a favourable balance of trade with West. In the 1870s, Japanese silk entrepreneurs adopted the relatively simple process of reeling silk by mechanical power thus producing a more uniform silk thread, superior to that of other Asian countries. This small innovation gave Japan the lion's share of the silk market in the West, and silk was to remain its largest export until well into the 20th century.<sup>15</sup> In Kyoto, the Nishijin silktextile area played a leading role in adapting modern weaving machine techniques and new technologies that were imported to Japan

from Europe creating the basis for new innovations in design and productivity.

Even today, as Prof. Mimura has noted, the traditional urban structure of Kyoto is characterised by multiple urban core districts of a medium scale, which together constitute the whole inner city.<sup>16</sup> In other words, instead of a concentration of central city functions in a single city core, Kyoto has multiple cores and there are many traditional industries in and around the historic city centre. The Muromachi area with its concentration of kimono trade quarters is a typical example of these. The special feature of these core districts in Kyoto unlike many other world city is that these core districts are based on and continue to concentrate on some special handicraft skills or traditional activities.

## Description of the Survey Area and the *Hoko* Neighbourhoods

In the city centre the thesis focuses, as described above, on the thirty-five city neighbourhoods known as *Yamahokochō* or *hoko* neighbourhoods. The location of the neighbourhoods is dominated by two, partially contradictory characteristics:

1) *The hoko neighbourhoods as part of the city's modern commercial and business district.* The core of this area is the crossing of Shijo and Karasuma Streets. The area is characterised by a large con-

glomeration of banks, financial institutions and department stores, such as the renowned department store Daimaru and representatives of some of the Japan's largest banks and companies such as Mitsubishi, Sakura, Sumitomo and Sanwa. The location of the survey area in the Shijo-Karasuma district adversely affects land prices in the area and thus indirectly, efforts to conserve the urban heritage.

2) *The hoko neighbourhoods as part of Muromachi kimono wholesale district.* The area is one of the city's traditional urban cores and one of the major centres for Japan's kimono merchandise and trade. Powerful urban merchants such as the house of Mitsui became established in the *hoko* area in the 17th century. The original site is still owned by the family in Rokkakuchō. The wealth of the area goes back to the Tokugawa period. It was the urban merchants who were in many ways the prime movers in Tokugawa culture and the large cities, Osaka, Kyoto and Edo, which dominated the culture of the period.

As part of the Muromachi area the *hoko* neighbourhoods take a highly traditional role. The wealth and sophisticated kimono culture of the area created the basis for such cultural traditions as the Gion Festival. In both of these roles the *hoko* neighbourhoods are associated with unique artistic and cultural traditions. Besides the distribution and wholesale function, the *hoko* area exhibits a varie-



FIG. 14 A ROW OF TRADITIONAL TOWNHOUSES IN THE SURVEY AREA. SHIJO STREET, KAKKYOYAMACHŌ. RS.



FIG. 15 VIEW FROM SHIJO STREET. RS.

ty of other kimono manufacturing functions such as kimono design and dyeing as well as other traditional industries such as making of traditional dolls, fans, kimono accessories etc.

In Japanese literature the life of a traditional kimono artisan has been described, for example, by Yasunari Kawabata. In his novel he observes, among other things, the cultural clash that exists between modernity and traditional craftsmanship

through the eyes of Kyoto's traditional kimono families. The Gion Festival and the *hoko* area play an important part in the book.

The survey area was lined by Imadegawa Street in the north, Karasuma Street in the east, Horikawa Street in the west and Matsubara Street in the south. The general outline of the survey area in the city structure is shown on the location map, Fig. 1.



## Chapter 5

# The Lattice *Kōshi* Facade and Evolution of the Unified Townscape

## The Evolution of Kyoto's Townscape and the Rakuchū-Rakugai Paintings

The aesthetically sophisticated and homogeneous townscape of Kyoto as we know it now developed rather late, in the late 18th century, but was then all the more sophisticated. The necessary prerequisites were created by the long peaceful period after the civil wars and the growing wealth of the merchant class. The builder-carpenters, who created the sophisticated architecture of the upper

class of earlier periods, now moved into the urban conglomerations to serve the rising merchant class. The carpenters creating the new urban architecture were proud of their professional skills. They wanted to build as if their houses would 'never burn down'.<sup>20</sup> An important step in the development of the Japanese building code took place in 1633 when the Office of Carpentry was set up. This institution established an unique Japanese building code, the *kiwari* system. Through this



FIG.16 KAMAKURA PERIOD TOWNHOUSE. WT.

system all architectural details, materials and dimensions were exhaustively standardised throughout Japan (although there were local differences).

The major source of information on the evolution of the wooden facades and townscape before the Tokugawa era in Kyoto are the *Rakuchū-Rakugai* paintings mentioned above, in chapter 4. These paintings were done between the middle of the 16th century and the end of the 17th century. These pictures depict, literally, as their name indicates, landscapes and urban scenes ‘inside and outside the capital’. Number of *Rakuchū-Rakugai* paintings are represented within the Screen Festival itself. They are among the most valuable historic screens that are found in the festival and depict, among other topics, the celebration of the Gion Festival.

Although the *Rakuchū-Rakugai* pictures are not precisely dated, it is possible to date the events depicted in the paintings on the basis of temple diaries, which record major fires etc. The oldest painting is thought to be the so-called *Machida* illustration that probably dates from the first half of the 16th century (1525). There are similar paintings in the possession of the Uesugi and Takahashi families. These paintings were done after the *Machida* illustration, but they show similar topics and themes.

What is of particular interest to us here, is that the *Rakuchū-Rakugai* paintings were painted in a period when an overall view of the city became popular as a main painting theme. This is one of the first times that systematic illustrations of cityscapes began to be depicted. Before the *Rakuchū-*

*Rakugai* paintings the Heian period streetscape can be found depicted, for example, in such famous illustrations as the *Nenchū Gyōji E Maki* (‘Scroll Paintings of the Annual Events’) published in the second half of the 12th century. In general, such pictures were, however, few.

A very good (and probably the most authoritative) analysis in English of the development of Kyoto’s townscape based on the analysis of the *Rakuchū-Rakugai* paintings is provided by Prof. Yamasaki in his recent book.<sup>21</sup> The description below owes much to his analysis, as well as to the lectures given by him on the subject in the Kyoto University.

## The City and its Outskirts - One Entity

In the *Rakuchū-Rakugai* paintings the city centre and the suburban areas, in other words the historic grid-plan area and mountains that surround Kyoto and the verdant countryside, were painted as one entity. This symbiotic view of the city and its surroundings emphasises, as has been analysed, the symbolic and spiritual meanings which in Kyoto were already attached to the landscape and mountains in the countryside in early times. This symbiotic view of the city was dominant during the following centuries. It was not until after the middle of the 18th century, when illustrations began to appear where the city and nature are treated as individual topics.

Another noteworthy fact is that the main annual events and the four seasons were painted

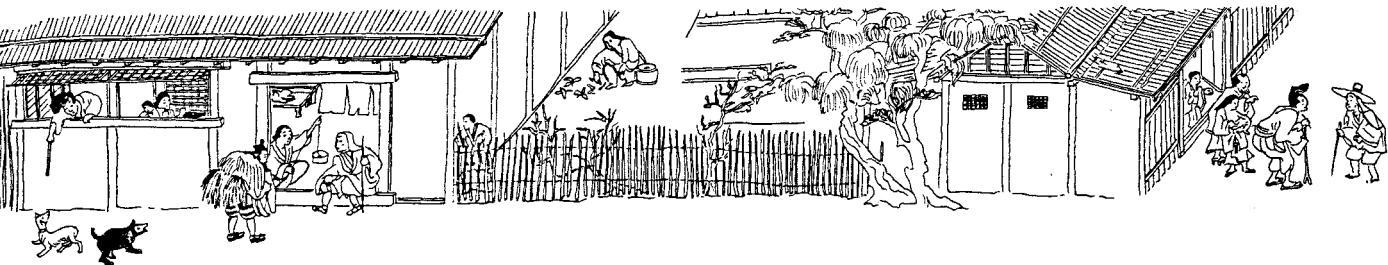


FIG.17 HEIAN PERIOD TOWNHOUSE. WT.

within one picture and seasonal events were always depicted in the same places and landscapes. Thus such places as Takano were always painted in winter or autumn with maple trees. Likewise, the city centre was depicted in summer season with the Gion Festival. This is one proof of the cultural significance of the urban festival since centuries.

## Evolution of the 16th and Early 17th Century Townscape

In the *Machida* edition ordinary townhouses are plain wooden structures with only one floor. The houses follow a standard pattern: the buildings are lined up in an orderly way and their ridges are parallel to the streets. The width of the house is from 6.7 to 10 metres. The roof is covered with wooden boards. Narrow bamboo poles have been laid in pairs in a grid, with a rock placed where the poles intersect. The entrance to the house is a simple opening in the wall. The wooden framing around the opening resembles a *torii* gate, which is commonly seen in Shinto shrines.

The shops are open to the street with a *misedana*, sales stand. This has been described as the origin of the *battarishogi*, a sales bench that can be lifted up, a fixture that is still seen in some of the houses studied (such as the Kojiro Yoshida house in Rokkakuchō, described in chapter 21). The openings of the townhouses have a thick wooden sash and their base is at door level. The open wall pattern that plays an important role in the Screen Festival, was thus one of the basic

urban patterns in Kyoto probably already in the Heian period.

The elegant wooden latticework facades were developed much later, in the Tokugawa period. Many roofs are seen with projecting walls, *udatsu*, to isolate the roof of adjoining buildings in case of fire and also, to prevent rain from penetrating the gap between buildings. Compared to the Heian period townscape there is considerable development in the wall treatment. For the first time there are plastered walls in the cityscape. It is not until the first half of the 17th century, that the upper floor appears in the townscape, but in the beginning it is still very low. One pictorial illustration from this period records a house with two floors and a terrace, but the house is without the canopy between the ground and upper floor that later became one of the elegant characteristics of the Kyoto townhouses and townscape.

Different types of roofing materials appear in the cityscape. Roof tiles, as a result of the pervading peace and improvement in the economic circumstances of the citizens, become common. Different styles of roof tiles are used in increasing numbers, but wooden boards are also common. Later, following the great city fire in the Tokugawa period, the central government prohibited the use of wood as a roofing material. As a result, roof tiles become the dominant roofing material even in the ordinary townhouses. Thin tiles became common in the middle of the Tokugawa period. Today the elegant tile roofs are one of the distinct features of the Kyoto townscape.



FIG. 18 HEIAN PERIOD TOWNHOUSE. WT.

## The Kaleidoscopic Edo Period Townscape

The evolution of individual facade elements can be observed, for example, in the *Ikeda* illustration in the middle of the 17th century. The design has evolved and together with the evolution in dyeing techniques, colour appears in the townscape. *Noren*, slashed and dyed curtains, which are hung outside the doors and which in earlier illustrations were black and white, are yellow and blue. *Manmaku*, large decorative cloths with the family crest, which are even today seen in front of facades on such festive occasions as the Screen Festival, become colourful. Canopies appear as new building elements between the ground and upper floor. The technique is known as *hisashitsukuri*: literally the construction of lower eaves or canopies.

Blue, ochre and yellow colours appear in the townscape. Different wall surfaces are painted with different colours in the same building. In the townscape there are two storied houses but also narrow towers with three floors (which Yamasaki called ‘a third floor for one person’). Also, some storehouses are three storeys high. In the fire-proof structures the wooden structural frames are completely plastered over.

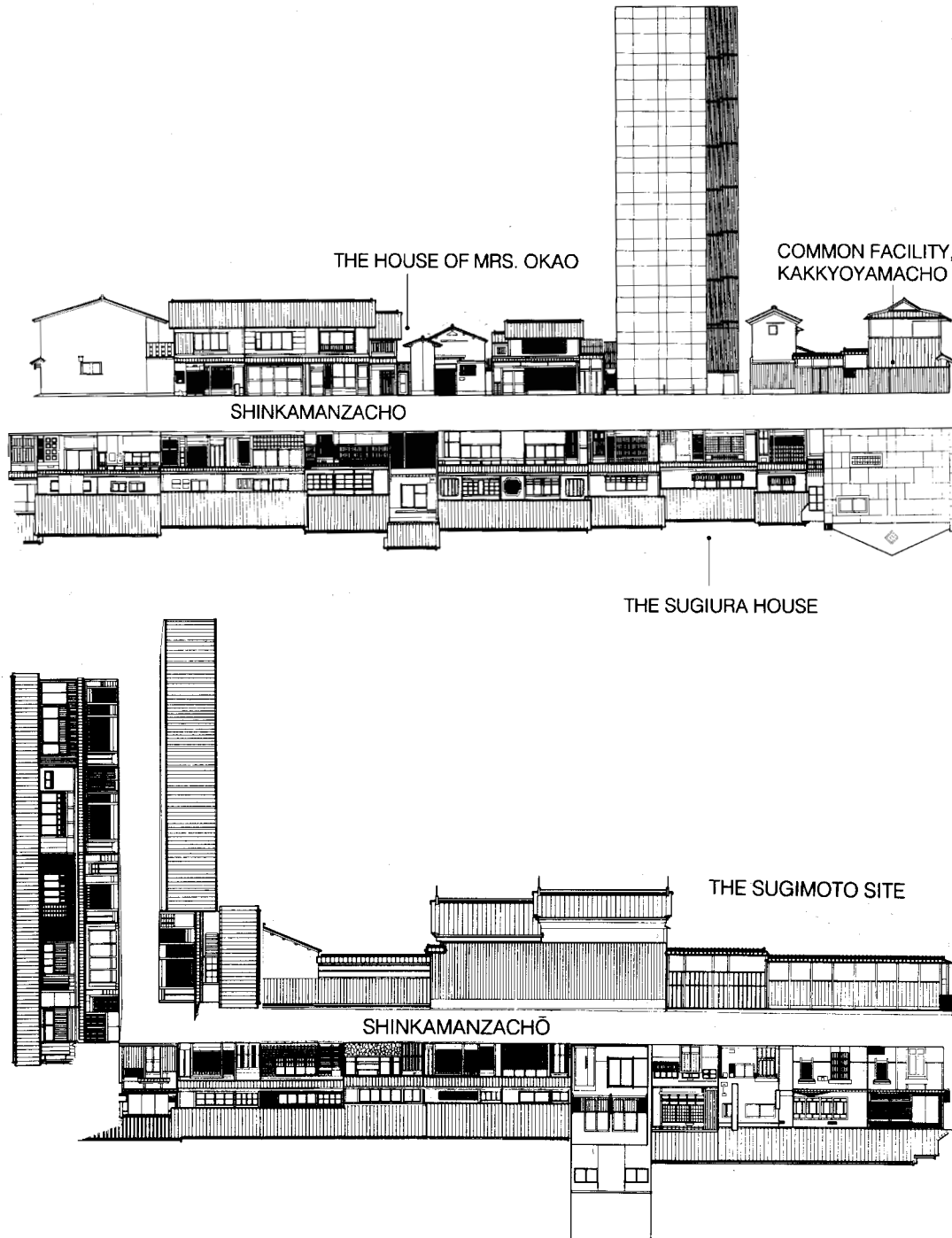
The lively eclecticism of the period gets its inspiration from such structures and architectural styles as the Katsura Villa, the Hiunkaku pavilion, the Manshu-in temple and the elegant *sukiya* style. The design of the famous Kyoto *Sumiya*, a house of a lordly entertainment in the western part of the city, mostly dating from the 18th century, is highly representative of this playful aesthetic. It is one of the few buildings of the period, which has been preserved up to the present day. The kaleidoscopic Edo period townscape is surprisingly different from the images we usually have of Kyoto and the aesthetic integrity which is characteristic of later periods. Lattice doors and windows appear in the townscape in the middle of the Tokugawa period, but at the beginning only on the upper floor.

## Towards a Unified Townscape Since the Latter Half of the 18th Century

A change towards a more homogeneous and unified townscape takes place relatively late, in the middle of the 18th century, when linear perspective appears in the illustrations of streetscapes. The first painter to introduce such pictures, *kairōkeikan*, was Uta Maruyama (1760) a famous Kyoto-based painter. Apart from being a new method of drafting technique, which is said to have been introduced to Japan from the West, the new method of visualisation opened up an entirely new way of looking at the city. Until then a streetscape was always seen from above and the townscape was depicted using parallel lines as in the *Rakuchū-Rakugai* paintings. The new visualisation technique brought the viewpoint down to ground level.

At the end of the Tokugawa period the design gains homogeneity and elegance in a way that was unknown before. From this period onwards, the upper storey is still low, but all townhouses have a standard ornamental opening in the upper floor, *mushiko mado*, a plastered lattice window (literally: ‘insect window’). This becomes one of the aesthetic foci of the wooden-framed townhouses.

On the ground floor there is a wooden lattice work-facade, with its movable and standardised lattice *kōshi* partitions. The well-proportioned and finely crafted lattice facades give elegance and character to the whole townscape. The streetscape is of great architectural integrity. The design becomes more and more elaborate. Although the lower eaves still have wooden roofing, because supporting the heavy tiled roof has not yet been resolved technically, the townscape is very similar to what we now know as characteristic of Kyoto and praised for its superb aesthetic qualities. This unified townscape evolved in a very short period of time, after a creative period of eclecticism when all kinds of styles and design motifs flourished. It is this late Tokugawa era townscape that we now consider as the typical Kyoto townscape.



**FIG. 19** (ABOVE) STREET FACADE OF SHINKAMANZACHŌ. THE SUGIURA AND OKAO HOUSES AND THE COMMON FACILITY OF KAKKYŌYAMACHŌ ARE INDICATED IN THE DRAWING. MEASUREMENT DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.

**FIG. 20** (BELOW) STREET FACADE OF SHINKAMANZACHŌ. THE SUGIMOTO SITE IS INDICATED IN THE DRAWING. MEASUREMENT DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.

## City Fires in the 19th Century and the Evolution of the Modern Townhouse

The elegant and homogeneous townscape was destroyed in the great city fires in the Meiji era. In the big city fire which took place at the beginning of the Meiji period in 1864 almost all wooden townhouses in the city centre were burned down. Only few city quarters were saved. The wooden townhouses, which we see today, are virtually all built after that period. After the fire, in the Meiji period, a modern townhouse evolves. In these wooden townhouses there is still a continuity of tradition and the Edo period carpentry techniques are still much alive. This is illustrated by such structures as the design of the Gion Ichiriki, a famous restaurant in the Gion part of the town and also, in the design of the Sugimoto house, one of the key structures in this work.

After the Second World War, and at a growing pace particularly after the mid-1960s, with radical changes in the construction industry and city planning standards, the historic townscape and

wooden-framed facades begin to undergo major changes. During the war the ornamental windows in the upper floor, *mushiko mado*, are prohibited because they are regarded as unsafe access ways in case of fire. This is one of the reasons why these ornamental openings are today found only in a few wooden-frame facades. In our survey area, as we will see below, in most facades the ornamental openings have been replaced by ordinary glass windows and in many cases, with standard aluminium frames.

After the war, prefabricated aluminium windows and doors, new wall-surface materials and other new architectural materials and details add to the visual turmoil of the wooden-frame facades. In some traditional houses the whole facade is designed as if it were a large shop sign. Some of the characteristic features of the traditional carpentry and craftsmanship are however, still very much alive. Among them are the elegant tile roofs as well as a number of traditional carpentry elements such as lattice windows and doors. These are separately studied and analysed through our field survey in part VII, chapter 19.







P A R T I I I

DESCRIPTION  
OF THE FIELD OF  
THE RESEARCH



## Chapter 6

# The Interpretative Environment of the Work

### Japanism and Interpretations of Japanese Architecture

In addition to the scrutiny of the subject of study, new cultural research sees the researcher's own subjective self as a factor affecting the content of the work. Culturally conditioned attitudes and values affect the course of study and, thus, its content. The position of a European researcher in the Japanese cultural context is not entirely unproblematic. A concept that needs to be analysed is 'Japanism' through which Western ideas and concepts have influenced our idea of Japanese culture and architecture.

Western architects have defined Japanese architecture from the beginning of the 20th century and our understanding has by and large been shaped by those early views. These definitions have been geared towards geometric and abstract aesthetic observation and have given less attention to such values and properties of Japanese architecture as decorative details, spatial properties dependent on the observer and the meanings attached to Japanese

architecture. These features, combined with certain spiritual attitudes manifested in Japanese culture, are however, an essential part of the Japanese view of the world and Japanese aesthetics. Architect Chris Fawcett has sharply observed the matter when he analysed the ritual patterns of a Japanese house:

*"... The Japanese house ... appears monstrous to us, if not outright miraculous, for these specimens are presented to us in arty volumes which eschew any reference to the home culture which succoured them and without which they could no longer be. That a Japanese house does not appear grotesque and outlandish to the people who live in it, should be enough of a warning - the house does not exist as something unto itself but engages in a daily exchange of social, economical and ritual gestures, and any attempt by the Western architect to try to come to terms with the Japanese house must start from this basic anthropological understanding".<sup>22</sup>*

Japanese architecture is known in Europe mainly through the pioneers of modern architecture. Yet,



FIG. 21 THE YAMAMURA RESIDENCE IN ASHIYAKAWA, KOBE. ARCHITECT FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT. RS.

as architect Arata Isozaki has pointed out, these architects have, in their functional analysis and aesthetic interpretation of Japanese architecture, developed an approach that elevated the actual architecture to the realm of myth.<sup>23</sup> Above all, Isozaki meant that we are inclined to observe the Japanese environment through our own Western stereotypes and abstract concepts. These inherited observation models still burden our view of Japanese architecture even though they have been questioned several times.

An avowed 'Japanese' quality in Wright's work, for instance, declared to be self-evident, has always been taken for granted as corroborating his infatuation with Japanese art. In fact, this notion has been carried so far from the mere influence of prints, over the years, as to conclude in a quasi-reconciliation for many between the character of Japanese traditional architecture and the revolutionary proposals on which Wright's own spatial organisation is based. David Stewart, for instance, in his critical analysis of Wright's position on Japan, has questioned this resemblance as 'nothing could be more of a mistake'.<sup>24</sup>

Furthermore, Rikiya Koseki has pointed out the difficulties that Bruno Taut experienced when he tried to interpret and explain the characteristics of the Japanese house and life in European rational, systematic thinking. The main point of critical argument in Koseki's analysis is that although Taut came very close to the Japanese concept of proportion (*Beziehung*), he actually never used the

Japanese word *tsuri-ai* equivalent to 'proportion' in his analysis of Japanese quality of space.<sup>25</sup>

To avoid such basic cultural misunderstandings the author discusses the cultural background of the urban festival using those Japanese terms that Japanese researchers themselves considered to be of importance and through which they described the cultural context of their own work. The exploring the concept of heritage in a cultural context different from our own is, likewise, an essential part of the analysis of this research.

## The Problematic 'Otherness'

Working in a different culture, not necessarily Japanese, one unavoidably has to face the phenomenon Kristeva called 'the experience of otherness' – working in a community and yet not being its fully authorised member. Japan, in particular, is known to reject people, who are not members of their own group. Those who are outside the group, belong according to Vesterinen, who has observed the Japanese group-consciousness, to a special category of human relations. Even those who have lived in Japan for many generations and speak Japanese as their mother language, are regarded as outsiders and they might experience difficulties in becoming accepted as full members of the group.<sup>26</sup>

Thus, the opinions of a foreigner, if listened to, are rejected or not taken seriously, since they come from outside the group. To take only one

example, the answer that the author was given in a meeting of the Architectural Institute of Japan when the author referred to the problems of urban conservation in the *hoko* neighbourhoods, was '*shikata ga nai*'; meaning 'nothing can affect the way things go'. In the symposium the author acted as a member of a Japanese research group. The other participants were Japanese architects.

The marginal position of a foreign researcher in the research community, on the other hand, is not an especially Japanese feature, but is recorded and observed in many other places as well. In fact, Kristeva herself based her book on the experience of this kind. It is clearly a mistake to try to offer solutions to situations where they are not willingly received. The Japanese are reluctant to receive and tolerate dissenting views because dissidence breaks the group's harmony. This feature is so prominent that it has even been seen as one of the reasons why Japan should develop a truly vigorous scientific culture of its own.<sup>27</sup>

Cultural differences can be defended if they reveal a hidden or a meaningful side of a tradition or if they open up new tracks for intercultural dialogue. The world, however, has become smaller and more uniform, communication has increased and the changing values caused by modernisation have spread everywhere. The same products and brand labels encounter us everywhere. Town planning that leads to the desertion of historic city centres, commercialisation and commodification of cultural heritage and mass tourism are connected to modern culture, not its Japanese character in particular.

The neglect of a cultural viewpoint is as limiting as a view of Japan as 'exotic'. If one wants to avoid distorting reality with generalisations, the historical, cultural and social differences must be taken into account, but they must not be observed as separate phenomena. The author opposes an attitude towards Japanese culture and society that leaves things Japanese completely outside Western understanding. More than once I have heard an expression: 'Great, but it has nothing to do with us'. In fact, both East and West obstinately hold on to the difference between their cultures. In-

stead of accepting the diversity and richness of many cultures one only recognises one's own. Seen in this context, a strong identity, whatever its nature, is 'somehow awkward and old-fashioned', as the Estonian poet Onnepalu put it.<sup>28</sup>

Regardless of who defines the objectives for preservation, there is no authority with the power to force others to preserve traditions against their own will. A set of theses and questions can still be presented, however. It is irrelevant how these questions are answered. Postulating the theses is more important. Put in this way, the questions and theses are in fact, much more; they help to identify who we ourselves are and why we are doing this work.

## The Values of a Traditional Artisan

In his work *The Unknown Japanese Craftsman* (1982) Soetsu Yanagi, a Japanese critic of industrial art, has dealt with questions connected to craftsmanship in modern culture and the harmful aspects of modernisation and industrial capitalism especially for Japanese traditional crafts.<sup>29</sup> Yanagi is among those few members of Japanese society who warned of the destruction of Japan's urban and architectural heritage when the transformation process of the urban environments had hardly yet begun. In his book Yanagi provides a sharp analysis of the modern sensibilities attracted by machine-made beauty and traditional handicrafts regarded as being out of date.

According to Yanagi modern values based on individuality are alien to traditional craftsmanship. The craftsman refuses to submit to contemporary values and beliefs which would mean an end to everything he considers valuable. The craftsman operates on his own terms and it would be impossible for him to accept contradictory values.<sup>30</sup> Therefore in the modern world, the artisan is no longer an integral part of society and will eventually lose his identity. The artisan is often seen by outsiders as a relic of the past, contrary to the way he sees himself.<sup>31</sup>

Yanagi has named the experience achieved through the wisdom of generations an aggregate

that can lift an individual above the limits created by his own mind. Poor and illiterate craftsmen were powerless alone, but supported by tradition, they were able to produce wonderful works of art. The breathtaking beauty of these works was not due to ingenuity but tradition. For an artisan, tradition was both a saviour and a benefactor. The difference between the talented and the less talented was meaningless in a traditional society. Anyone could produce a work of art that fulfilled all expectations. Thus the high artistic quality of artefacts was not a result of the personal abilities of an artisan, but of the whole culture and society that surrounded him. Tradition, inherited skills and materials protected a craftsman against mistakes and created the basis for his professional skills. These traditional values are still the cultural basis for the kimono silk textile artisans as encountered in Kyoto and in the *hoko* neighbourhoods.

Furthermore, the objects made by artisans had another important characteristic. They were utility objects made for use. The works made by artisans were (and still are) primarily made for use.<sup>32</sup> An outstanding example of such utility objects apart from screens in the screen display tradition are the colourful and artistic kimonos that have kept their high symbolic value in Japanese society right up to the present day. The commodification of culture, treating art and antiquity as merchandise denies the value of these authentic works, thereby encouraging their disappearance. Later in this work, the author will pay attention to the significance of continuous everyday use of buildings and artefacts for the definition of heritage.

## The Academic World and the Kimono Artisan

In addition to observing our own methods of perception, it is necessary to discuss the relationship between the Japanese researcher and his subject of research. Japanese culture or society should not be understood as a homogeneous whole. Moreover, it consists of many subcultures whose

traditions unite only small groups of people.<sup>33</sup> The cultural differences between separate classes in Japanese society are equally large or even larger than those between a Japanese and a Finn working in the same profession. Traditional culture and artisans, which in the thesis are represented by the Yamahoko kimono families and the academic world, represent two different groups of modern society. Their values and customs are everything but unified.

Hierarchically orientated town planning which operates from the top down increases prejudice between residents and experts such as academic researchers and heritage authorities. The researcher may have a distant way of approaching people, motivated by academic interest, rather than an honest interest in his subject of research. This danger was inherently present during the Yamahoko programme. A kimono salesman bored with such a state of affairs said:

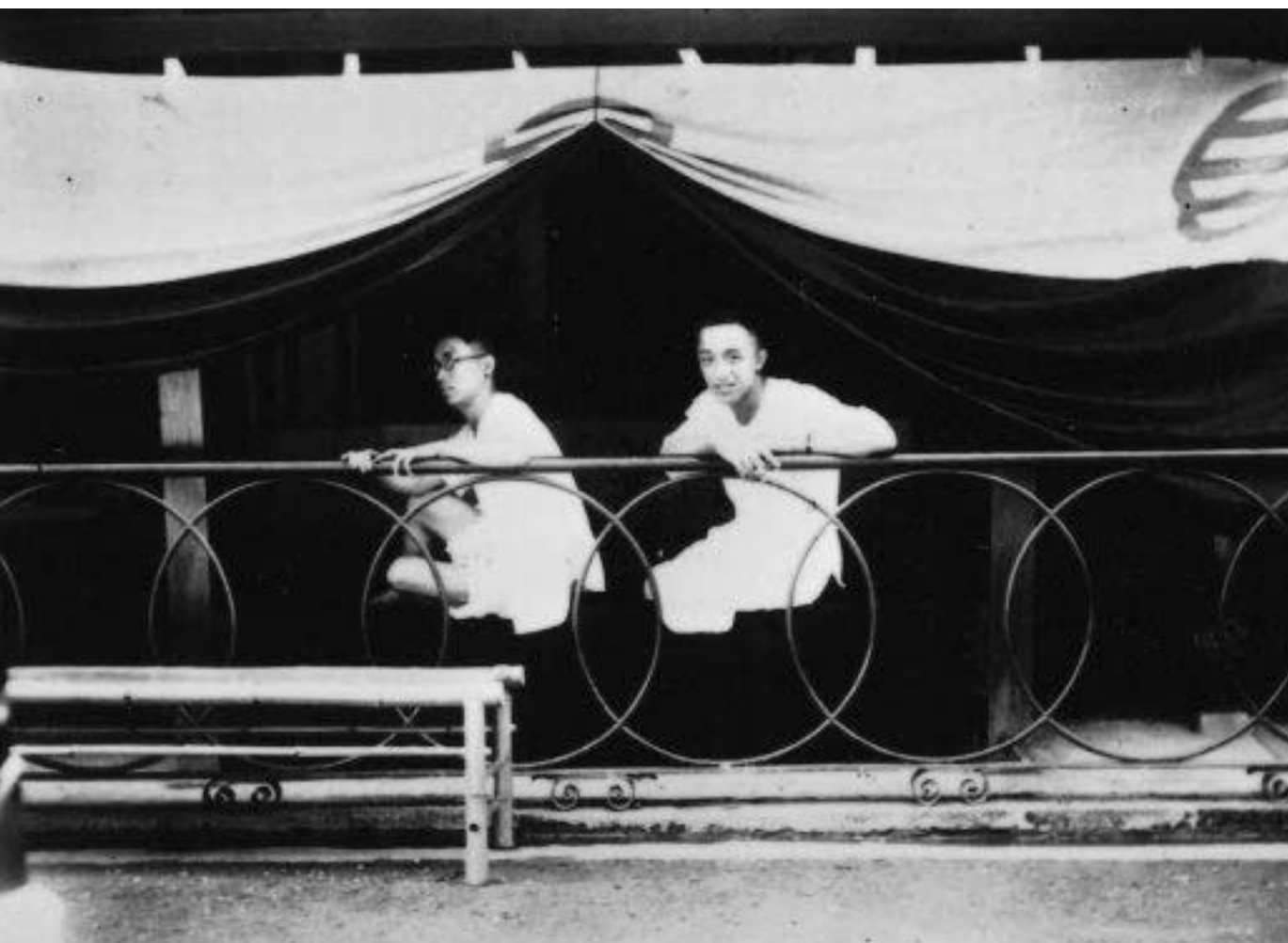
*"...Every year there is another group asking the same questions and taking the same photographs, but nobody ever hears of any reasons for the research or what the outcome has been."*<sup>34</sup>

It was characteristic of the efficiently orientated research team that photographs seldom showed members of the kimono families, who were often astonishing personalities with their elegant kimono costumes. Moreover, the photographs were often strictly limited to empty rooms or festival objects. When the Japanese publisher insisted that people should appear in the photographs, they turned out mainly to be members of the research team wearing traditional costumes.

When the subject of research is too complex or difficult to understand, the researchers frequent aim is to stabilise or justify one alternative as the only way of thinking. 'Truths' or generally accepted arguments such as the ideas of modern city planning are, in the final analysis, products of a certain discourse. In other words, they are historically determined and recognised. One way to make the study appear objective and non-committal is to write 'a story of the past'. The histor-



FIG.22 MR. SUGIURA, KIMONO ARTISAN. SHINKAMANZACHŌ. RS.



**FIG.23** FESTIVAL DECORATIONS IN SHINKAMANZACHŌ BEFORE THE SECOND WORLD WAR IN THE 1940S. SS.

ical facts are stated, but not their connection to contemporary life or to us. The emphasis is on the past instead of the present. Another way is to give an abundance of detailed information. This danger was also present in the Yamahoko programme with its excessive focus on historical details combined with the monolithic Japanese academic system with a minimum of analytical, critical discussion. Historical facts are important, but not to the point of being an end in themselves.

The explanation for the lack of cooperation and communication between social groups has been analysed as lying in the Japanese social structure. Japan is known to be a vertical society with

no horizontal relationships among groups. Everyone works in his or her own field.<sup>35</sup> Artisans and university scholars traditionally represent two opposite worlds. The universities were founded during the Meiji era as a part of Japan's westernisation process. Their purpose was, and still is, to produce civil servants for the state bureaucracy and private sector companies designed according to the European model.

Hierarchical thinking also prevails in the research world. Group consciousness is a vigorous factor and multi-disciplinary projects do not usually succeed.<sup>36</sup> For example, many small research groups work in their own special fields like town



planning or cultural heritage. There is no cooperation between separate groups, nor is there any interest in, or even awareness of, the work of others. Although this trait was obviously present also in the Yamahoko programme, the programme was, on the other hand, rather exceptional by Japanese standards because of its character as a joint project between several universities and institutions.

If the attitude of residents was prejudicial, the position of the academic researcher was not much better. The traditional houses as rudiments of a pre-modern way of life may give rise to feelings that the houses and people who live in them are somehow inferior, that our world is so much better than theirs. But residents were, however, important members of the research group. This is because the Japanese evaluate members of their group on an emotional basis, rather than a rational one. The researcher, on the other hand, may lose some of his arrogance when facing the simple and refined style of these everyday buildings that, superficially, may appear bare and unpretentious. At least, they must see the elegance that far surpasses everything that they can find in their own, commercialised everyday environment.

## The Cultural Background of the Urban Festival

We can recognise the characteristics considered important and worthy of attention by certain traditions, if we think of the vocabulary used by people when describing and analysing the events or objects of an aesthetic experience. When we get to know the meaning of the words we also learn what is considered important in a particular culture. Aesthetic and cultural values are thus transmitted through language.<sup>37</sup>

The two Japanese concepts, which were essential in the Yamahoko programme and through which the Yamahoko team described the cultural background of the urban festival were *hare* and *ke*. *Hare* expresses something generally beyond perception. It is often translated as 'clean', 'bright'

or 'clear'. *Matsuri*, the festival, and everything related to it, is an expression of *hare* space opposed to the everyday space of *ke*.

Recently, for instance, Fred Thompson has analysed the *matsuri* concept and its consequences to the Japanese concept of space, based on his own experiences in the Kakunodate festival in the Akita Prefecture. His article which was published in 1996 in *Arkkitehti* ('The Finnish Architectural Review'; nos. 1; 2/3) and in which he compares the Japanese and Western concepts of space, is very illuminating.

In Europe the Japanese concept of space has become known especially through the concept of *ma*. This concept has been a topic of several analyses during recent years. According to the *ma* concept, that which in the Western spatial concept is empty, may in the Japanese sense be dense, spiritual space.<sup>38</sup> In Japan, space did not exist *a priori*, but it was seen as identical with things existing in time. In other words, space was recognisable only in relation to the passage of time and thus as something, which space and function produce together. This Japanese spiritual and nature-based concept of space is significantly different from the modern spatial concept which strictly separates space from nature and time.

In a Japanese traditional house, no distinction is made between the ordinary and profane, and the sacred. A room, a part of a room or the whole house can be temporarily sanctified with certain rituals or religious ceremonies. Temporary spiritual symbols such as a Shinto shrine or a Buddha altar may be placed in the room. Ordinary objects like a paper lantern of a certain shape may be used as symbols. When the decorations are removed and stored away the space returns to its original use. The Japanese concept of space also explains why a Japanese town may from the outside appear chaotic and complex, and yet, seen from the inside, prove to be a well functioning stage for social life. Symbols shared and recognised by the community act as guiding signs.



**FIG.24** A MODERN BUILDING DECORATED FOR THE FESTIVAL. OLD AND NEW MEET. RS.



**FIG.25** URBAN FESTIVAL THAT FAVOURS ACCIDENTAL MEETING BETWEEN PASSERS-BY. RS.

## The Temporary Character of the Festival Space

A space used during the festival is not remarkable in itself, merely an ordinary room decorated – sometimes even quite superficially – to serve a ceremonial purpose.<sup>39</sup> The basis for everything is the ordinary, everyday space. Thompson, for instance, has remarked how the route chosen for the festival procession usually differs physically from those used everyday. This applies well to the display tradition also, where rooms and spaces otherwise unseen or inaccessible to public view are decorated and thereby given entirely new meanings and functions.<sup>40</sup> During the festival weeks the festival exhibitions and festival floats are changed to purified objects through special decorations and rituals and thus given the status of a religious object. In other words, the festival exhibitions are regarded as temporary shrines, not as ordinary art exhibitions or museums.

Decorating the display rooms during the festival can be compared to dressing up in a bright and beautifully coloured kimono during the festival nights as a contrast to the more monotonous and uniform dressing of everyday life. It is popular in Japan, especially for young people, to wear traditional costumes during the festivals or the New Year season. Colourful combinations of cotton kimonos that are seen in the Gion Festival, are in themselves exquisite works of art.

The author observed a religious ritual that was enacted in front of a Shinto altar, temporarily erected in a modern banking hall. Likewise, a modern ground floor flat served as an exhibition room for the Tōrōyama float. Many of the exhibition buildings owned by the *hoko* neighbourhoods are used as ordinary tenant dwellings or rented for other purposes outside the festival time. Renting the buildings is one way of financing the festival. Nor are these cult buildings different in appearance from ordinary townhouses. Moreover, they may appear even more unpretentious. When the town community was small, the cult buildings were also small.<sup>41</sup>

Until the Meiji era and the westernization process that took place at that time, there was seemingly a lack of town squares in Japanese cities. Stone monuments were also relatively rare. In Japan the closest equivalents of these monumental places are perhaps the successions of public spaces found in the Shinto shrines or Buddhist temples with their long, elaborately designed approach routes. But even the monumental places, which are found in the environment of great temples and other religious buildings, has to be experienced primarily by walking through these spaces, not only by looking at them from a fixed point.

The temporary and vernacular character of the cult buildings is largely different from the European tradition where festivals and ceremonies have usually been located in monumental town squares

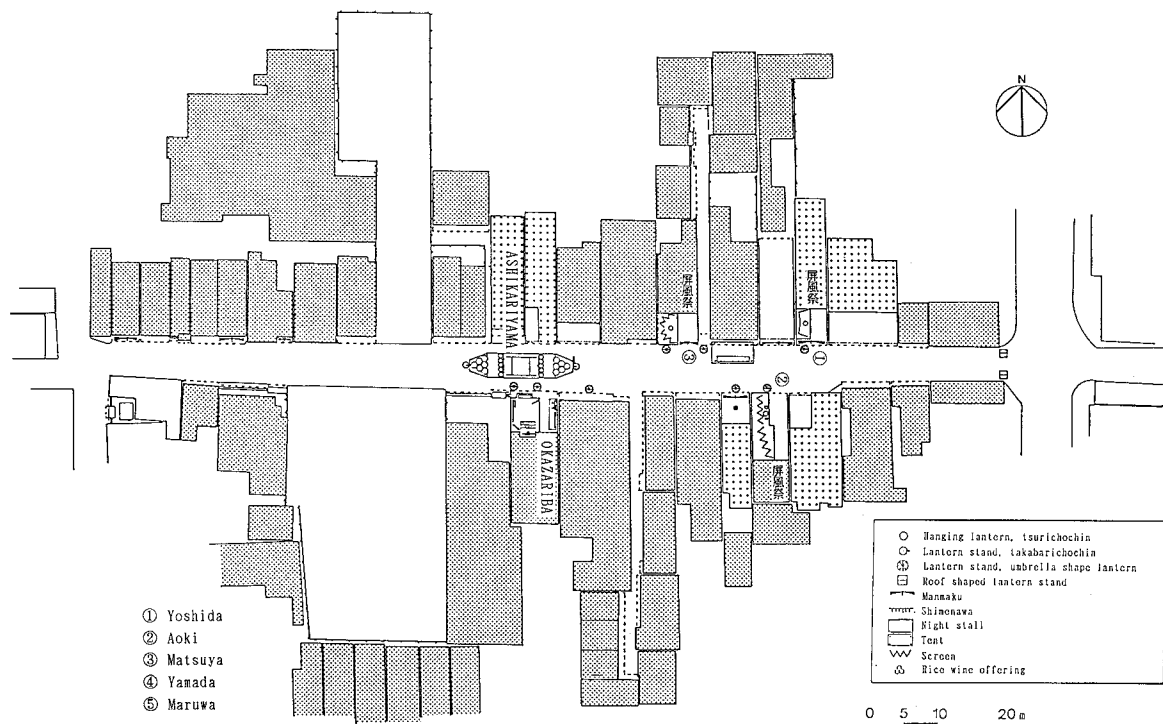
and public spaces specifically designed for the purpose. The temporary character of urban cult buildings such as the common facilities in the *hoko* neighbourhoods may also explain why they have only seldom been discussed as special heritage structures to be preserved.

During the last few decades, along with modernisation and changing traditions, the Japanese spatial concept has moved towards the fixed Western spatial concept of 'one room - one function'. Rooms with tatami straw mat flooring usually have no specific function and can be used equally easily as parlour, study, dining or bedroom with the simple arrangement of the few accessories each use requires. In modern flats, on the other hand, the use of spaces is generally tightly limited and mixing the functions is considered undesirable. The function of a townhouse in the city structure has also changed. Nowadays hotels, banqueting halls rented for weddings,<sup>42</sup> res-

taurants, theatres and museums have largely taken over the functions earlier performed in private homes. The urban festival, however, is one of the occasions where the flexible and temporary character of a traditional space emerges, not only in old houses and antique structures but in modern spaces and buildings as well adding to the cultural significance of the urban space.

## Urban Festival that Favours Accidental Meeting

Architect Masuhiko Hayakawa, who studied the screen display tradition in the late seventies and whose investigation the author uses below as an important source of reference, referred to the home display tradition by the Japanese term *de-ai no matsuri*: a festival that favours accidental meeting between the displaying person and a random passer-by.<sup>43</sup> In a traditional society where



**FIG.26** STREET DECORATIONS IN ASHIKARIYAMACHŌ. THE THREE SCREEN DISPLAYS IN THIS NEIGHBOURHOOD: YOSHIDA (1), AOKI (2) AND YAMADA (3) ARE INDICATED IN THE MAP. DRAWING BY THE YAMAHOKO TEAM. THE FESTIVAL FLOAT IN FRONT OF THE COMMON FACILITY (OKAZARIBA). Y.T.

human behaviour was regulated by a strict hierarchy and etiquette, the possibility of an accidental meeting had a completely different meaning from that in the modern society.

Traditional Japanese women did not leave the house but resided deep in the inner parts of the house, so that they almost became part of the darkness and shadows of the house. In this world apart, as, for instance, Louis Frederick has noted,

*“the feminine sex was sometimes kept socially so remote from men that brothers could grow up knowing nothing at all about their sisters”.*<sup>44</sup>

As famous is the passage in Tanizaki’s novel *In Praise of Shadows* (1989) where Tanizaki describes how a Japanese woman with her blackened teeth was almost as if she were an organic part of the darkness of the house. Even now, during the Yamahoko programme, one woman interviewed said

that she did not go outside the house much because of her inability to indulge in social small talk.<sup>45</sup>

In the display performance there is an invisible gulf between the displaying person and the viewer. *De-ai* means a momentary crossing of this gulf. Incidents that hold the possibility of such a meeting create a momentary illusion of belonging to something. Even today we can have that experience of the momentary illusion when the screen displays and traditional home interiors suddenly appear before us in the midst of a modern metropolitan town. The unfortunate thing is, however, that in fear of damage done to the valuables, more and more kimono homes have begun to close their doors to public view. Also, there is an increasing number of window displays and the intimate contact between the displaying person and the onlooker is lost. Below, the author will investigate the gradual change in the urban and cultural patterns of the displays.

## Chapter 7

# City Planning Policies and the Historic Grid-Plan Area

### The Legislative Structure Versus Local Context

In Japan there is a set of city planning regulations and laws, which are not specially intended or planned for the historic environment, but which directly or indirectly affect development and formation of it. All these laws which are coded under the Japanese Building Standard Law, take into consideration local circumstances and context only to a limited extent.<sup>46</sup> Thus there are many legal concepts that do not coincide with local values. Most of these laws emphasise technical or hygienic aspects such as fire protection, earthquake resistance and light angles. There is over emphasis on material values and a minimal reference, if any, to heritage or cultural values.

One such important group of laws are the regulations concerning fire protection and safety. In the urbanised areas, cities and in other regions where a fire easily causes great damage, there is a zoning system of fire prevention districts so as to provide extensive safety measures. This zoning is

determined under the city planning law. Buildings in fire protection districts must, in principle, be of fireproof construction. According to these codes, except for some national monuments and special districts, the use of wood as a major construction material is prohibited. In practice the whole city centre of Kyoto is designated as a fire prevention zone (*Jun Booka Chiiki*) and thus as an area where the use of wood as a construction material is largely limited. The consequences of such rules on the heritage, which was based on and still largely depends on the skilful use of wood, can only be guessed at.

In Kyoto every wooden building, which is more than 13 metres high, is illegal according to the fire-proof standards.<sup>47</sup> In the case of repair or restoration work, a building of over 13 metres in height can in principle be demolished as illegal, even if it is of great historic or antique value. According to Japanese law any restoration or extensive repair is equated with new construction. Buildings that are preserved by law are outside



**FIG.27** PARKING TOWER UNDER CONSTRUCTION IN 1992. IN THE FOREGROUND SHOP FACADES IN KAKKYOYAMACHŌ, ONE OF THE SURVEYED NEIGHBOURHOODS. RS.

these regulations. In the case of other wooden buildings (and they are numerous), special permission must be obtained from the Ministry of Construction for these buildings to be preserved and not demolished.

Because of the fire prevention system that shows an obsession against wooden buildings, local carpenter skills in wooden construction are slowly disappearing. Reinforced concrete and steel structures are becoming more and more common, not only when rebuilding and building new, but also in repair and restoration work. This trend can be observed even in historic preservation areas. In the Gion Shimbashi area there are now buildings where wooden facades designed in a traditional style hide modern steel or reinforced structures inside. Existing townhouses and temples with their wooden architectural details are in these circumstances doomed to be mere parodies of their former selves as, for example, Prof. Yamasaki has noted.<sup>48</sup> The prevailing perception that modern buildings with steel, concrete and glass represent advanced lifestyle, is in Japan exceptionally strong. After the Kobe earthquake it might be even more difficult to promote the construction of wooden buildings. Most of the buildings that were ruined in the catastrophe were ordinary wooden townhouses while the new high rise buildings were left almost intact.

Only an increasing ecological awareness and a revival in the use of traditional materials could change attitudes towards wooden buildings. Many of the existing wooden milieus and narrow lanes, which are characteristic of the historic city centre, are actually illegal according to the fire prevention standards because the buildings are too near each other. On the other hand, the regulation that is applied only to new construction has partially helped to preserve the narrow lanes in their old shape. One such well-preserved historic urban environment (Shinkamanzachō) was measured and surveyed as part of our fieldwork, (see part VII, chapter 19). It is estimated that the number of such narrow wooden lanes existing in the central area is more than 5000.

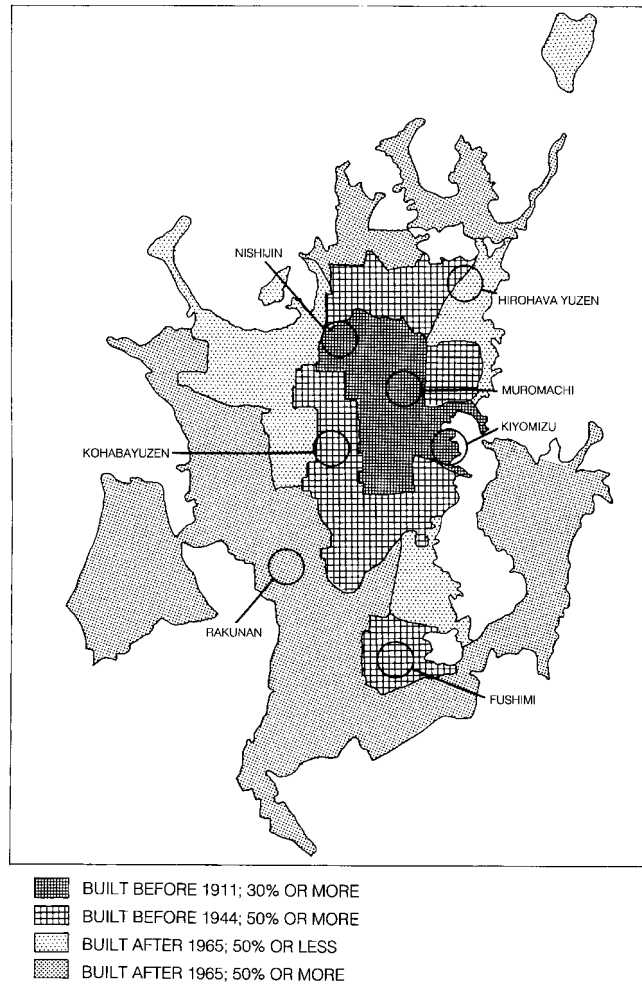
In addition to the city planning legislation other legislation also affects the willingness to preserve and maintain the old building stock. Thus, close ties exist between planning and regulations on the one hand and the taxation system on the other. They both influence the operation of the land and housing market. In particular, the inheritance tax system has a substantial impact on the housing market and thereby, influences the attitudes of the Japanese in the preservation of their houses. One of the most flagrant examples of the disastrous effects of the inheritance tax on the values of land is the *Hanamikōji* geisha area in Gion. The tea houses in the Gion area are located on tenant land, the surface area of which is approximately seven hectares. The land is owned by one landowner only. In 1992 the rent of the land was 1000 *yen/tsubo* (one *tsubo*, 3.78 sq. m.) a month. However, when the owner of a teahouse dies, the tax is paid according to the virtual price of the land. In 1992 the virtual price of the land was estimated to be 14 000 000 *yen/tsubo*. Almost all geishas are aged and many of them are over eighty years old.

The high inheritance tax may also be one of the reasons why residents in the *hoko* area were not very eager to speak for the preservation of their houses, even when they had carefully maintained and repaired the old house. Because of the high prices of land, the inheritance tax is especially high in the city centre and in the *hoko* neighbourhoods. Japanese architect Kan Izue has remarked:

*“...It is not reasonable of machiya residents to patiently live in such uncomfortable places and be required to pay high inheritance taxes. It wouldn't be unfair for the local government to compensate them because they are helping to preserve our tradition”.*<sup>49</sup>

Unconscious values and attitudes also play a powerful role. The prejudice against the pre-modern lifestyle has affected the way people think about or esteem their houses and sites. What is considered of lesser value or even valueless can be more easily destroyed. Diane Durston has estimated that while half of the population is enthusiastic about

**FIG.28** THE BUILT FABRIC OF KYOTO AND THE PRE-MODERN URBAN CORES SUCH AS THE MUROMACHI KIMONO WHOLESALE DISTRICT ARE SHOWN IN THE MAP. RS.



preserving the traditional character of Kyoto, the other half sees the old wooden dwellings as anomalies that have outlived their time.<sup>50</sup>

### Attitudes towards Heritage Versus Modern Life

The drawbacks of traditional building technology and the poor repair of many traditional houses do not make the preservation question easier. Kyoto's wooden townhouses are built of unpainted wood and are usually two storeys high. In the summer the light wooden partitions with movable paper panels are a very attractive combination. "It is like living in nature in the middle of the

city," as one resident commented to me.<sup>51</sup> In winter, however, these houses are cold because of the light building technology and the lack of insulation. Heating these houses is expensive so that the rooms are not heated continuously. In some traditional houses the cold winds blow through the open partitions in the upper part of the interior walls. The houses also burn easily. Furthermore, the lifestyle has changed. Younger people are taller than their parents and the use of Western style furniture has increased the amount of interior furnishing in the house.

Most of the old townhouses need repair and even partial rebuilding to suit the needs of the elderly and ageing population. As many old houses



particularly in the urban tenement type building stock lack well-equipped bathrooms and other modern conveniences, the improvement of housing standards will be one of the major tasks facing the owners in the future. Furthermore, a real problem is the reluctance of the owners to rent out their properties, fearing the traditional power of tenants, whose rights increase with the years until it is often virtually impossible to evict them. As a consequence, many old houses stay abandoned or empty.

The amount of traditional architecture in basic university courses is minimal.<sup>52</sup> The younger generation seems to find it almost impossible to understand why anyone coming from outside Japan could be interested in Japanese traditions. This phenomenon is well known and it has been called the Japanese version of the 'not-invented-here-syndrome'. Nothing invented in Japan can be good<sup>53</sup> - at least until Western approval has validated it. In the 1920s an internationally acclaimed authority, the German architect Bruno Taut, was needed to tell the Japanese how the badly dilapidated Imperial Villa of Katsura ingeniously por-

trayed all the values the pioneers of modern architecture were searching for. Since those times, things have not changed much.

## Perception of Place and Changing Meanings

Compared with Japan's traditional image abroad, general attitudes within Japanese society towards the traditional culture are contradictory, especially concerning the way of living. Particularly after the Meiji restoration handicrafts and traditional industrial arts declined and there was a sharp loss of beauty in all crafts. Traditional wooden houses are generally considered unfit for modern lifestyle. The life span of a house is generally considered to be 40 years even in the case of reinforced concrete buildings, after which the house will usually be rebuilt regardless of its technical condition or the values it actually represents.

An acquaintance of mine, a young Japanese landscape architect, described the Japanese wooden townhouses as *genki-ga-nai*, which means di-

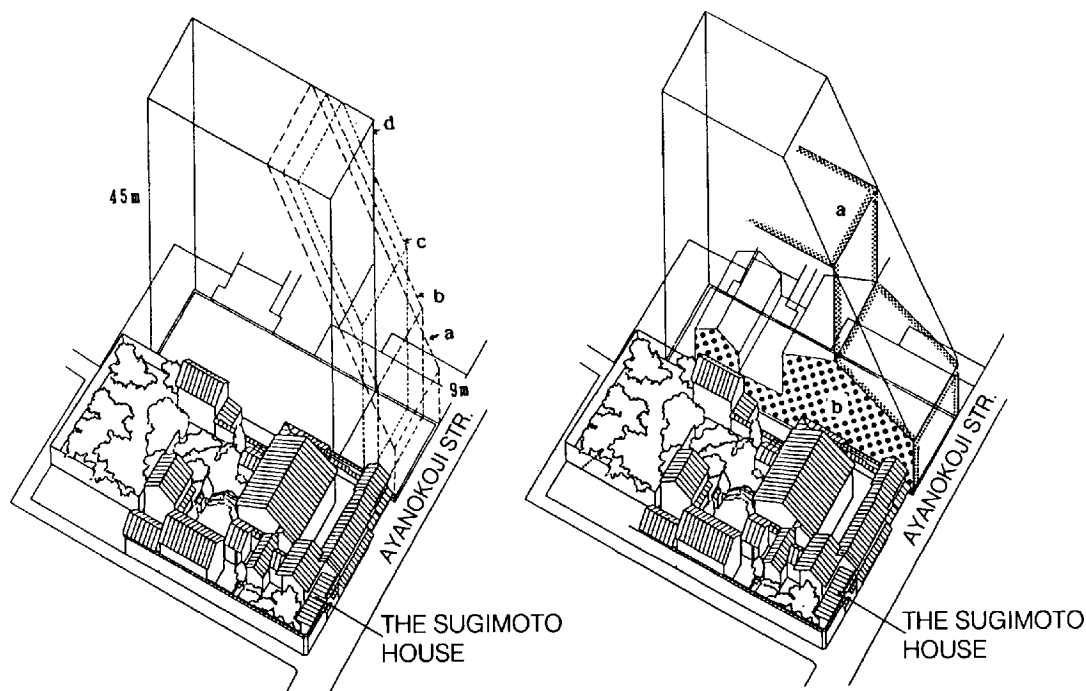


FIG.29 ILLUSTRATION OF THE TOWN PLANNING REGULATIONS, YATACHŌ. THE SUGIMOTO HOUSE IN THE FOREGROUND. RS.

lapidated, whereas old Finnish wooden houses seemed to her to be *genki*, well tended and healthy.<sup>54</sup> Most of the Japanese people I knew did not consider traditional living to be tempting in any way, apart from those few who had inherited a wooden house. Only very few had deliberately chosen to live in one. The massive prefabricated housing production industry, with its highly developed and industrialised ready-made houses, is a central factor in the Japanese economy, involving nearly all the major Japanese companies.

Perception of place and historic identity are dynamic and vary between groups of different social and cultural backgrounds. This may create problems when changing meanings come into conflict with unchanging physical forms. In Kyoto, the pre-modern concept of neighbourhood is burdened in many ways and seems for many Japanese to be connected with times when tight political pressure and control were easily exerted in closely knit communities. The American occupation army ended the system after the Second World War, since it was considered to have fanned the enthusiasm for war. That is partly why the pre-modern phase of urban history has been widely disliked and it has only rarely become the topic of academic research.<sup>55</sup> Modern town planning lacks the concept entirely. The pre-modern concept of neighbourhood is, however, not entirely out of use but still operates in a form of cooperation between people living, for instance, in the *hoko* neighbourhoods. In the *hoko* area, the system was not limited to traditional townhouses, but applied to modern blocks of flats as well.

## City Planning Directives and the Historic Grid-Plan Area

After the Second World War, Japanese society was directed towards modernisation and city-planning legislation was aimed to serve the same purpose. The key principles of urban policy, even in such historic places as Kyoto, were largely determined by modernisation, general legislative structure and accepted standards of modern town planning. Historic preservation, if it existed at all, was mostly

concerned with maintaining the infrastructure and the basic features of the gridiron layout. With the exception of a few areas, continuous maintenance and care of the existing environment had no place in the legislative system and in the city planning procedures. Prof. Yamasaki has commented on this state of affairs in the following way:

*“... It seems that there was very little resistance to those planning procedures from among the more historic cities and consequently, the same new set of values pertaining to modern city planning were applied carte blanche over the whole country and in time, even began to affect Kyoto”.*<sup>56</sup>

Modern town planning in Japan does not recognise or acknowledge the value of the urban heritage, which exists in the historic grid-plan area and which, *de facto*, is regarded as if it did not exist. This *tabula rasa* principle is not entirely unknown even in European countries and has actually led, for instance, in the late 1960s and early 1970s to the destruction and degradation of the townscapes of many Finnish wooden towns. In Japan the idea that new buildings should continue old wooden building traditions in the spirit of the historic environment was, and still is, an entirely foreign concept. In Kyoto an obvious fact is that the present construction policies favour speculative development projects completely unconnected with the historic environment they are operating in – precisely the kind of development that do the most irreparable damage to the place and the cultural identity of the city.

## The Master Plan 1983

The key document in defining land use and building ratios in Kyoto during the past 20 years has been the master plan that was enacted in 1983. According to this, city areas around the major streets of the city centre such as those in the Sijo-Karasuma and Shijo-Kawaramachi areas were designated as a Central Business District (CBD). Central commercial/business districts are areas,



**FIG.30** SHINKAMANZACHŌ. A NARROW URBAN LANE THAT IS ILLEGAL ACCORDING TO THE FIRE PREVENTION STANDARDS. ONE OF THE THREE NEIGHBOURHOODS THAT WAS MEASURED BY THE AUTHOR FOR THE SURVEY. RS.



**FIG.31** URBAN TRANSFORMATION PROCESS PROGRESSING IN THE CENTRAL AREA. BECAUSE OF THE LIGHT ANGLE REGULATIONS, THE HIGH-RISE BUILDING MUST BE RECESSED FROM THE STREET LINE. RS.

which concentrate key commercial/business facilities such as financial institutions, department stores and the main office functions of all types of businesses. In these areas the plan strove to retain the street plan of the historic city area but it also accepted replacement of old buildings, particularly buildings bordering the grid layout of main streets, with high rise buildings of modern standards.

In the plan, the existing wooden building stock and everyday buildings were given consideration only in the sense that major urban development and land readjustment target areas were planned outside the historic city centre. Although the policy has been partially successful in preventing large-scale urban renewal operations where whole city areas are razed for new developments or

conglomerations of high-rise buildings, it has not prevented a continuous transformation process of individual sites.

The only limiting thing has been the generally small size of the construction sites and the complicated ownership conditions. According to a municipal survey 41% of sites in the city centre of Kyoto were between 100 and 200 sq. m. and 12.7% of sites were smaller than 50 sq. m.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, the average size of building sites in Kyoto (approximately 300 sq. m.) was notably smaller compared with other Japanese large cities and metropolitan areas such as Osaka and Tokyo in general. However, even the extremely small size of the construction sites has not been able to prevent a radical reshaping and change of the cityscape. As one result of the narrow building sites



**FIG.32** URBAN TRANSFORMATION PROCESS IN PROGRESS. OLD HOUSES ARE DEMOLISHED TO GIVE WAY TO A PARKING PLACE. TÔRÔYAMACHÔ, ONE OF THE *HOKO* NEIGHBOURHOODS. RS.

are now the absurdly narrow high rise buildings, that stick out in the historic neighbourhoods of Kyoto in the midst of the otherwise horizontal wooden town. One example of such narrow high rise towers and the damage caused to the cityscape can be seen in Fig. 31.

In 1945, in the aerial photographs taken after the Second World War, 92% of buildings were wooden. Now, in the historic grid-plan area there are city neighbourhoods that have no wooden buildings left. In 1989, altogether 6441 wooden townhouses were demolished in that year alone. As the old saying goes, “it only takes a day to demolish an old house”. Since the end of the 1980s whole city quarters have begun to move into the hands of real estate investors. Toroyamachô is one such historic *hoko* neighbourhood, which has been razed for empty parking areas so that only a few old buildings remain. According to architect Riken Yamamoto:

*“...If no effort is made to preserve the building heritage (of Kyoto), the transformation process will destroy the traditional cityscape sooner than we think”.<sup>58</sup>*

Durston has recorded an interesting, although in many ways, controversial struggle that took place in Tokusayamachô, another *hoko* neighbourhood.<sup>59</sup> The battle arose when one of Japan’s largest real-estate developers announced their plans to construct a massive high-rise apartment building amid the wooden frame houses of the neighbourhood. To prevent the company from executing their plans, the residents made a request to the city government for a city ordinance that would restrict buildings in the Yamahoko area to 20 metres in height. Although the task failed, it was one of the first occasions when the residents tested the city government over the restriction of building rights. The residents also demanded that the tenants of the new building to sign an agreement to participate in the Gion Festival. They could not, however, prevent the construction of the high rise buildings.

## Chapter 8

# The Profile of Current City Development

### The Grid-Plan Area after the Second World War

During and after the Second World War many large Japanese cities experienced dramatic changes but Kyoto had a period of relatively stable growth. Kyoto was the only large city, which was spared the destruction of the war. During the 1960s in the period of intensive growth of the national economy, there were many who feared that Kyoto would be left behind. They advocated large-scale industries and raised expressways even in the immediate vicinity of the historic city centre. Historic preservation, if it existed at all, was a far cry from the realities of everyday life. In one scheme the old buildings were emptied of their inhabitants so that the historic structures could be furnished as museums. Karasuma Street was lined with high rise buildings that reached the skyline.<sup>60</sup>

According to Dr. Tapio Periäinen, who studied in 1962-63 at Kyoto University, Department of Architecture, in this period there was no concept of urban preservation in Kyoto. City plan-

ning was dominated by prevailing Western ideas.<sup>61</sup> The citizens, however, refused to take this path. Industrial policy was focused around the promotion of traditional industries and small and medium-sized enterprises. The measures which were taken for the city centre and its immediate surroundings were effective in promoting balanced and internally generated growth. Due to these efforts Kyoto has been able to maintain both the highest population density and the largest population ratio within the central area of all the Japanese metropolitan cities.

Since the 1970s living conditions in the city centre and the historic grid-plan area have dramatically worsened. Large-scale building investments by nation-wide companies and investment corporations fleeing the high land prices in Tokyo have concentrated in the historic city centre. The increase in the price of land has driven small and medium-size enterprises and ordinary residents outside the central area. During the construction boom of the 1980s when the price of land, the

'crazy land price', reached its peak in Tokyo, the increase in the value of land in the city centre of Kyoto was the highest in the whole of Japan. By the beginning of the 1990s the price of land had tripled compared with prices before the boom.

This has influenced the level of inheritance tax, among other things. Before the construction boom, the Authorised Land Price (ALP) on which the inheritance tax is calculated, was lower than the real land price. Now, although the land price has come down, the authorised land price, which moves more slowly than market prices, is at a higher level than the real land price.<sup>62</sup> This has had a negative effect on the willingness to keep and maintain the old building stock. It has also increased land speculation.

The author accomplished a survey on the development of land ownership in two *hoko* neighbourhoods, Yatachō and Shinkamanzachō during an 80-year period 1912-92. According to the survey the character of land ownership was largely different now from 80 years ago. The large, pre-modern land ownership had collapsed and land ownership was much more fragmented now. However, particularly in Yatachō, inherited land even today played an important role. Many of the old landowners continued the kimono trade, which added to the socio-economic stability of the neighbourhood. In opposition to Yatachō, in Shinkamanzachō the activity in the sales of land had increased since the 1980s and with it, land speculation had begun to play a growing role. Of the 18 sites, which changed ownership during the survey period, 61% of the land was purchased by real-estate developers who were not living on the sites. In addition, with oscillating land prices, nine back-lane sites changed ownership three times in 1990-91. An Osaka-based developer now owns them.<sup>63</sup>

In the 1970s the major targets of city planning were focused outside the historic city centre, in the new town areas which were planned around the suburban areas of Kyoto. In this period new housing production took place mainly outside the city centre. Since the 1980s the focus of new housing production has changed and it has begun

to move from the suburban areas back to the centre. During the five-year period 1987-1991 a total of 963 new multi-storey apartment buildings were built in the city centre of Kyoto.<sup>64</sup> In 1990 the total number of multi-storey residential buildings in the city centre totalled 1678 buildings. In other words, a significant number of all multi-storey buildings has been built in recent years.

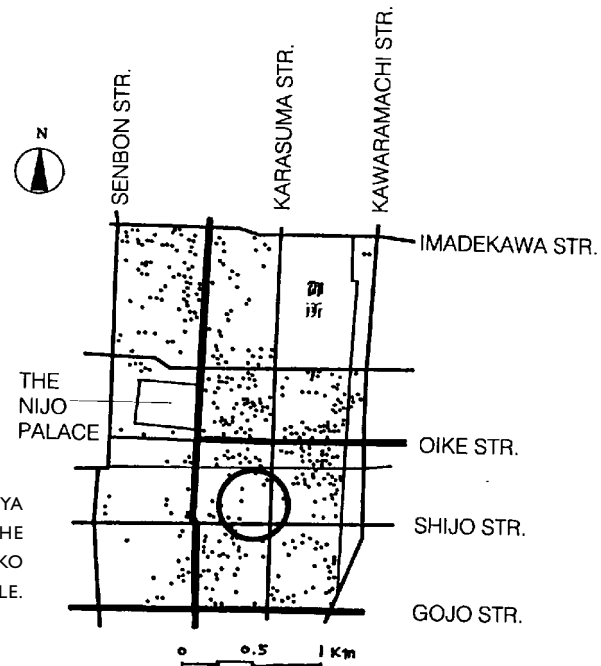
Exact information about the volume and profile of new housing production is available in a report published by the Housing Bureau of Kyoto City in 1992. The statistics below are based on this report.

### The Profile of Housing Production in the Late 1980s

The dominant feature of housing production was the building of 'one room mansions'. These were small apartments for single persons. In addition, the number of expensive small luxury apartments grew.<sup>65</sup> For the most part, housing production was carried out in the name of providing badly needed accommodation. In spite of Japan's high industrial productivity, Japan's housing market is still in many ways characterised by a considerable amount of housing poverty. Prof. Hayakawa has, for example, described the general housing conditions in Japan in terms of 'overcrowded housing', 'long distance commuting' and 'environmental destruction'.<sup>66</sup>

In Kyoto, land speculation promoted the construction of high rise apartment blocks, which were built, as Prof. Yamasaki has ironically noted, with the very scenic land they had been built on giving them extra prestige. This was particularly so with regard to sites in close proximity to environments of historic value. Family apartments were mainly built outside the city centre.

Furthermore, since the middle of the 1980s the construction market was dominated by apartments for rent.<sup>67</sup> Before this, in all dwelling statistics the number of owner occupied apartments was larger than the number of tenant apartments. As a result of the land speculation which has taken place in Kyoto since the



**FIG.33** EXISTING WOODEN TOWNHOUSES OF MACHIYA SHAPE IN THE CITY CENTRE ACCORDING TO THE MIMURA SURVEY (MIMURA ET ALS., 1991.) THE HOKO AREA IS MARKED BY CIRCLE.

era of the ‘bubble economy’, 15% of Kyoto’s residential accommodation was unoccupied in 1994. There was also plenty of empty office space.<sup>68</sup> Our observations in the sample quarters coincided with the trend (see part VII, chapter 19, fieldwork no. 2).

The rocketing land and property prices, high inheritance tax and high rents have become a burden to those who live in the historic city centre. The value of land is on the land, not the houses, as Barry B. Greenbie has noted.<sup>69</sup> Even for those who want to continue their living in the city centre, it is often too expensive. For those owning land the sudden rise in the value of land combined with the Japanese taxation system has meant in fact that their heirs have faced the prospect of having to pay hundreds of millions of yen in inheritance tax. The inheritance tax was listed in the Mimura survey that is more carefully described below, as being one of the primary causes for the impossibility of passing on traditional structures to succeeding generations.

Public investment policies, changes in the urban transportation system and the rapid trans-

formation of the urban fabric have weakened the traditional inner city structure and have encouraged the transformation of Kyoto into a city with a single core. The state of equilibrium between land use and the built environment has begun to disintegrate. One example of the tragic consequences of the current development is the centrally located *hoko* neighbourhoods. The new multi-storey buildings that have been built in the area in the past recent years have not only destroyed the traditional townscape but also weakened social ties and institutions and thereby, the capacity of the area to keep the Gion Festival as a living tradition.

## The Disintegration of the Built Environment

Wooden architecture was dominant in Kyoto and Nara until the beginning of the 20th century. With the opening up of Japan in the middle of 19th century, foreign architectural styles, entirely new building types such as post office, church and university buildings as well as new building tech-

nologies were introduced to Japan. This brought a new element to the traditional cityscape. Brick and stone became common as building materials. The number of these buildings remained, however, low. Moreover, the new buildings were well integrated in the traditional townscape. Their designs originated with their foreign prototypes, but they were realised by Japanese builders, namely traditional carpenters and house fitters. David Stewart, for example, has given a good analysis of the Meiji era architecture in Japan. According to him

*“...What is nowadays known as ‘Meiji-architecture’ (and as such, studied for its own sake), was a version of contemporary post-1850 European practices, but with certain idiosyncratic differences ongoing to Japanese variations in climate, technology (or lack of it), and local customs. Many of these Meiji era structures are now important cultural properties and their value is generally if not always acknowledged and recognised”.*<sup>70</sup>

The new brick buildings that were built in Japan since the end of the last century were not strong enough to resist earthquakes, as had been hoped. In the great Tokyo earthquake in 1923 the brick buildings that had been built in large numbers in the Ginza area of the town collapsed like card houses with only a few exceptions that were saved. One of these brick buildings was Frank Lloyd Wright’s Imperial Hotel building in Tokyo. The brick buildings were also impractical in the hot and humid climate of Japan. In residential architecture, wood was the major building material until the Second World War.

After the war a dramatic change in the construction industry took place. Reinforced concrete, steel and glass replaced traditional building materials. New materials and construction techniques removed the obstacles to build earthquake resistant structures with practically no limit on the number of floors. These new buildings began to break down the low silhouette of the townscape. In such historic places as Kyoto the damage caused by these modern high rise buildings has

been even greater than the damages ever caused by the war.

## The Profile of Traditional Townhouses Today

Information about the current profile of the traditional townhouses, *machiya*, in the historic grid-plan area is available in a study carried out in Kyoto University at the laboratory of Prof. Hiroshi Mimura in 1991.<sup>71</sup> In the questionnaire problems and research needs concerning the future of the wooden townhouses were examined from a number of perspectives.

The survey area was bordered by Imadegawa, Sembon, Gojo and Kawaramachi Streets, in other words one of the core areas of the historic grid-plan area and including the *hoko* area. The sample of houses to which the questionnaire was sent was carefully chosen to maximise the results. There were altogether 466 wooden townhouses with a well-preserved *machiya* shape. In addition there were 271 houses with minor architectural changes. The selection was made as a facade survey. Structures with major changes in the facade were excluded.

Questionnaires were distributed to 737 houses and there were 519 (70 %) responses. The responses thus covered a notable part of the existing traditional townhouses. Because the questionnaire gives useful information from the viewpoint of the thesis, it is referred to briefly below.

To identify the current profile of the people residing in traditional townhouses the questionnaire investigated the occupational category of the residents. As an area with a large concentration of traditional industries<sup>72</sup>, there was a high proportion of self-employment that is associated with them. This employment model still surpasses all other occupational categories (33%). In addition, 10% of residents were employed in other industries. As a whole, the self-employment pattern was high. Furthermore, the manufacturing function was high, particularly in occupations associated with traditional industries.



The questionnaire focused on three groups of problems related to the maintenance of traditional townhouses:

1. Which are the problems in upkeep and maintenance of townhouses?
2. Which are the future problems?
3. Which are the necessary measures to be taken?

The answers given were as follows:

*Presently, which are the problems in upkeep and maintenance of townhouses ?*

(answers in more than one class accepted)

Repair and rebuilding costs are too heavy. 272

Air conditioning and other household equipment do not work well. 250

The plan of the house and the rooms are inconvenient. 231

Humidity, and hot or cold temperature make living difficult. 142

There is no garage. 119

No problem points. 97

Difficulties in finding repair materials and manpower cause troubles. 78

*Future problems were expected as follows:*

(answers in more than one class accepted)

There is no money to cover the costs of repair and upkeep. 300

Worry of not being able to pay the inheritance tax. 226

High-rise office buildings or apartment houses may be built in vicinity which make the living difficult. 199

Rise of property tax. 178

The house is not suitable for the modern life-style. 142

Too much traffic in the street in front of the house. 100

*The necessary measures to be taken:*

(answers in more than one class accepted)

Lower taxes are necessary. 253

There should be building regulations to prevent

construction of office buildings for protecting the traditional cityscape. 219

Money should be paid on application to help in the repairs and restoration of excellent, registered town houses. 179

It is necessary to support the continuity of the (traditional) craftsmanship, materials and construction methods. 119

Even within the fire prevention districts wooden rebuilding should be allowed in special cases. 97

In any case I want to do as I want. 51

City planning regulations should be eased. 28

Do not know. 48

As can be seen from the answers, the problems that residents mentioned when answering the question “What are the gravest problems in the maintenance of the wooden townhouse tradition?” were mostly focused on the technical drawbacks and poor repair of the wooden houses. Half, 272, of those interviewed mentioned high repair and renovation costs of their houses. Also, air-conditioning and other facilities were old and did not work well (250 answers) or, moisture/humidity/coldness/darkness (142 answers) were a cause for complaint.

When asked what will cause the greatest problems to live in traditional townhouses in the future, the worsening of the city’s environment, unfavourable city development and rise of property tax were most often mentioned. 300 said that there is no money to cover the costs of repair and upkeep. 199 said that new high rise buildings may be built near the old buildings and it will be a great disturbance for the living. As many as 142 said that the traditional townhouse does not fit the modern lifestyle.

To the question of what measures should be undertaken to defend the wooden townhouse tradition, consideration in city planning regulations for more favourable treatment of wooden buildings was mentioned. Standards and laws related to construction activity were also mentioned. As many as 253 respondents said that lower taxes are necessary and 179 said that renovation and modernisation of listed buildings should be ba-

cked by loans and other public subsidies. 219 said that there should be building regulations to prevent construction of (high-rise) office buildings for protecting the traditional cityscape.

In spite of the environmental changes during the past recent years and the often poor technical condition of their houses, a majority of

residents were attached to their old houses and their quiet way of life. More than half, 62%, said that the wooden townhouse tradition is good or it should continue. However, as many as 25% of residents said that the *machiya* tradition has no special significance for them and, 13% of residents approved high rise buildings.

## Chapter 9

# Historic Preservation in Kyoto up to the Present Day

### Kyoto as a Pioneer of Historic Preservation

Before the collapse of the Tokugawa government severe social disturbances had occurred in Japan and the persecution of Buddhism had begun throughout the country. At the beginning of the Meiji era Japan experienced a violent period, when Buddhist temples and statues were destroyed by an anti-Buddhist movement.<sup>73</sup> In the Hiei temples of Kyoto Shinto priests threw out antique Buddhist statues revered as objects of worship and Buddhist scriptures were destroyed.

After the Meiji restoration, at the end of the 19th century, Japan adopted the European value-concepts and preservation theories related to historic buildings following similar efforts that had taken place in Europe. In the United Kingdom the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) had been established in 1877. In Japan the first initiatives to preserve historic monuments took place ten years later, at the end of the 1880s, when the government raised funds to preserve antique

temples and shrines. One of the first antique Buddhist monuments to be conserved in Japan was the Kōfuku-ji temple in Nara. The National Museum of Nara was established in 1895 and in the following year a law for the preservation of ancient shrines and temples was enacted.

In Japan's first phase of conservation outstanding antique buildings were the major centre of concern. The scope of the law was limited to landmarks in certain ancient Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples, objects that even today dominate the national and local registers of tangible cultural properties. This law was followed by a law for preserving monuments, places of historical interest and historical landscapes (1919), national treasures (1929) and objects of art (1933). In 1975 all these national preservation laws were replaced by an umbrella law for the protection of cultural properties, *bunkazai hogo hō*. This is a systematic law that covers both tangible and intangible properties.

On the municipal level, Kyoto was given the right to register cultural properties in 1981. In

Kyoto 384 buildings were preserved as cultural assets in 1987. Of these, 197 buildings were preserved by national laws, 129 by prefectural laws and 58 by municipal laws. The majority of protected buildings were temple and shrine buildings. Five years later, in 1992, municipal laws preserved 277 assets altogether.<sup>74</sup> In other words, the number of preserved assets had increased quite dramatically. 70 buildings were under protection, of which 30 were found in the historic city centre: 10 in Kamigyō, 14 in Nakagyō and six in Shimogyō districts. In addition, the list mentioned eight protected areas, which were mainly historic environments and sites around the listed buildings.<sup>75</sup>

## From Conservation of Historic Monuments to Preservation of Landscape

While the focus of conservation was, in the beginning, on the protection and preservation of major historic buildings and monuments, the focus has gradually shifted to the protection and preservation of the historic environment and landscape.

### *The Scenic Zones Designation, Fūchi Chiku*

Efforts to protect the historic landscape that surrounds Kyoto in the north, east and west started in Kyoto as early as 1930 with a city ordinance creating scenic zones. About 34 sq. km were designated as scenic zones forming a horseshoe of green space around the city. The scenic zones have been later gradually extended until by 1981 they covered 145 sq. km, in other words a quarter of the total city area. These key measures which were carried out at a relatively early stage have guaranteed the city the beautiful forested backdrop that the mountains surrounding Kyoto provide.<sup>76</sup>

### *The Ancient City Preservation Act, Koto ni Okeru Rekishiteki Fūdo no Hozon ni Kansuru Tokubetsu Sochi Hō*

A new turn in the landscape preservation movement took place with a national law that was enacted in 1966 and named the ancient city

preservation act. This law was especially aimed at protecting the cultural landscape and the historic layers around the three ancient capitals of Japan; in other words the cultural landscape around Kyoto, Nara and Kamakura. As a result of the new law areas totalling about 60 sq. km were in Kyoto designated as historic landscape preservation areas.

The landscape areas included into the act were further classified into two major categories: historic landscape preservation areas, *rekishiteki fūdo hozon chiku*, and special historic landscape preservation areas, *rekishiteki fūdo tokubetsu hozon chiku*, according to their environmental heritage value and the type of interventions that were allowed, or limited. The historic landscape preservation areas included scenic areas of special cultural historic interest such as environs of famous temples and shrines.

At the moment the historic landscape preservation areas, *rekishiteki fūdo hozon chiku*, cover altogether 4552 hectares. The number of preserved areas is altogether 12, including such famous landscape areas as Saga and Arashiyama in the western outskirts of Kyoto; the environs of the Kamigamo Shrine and Shūgaku-in Imperial Villa in the northern part of Kyoto and the Daimonji and Amida mountains in the eastern hills (Higashiyama area). The preservation areas also cover the historic landscape areas around the Senyū-ji, Daigo-ji, Kinkaku-ji and Kiyomizu temples.

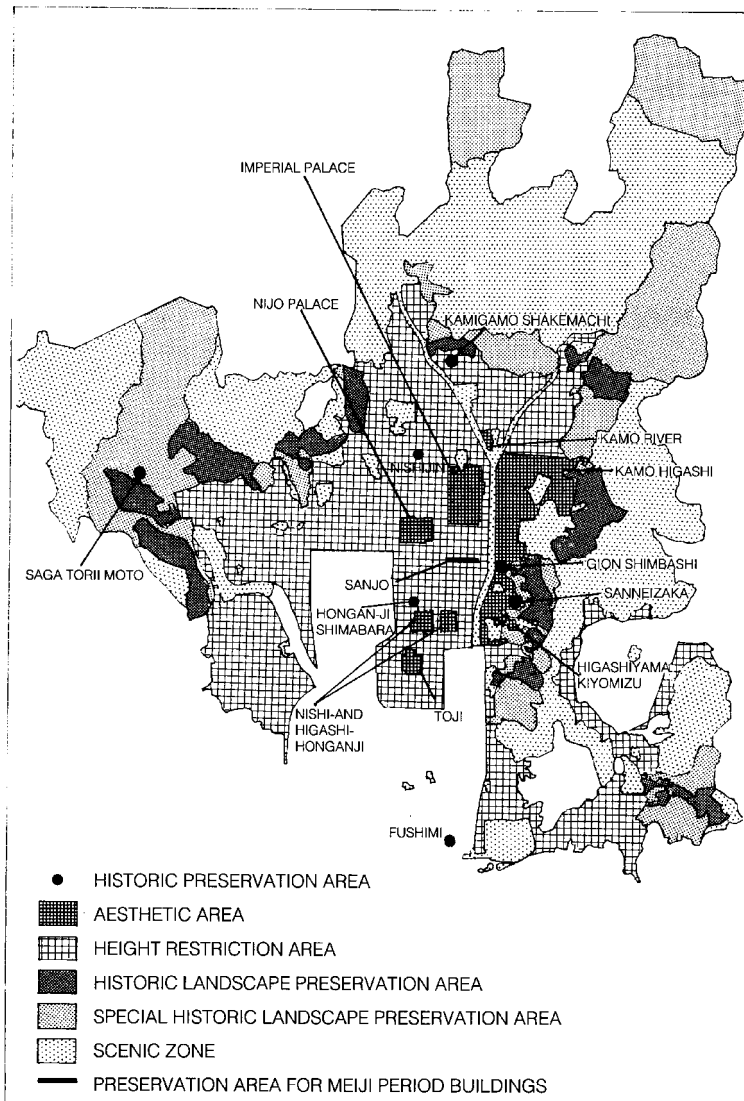
The second category preservation areas designated as special historic preservation districts, *rekishiteki fūdo tokubetsu hozon chiku*, cover 1473 hectares and include eight cultural landscape areas: the Higashiyama, Ohara, Kurama, Takao, Saga-Arashiyama, Kamigamo-Matsugasaki areas and the historic landscape area around the Daigo-ji temple.

## Preservation of Historic Townscape

Although the ancient city preservation act acknowledged the value of Kyoto's environmental heritage layered in history, what it failed to do, however, was to protect and cover similarly those parts of Kyoto, that correspond to the original

Heian capital, in other words, to the urban fabric in the grid-plan area of the town. The change in the concept of historic preservation has taken place only gradually and has been coincidental with the social changes of the recent decades. While at the beginning the historic preservation was an exclusive concept that concentrated on historic landscapes and some individual buildings, it has become an inclusive concept comprising groups of buildings, urban fabric and even whole towns. The new development that took place first on an international level, has affected preservation efforts in Kyoto, too.

Because Kyoto was spared by the destruction of the Second World War, the preservation of the traditional cityscape in Kyoto has taken on a special historical significance. In the grid-plan area and in the immediate vicinity of it, the value concept was in the early 1970s widened to include such things as the preservation of the historic townscape and also representatives of urban quarters and rows of traditional townhouses and their streetscapes. The Kyoto urban landscape ordinance, *Kyoto shi shigaichi keikan jōrei*, enacted by the city government in 1972, was the first Japanese legislation that brought protection to pieces of the



**FIG.34** URBAN CONSERVATION IN KYOTO. THE MAP SHOWS THE LANDSCAPE PRESERVATION AREAS TOGETHER WITH OTHER HISTORIC PRESERVATION AREAS. CPD, REDRAWN BY SARI BERG, ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY THE AUTHOR.

built urban fabric. The law protected certain parts of the grid-plan area such as the historic environs around the key national monuments in the city centre. The law restricted building heights and authorised the creation of certain areas as historic preservation areas.

### ***The Aesthetic Areas, Bikan Chiku***

The regulations were aimed to protect environs around major key national monuments in the central area by limiting the height of new buildings around them. The aesthetic areas were classified in two categories depending on the historical importance of the preserved object. According to the regulations, the height of new buildings around the major monuments such as the imperial palace and Nijo palace was limited to 15 metres. The preservation radius was 100 metres. The law also took into consideration historical landscapes and views of the eastern banks of the Kamo River and also, the historic townscape at the foot of the eastern hills (Higashiyama). In these areas the height of buildings was limited to 20 metres.

### ***The Height Restriction Areas, Kyōdai Kosakubutsu Kisei Kuiki***

More than half of Kyoto's built urban core has been designated as areas with special control over building heights. The ordinance limits the maximum height of buildings in the city centre to 31 metres and in maximum to 45 metres. The main objective of the ordinance was to prevent the recurrence of such eyesores in the cityscape as the Kyoto Tower, a building of 131 metres height. The building was built in front of Kyoto station in the early 1970s. The concept behind the ordinance was to prevent any building in the city silhouette being higher than the pagoda of Tōji, which is 56 metres high and for centuries the tallest building in the city centre. The area covered by the height regulations is about 6000 hectares.

### ***The Historic Preservation Areas, Dentōteki Kenzōbutsu Gun Hozon Chiku***

Since the beginning of the 1970s the value concept has been actively widened to include pieces

of urban quarters or groups of traditional buildings and streetscapes which are found in the built fabric. This development followed the general evolution in the international conservation movement. Thus, in the United Kingdom the civic amenities act of 1967 legalised the 'group value' of buildings and acknowledged the importance of area conservation. In 1972 the Sanneizaka area (known also as Sannenzaka) at the foot of the eastern hills was nominated as the first historic preservation district in Kyoto. This fine group of traditional wooden-frame buildings is part of the traditional pilgrim routes of the Kiyomizu temple. It was the first urban area in Japan to be preserved by law. Sanneizaka was followed by Gion Shimbashi in 1975, Saga Torii Moto in 1979 and Kamigamo Shakemachi in 1990.<sup>77</sup>

In 1975 historic districts or rows of traditional townhouses became eligible for subsidised protection under the national law that defined groups of historic buildings as a new type of cultural property. These areas are known in Japan as nationally important preservation areas that consist of groups of traditional buildings, *kuni no jū yōna dentōteki kenzōbutsu gun hozon chiku*. Because of its active role in urban preservation, in 1979 Kyoto was granted the award of the Institute of Japanese Architects for its pioneering work in urban conservation. In the beginning of 1990s the historic preservation areas were further extended to include a number of new preservation areas such as Fushimi outside Kyoto, Honganji-Shimabara in the central area and parts of the Nishijin silk textile district.

## **Critical Evaluation of Townscape Regulations**

The success of the townscape regulations that were created for the preservation of historic environments in the grid-plan area has been only partial. In many areas the regulations have not worked as expected. Examples of this are, for instance, the aesthetic areas. Although in its time progressive and an important step towards preserving the historic townscape in the built urban area,

the success of these regulations has been only partial. The regulation that limits the height of the buildings to 20 metres is not nearly enough to protect the historic townscape where most of the buildings consist of low, one to two storey wooden buildings. Thus, many new high-rise buildings block the traditional views of, for example, the Daimon-ji hill when the landscape is viewed from such famous sightseeing spots in the city centre as the antique bridges of the Kamo River. Construction activity also endangers environments of great symbolic value such as the historic urban landscape around the Yasaka pagoda in the Higashiyama area of the town.<sup>78</sup>

Furthermore, the high building policy, while it discusses both immediate and distant visual effects of the over-scaled buildings, nowhere refers to more general conditions of dwelling environment, such as, for instance, privacy, the consequences of unexpected shadows and views and the possible damage caused to historic structures and environments by the construction of new ones. Moreover, there are important spiritual and cultural values that are neglected or totally ignored by the high building policies.

Traditional Kyoto offered panoramic vistas of natural splendour and constant visual contact with the mountains' moods and seasons, which sensually enclosed and integrated all elements of the city. The verdure that surrounds the city and the moods of the changing seasons and climate were thus an essential part of the cultural 'experience' of Kyoto in a way that might be unsurpassed in other cities of the world. Therefore, the opposition to high-rise buildings is not merely a matter of nostalgic principle. It is largely driven by concern for the very survival of Kyoto's threatened environment and cultural identity. The destructive effect of the high-rise policy does not apply only to the vistas in the built central area but actually effects more distant areas of the town too, as Italian Prof. Giovanni Peternolli has observed:

*"...High-rises destroy the ambience and meaning of the traditional gardens especially those which used shakkei (borrowed landscape techniques). These gardens are con-*

*ceived and created in relation to some distant element in nature (often the outline of a far mountain) that becomes an integral part of their 'experience'..."*<sup>79</sup>

One such threatened *shakkei* garden is in the Entsu-ji temple in the northern outskirts of Kyoto with its famous garden views that 'borrows' the Hiei mountain as an integral part of its garden lay-out. The new construction projects that are planned in this part of the town represent an immediate threat to these views. Only one insensitively placed and over-scaled building is needed to make irreparable damage and destroy cultural values that for centuries have been admired and cared for.

## New Building Code and the Kyoto Hotel Project

In 1988 the city government passed a new building code for the city centre, that has rather worsened than improved the preservation situation. The new code relaxed the civic ordinance limiting the height of buildings in public spaces to a maximum height of 60 metres. In addition, the building code granted builders a bonus. The gross cube was increased by nearly a third provided that 20–30% of the ground floor of the building was used as public area. Public parking, for example, was counted as such area. The height relaxation was applied to sites over 1000 sq. m. in area. When a typical site in the city centre is usually significantly smaller, the reform deliberately aims to join smaller sites together. Because of the small size of the construction sites, it is difficult, if not impossible, to use the gross cube to its full potential.<sup>80</sup>

On the other hand, the small size of the building sites in Kyoto is one result of the historic land division system and as such, one of the features that international lists and charters generally consider as one of the essential features, that should be preserved. It has until now effectively preserved the cityscape from the most radical urban transformation operations and thus indirectly helped to preserve the architectural and urban heritage of the ancient capital. It is also questionable whether public parking can serve as successful public



**FIG.35** KAMIGAMO SHAKEMACHI. ONE OF KYOTO'S HISTORIC PRESERVATION AREAS WITH RESIDENCES FOR SHINTO PRIESTS. RS.

space. The obvious aim of the relaxation of the height rule can thus only be a radical reshaping of the town centre to allow free construction of new over-scaled high-rise buildings.

One of the precedents for the new building code was the rebuilding of the Kyoto Hotel at the crossing of Kawaramachi and Oike Streets in front of the city hall. The hotel project, which is billed as the 'finest traditional hotel in Kyoto', drew violent opposition during its planning and construction. Among the protesting groups of citizens were Buddhist priests, who were worried about the destruction of their landscape views.<sup>81</sup> The new hotel building blocks traditional views especially around those Buddhist temples and traditional landmarks that are located in the eastern mountains. The massive and ugly hotel building is not only disproportioned with surrounding structures but through such buildings the town also gradually loses one of Kyoto's loveliest aspects: the vantage that once allowed everyone views of the opposite mountains from any edge of the city.

Another, perhaps even more controversial, project is the Kyoto station project with its 470 metres length and 59 metres height. Whatever the architectural pretensions and qualities of this building (designed by Japanese architect Hiroshi

Hara, who won the first prize in an International architectural competition) might be, its hollow massiveness and dimensions guarantee that the result is a vast incongruous wall of dead concrete in the middle of a city where moderation and restrained elegance were the ruling principles of design even for such monumental buildings as the imperial palace. The new station building has also radically changed the hierarchy and views around such national monuments as the Higashi Hongan-ji temple in front of the Kyoto station.

The loosening of the height restrictions is likely to result in further destruction of the built fabric and at worst, to the disfigurement of the morphology of the urban quarters that are still relatively well preserved. The land development that has taken place, for example, in Shinmachi Street behind the Sugiura site since the fieldwork was carried out, is only one example of the unfortunate consequences that may result from such proposals. Behind the Sugiura site there is now a new multi-storey building with eight floors and the neighbourhood building was razed to make way for a parking plot. The result of such operations is nothing less than a gradual destruction of the urban morphology of the ancient capital.



Fig. 36 illustrates the hierarchy that existed among buildings of different heights in the traditional Kyoto townscape. The Sugimoto house, representative of the height of ordinary, everyday building stock, is illustrated on the left. The major religious symbols of the historic townscape, the Yasaka pagoda and the five-storey pagoda of Tōji are, with their respective heights, also depicted in the figure. The purpose of the figure is to show the consequences that the implementation of the new building code and the over-scaled buildings will bring to the city and the entire townscape. The planned 120 metres height for the new Kyoto station building can be seen in the figure left of the Kyoto Tower. Thanks to opposition by the citizens, the height of the final project could, however, be limited to 59 metres. The building is still three metres higher than the five-storey pagoda of Tōji, Kyoto's major historic landmark.

## Selective View of Heritage and the Conservation of Everyday Buildings

With the expanding urban conservation activities that have taken foothold especially in European countries, there are critics who have begun to doubt if we are even conserving too much of our heritage. According to Peter J. Larkham there now exists a 'conservator society' that creates its own landscapes and is particularly manifest in the rapid growth of the conservation movement worldwide.<sup>82</sup> Although the 'conservator society' is now a much-discussed concept in the perception of heritage and our attitudes towards past, the concept is, however, most valid in the western cultural circles. Present day Japan can hardly be described in such terms.

Until now, with the exception of historic monuments, only very few everyday structures have come under protection in Japan and in even those cases, the buildings have been mainly preserved as museum objects. Even in Kyoto, where the city government has been sensitive to preserving landscapes and historic neighbourhoods of special historic and architectural value, efforts to preserve less famous and architecturally less distinguished

vernacular buildings and architecture have been few, if any. In the city planning policies and methodologies, the preservation and protection of everyday buildings has played a marginal role, if any.

In spite of the many progressive steps in the system of cultural protection that have been taken in Kyoto in the protection and preservation of historic monuments, there are still a large number of temples and shrines, which are without proper protection. Among the estimated two thousand temples and shrines which existed in Kyoto in 1986, only 193 buildings had been preserved by law. In addition, municipal laws preserved 34 buildings. Thus, the large majority of even these most historically valuable buildings were without proper protection and preservation<sup>83</sup>.

When resources for heritage evaluation work are limited, the problem of choice becomes very concrete. How many and which buildings should be preserved and on what criteria should decisions be based? Should the focus be on historical and architectural values or should preservation have a broader basis? In these circumstances qualitative measures tend to rise to the fore. In particular, the preservation of everyday buildings becomes problematic.

## Urban Preservation and the Kyoto Townhouse

In Kyoto the number of everyday buildings preserved is far below that of preserved monuments. In 1991, in the list of cultural assets of Kyoto, besides temples and other historic monuments, altogether seven privately owned buildings were registered.<sup>84</sup> Among them were five ordinary townhouses.<sup>85</sup> Meanwhile it was estimated that in the grid-plan area alone there were altogether 80 000 wooden townhouses left.<sup>86</sup>

Furthermore, because everyday buildings are not listed, they have also remained outside any official financing policies. According to Japanese law, if the property is not registered as a cultural asset, it is outside public subsidiaries. In addition, the banks and other financing institutions have focused mainly on the financing of new construc-

tion activities. The failure to preserve traditional Kyoto townhouses and the greatest damage caused to the historic neighbourhoods is most evident in the historic grid-plan area, the representative of which the *hoko* area is. As architect Gunther Nitschke has noted:

*“...Kyō-machiya (typical Kyoto townhouses) have so far received little attention in the preservation movement to protect historically valuable buildings”.*<sup>87</sup>

Although the concept of historical neighbourhood was essential in preserving the historic districts, the concept has been limited to areas with special architectural or historical value. Except the Hongan-ji Shimabara and the Nishijin new preservation areas all the historic preservation areas are outside the city centre and the historic grid-plan area. Although fine representatives of Kyoto's architectural heritage and historic environments, they are all areas which illustrate some specific type of urban environment. Gion Shimbashi is one of the three geisha areas, Saga Torii Moto and Sanneizaka parts of the pilgrim routes and Kamigamo preservation area consists of dwellings for the Shinto priests.

The protection of these areas is naturally welcome but the protected districts concern most often outlying parts of the city, which were not and even now not are, in immediate danger in a way the urban quarters in more central areas are. Saga Torii Moto and Kamigamo Shakemachi are located in rural areas in the northern outskirts of Kyoto with no extensive building pressures compared to those areas that exist in the more centrally located areas. Moreover, the limitations in the protected areas leave too many areas for boundless damage. From the viewpoint of the ordinary townhouses, which survive in larger numbers in the central area, the protection of a few selected areas is far not enough. To be fully compatible with city's history and character, the protective measures should thus necessarily be extended - to include essentially larger entities of urban fabric.

At the moment the number of well preserved but historic everyday environments that are not

listed far exceeds the number of protected environments. Prof. Yamasaki, who actively contributed to the development of the current preservation strategy for the historic preservation areas, mentions in his book published a few years ago, that in Kyoto altogether 51 such historic environments or groups of buildings and their surroundings which were worthy of listing and greater protection but are now outside any preservation and protection measures.<sup>88</sup> One of these historic environments listed in the book is that of the thirty-five *hoko* neighbourhoods

## Shifting the Focus: Conserving the Urban Heritage

At the present moment Kyoto's urban heritage is faced with various threats which all have deleterious effects on its character and on its life.

With the overemphasis on material values, the city planners have been unable to identify conservation and protection of the urban heritage as a potential attraction for the city and its life. This has led to a gradual degradation of living traditions and to the deterioration and destruction of the dwelling environment. Limiting the scope of protection to certain carefully selected areas, the conservationists have been unable to create a wider impact that would benefit protection of the urban heritage as a whole. The protected pilgrim routes and geisha areas, they are all aimed at those who are visiting the 'foreign past', promoting the 'exotic' and its market values over living tradition.

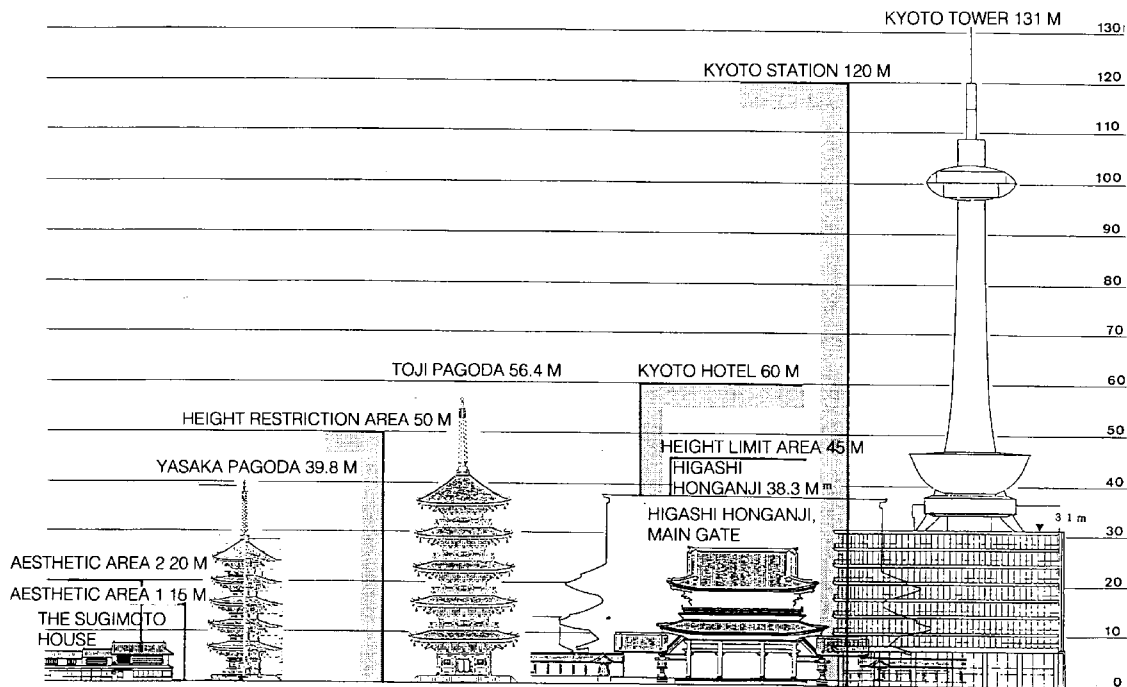
City planning clauses and regulations that have dealt entirely with technical controls such as height constraints, floor-area ratios and light angles may have worked effectively from the rational point of view. What they have failed to do is to identify the role of urban morphology, building typologies, dwelling patterns and their disposition in the urban space, in other words, the whole character of Kyoto's urban heritage. The unfortunate conclusion that an outside observer has to do is that Kyoto seems to suffer from an inferiority complex. The authorities

appear to be convinced that a city without high-rise buildings and skyscrapers is not modern and in pace with demands of times. However, what may appear imposing and positive in Tokyo or Osaka, does not necessarily have the same meaning in Kyoto with its own special history and beauty.

The conservation of areas in the city centre (as is the case with our sample quarters), is complicated and difficult. The socio-economic and cultural changes must continue. Time cannot be halted and it even should not. In other words, it is a planning situation that renders the assessment of authenticity and any conservation policy more

than difficult. This should not, however, be regarded as an obstacle to urban conservation but as an inspiring challenge to develop tailored place-oriented and context-oriented urban conservation methodologies. The problem, evidently, is not to stop the desirable and inevitable modernisation, but to render it compatible with the city's cultural heritage and the corresponding responsibility it imposes. As Prof. Eugene Benda put it:

*“... Many love Kyoto, but love can be blind. Kyoto deserves more - an open eye and a creative commitment”.*<sup>89</sup>



**FIG.36** SCHEMATIC ILLUSTRATION OF THE HEIGHT OF BUILDINGS IN THE CITY CENTRE. LEFT THE SUGIMOTO HOUSE ILLUSTRATING THE SCALE OF THE ORDINARY BUILDING STOCK. THE FIGURE ALSO SHOWS THE HEIGHT OF YASAKA AND TOJI PAGODAS, THE MAJOR LANDMARKS OF THE HISTORIC TOWNSCAPE. DRAWING BY MASAFUMI YAMASAKI, KYOTO UNIVERSITY.



P A R T I I I

# THE OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH



## Chapter 10

# The Objectives of the Research

### The Cultural Significance of the Kyoto Townhouse and Urban Heritage

Kyoto's wooden townhouse architecture and urban heritage in the grid-plan area is in many ways unique, both as regards the stages of its city development and as an architectural phenomenon. Scores of sophisticated analyses have examined the Japanese quality of space and its indigenous building types. In these analyses traditional Kyoto townhouse, *kyō-machiya*, has been a superb example, which has even affected the concept and development of modern western architecture. In Japanese architectural history the evolution of the Kyoto townhouse, the wooden lattice facade and the multiplicity of its dwelling patterns are regarded as superb examples of elegance unknown in other Japanese cities.

Among Westerners, one of the earliest and keenest observers of the Japanese townhouse and its architectural qualities was Edward J. Morse who went to Japan in 1877. In his book *Japanese Homes*

*and Their Surroundings*, Morse described the architectural patterns of a traditional Japanese house in a scientifically exact way which for the most part is accurate even today. In his book we can also find a description of the art of screens including the artistic mountings, the elegant silk bags in which the screens are kept when not in use.

The position of Frank Lloyd Wright in interpreting Japanese architecture to Westerners and the influence of Japanese architecture on his own architecture is well known, although the character of this influence has also in recent times been questioned (as observed in part II, chapter 6, the interpretative environment of the work). In *An Autobiography*, Wright composed what he called "A Song to Heaven", which deals with Japanese religion, aesthetics and lifestyle. The spiritual lessons the East has the power to teach the West that Wright propagated in his writing, turned mainly on two themes: the Japanese dwelling house and the lifestyle it engendered, and the print, together with the subjects it portrayed. Wright defined the native house in Japan "as a supreme study in

elimination – not only of dirt but the elimination of the insignificant”. In addition he noted:

*“...I found this ancient Japanese dwelling to be a perfect example of the modern standardising I had myself been working out”.*<sup>17</sup>

Beside Frank Lloyd Wright, a well-known and respected advocate of Japanese architecture was the German architect Bruno Taut, who lived and travelled in Japan in the early 1930s. In the Katsura Villa Taut found all the architectural qualities that modern architects had been looking for. In his work *People and Houses of Japan* Taut praises, among other things, the Japanese townhouse for its aesthetic qualities and Kyoto’s prominence with regard to delicacy and taste. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the great enthusiasm and interest of the modern architects towards Japanese architecture and aesthetics that has continued right up to the present day is very much result of Bruno Taut’s appraisal of this heritage.

### ‘Living Tradition’ versus ‘Living History’

‘Living Tradition’ versus ‘Living History’ are in this thesis understood as fundamentally different, even mutually contradictory concepts. By ‘living tradition’ the author means all those cultural practices and skills that still are an integral part of people’s everyday lives in the *hoko* neighbourhoods. This includes the wooden town heritage as an integral part of Kyoto’s living testimony. The continuity and sincere appreciation of these traditions is one of the major concerns in the work.

The traditional Kyoto townhouses were never just architectural forms but always a living combination of residential and working spaces. This was reflected in the dwelling plans of the houses, where the front (*omote*) of the building served as a showroom and workspace and the back (*oku*) as living quarters for the owner’s family. Townhouses were once central components not only of the cityscape, but of the community life as well. The cultural and social significance of the traditional

townhouses has been stressed, for instance, by Prof. Atsushi Ueda, who even described the pre-modern, Tokugawa period town culture as a *machiya* society, in other words, a town culture where the individual townhouse played a key role. The back rooms of *machiya* were used for appreciating art objects and holding tea ceremonies – cultural practices to in a large extent still take place even today.<sup>18</sup>

Currently the general public interest, on the other hand, is seen in the growth of ‘living history’ projects. This has been big business in America and in Japan as well. This *Zeitgeist* is for a popular demand for history, as a means of relaxation, history seen as an easy and immediate form of entertainment, as if it were detached from the reality of the past. This search for the past is having an effect on urban form, on urban landscapes ranging from central areas to high-class residential suburbs and industrial areas. In some western countries and especially in the United Kingdom, the urban conservation itself has become an important tool in our various forms of using and reuse the past. Peter J. Fowley has observed the phenomena:

*“...Indeed, so great has been the visual impact of such (conservation) schemes that the latter 20th century has already selectively left his mark on the urban fabric almost as much as in conservation terms as in the commercial redevelopment widely regarded as its more characteristic trait“...In so doing, let us not deceive ourselves that we have done anything other than create a ‘now’, not recreate a ‘then’...”.*

‘May the past be with you’ could well be today’s thematic intonation as Peter J. Fowler has ironically noted.<sup>19</sup> Caring or not, a lot of people are now interested in the past one way or another; and whereas it used to be mainly academics, now the interest takes on all forms, consuming various kinds of pasts which can be used to the point that the popular past really is the ‘foreign country’ as David Lowenthal called it, with its own currency, and not the ‘history’ controlled by academics. Tourism is a great promoter and user of such ec-



lecticism and plays important role in Kyoto too. The controversial, even contradictory, relationship between the demands and needs of mass-tourism and the cultural heritage and the local residents on the other hand, 'the Panda's cage' as Japanese architect Arata Isozaki called it, is one of the key issues that the author will point out and analyse in this research.

## Definition of Urban Conservation

The author's major contribution to the Yamahoko programme, and that part, which had a lesser, or only supporting role in the Japanese research programme, was in the formulation of the conservation thesis, which promotes urban conservation in the city centre and in the *hoko* neighbourhoods. Conservation is in this research understood as

*"... an umbrella concept, meaning all the processes of looking after a place so as to retain its cultural significance. It includes maintenance and may according to circumstances include preservation, restoration, reconstruction and adaptation and will commonly be a combination of several of these".*

This definition follows international standards and besides preservation, might include other supporting operations as well.<sup>11</sup>

The goal of the dissertation is not to make each and every home in the survey area a protected cultural property, but rather to help citizens and heritage authorities to work together to solve some of the key problems faced by traditional Kyoto townhouses and the urban heritage. By emphasising heritage values of everyday buildings and the ordinary building stock the dissertation questions the selective, monument-oriented evaluation approach. The protection of individual landmarks or narrow stripes of the city is, for sure, extremely important, but far not enough. The protection and urban conservation to be fully compatible with city's history and character it should not be limited to a few number of selected groups of architecturally or historically qualified houses but include representative entities of urban fabric.

Such an approach is especially important in the central area of Kyoto where most of the houses lack distinct or clearly definable architectural or historical values, but are still important examples of traditional dwelling patterns and lifestyles of the ancient capital. The emphasis in the thesis is thus not only on landmarks, but also on the protection and preservation of Kyoto's extraordinary cultural heritage as a whole. The improvement of housing is understood as one of the basic and essential objectives of urban conservation work. The perception of heritage and the basic approach of this work are explored closer in part IV, where the author focuses on the methodology of the work. The interpretation of the Japanese context and its implications for urban conservation work are an essential part of this work.

## The Objectives of the Research

In recording and studying the conservation of everyday buildings and the urban vernacular in the *hoko* neighbourhoods, the author had five major objectives:

1) The major objective of the thesis is to raise general awareness of the importance of the city centre and of the need for better conservation and protection of the city as a whole. In the thesis urban conservation is seen as an important tool not only to keep traditional carpentry skills and layers of the urban fabric alive, but also to recognise cultural values and properties. By emphasising the necessity of bringing cultural values to the centre of decision-making to produce a meaningful protection of urban heritage, the research attempts to reinforce city life through urban conservation.

2) In the field of architectural history the thesis experiments with ways and means of recording everyday buildings and the urban vernacular. Recording is the preliminary step in the monitoring process of historical neighbourhoods. Instead of focusing on landmarks or individual buildings, the inventory consists of whole street-scapes and urban neighbourhoods.

3) In the field of urban conservation and heritage argumentation work, the objective of the thesis is to widen the value concept to include vernacular everyday buildings. Exploring the concept of heritage and new areas of interpretation are an essential part of this work. The current listing system and value criteria are critically examined. The emphasis is on the preservation of the whole instead of some selected, (expert) valued parts.

4) Philosophically, the thesis investigates the changing 'stage' of the tradition, including us as observers of the process. The discussion on the features of a different cultural context and their

implications for the definition of heritage are an integral part of this research.

5) Among the cultural testimony of the Gion Festival, the thesis focuses on the tradition of the Screen Festival. The inter-relationship between the street and the urban dwelling and the importance of place are defined as major cultural values to be focused on.

The *hoko* neighbourhoods are selected as the case study area because of their great cultural significance. The recording presented in the research is the first systematic architectural inventory in the city centre and in the *hoko* neighbourhoods.





P A R T I V

THE  
METHODOLOGY  
OF THE WORK



## Chapter 11

# The Methodological Approach in this Research

### New Areas of Interpretation

The post-modern interpretation of contemporary history research has brought forth areas of study that purely measurable, empirical research methods have left unexamined.<sup>90</sup> For example, in the past, certain cultural values and attitudes, often even subconscious ones, may have inhibited research. A descriptive research method cannot explain mental images or aesthetic values. Thus, the value of a building is not solely based on its primary significance or function as a dwelling or a public building, but also on the individual and collective readings and value judgements it represents.

Philip Hubbard, for instance, has noted that reliance on formal theories of architectural assessment has largely been replaced by studies of architectural meaning, as it has been realised that a building or townscape cannot be seen without some significance being ascribed to it. Such an approach to architectural assessment stresses that the meaning of architecture and architectural styles is in the observer and their interpretative mecha-

nisms rather than being intrinsic to a set of physical characteristics.<sup>91</sup>

A new way of interpretation requires a different kind of research. Thus, the aim of the current research lies not only in the identification of the physical urban space: dwelling patterns, streets, interior spaces, verandas and rooms, but also in identifying their legible images and culturally dependent inter-relationships, in other words, everything that is a result of an evolving social order. A conservation approach that aims to protect such qualities has the advantage over one that focuses solely to the architectural qualities and the physical fabric.

Ideas of the essence of architecture are constantly changing and it is important to widen the research to areas presently forgotten or officially underrated. A value-free, 'objective' discourse does not exist. Subjective, partial viewpoints are always present and they affect among other things, the choice of the topic of research. Per Kirkeby, for instance, has argued:

“...*Immaculate, objective observation does not exist. There is no objective observation in that naive sense of the meaning that it would be a thing or an object in itself. Theory is, instead, a prerequisite for observation, as observation is for theory. We live in the whirl of the stream*”.<sup>92</sup>

The Sugiura display (described in part VII, chapter 21, fieldwork no. 9), for instance, is instructive in exploring the meanings and interpretations an individual person and/or community may have for the festival. Such meanings are in addition to other values, such as the evidence of valued (expert) aspects of art history or architectural beauty. These meanings may not always be obvious in the fabric of place, and may not be apparent to the disinterested observer. Thus, even the observer himself, consciously or unconsciously, adds to the value of a place or to its absence of value.

It is also essential to recognise that each group or community chooses its own symbols and reference points and these may not accord with other reference categories. To take one example: the attitudes towards the urban festival of a tenant family in a *hoko* community may essentially differ from those of the house and landowners, who traditionally were considered the privileged class in the organisation of the festival. This social clash between different classes and social groups is, to a certain degree, still observable in the *hoko* area as the author noticed during the fieldwork. Actually, a special festival evolved in the central area (the so-called Jizo Bon) as a substitute for the Gion Festival for the tenant families.

## The Importance of Place

An important and essential part of the approach is acknowledging the importance of place. A special attachment to place may include a long-standing spiritual or religious attachment or other long-standing categories such as a continuous use. The Gion Festival tradition, which has continued for centuries, is itself already such a value-category. Within the major tradition there might also be minor traditions, such as, in our case, the Screen Festival.

Local Shinto shrines and Buddhist altars are an important group of structures, which are examples of continued religious traditions and now among the ‘forgotten’ heritage. Traditionally every family in the community was committed to take shared responsibility for the care of them. This habit is still followed, for instance, in Shinkamanzachō, where bringing rice cakes, green tea and other offerings to the local shrine is one of the daily routines, for instance, of Mrs. Sugiura.<sup>93</sup> The urban transformation process that is progressing in the area and the consequent move of the street altars back to their mother temples far away from the area and their ‘home’ threatens and degrades the value of the original place.

A different example of the continued tradition is, for instance, the rule allowing only the male members of the community to participate in the rituals of the Gion Festival as is still practised in Rokkakuchō even today. This is also an example of the conflicting values within the community. The traditionalists hold on to the old habit as a religious tradition, which cannot be violated; others blame the tradition for the sexist attitudes and demand free participation of female members in the religious rituals of the community. Even the values are thus not something fixed or homogeneous, but depend on who is the observer and whose value it represents within the community.

## Expert Values Versus the Preservation of the Whole

The usual pre-occupation of architects and conservationists with physical shapes and determination to build and protect masterpieces of art have forced them to preserve conserved buildings as ‘such’ or to restore them, in both cases placing priorities with the physical fabric in order to present it at the cost of its life. The preoccupation with the physical space has been so dominant that the ‘preservation’ itself has almost become a synonym implying ‘no change’. Harsha Munasinghe, for instance, argues how



“...The present consciousness of urban space has limited its focus to the outdoor space, neglecting the indoor urban space and the inter-relation between these two”.<sup>94</sup>

The Oaxaca Declaration (1994) has, for example, expressed its concern about the limited range of places identified as heritage, noting that many elements in the historic environment are not valued as ‘heritage’.<sup>95</sup> Many of the elements that make up the ‘whole place’ remain unidentified, despite the fact that it is the whole rather than the parts that will have social value and meaning. Studies and analyses on historic places tend to focus on physical structures and architectural properties. This applies to the Screen Festival tradition as well: focusing on individual, historically valuable screens or individual buildings, for example, leaves a whole range of value categories outside.

In Kyoto in the city planning level among the ‘forgotten heritage’ are, for instance, such elements as pre-modern land use subdivision patterns and street furniture. Although the town plan of Kyoto was adapted from the classic Chinese town plan models in the 8th century, one of the main points and characteristic features of the town plan of Kyoto even today, appears to lie in the almost exclusive use of the separate one-family house. The extremely small size of the sites in the grid-plan area and the typical land division patterns caused by that fact are characteristic features of the urban fabric and thus also, bearers of important heritage values.

## The Character of the Japanese Indoor/Outdoor Relationship

The present western consciousness of urban space has limited its focus to the negative and positive, solids and voids, the outdoor space as voids and the buildings and volumes as solids. A classic example of such a framework of thinking is, for example, the map of Rome by Giambattista Nolli, from 1748, *La Nuova Topografia di Roma* (‘The New Topography of Rome’). The map consists of solid and evenly distributed urban quarters and

contrasting with them, the public and semi-public spaces depicted as if they were carved out from the solid physical space. Such a picture, although highly illuminating in the urban context of Rome, is however, not valid in the Japanese cultural context and does not truly reveal the relationship between the two.

In Japan, the indoor and the outdoor space cannot be approached through dualistic concepts, but they have to be regarded as one entity. A well-known expression of such a non-dualistic ‘in-between’ space is the Japanese veranda, *engawa*, which is space under the eaves. It is a transmitting space between the indoor and outdoor space. In other words, it is a space which has the quality of both of these spaces. Bruno Taut, for instance, has with great sensitivity observed this distinctive quality of Japanese space. For him the most interesting feature of a Japanese house was not its material appearance but its life. In his analysis, Taut compared the Japanese dwelling space to a stage in an open-air theatre, the background of which visible through the open wall, is nature.

In his analysis of the Katsura Villa, Taut saw the quintessence of Japanese architecture as lying not in its material values, but in the *relationships* (in German: *Beziehungen*; emphasis by the author) which the different parts of the building and its relation to nature expose. In other words, in the natural and organic way the architectural elements were interrelated and were designed to fit nature and to become an organic part of their surroundings. This observation by Taut is still valid today, although Taut, as a modernist, missed many essential values of Japanese architecture, such as decoration as an organic part of Japanese architecture, and the active role human beings have in the experience of Japanese space.

In the *hoko* area, in particular, the role of street as communal space and the pre-modern township concept *ryōgawachō*, ‘neighbourhood on both sides of the street’, are instructive in analysing the cultural significance and character of the urban space. The *ryōgawachō* pattern, which was established in the *hoko* area in the 16th century, is studied in detail below, in part VI, chapter 15.

## The Inter-Relationship between the Urban Dwelling and Street as a Cultural Value

The Japanese word for town is identical with the word for street, *machi*. This fully expresses what the author has pointed out above, namely that a sharp distinction between street and house does not exist. In Japan, the dwelling space and street space are not separate spaces but there is a close inter-relationship between the two. They are part of the same spatial entity.

In the urban space, the open wall with its flexible and movable lattice facade takes a key role. The built-unbuilt ratio or the open-space vs. built space relationship is thus far not the only relationship between the two, as spatial interactions and their cultural readings do account for significance. Everyone who has visited Japanese cities must have been struck by the delicate charm of Japanese home life, the natural way people move between lying, sitting and squatting positions and the proportions between the man and the house, and the house and the street that these interior views expose.

Coding and decoding of the outdoor-indoor relationship is not something fixed. It is constantly changing and culminates in such traditions as the Screen Festival. The urban dwelling that during the festival days is exposed to the street takes a significantly different role from its everyday appearance and use. Yasunari Kawabata, for instance, observed this phenomena in the following way:

*“...The day of gathering at Gion had arrived. At Sada’s shop they had removed the lattice door, busy with preparations for the festival”.*<sup>96</sup>

In the *hoko* neighbourhoods the Screen Festival, in particular, is instructive in identifying the character and quality of the Japanese urban space. The methodological step taken in the present research thus aims at an approach where the dwelling patterns and cultural patterns are identified as an inseparable entity. The inter-relationship between the urban dwelling and the street, and the mani-

fold expressions this relationship takes during the urban festival, is one of the major topics to be examined in the research.

## Critical Evaluation of Heritage Arguments

The value criteria, which in Kyoto worked well for historical monuments, caused problems in evaluating ordinary everyday buildings. In the thesis, through the examples of the fieldwork, the author will examine and analyse, in particular, the selection criteria that the heritage authorities use when a building is to be registered. The author focuses especially on three selection criteria:

- 1) the test of authenticity
- 2) the age rule
- 3) the architectural beauty of the streetscape

### Confirmation of Authenticity

Until now in the heritage evaluation work in Kyoto, the question of confirmation of the authenticity of historic structures and buildings has been relatively unproblematic. In the case of everyday buildings, the question becomes, however, more complicated. There are very few ordinary structures which are intact without later changes or remodelling. The current criteria for authenticity in Kyoto leave most ordinary structures outside the evaluation and listing programmes and thus, indirectly, inhibit their protection.

The interior of a house, if we take just one example, cannot be changed if the house has been nominated as a cultural asset. However, there are very few people who can afford or are willing to live in a museum. As Prof. Nishikawa has commented:

*“... the fact that buildings must keep their characteristic outside appearance does not mean that their inhabitants must also follow an outmoded way of life”.*<sup>97</sup>

In fact one of the fascinating features of the ordinary townhouses in Kyoto and in other places as well is that they have been changed and that

we can now observe the different traces of life in their outward appearance left by earlier generations and lifestyles. Below, through the examples of our fieldwork, the author will observe and describe a number of such everyday structures.

### ***Age of Building***

Another point today is that, if a building is going to be registered as a landmark or cultural asset, its historical value must be confirmed. An important criterion is then the age of the building. Most of the everyday buildings in the city centre were destroyed in the city fires in the Meiji era. Only a few areas around Rokkakuchō were preserved. This means that even the oldest structures existing in the historic grid-plan area are not much more than a hundred years old. In the municipal listing system, where structures originating from the Edo era, in other words buildings which are two hundred or three hundred years old, are considered 'far too young' for listing, the chances for everyday buildings to be registered are extremely small.<sup>98</sup>

The age rule also to a large extent explains why such structures as the common facilities have seldom been discussed as objects to be preserved. They are all too young to qualify and lack the necessary antiquity. During the Yamahoko programme the problem of age was encountered more than once and it is one of the issues focused on in the research through the examples of the fieldwork. In general, the age of buildings, in relation to usefulness or desirability, is to be perceived as an extremely relative thing as, for instance, Jane Jacobs noted in her famous book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* already in the early 1960s.<sup>99</sup>

### ***The Beauty of the Streetscape as a Heritage Value***

One of the major criteria in the architectural argumentation work in Kyoto has been the architectural beauty of streetscape. In other words, protecting and preserving certain carefully chosen key areas with outstanding architectural unity. The four historic preservation areas are

illustrative of this approach. On the other hand, the neighbourhoods in the city centre such as the *hoko* neighbourhoods, for instance, have been considered too much changed and thus, too heterogeneous in their townscape elements. In other words they lack the basic architectural integrity regarded necessary for evaluation or designation. The heritage authorities have seldom seriously questioned the city-planning conception. The selective approach is evident even in the urban preservation schemes carried out by the Nishikawa laboratory. A good example of these attitudes is, for example, a proposal which the laboratory worked out for a municipal architectural competition. The laboratory won first prize. In the competition scheme Yatachō was used as a sample area to illustrate urban renewal methods for the historic city neighbourhoods.

The only structure which was given consideration and preservation status was the Sugimoto house. Apart from the Sugimoto house, Yata Kannon, the small neighbourhood temple was discussed as a potential site to be preserved. Most of the still existing wooden structures in the area were replaced in the scheme by new multi-storey buildings without any consideration given to urban conservation. In the competition scheme the ground floors of new steel-reinforced concrete buildings were redesigned in the spirit of the traditional wooden frame style in order to restore the atmosphere of an 'authentic' *hoko* neighbourhood.

Although interesting as a competition proposal, there can be no doubt, that a conservation approach of this kind can be by no means satisfactory in the framework of the current research.



## Chapter 12

# Recording as a Means of Evaluation

### Definition of Recording in International Standards

The international principles and standards for recording cultural heritage were laid out by the 11th ICOMOS General Assembly in Sofia in 1996. According to the text, recording and documentation is considered as one of the principal ways available to give meaning, understanding, definition and recognition of the values of the cultural heritage. In the Sofia text the

*Recording* is defined as a “capture of information which describes the physical configurations, condition and use of monuments, groups of buildings and sites, at a point in time, and it is an essential part of the conservation process”;

*Cultural heritage* refers to monuments, groups of buildings and sites of heritage value, constituting the historic or built environment.

The Sofia declaration requires the preparation of analytical studies and inventories in order to explain the meanings of the heritage concerned and to justify the proposed methods of using it. According to the above mentioned

standards, the recording of the cultural heritage is essential:

- a) to acquire knowledge in order to advance the understanding of cultural heritage, its values and its evolution;
- b) to promote the interest and involvement of the people in the preservation of the heritage through the dissemination of recorded information;
- c) to permit informed management and control of construction works and of all change to the cultural heritage;
- d) to ensure that the maintenance and conservation of the heritage is sensitive to its physical form, its materials, construction, and its historical and cultural significance.

### Recording as a Method in the Current Work

In the present research, recording is used as a basic method to define the character and quality of

the heritage. The on-site fieldwork, which was carried out in the *hoko* neighbourhoods, included three major documentations:

- 1) Recording and measurement of the street facades of three *hoko* neighbourhoods. The focus of interest was, above all, on the traditional carpentry elements such as the lattice, *kōshi*, facades.
- 2) Recording the major dwelling patterns including the *unagi no nedoko*, 'sleeping places of an eel' pattern and the *nagaya*, urban tenement.
- 3) Recording of the Screen Festival as an example of cultural values and practices characteristic for the *hoko* neighbourhoods.

In the architectural analysis the author applied, primarily, the same methods and building categorisations as were used by the Nishikawa laboratory in the historic preservation areas. Yamasaki has given a description of these methods in English. This definition is referred to below (see part V, chapter 13). For the current research, however, the author had to develop the method further so as to better suit the needs of the rather heterogeneous building stock of the studied neighbourhoods. The thesis is, thus, a pioneer in the field.

Its purpose is to show the characteristic outlines of the city's transformation process in the surveyed quarters during the past 20–30 years. For the municipal authorities the method presented here provides information for making sensitive planning policies and for developing building control policies. It also provides information upon which appropriate use of heritage may be identified and the effective conservation plans and maintenance programmes may be planned. The recording method is described in detail at the beginning of each fieldwork chapter.

The recording of heritage sites or structures itself is not entirely unproblematic. It may have many stated purposes, but it may also have unforeseen side effects. For fear of having their houses listed as cultural objects, many of those, who own an old house decline the questionable honour of

documentation.<sup>100</sup> A remarkable number of beautiful townhouses just disappear without ever being documented as the author observed in Kyoto during the fieldwork.

Also, there is always the danger of the recording becoming an end in itself. Even in the Yamahoko programme it sometimes seemed that the inventory was more a 'conscience salvaging programme of the investigator'<sup>101</sup> than a real action to save the heritage sites. For such work, the hands of the investigator were all too tied and the means available all too limited. However, at its best, an inventory can be an inspiration to see the surroundings in a novel and fresh way and to stimulate the owners and public alike to seriously consider protection of sites and structures, which they perhaps previously regarded unworthy of preservation.

## The Use of Terminology

The author is aware of the dangers of proposals coming from outside the Japanese preservation community. Every proposal depends on the cultural context within which it is applied. The comments or observations that are expressed in the research, therefore, in the first place, are intended to stimulate thought and discussion instead of giving direct proposals or answers. Many of the questions and problems, if not all, voice the concerns that were expressed by Japanese scholars, heritage authorities and residents alike.

The language of the Yamahoko programme was Japanese. The Japanese language has given some distinctive perspectives to the work but also made it vulnerable to errors and misunderstanding. The author bears full responsibility for whatever errors of fact and interpretation still persist. The Japanese language has made communication possible not only with the members of the research team but also, with the subject of the work, the many fascinating kimono families.

The work operates in and uses Japanese concepts and terminology which Japanese researchers themselves use in their research. In other words, the terms are used in their authentic

context, and as precisely as possible. In this way, the thesis helps to make the Japanese terminology known and more available to the Western reader. Furthermore, because the language is an essential part of the culture, the use of Japanese terms itself illuminates and helps us to understand the cultural context within which we move through the work. This is true not only with terms that describe the traditional wooden architecture, but also, and especially, with the special terms of the urban festival.

All the key terms used in the thesis are listed with their Japanese pronunciation, Japanese *kanji* combination and English translation to form a glossary, attached at the end of the work as Appendix 1. The large number of Japanese terms and their variety in itself illustrate the richness of the urban culture and architectural testimony of the *hoko* neighbourhoods. The English Japanese dictionary, that was compiled for the thesis, is given in Appendix 2.

## Sources and Related Research

Because of the specificity of the research, sources in Western languages have been few. Except for Kyoto's traditional wooden townhouse, the classic *kyō-machiya*, and the mountain of books which focus on Japanese gardens, Japan's town traditions and urban heritage are much less known. In the history of architecture one of the most influential ones is perhaps Bruno Taut's inspiring book *Houses and People of Japan*, where Taut praised Japanese town architecture and the aesthetics of everyday life. It has become one of the classics in the field, through which our image of the Japanese city and its unique town traditions has largely taken shape.

Compared to the mountain of articles that in the past few years have been published about Tokyo, Kyoto has played only a very minor role in the architectural debate, despite its great spiritual and historical significance. Among the few publications is Prof. Eugene Benda's exhibition publication where he comments on the urban transformation processes of Kyoto. His way of looking at the matter is critical.

Prof. Yamasaki provides a very scientific and precise approach in his recent book (1994). The book contains a fine historical analysis on the formation and make up of Kyoto's cityscape through historical illustrations, paintings and other authentic documents. The active role of Prof. Yamasaki in the laboratory of Prof. Nishikawa in developing the urban preservation methodology of Kyoto has already been mentioned above.

In addition to the two above-mentioned analyses, architect Gunther Nitschke has contributed greatly to the understanding of Kyoto's urban heritage and the nature of the urban festival. His comments have provided valuable insights also for the thesis. Nitschke is among those few members within the circle of architects and urban planners who has consistently advocated wider urban preservation of Kyoto. Moreover, his article 'Ma' in *Architectural Design* published in the middle of the 1960s, which concentrates upon the Japanese space concept, has already become a kind of classic in its field.

In the field of academic research Claire Gallian's doctoral thesis at Kyoto University in 1989, which deals with the urban preservation methodology of Japan, and Prof. Tamara K. Haveren's research work in the United States are not without merits. Both works operate in the field of urban preservation and are closely related to the theses of this research. Gallian has given a very good analysis of the system of historic preservation in Japan. Furthermore, Gallian's work contains a historical analysis of the Sugimoto house, which is one of the key buildings in the current work. Gallian's description of the house is excellent.

Haveren has focused on one important part in the city centre: the kimono quarters of the Nishijin silk textile industry. Among other things, Haveren discusses changes that have taken place in the production processes of the kimono textile industry. These changes directly or indirectly affect the wholesale function and thus also, the life of the *hoko* neighbourhoods.

## Perceptions of the Past

Various versions of contemporary relationships with what has been, and very much is, have been expressed in analyses, which have subsequently become landmarks in the development of a late 20th century perception of the past. David Löwenthal's *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1986) was one of the first to provide a solid academic foundation and Robert Hewison interpreted the phenomenon in cultural and political terms in the *Heritage Industry* (1987). These two books have served as an important background analysis in the current work.

Furthermore, in analysing the values and aesthetics of an traditional artisan, the major source of reference are the writings of Soetsu Yanagi, a critic of Japanese industrial arts. His internationally best known work, *The Unknown Craftsman*, has become a kind of classic in its field. According to Yanagi the modern values and sensibilities based on individuality are in great contrast to the val-

ues of a traditional artisan. The most interesting point in Yanagi's analysis on the traditional aesthetics is its relationship with the everyday values and use. The objects created by an artisan were primarily appreciated for their qualities in everyday life and use. This notion is particularly important for the thesis, which stresses the value of the display items and antiquities in their place - not as collector's objects or as mere museum pieces. In other words, the everyday use of buildings or artefacts is seen as an important measure of their cultural significance.

The greater part of the thesis and whenever possible, the research is based on authentic sources in the Japanese language. The sources are discussed in the context of each topic. The bibliography, which is given at the end of the thesis, includes only works that apply directly to the topics of the research or describes some special aspect found in the work. General literature on traditional Japanese architecture has been excluded.







P A R T V

DEFINING THE  
CONCEPT OF  
HERITAGE



## Chapter 13

# The Concept of Heritage in Japan

### Preservation in the Japanese Context

It has been suggested that the Japanese idea of preservation and building conservation would essentially be different from that of the West.<sup>102</sup> Proof of the statement has been sought in the tradition of periodically rebuilding the Ise Shrine. The Norwegian Professor Knut Einar Larsen has, however, recently objected to the view. According to him, the rebuilding of the Ise Shrine is not primarily to be considered as an example of building conservation practice but rather as a religious ritual. The Japanese researcher Nobuko Inaba too has agreed with the latter view. She has stated in relation to the meaning of the reconstruction practice of the Ise Shrine:

*“...Many people have assumed that periodic reconstruction is an accepted general conservation method - whereas Ise is an isolated case in which the only purpose is the traditional ceremonial one”.*<sup>103</sup>

As Prof. Larsen points out, using the conservation of the Oyamadera Temple in the Ibaraki Prefec-

ture as a case study example, the Japanese methods of restoration and conservation of authentic materials and the upholding of long-established handicraft skills are an extremely fine and highly developed tradition from which Western countries could benefit and learn. For Larsen, these Japanese methods indeed represent the most significant and fascinating aspect of contemporary architectural preservation work in Japan.<sup>104</sup>

The technique of dismantling, which is used in Japan throughout the building repair process, is based on the principal structural characteristics of Japanese architecture. With a post-and-beam construction the structure has the inherent capability of being taken apart and reassembled with no compromise to the integrity of the structure itself. The attitude towards preservation and building conservation in Japan cannot, therefore, be interpreted simply through some religious attitudes or traditions, but as a tradition of its own with its own particular practices and philosophies.

As Larsen points out, the basic idea in Japan is that it is not only objects or buildings as such that

are worth preservation, but also the knowledge and methods which were used to produce them, and which are crucial for their continued existence and preservation. Since 1975, acknowledging the problem, the Japanese Government included a new chapter in the law for the protection of cultural properties providing for 'protection of traditional techniques'. Thus, the Japanese do recognise that the traditional techniques are necessary in order to preserve the historic structures and conversely, traditional techniques are being preserved through actual preservation and conservation work.<sup>105</sup>

In the thesis, which operates in the field of urban conservation, the context of preservation is explicitly and unambiguously defined. The attitudes towards urban preservation are observed through those preservation efforts and practices as adapted in the history of urban preservation in Kyoto.

As was observed above, in part II, chapter 9, among the large Japanese cities Kyoto not only had the oldest but also the most effective and developed system of urban preservation. In the laboratory of Prof. Nishikawa the problems of preserving historical urban environments have been determinedly discussed since the early 1970s. In general the author, thus, takes a critical view of the opinion that Japan would entirely lack the idea of preservation in the Western sense.

## Universal Values Versus the Context

In recent years, with the growth of exchange and information, the dominant Western centre-periphery-thinking, of which Japan too has been an object, has been seriously questioned. Japan is now perhaps the most interesting example in the international debate on building conservation when the concept of heritage, the question of authenticity and the universal values of preservation have to be evaluated. Where are the origins of authenticity, the genuineness of architecture in the Japanese context? Even within building conservation practice, scholars are not unanimous about the answer.<sup>106</sup> Neither will the thesis strive to present a solution.

Practices which differ from our own should also be subject to criticism, however culturally founded they may appear to be. In Japan, confronted with one of the world's most refined and advanced architectural traditions, one is closer to being an apprentice than a master. On the other hand, the sight of the chaos of the modern Japanese environment and the ruthless destruction of traditional milieus can be a cause of severe spiritual shock. There are not a few Western writers who have commented on the ugliness of modern Japanese towns and observed the lack of beauty in new buildings with their elusive looks of bizarre, cosmetic surfaces and images. According to Prof. Benda, for instance, the present day Kyoto "...represents a fascinating confluence of beauty, nightmare and challenge". This is another of those issues with which the author has struggled since first coming to Japan.<sup>107</sup>

The concept of authenticity itself is very contradictory and not at all obvious, even in Western cultural circles. 'The authentic is always out of date', as David Lowenthal put it in his article "Criteria of Authenticity".<sup>108</sup> Those involved in writing the Venice Charter in 1964 came from a fairly homogeneous Western world, with a European background and building traditions based on masonry and stone. Wooden town traditions and architectural heritage such as is found, for instance, in Finland and in other Nordic countries, was given little or no consideration.

Larsen, for instance, has doubted whether we can talk about principles and theories even on the European level. Perhaps the national level would be more adequate.<sup>109</sup> Compared with most European states, for example, Australian heritage focuses less on elite than on vernacular remains. As was observed in part II, chapter 6, when the author explored the cultural background of the urban festival, the attitudes towards the built environment in Japan and thus also, to the definition of the heritage, might essentially differ from that of our own.

The Nara Discussion in 1994 confirmed authenticity as a relative concept the application of which depends on the cultural context within which it is applied.<sup>110</sup> As Herbert Stovel points

out, the Nara meeting acknowledged the need to provide a new framework of universal principles which could accommodate both the broad ranges of cultural expression to be found in different regions of the world and our increasingly broad definitions of heritage now including vernacular expressions. Of paramount importance to the thesis, however, are not the various preservation and building conservation practices and their relation to the question of authenticity, but rather the fact that no prerequisites exist for the preservation of everyday buildings.

### Authenticity of Design Versus Authenticity of Material

Reconstruction or copy has a different meaning in general in Japanese culture compared with our own. Throughout history the Japanese have repaired their temples and other important wooden buildings by partially replacing decayed or rotten parts with new ones. The fact that a part is old or new, authentic or replaced has never been considered as relevant as in the Western cultural environment. Furthermore, reconstruction is not limited to any specific areas but is widely used in varying degree throughout the building repair process. Many of the sample houses to be discussed in the thesis are fine examples of the practice. Without partial renewal and even reconstruction they would have been lost or destroyed. The same applies to the conservation of historic monuments and edifices. One of the most renowned is the rebuilding of the Golden Pavilion of Kyoto to its former glory after the building was destroyed by arson in the early 1950s. The Japanese who come to visit the temple regard it not as a new building but as a revered part of a living testimony.

In Japan, when restoration is allowed, the emphasis of the project is the authenticity in design, by which the Japanese mean the original state or the most significant state in a building's development through history. In most cases the building has to be dismantled in order to be repaired. The wide use of partial reconstruction as an essential

part of conservation and repair technique does not, however, mean that the Japanese would not value the genuineness of material and hold it to be key aesthetic ideal.

The patina of old objects and the passing of time symbolised by it has been a dominant aesthetic ideal in Japan throughout the ages. Since the 16th century it has been closely linked to the philosophy and aesthetics of objects in the tea ceremony. The author personally observed the living cult of patina, when her tea ceremony teacher buried a new ceramic vase deep in the temple garden, where the pot was later 'excavated' for a flower arrangement exhibition. The only purpose of the act was to achieve a beautiful aged patina on the surface of the pot.

The two Japanese terms used to describe the aesthetic ideal, are *sabi* and *wabi*, a combination of 'poverty and profoundness'. Leonard Koren, for instance, has argued that *wabi-sabi* is the most conspicuous and characteristic feature of what we think of as traditional Japanese beauty.<sup>111</sup> For many Japanese *wabi-sabi* almost means everything that is quintessentially Japanese. In the field of building conservation the interpretation of the Ise Shrine as an example of the Japanese attitude to historic buildings would imply that the Japanese would not be concerned with the conservation of authentic materials in historic buildings. A look at Japanese architectural history, however, shows that the Japanese have indeed appreciated ancient objects and buildings for their patina, and treasured them just because of their ancient materials.<sup>112</sup>

### Cultural Adaptation and the Japanese Preservation Methodologies

In Japan the foreign ideas of conservation were not only imported and imitated, but the Japanese have gradually transformed them in such a way as to suit Japan's natural and cultural conditions. This transformation and adaptation fits well into the context of Japanese transformation of foreign ideas and cultural impulses in general. The pres-

ervation methodologies adapted in the four historic preservation areas of Kyoto are a case par excellence of a cultural adaptation which can be found in the field of urban conservation. In the historic preservation areas, in particular, the test of authenticity was solved in an interesting, though contradictory way.

With the help of architects and preservation authorities, the residents were given access to historically accurate models for restoration in the designated areas. The instructions were based on pattern books designed separately for each area.<sup>113</sup> Yamasaki described the method in the following way:

*“... So, in Kyoto we decided not to preserve the buildings themselves but to preserve the traditional styles of wooden houses which are characteristic to each district of historic townscape... This attitude implies that the townscape is regarded as a result of history showing a stage of changing process and such a townscape is also worth being conserved without exact reconstruction. In this case, the word ‘conservation’ almost means to keep traditional sense and carpentry alive”.*<sup>114</sup>

According to this method, what is considered permanent and important is the original design concept, not the authenticity of building materials or individual building components. Instead of authenticity, the method focuses on the atmosphere and the aesthetic integrity of the cityscape. The emphasis of preservation is in the continuity of local (Japanese) building traditions based on the habit of partial dismantling of building components.

Accordingly, in the historic preservation areas the individual facades can be repaired and renovated rather freely, if the reparation methods coincide with the traditional design patterns and building techniques. The method stresses flexibility and aesthetic integrity though at the expense of authenticity. The preservation is also limited to the outer appearance. Thus, behind an authentic wooden facade there might be a new steel construction building or, for image or other reasons, an old wooden facade is replaced by a still ‘older’ one. We can find examples of both cases in the protected areas.

What is problematic about this facadism, not only in Kyoto but in other places too, is that in the name of aesthetic integrity or for image reasons even the slight amount of authenticity which possibly has survived from the past, is ruined in the eagerness to make more ‘authentic’ facades. The preserved environment is changing to a shell or a coulisse. On the other hand, the method coincides with the cultural context and gives the conservation method flexibility unknown in the Western conservation praxis.

In this thesis the question of authenticity gets significance, when the author investigates contextual changes taking place in the screen display tradition. How can the authenticity and character of displays be retained in the changing circumstances? Until now, the wooden townhouse context has played a central role in preserving the contextual values of the Screen Festival. Modern construction methods and display techniques, especially the notable increase of window displays, are, however, essentially impoverishing the scenic values of the festival.



## Chapter 14

# The Concept of Heritage in the Current Work

### International Charters and Standards

Faced with the dramatic changes which have led to cultural and economic losses of many historic towns and urban areas particularly after the Second World War, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) deemed it necessary to draw up an international charter that would enhance the preservation of urban patrimonies and aim for a better protection of urban heritage. The principles laid down at the ICOMOS seminar held in Brazil in 1987 marked a turning point in urban conservation by identifying the need to protect cities as cultural entities.<sup>115</sup>

An international charter was enacted in the same year, in 1987. This text the name of which is 'International Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas' and known as the Washington Charter defines the principles, objectives, and methods necessary for the conservation of historic towns and urban areas. The text concerns historic urban areas, large and small,

towns and historic centres and quarters, together with their natural and man-made environments. Beyond their role as historic documents, these areas embody the values of traditional urban cultures. The charter seeks to promote the harmony of both private and community life in the heritage areas and to encourage the preservation of cultural properties, however modest in scale, that constitute the memory of mankind.

The international charters and standards deal with the conservation of historic cities and sites by giving general principles and approaches as to how they should be handled as the testimony and heritage of the past. They do not, however, describe in detail what kind of planning principles or methods should be used, or how historical cities should be preserved. As a planning tool they are all too general. Although these kinds of charters are important in that they remind the public of the heritage values of the sites, it is however, impossible to read from these texts all those demands and needs that are necessary in the pres-

ervation and conservation of the historic cities and areas. Opinions about heritage values and their treatment are changing and the charters may be left behind the quickly changing practices and analyses.

Recent discussion on the concept of authenticity or the reshaping of our perceptions of the past, for instance, are examples of the rethinking currently taking place. Instead of keeping the charters as an absolute truth, they should be relative and mirror the thought and ideas of the period in which they are created. One thing, however, is certain: every conservation task should be planned separately, from its own starting points to suit its own requirements. There should be different principles, for instance, for such cities as Osaka and Kyoto and even in the limited *hoko* area it is impossible to give general planning methods or principles that would be appropriate for the whole area, but the chosen methodologies should vary according to each historic area and its own particular characteristics.

Although the charters and guidelines do not tell how and by what specific methods urban conservation should take place in individual cities, they do give basic outlines and principles of urban conservation, which Japan, as a member country of ICOMOS, is also committed to follow. These texts, as international guidelines, are thus an important point of reference in the current research.

## The Wooden Town Heritage and the World Heritage Listing

Wooden towns are acknowledged to be an important part of the world heritage. In the Unesco Conference on Cultural policies for Development in March-April 1998 hosted by Swedish Government, Mr. Henry Cleere, the World Heritage coordinator of ICOMOS, stressed in his presentation "Wooden Architecture in the World Heritage Convention" the need for a global inventory of wooden towns. Although the definitions of cultural heritage in the World Heritage Convention are broadly drafted, the process of

compiling the World Heritage List has proceeded within a more restricted perception, deriving from largely European aesthetic notions relating to major monuments and sites. As Cleere states:

*"...There is an urgent need to accord due recognition to this important and highly vulnerable sector, which has so far not figured adequately on the World Heritage List".*

Thus, although there is a vast cultural heritage of wooden towns and buildings in many parts of the world, these are not systematically represented on the list, unlike gothic cathedrals and the historic towns of the Mediterranean Basin, almost exclusively constructed of stone or brick. At the present moment there is an urgent need for a more systematic approach to the wide spread of the wooden building tradition in its diverse manifestations and forms across the vast areas of the globe where wood predominated as a major construction material until the advent of steel and reinforced concrete in the 20th century. Present day Kyoto, with its surviving wooden townhouses, is one example of such 'forgotten' heritage.

## The Importance of Everyday Buildings

In recent years there has been an increasing awareness and a desire to widen the field of conservation to areas until now forgotten or underrated. Indeed, the indications are that the balance of power is shifting within conservation philosophy as the categories of structures thought worthy of consideration for conservation have been extended to include not only monumental high-class architecture but also whole new groups of structures recognised as equally meritorious: vernacular, folklorist and industrial. This new perception of environment and conservation values suggests that buildings and environments should not be judged and preserved solely for their historicity or artistic value, but also for their value to the wider community and their capacity to make 'place'.

One of the earliest advocates of the better appreciation of ordinary everyday milieus and dwelling environments and their socio-cultural merits, was Jane Jacobs, who argued that, although cities need old buildings, they should not all be 'museum-piece old buildings', but a good lot of plain, ordinary, low-value buildings including some run-down old buildings. Jacobs indeed saw the need for aged buildings as one of the basic conditions when she discussed the generators of necessary diversity for socially and culturally sound cities. As she noted:

*"...Improvement must come by supplying the conditions for generating diversity that are missing, not by wiping out old buildings in great swathes".*<sup>116</sup>

and,

*"... Cities need a mingling of old buildings to cultivate primary-diversity mixture, as well as secondary diversity. In particular, they need old buildings to incubate new primary diversity".*<sup>117</sup>

Even the enterprises that can support new construction in cities need old construction in their immediate vicinity. Otherwise they are part of a total environment that is economically too limited – and therefore functionally too limited to be lively, interesting and convenient. This has been noted even by the building enterprises in Kyoto, who exploit the very scenic land and the historical neighbourhoods in the vicinity of their new estates in marketing and selling them.

## The Value of Continued Everyday Use

The value of place is related to the usefulness of the place: The places are valued because they are used; because they are part of the everyday life. If demolished, as individuals or as ordinary wooden structures the loss might not be so great, but the demolishing of a great number of such homes and life patterns would necessarily also reduce the value of the whole place. This viewpoint is especially important in Kyoto, where the urban tra-

dition is not based on any planned physically clearly definable urban spaces and entities, but on the groups and rows of individual sites which together make up the whole place.

Furthermore, there is a difference between the objects of everyday appreciation and use, and those purchased as collector's objects. The removal of relics, where lineaments are indissoluble from their place annuals their testamentary worth and forfeits their myriad ties with place. Artefacts and re-enactment substitute for lived memory.<sup>118</sup> Material objects – at their best – can in these circumstances become icons of cultural identity rather than exemplars of it, as David Lowenthal has noted.<sup>119</sup>

In another context Soetsu Yanagi argued on the value of objects that are used everyday:

*"... The works of an artisan are made to be lived with ... objects of beauty create an atmosphere of spiritual refinement".*

Within the festival tradition there are many cultural interpretations and readings which directly refer to or speak for the importance of the place. As the author will explore later in the fieldwork (part VII, chapter 21), a large number of the antique objects and relics displayed in the Screen Festival refer directly or indirectly to the festival tradition, or to their place such as a picture scroll depicting a festival float, or screens that refer to the family (kimono) business.

Furthermore, some of the references are less evident but still speak of the importance of place. Thus, among the painting topics there are themes that refer to the special season of the festival. In particular, a popular topic is the water element, which is depicted through such themes as water wheels or screens floating under water. These themes are used not only as a seasonal reference (after the rainy season the climate in Kyoto changes to dry and hot) but also to their (believed) protective properties against fire. These are examples of meanings that are directly culturally and context bound and not always evident for an outside observer, even for the Japanese.

## The Needs of Local People Versus Visitors

In most cities local people and communities have spoken up about places that they value, despite the dismissal of such places as insignificant by the experts. Such fights are not unknown even in the *hoko* neighbourhoods as was described in chapter 7. The author personally participated in such a fight in 1997, when she defended the protection of the common facility in the Naginata-hokochō together with the local residents.

Many buildings lose their connection with our daily lives by being allocated new uses. Loss of traditional activity (such as kimono production and trade in our case, for example) often means that such places are reallocated to meet the needs of visitors rather than locals, increasing the disconnection between the community and place.

The revitalisation of the old building stock that has taken place in the *hoko* neighbourhoods over the past two or three years although welcome as such, has generally meant new locales for tourists, souvenir shops (although in Kyoto of extremely high artistic quality!) and cafes in a traditional context, rather than a serious attempt to answer the revitalisation and renewal needs of the degenerating old building stock. In only a few cases have the renewals directly served or improved the living standards of those who use the environment, in other words, the local residents. The commodification of culture and the poor position of the local resident against the heritage industry were the main points that architect Arata Isozaki was making when he compared Kyoto to a Panda's cage. It seems that in his analysis he was not very far from the truth.

## Social Value as a Measure of Cultural Significance

The widening of the scope of the conservation field has not only brought forth new areas of conservation, but it has also enhanced the assessment of criteria that are used in the heritage argumentation work. The deep sense of attachment to

place of the users has not been adequately defined by our current heritage assessment methods. Interest groups have remained under-represented in the evaluation process and some views may never be represented by 'experts'. In current heritage practice conservation is largely based on architectural and historical criteria rather than on accommodating some of the perceptions and reactions of everyday users of historic environments.<sup>120</sup> Hubbard's notion of conservation practices as an elitist activity, conservation as 'high art' rather than as a setting for everyday life, applies to Kyoto's urban vernacular traditions more than well.

In 1994, the seminar 'What is social value?' held by the Australian Heritage Commission acknowledged the need to define social value as a component of cultural significance and the need to protect places despite the dismissal of such places as insignificant by the experts. Many of the elements that make a place remain unidentified, despite the fact that it is the whole rather than the parts that will have a social value.<sup>121</sup>

In our sample areas there are a number of elements that are not valued as 'heritage' although they are essential for the cultural significance and meaning of the place. These include such things as the *hoko* area as a public gathering place for time honoured rituals and its ability to enhance community values that are meaningful not only for the area but for Kyoto as whole. The 'minor' traditions within the major ones, such as the Screen Festival, add to and are an essential part of the heritage.

Social value is about collective attachment to places that embody meanings important to and valued in a community. These places may be community owned or publicly accessible or in some other ways 'appropriated' into people's daily lives. In the Screen Festival the exhibition places take on a dual role: they are temporarily accessible to the wider public but they are simultaneously private homes as well. This adds to the charm and significance of their sense and 'experience' of place.

Cultural values themselves may inhibit protection and the idea of material preservation. A popular argument is that in Japan, where the

impermanence of material objects is regarded as a central spiritual idea, it is not necessary to preserve old buildings. In that case the only way to keep true to this spirit would be to document the old buildings and then let them be destroyed. The irony, however, is that even when there is a willingness by the heritage authorities to document old buildings, as in the present circumstances, only very few structures actually become documented.<sup>122</sup>

The value criteria, which were developed for historic monuments leave most ordinary structures outside the municipal documentation programmes. The limited resources, where perhaps only one architect is engaged for the documentation work, are focused on historic monuments. Special programmes for the documentation of ordinary everyday structures do not exist. At the present rates of urban transformation and use of the resources at hand, it is more than likely that most of the everyday buildings worthy of closer examination will probably cease to exist before all of them have been properly documented. In the present research the dangers of basing conservation policies solely on architectural or historical criteria are pinpointed, as such approaches largely ignore the importance that townscapes and urban neighbourhoods play in maintaining living societies and cultural identities.



P A R T V I

URBAN CULTURE  
OF THE HOKO AREA





## Chapter 15

# Streets as Communal Space and the Self-Governing Township Communities

### The Pre-Modern Township System and the Concept of *Ryōgawachō*

Among the urban patterns that have shaped the life of pre-modern neighbourhoods in the *hoko* area, one of the most important is the introduction of the system of self-governing township communities, *ryōgawachō*, ‘neighbourhood on both sides of the street’. This took place in Kyoto after the civil wars at the end of the 15th century, when the citizens established a system of self-defending township communities. The purpose of the system was to protect the parishioners against enemies, who were robbing and murdering in the devastated town. This was the beginning of the *ryōgawachō*. The new system changed, among other things, the organisation of the township units deriving from the Heian period, and also the meaning of the street. In the establishment of the new township system the *hoko* neighbourhoods played a key role.

In the new township system the neighbourhood unit was redefined along a street and not,

as in earlier times, by city blocks. Town gates were built at the end of each neighbourhood and within the new township units a developed form of self-government was established. At a stroke a radically new urban order was created, which is perceived even today in the triangular shape of the *hoko* neighbourhoods. Where town blocks had previously been bounded by streets, the urban units were now made up of rows of houses on the opposite sides of the streets. This change was by no means trivial. In the new scheme the smallest organisational units were no longer enclosed by streets but they now incorporated the street space. Even today streets and alleyways in residential areas of Japan serve the function of community spaces and they are also regarded as extensions of private space in a way almost unknown to European countries.<sup>123</sup>

The gradual change and development of the Tokugawa urban quarters towards ‘on both sides of the street neighbourhoods’ is shown in Fig. 38.



**FIG.37** THE COMMON FACILITY, *CHŌIE*, IN NAGINATAHOKOCHŌ. THE FLOAT IS ENTERED THROUGH A TEMPORARY WOODEN BRIDGE FROM THE UPPER FLOOR OF THE COMMON FACILITY. TS.

## The Self-Governing Township Communities

The new system not only contributed to redefining the geometrical shape and reorganisation of the urban quarters but also radically changed the social and cultural status of the pre-modern town communities. The neighbourhood unit did not only imply the actual physical dwelling space, but it became the major cooperative unit in the management of the township communities. In the *hoko* area a new type of local administration was developed. The previous aristocracy or temple/shrine-bound relationships, which had dominated the life of urban quarters in the city centre since early times, were replaced by local admin-

istrative organisations. The meaning and social stand of the township community was significantly changed.

As a social background for the reorganisation of the neighbourhoodship was the growing power of the urban merchant class. The facades of the townhouses had gained importance because of the shops that were located on the ground floor. The social meaning of the street as a public space had grown. The Tokugawa township reform was in harmony with this change. In the city centre housing density was intensified and both the spatial organisation and the social organisation supported urban life. In other words, a great deal of self-governing took place. Prof. Tani, for instance,

writes of this self-governing system in the following way:

“... *A system was built in which life management and space management and control of the residential space were organically operated. Such control over the residential area with the initiative of townspeople is a noteworthy historical fact concerning urban history in Japan*”.<sup>124</sup>

The purpose of Prof. Tani's study was to elucidate the social and spatial structure of the township communities of Nara, Osaka and Kyoto of the Tokugawa period and to describe the pre-modern urban dwelling system. Sample quarters included the *hoko* neighbourhoods.

As the wooden townhouses easily burned down, an important function of the township communities was fire protection, especially in the *hoko* neighbourhoods where the reassembled parts of the festival floats and their cultural assets were stored within the community in the local storehouses. Even today, there is a significant local control over the storing function (and thus, over the whole heritage) in the *hoko* neighbourhoods. As it proved out in the Yamahoko field survey, a remarkable number of the cultural assets are still preserved in their local storehouses and not controlled by the municipal authorities.

Among the occupations controlled by the township communities era were, among others, public hairdressers and barbers, which due to the complicated hairstyle (the men's hairstyle was a symbol of class), were an important lower class occupation. The barbers' premises also acted as local administration offices and information centres for the central government. For the Tokugawa government the land reform was one of the keyways to extend its control and power of influence even among the smallest administrative units of the society.

The system disappeared quite late, in the Meiji era. According to the Second Land Use Act in 1889, in the first neighbourhood records after the Meiji restoration, the public barbers had begun to move out of their businesses or change occupations. In 1900, all the earlier *chō*, township, controlled facilities had been changed to ordinary

barbershops. Today the *hoko* area is the only area in the historic grid-plan area, where the spatial arrangement that was characteristic of the pre-modern phase of the city centre's urban history has been preserved adding to its historic significance. The system becomes alive during the urban festival and is visible, for example, in the decorated festival streets.

## Street as Communal Space

The *ryōgawa* system stressed the meaning of street as communal space. The street in front of the house served as a playground for children as well as an area where adults could socialise. The meaning of street as communal space culminated in such traditions as the urban festival. The architectural development of the townhouses echoed the evolution of community events that took place in the street. The social events unfolded in the intermediate spaces between the centre of the street and the inner recesses of the townhouse.

The sense of community within a township was demonstrated in the unified style of architectural elements like the type of standardised roof tiles, the depth of the eaves, and in the pattern and numbers of slats in the window grilles. A highly advanced system of standardisation was possible because the social organisation and the building organisation were controlled by the same administrative unit. At the end of the Tokugawa period every townhouse was based on a unified dimensioning. The size of the rooms was counted according to the number of tatami mats and all the structural members of the house were calculated on the dimensions of the tatami.

As a result of the standardisation, all building elements in the house such as sliding doors, window slats and mats were exchangeable with any other house in the town. Among the westerners, Heino Engel, for instance, has in his book given an excellent description of this Japanese building standardisation system, the basis of which was created in the Tokugawa period. The unity of style of traditional townscape can still be observed in such places as the historic preser-

vation areas of Kyoto. From the *hoko* neighbourhoods the architectural integrity of style has, however, largely disappeared, as the author will demonstrate below.

## The Pre-Modern Common Facility

An important local institution, which developed in close relation to the pre-modern township system, was the common facility, known as *chōkaisho*. Because of its important role as public exhibition facility, *okazariba*, during the urban festival, the author will briefly describe this institution below. The first consultations took place in the fifth year of the Bunroku era (1596) in Niwatorihokochō where, according to a historical record stipulating the township rules

*“... all in the neighbourhood should gather together in a place designed for this purpose”.*

The first meetings were held in Rokkakudō and Kodō temples, two famous temples still existing in the city centre. In Kyoto the *chōkaisho* facility is usually known as ‘*kaisho*’, ‘*chōie*’, or after the Meiji restoration also: as ‘*chōkai gisho*’. The Meiji government ordered the change of the old name because of its undertones of the hated Tokugawa system. The new name, however, never came into common use and the old name, *chōkaisho*, is kept even today. The small public space, the ‘noman’s land’, that was left between the town gates at the crossing of the residential streets, is thought to be one of the starting points for these facilities. A permanent structure developed in the Momoyama era and spread to become established at the beginning of the Tokugawa era. The Gion Festival played a central role in the formation of these facilities.

In the pre-modern era the common facilities had an important role in the administration and management of the township communities. They served as local administration offices and also, as information centres for the central government. In the Meiji era many common facilities were sold with the erasing of the pre-modern neighbourhood organisations. In the *hoko* area, owing to the

Gion Festival, the institution has, however, survived to the present day.<sup>125</sup>

After the Second World War many common facilities were sold because of the uncertainty in the future of the *hoko* neighbourhoods. At present, however, the common facility survives in more than half of the *hoko* neighbourhoods. The facility continues to be of great local importance especially because of the Gion Festival<sup>126</sup>. During the festival week the common facilities are changed to temporary exhibition facilities, where the cultural assets and other paraphernalia ascribed to each festival float are displayed to public view before the festival procession.<sup>127</sup> These festival exhibitions, as already noted, are among the important cultural and urban testimony of the *hoko* neighbourhoods. The analysis of the festival exhibitions, inspiring as it might have been, was however, not possible within the scope of the current work.

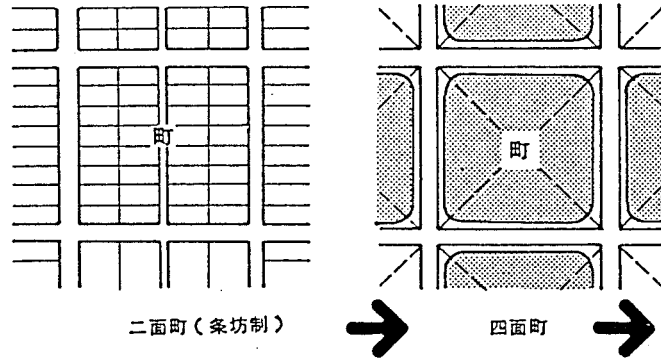
Besides the exhibition function, the common facilities take many other public functions as well.<sup>128</sup> The extensive field survey material related to the common facilities and their function in the city community which was carried out during the Yamahoko programme could not, because of the vastness of the material, be included in this work but is available to those interested from the author.

## The Heritage Value of Common Facilities

The field surveys, which were carried out by the Yamahoko team on the common facilities, included, among other things, a thorough inventory of the pre-modern building types and spatial patterns, which exist on these properties. Thanks to this monitoring we now have a very precise and exact picture of these facilities and their pre-modern building types. They are often the only wooden structures that are left from the historic neighbourhoods and the wooden townhouse tradition. According to the Yamahoko investigation the total number of wooden structures existing on these properties was 63. In addition, there were many structures of other materials such as rein-

**FIG.38** THE TOKUGAWA ERA LAND REFORM AND TRANSFORMATION OF URBAN SPACE.

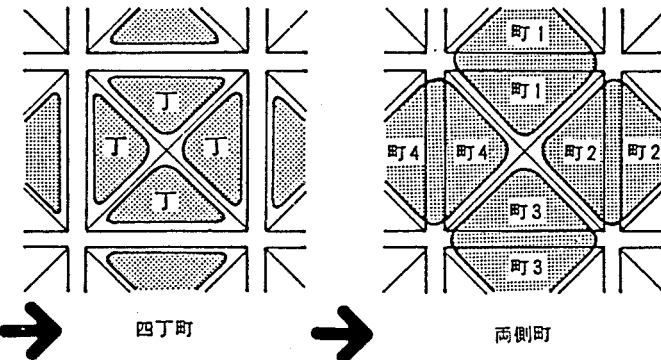
ABOVE, LEFT. THE BIRTH OF NARROW AND DEEP PLOTS, TANZAKU. IN THE TOKUGAWA ERA LAND REFORM THE HEIAN PERIOD TOWNSHIP UNIT, CHŌ IS HALVED BY NORTH-SOUTH RUNNING STREETS. THE SIZE OF THE NEW URBAN UNIT IS 120 M X 60 M AND THE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL SITES 30 M X 60 M.



ABOVE, RIGHT. THE ORIGINAL HEIAN PERIOD TOWNSHIP UNIT, CHŌ, 120 M X 120 M SURROUNDED ON FOUR SIDES BY THE STREET.

BELOW, LEFT. THE HEIAN PERIOD TOWNSHIP UNIT, CHŌ, IS DIVIDED INTO FOUR SUB-UNITS BY DIAGONALS.

BELOW, RIGHT. THE SUB-UNITS ARE UNITED AND RENAMED AS RYŌGAWACHŌ, 'NEIGHBOURHOOD ON BOTH SIDES OF THE STREET'.



DIAGRAMS BY THE YAMAHOKO TEAM.

forced concrete.<sup>129</sup> The fireproof storehouses of traditional shape and small temples and Shinto shrines add to the cultural significance and heritage value of these facilities.

At the present moment the common facilities are threatened in a number of ways. The legislative and management mechanisms are inadequate to ensure their conservation. Many of the common facilities are of low technical standard and they are not up to standard as regards fire protection, humidity and safety that is required for the proper storing of cultural assets. There is serious deterioration of the wooden structures and materials that has taken place over a long period. The repairs have been carried out carelessly and do not fulfil the standard that should be expected in the repair and conservation work on cultural properties.

In 1991 the common facility of Naginatahoko-chō was closed as the access to the float because of its poor technical condition and resulting danger to the public. Moreover, dismantling the old

structures and developing the site with high-rise buildings is in many *hoko* neighbourhoods regarded as the only way to improve the falling economy. In other words, to keep and secure the continuity of the festival the heritage is destroyed and sold. So far the common facility has already been rebuilt in five communities<sup>130</sup>. Among structures that are endangered, are such fine pre-modern wooden structures as the common facility in Hashibenkeichō.<sup>131</sup>

## Questioning the Heritage Criteria of the Common Facilities

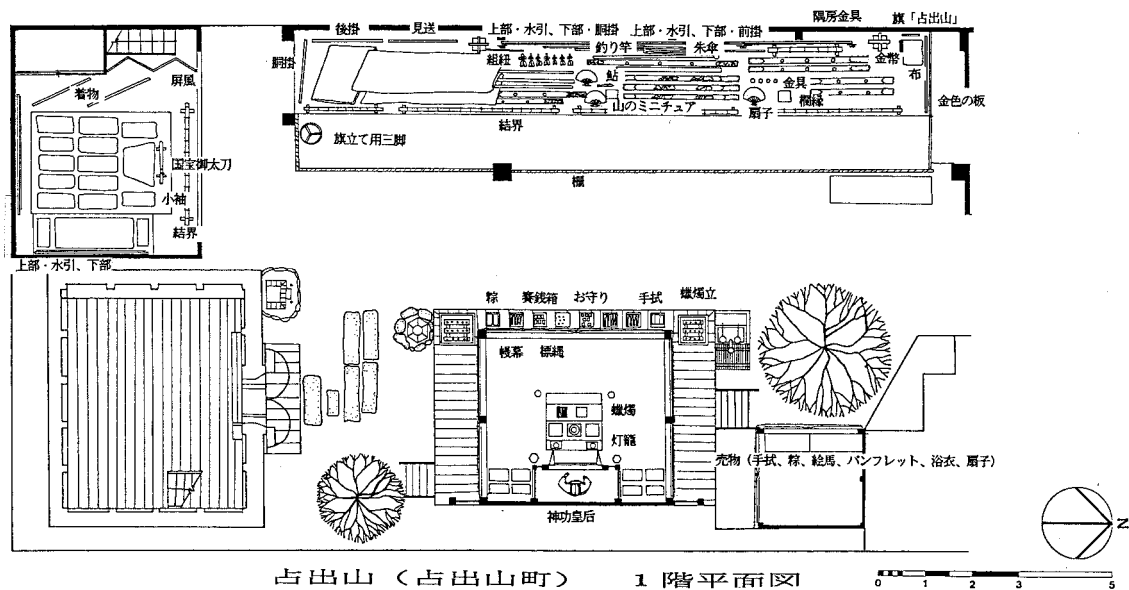
Among the pre-modern common facilities only four have so far been preserved by law and designated as cultural assets.<sup>132</sup> The small number of protected structures is not nearly enough to save the heritage as a whole. The arguments that heritage authorities have used and that finally have prevented their registration have been such as the

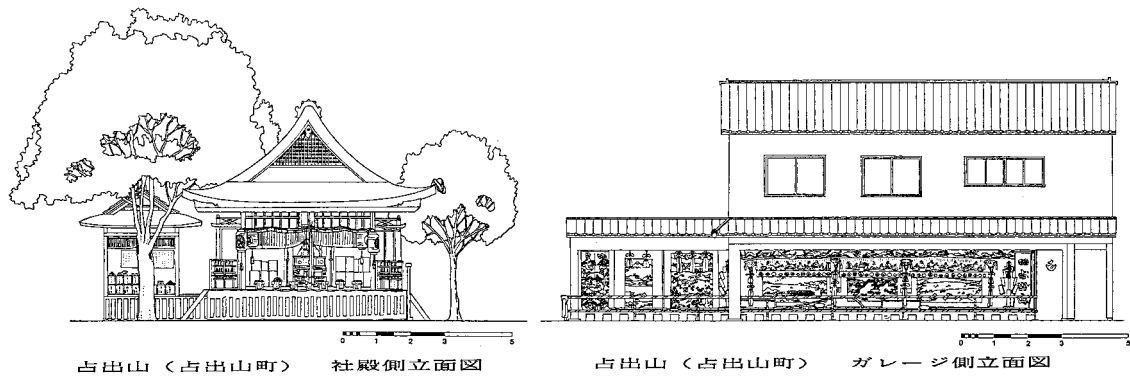
lacking criterion of age and the lack of architectural integrity. No concern has been given to such heritage values as the continued use and the value of the wooden town house context in the middle of changing townscape. In Naginatahokochō, for instance, as has been planned, the demolishing of the old storehouse and other authentic wooden structures with such traditional rooms as the practicing room for the living page boy, would make an irreparable damage to the tradition as a whole.

Among the members of the international preservation community who have been worried about the ongoing destruction process of the common facilities and who have clearly voiced their opinion for the protection of this cultural heritage is architect Gunther Nietschke, who has stated in relation to these facilities:

“... The Yasaka Shrine is protected as an Important Cultural Property and the yamahoko floats (in other words, the festival floats, clarification by the author) are protected ... The only aspect which is not protected in this unique festival are the chō-ie (the common facilities) and the few traditional kyō-machiya (in other words, the traditional Kyoto wooden frame houses; specification by the author) left in the Muromachi district”.

In the thesis the common facilities illustrate severe urban conservation problems that are characteristic of the whole hoko area today. What this cultural heritage needs, is not only special research programmes to solve their technical problems, but also a questioning and re-evaluation of their protection priorities.





**FIG.39** SECTION AND PLAN OF THE COMMON FACILITY IN URAIDEYAMACHŌ. LEFT *SHIDŌ*, SMALL BUDDHIST HALL. ONE EXAMPLE OF THE HERITAGE VALUES OF THE COMMON FACILITIES. DRAWING BY THE YAMAHOKO TEAM.





## Chapter 16

# Dwelling Patterns

### *Unagi no Nedoko* - 'Sleeping Places of an Eel'

Kyoto's most typical townhouses, *kyō-machiya*, were merchant houses, characterised by narrow and deep lots. The basis for the plot division pattern was created in the Tokugawa era when, as a result of the extensive urbanisation process and the growth of the large cities, the housing density was intensified. As possibilities for the town's expansion outside the city walls were highly limited, the town had to grow inwards within the existing urban blocks.

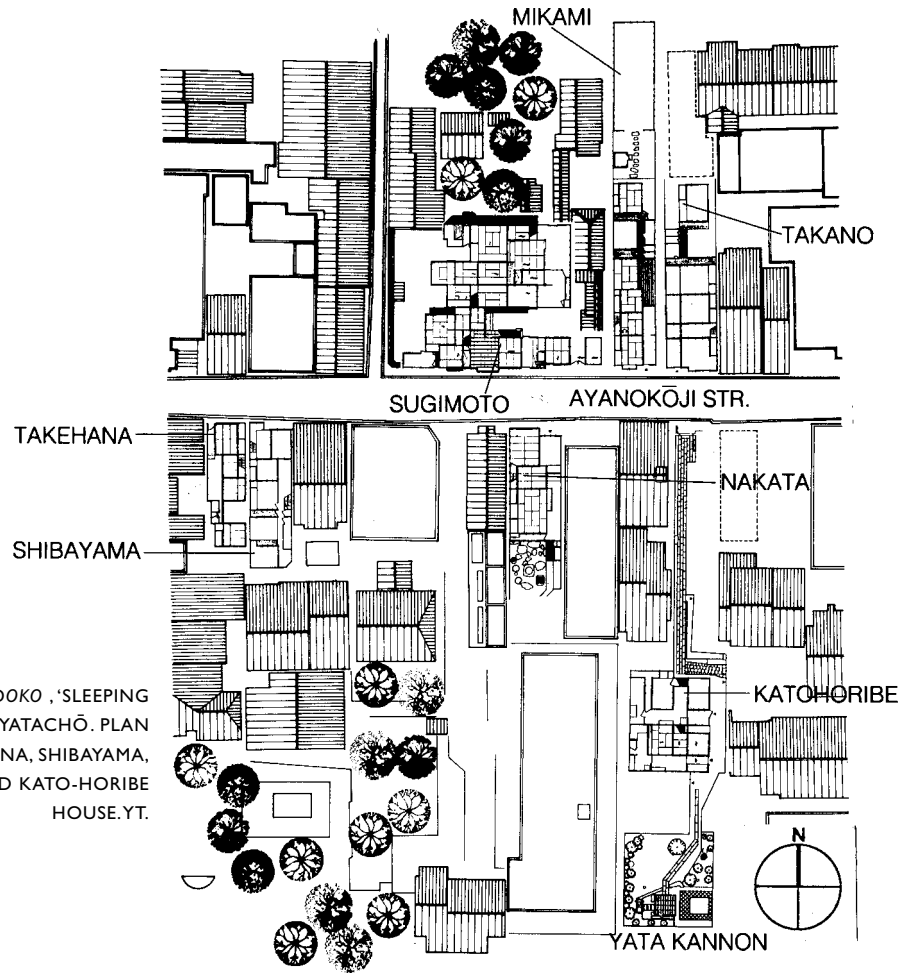
The basic necessities for a more effective land use in the central area were created through a land reform that was initiated by Toyotomi Hideyoshi. In the land reform urban blocks in large areas in the historic grid-plan area were halved through north-south running narrow streets (*roji*) that were placed in the middle of the urban blocks. The depth of new urban units was 60 metres and the depth of sites 30 metres. It was this narrow and deep building site, *tanzaku* (literally, 'narrow stripes'), that became the dominant plot

division type in Kyoto. These densely built narrow and deep sites are in Kyoto commonly known as *unagi no nedoko*, 'sleeping places of an eel'. This pattern is one of the basic urban patterns of Kyoto. It gives character and identity to the city structure as a whole and as such, is an indispensable part of the heritage value of the town.

The spatial evolution of the urban blocks in the Tokugawa era was shown in Fig. 38. Together with the *tanzaku* system, *ryōgawacho* kept its position as a basic land division pattern in the *hoko* neighbourhoods.

### The Tokugawa Era Dwelling Plan

In the narrow and deep sites a complicated and sophisticated plan type evolved that was essentially different from its more 'primitive' Heian and Kamakura period forerunners. The narrow and deep building site set limitations but it also created new possibilities to new interesting plan types. From now on, it was possible to grow inwards in depth within individual plots. One new



**FIG.40** UNAGI NO NEDOKO, 'SLEEPING PLACES OF AN EEL' IN YATACHŌ. PLAN OF THE MIKAMI, TAKEHANA, SHIBAYAMA, NAKATA, TAKANO AND KATO-HORIBE HOUSE. Y.T.

invention in the plan was *tōriniwa*, a long and narrow corridor that runs on either side of the house. This space became an intermediate space between the outdoor space and the interior of the house.

With the upper class *shoin* style, narrow building types got popularity and began to be regarded as ideal. The spatial layout of the Kyoto townhouse was consisted of a number of sub-structures which were joined together with roofed corridors. The in-between spaces that were left between structures were laid out as small inner gardens. The interior was differentiated between a number of different functions; the private zone in the inner parts of the house; on the street side was the shop or working space. In the wealthy merchant homes employees slept upstairs, making the townhouse the home and workplace even for maybe fifteen people.

Within the Japanese building traditions the Kyoto townhouse represents the western type building typology in contrast to the Kanto area or eastern type. One of the distinct features of the western building typology was the above mentioned *tōriniwa* space. In addition, narrow and deep sites forced all houses in Kyoto to use basically uniform plan types. In Tokyo the plan types were much more incoherent or accidental and there is no standard plan type. Bruno Taut observed this basic difference between plan types in Tokyo and Kyoto in a following way:<sup>133</sup>

"...In Kyoto the houses are generally built with narrow fronts around the squares (in other words, around the inner gardens; specification by the author) into which they stretch narrowly and deeply. The southern orientation of the living rooms, without which the Japanese house is almost useless, has consequently to some ex-

*tent disappeared. In many houses the verandas are no longer in the sun. Consequently in Kyoto a special type has developed, in contrast to which the typical plan of Tokyo”.*

On the narrow and deep building sites each merchant building in Kyoto can be classified into several sub-groups according to the floor-plan dominantly decided by the lot size, lot form and development of the housing layout. The author will analyse a number of such plan types through the examples of the fieldwork (see chapter 20).

## Dwelling Patterns in Yatachō

Information about the character of the pre-modern dwelling patterns that exist in the *hoko* area is provided by the fieldwork carried out by the Nishikawa laboratory in Yatachō. The survey was accomplished in 1990. In these field surveys, the Sugimoto house and six other wooden structures were investigated and their dwelling plans measured for the survey in cooperation with the heritage authorities. Through these structures it is possible to get a preliminary picture of the manifold spatial and dwelling patterns of the traditional building stock. The dominant dwelling pattern in Yatachō as in other *hoko* neighbourhoods is the *unagi no nedoko*, the ‘sleeping place of an eel’ pattern. Beside this pattern a tenement pattern, *nagaya*, can be found. The Sugimoto house, as an exceptionally large structure, is in a category of its own.

### *The Sugimoto House*

The most important structure among the investigated buildings in Yatachō, and the ‘king’ among the wooden townhouses even in the wider area, is the Sugimoto house, which with its 30 metres long facade dominates the urban landscape of Yatachō. The house was built by Sugimoto Shinzaemon in 1870.<sup>134</sup> The house was constructed only a few years after the great city fire in 1864. Therefore, in the building we can still find the excellent architectural and carpentry craft of the Edo era which at that period still survived in Kyoto.

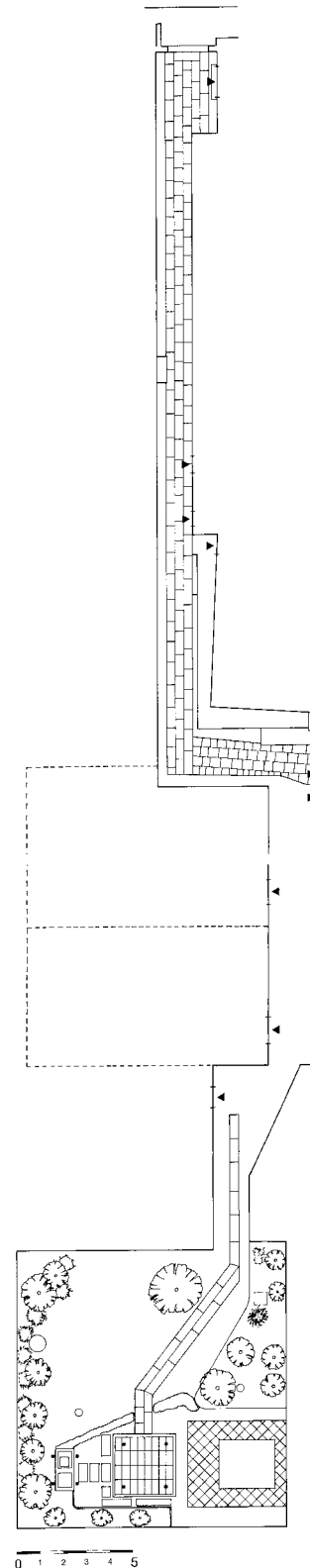


FIG.41 YATA KANNON.LOCAL SHRINE IN YATACHŌ. YT.



FIG.42 FACADE OF THE  
SUGIMOTO HOUSE. YATACHŌ. RS.

The house has altogether 19 structures in what is, by Kyoto standards, an exceptionally spacious site. These include the main structure, *moya*, the street elevation, *omoteya*, and three elegant storehouses of traditional shape. The house is not only an important architectural and historic landmark but also the core of the city community. Not only is the public exhibition staged and performed in the house during the Gion Festival, but almost all historical documents from pre-modern times are kept in the family storehouse and not, as is usual, in the municipal archive.

The house has been superbly maintained with its spacious and semi-dark interior spaces, lovely inner gardens, delicate building materials and elegant details and proportions. These dark interior spaces reminded Gallian of the darkness of a traditional Japanese house which Tanizaki has praised in his novel *In Praise of Shadows* (1987). Except for the Western style kitchen-dining room which was built during the Second World War and a new bathroom which was built in a room formerly used for the tea ceremony, very little has been changed. This is mostly due to the Sugimoto family, who has adapted their lifestyle to fit in with the historic house and its conservation objectives. The house has neither modern heating nor air

conditioning. In the winter, cold northern winds blow through the house through the open *ranma*, the decorative wooden partitions between the horizontal lintel and the ceiling.<sup>135</sup> In winter, although all lattice partitions are closed, the rooms are as cold as outdoors.

### *The Takehana, Mikami, Shibayama, Nakata and Takano Houses*

Among the structures, which were investigated by the Nishikawa laboratory, the Takehana, Mikami, Shibayama, Nakata and Takano houses are representatives of the 'sleeping places of an eel', *unagi no nedoko* pattern. The depth of the surveyed sites varies from 16.5 metres to 46 metres. In other words the depth of the deepest site is almost three times that of the shortest site. The variation itself is a typical feature of the *hoko* neighbourhoods and it is explained by the triangular shape of the *ryōgawachō*. The deepest sites were in the middle, while the depth of the plots was decreasing towards the borders of the neighbourhood. The width of the houses varies roughly around 6.7 metres. In other words, the width of the houses is notably smaller than that of the Sugimoto house. In the Tokugawa era Kyoto the width of the sites was greatly influenced by the shortage of

land. As a result, the most typical Kyoto sites were rather narrow. In addition, the tax was paid according to the width of the house, which also influenced and regulated the length of the house.

Among the structures investigated are such fine buildings as the Mikami house, which is located next to the Sugimoto house. With its well-preserved wooden frame facade and its fine traditional interior spaces the house is a good example of Kyoto's surviving vernacular traditions. Other houses surveyed show a more or less renovated and renewed facade. In part VII, chapter 20, fieldwork no. 1, the author presents a number of *unagi no nedoko* type dwelling patterns that complete our picture of the variations and richness of the Kyoto pre-modern dwelling patterns.

### ***The Kato-Horibe House***

Among the surveyed houses the Kato-Horibe house is a representative of the *nagaya*-pattern, the urban tenement which developed, in particular, in the inner parts of the urban blocks. Unlike the *unagi no nedoko* pattern, the site is shallow, and the plan relatively simple lacking the spatial richness and variation characteristic for the classic Kyoto dwelling plan. A characteristic feature of the tenement pattern is that it has shared walls with the adjoining buildings. The sample plan, the Kato-Horibe house is a multi-family house, which consists of two identical residences, which were documented in the field survey. Although not as common as detached houses, the tenement pattern illustrates a common type of urban dwelling from pre-industrial times. One such unpretentious urban tenement dwelling, the Sugiura house, is surveyed and described in detail as part of our fieldwork (see part VII, chapter 20, fieldwork no.5).



## Chapter 17

# The Screen Festival

### Screens and the Japanese Dwelling Space

Screens have been used as space dividers in Japanese residential architecture since the Heian period. Japanese architecture is based on light and movable wall partitions and on the use of screens that can take on the role of screening walls. As is widely known, traditional Japanese rooms are sparsely furnished and lack decorations except for some cushions or tables, which are used temporarily when required. The cultural significance of screens in the Japanese dwelling space can be detected in many quotations that occur in classic literature and which refer to the important role of screens. Famous for example, is, a passage in the *Tale of Genji* written at the beginning of the 11th century:

*“... Kobai was consumed with curiosity: If only I could see what she looks like! he thought. It really is a pity that she always has to be hidden!... One day, when there was no one about, he stole slyly along to the young woman’s bed chamber, hoping to catch a glimpse of her,*

*but, peering through the screen which was concealing her, he could not get the last idea of her shape (it was so very dark...).”*<sup>136</sup>

Beside their role as space dividers the decorated screens were often the major visual foci of the rooms. Many of the masterpieces of Japanese art history are actually made on such screens, which emphasises the visual significance of the screens. The Tokugawa period, especially the late 16th and early 17th centuries showed a special love of grandeur and display quite unlike that of earlier times. Gorgeous decorative screens and panels, with highly coloured scenes and designs laid on backgrounds of gold leaf (the so called *kin-gin byōbu*), were typical of the time and also became popular at such events as the Screen Festival.<sup>137</sup>

### History of the Screen Festival

Originally, the festival decorations for the Gion Festival were made to celebrate the deities of the shrine. At some stage, however, the Gion Festival became popular among the common people and

the decorations began to be made solely for sight-seeing. This was a development which Japanese art historians have called a process from *matsuri* to *sairei*, the development from festival to urban festival. The intention of the festival as a celebration of the shrine weakened and energy was concentrated on attracting people's attention. Since that time the festival decorations have become more and more gorgeous.

In the early modern era the Tokugawa government decided to stop public support of all cultural performances. The key target of the central government was a well-organised and ordered society. Communication between different groups in the society was limited and regulated by strict rules. In order to prevent uncontrolled social influence, Japan closed its doors from the outside world for 200 years. The isolation policy *Sakoku Seisaku*, lasted in Japan from 1639 to 1854. Culture was pushed into the private sphere where it was away from public view. In other words, the official policy and culture of the Tokugawa era did not support the concept of public gatherings or museums.

Only once a year, during the Gion Festival, cultural properties and family treasures could be exhibited for public view. The private and public domains fused temporarily. This was one of the beginnings of the Screen Festival. In the strictly controlled society of the Tokugawa era when the city communities and urban merchants were forbidden to show their wealth in public, the urban festival was an important tool for city neighbourhoods to compete in elegance and wealth.

In the history of Kyoto, a *Yoimya Matsuri* is known where every *hoko* neighbourhood staged decorations ascribed to the Gion Festival. A temporary stage was set up, known as the *okazariba* (literally: 'decorated place'). This became the spiritual and visual core of much of the festival. In more than half of the *hoko* neighbourhoods the common facility, *chōkaisho* or *chōie*, was used for this display. As was observed in chapter 15, the common facility plays even today a key role in the festival. In addition, ordinary townhouses exhibited screens and other home treasures. This per-

formance was known as *Byōbu Matsuri*, the display of folding screens.

The first time the Screen Festival is mentioned in historical records, is the *Miyako Gion E Zu E* (1894), a famous Meiji era guidebook on sight-seeing spots and events in Kyoto. In the book the Screen Festival is mentioned as an important seasonal event in the city centre. According to the guidebook the event is very popular among the townspeople. Many visitors come to enjoy the display, which is described 'as the most spectacular sight in the world'. Yasunari Kawabata described the performance in the following way:

*"...The stores were open with painted screens set out for decoration. There were early ukiyoe, Kano School and Yamato paintings and Sotatsu folding screens. Among the original ukiyoe there were even some screens that depicted foreigners in the elegant Kyoto style. They expressed the height of vitality of the Kyoto merchant class".*<sup>138</sup>

For the present day kimono families who participate in the festival, the tradition continues to be a source of family pride. Many of the displays have many years of patronage and the continued tradition itself gives them prestige and significance. Outside the *hoko* area, home displays of a similar kind are seen, for example, during the Kurama Fire Festival in the northern outskirts of Kyoto, and screen displays of a similar kind are found even in other parts of Japan. They lack, however, the elegance and artistic quality of the Screen Festival.

## The Inter-Relationship between the Urban Dwelling and the Street

As was analysed in part IV, chapter 13, the inter-relationship between the urban dwelling and the screen displays is one of the key concepts to explain the cultural significance of the Screen Festival. There is no historic material on the inter-relationship between the urban festival and the ordinary townhouses from periods before the 17th century. The first descriptions appear in a





FIG. 43 OMOTE, SHOP IS EXPOSED INTO THE STREET. THE KOJIRO YOSHIDA DISPLAY, ROKKAKUCHŌ. HK.

picture book called *Gion Sairei Zu*.<sup>139</sup> In the book, that was published between 1596-1658, sightseers are seen in the foreground and in the background beautiful screens are on display. This is one of the earliest documents of the Screen Festival.

In the middle of the Tokugawa era in 1757, according to a famous record, *Yamahoko Yurai-Ki*,<sup>140</sup> the *hoko* neighbourhoods were decorated with lanterns and decorative cloths. Elegant gold and silver painted screens were also on display. By this period the street decorations that adorn the streets during the Gion Festival, have acquired a fixed form. They were principally the same as we see them today. In the Meiji era the splendour of the

festival reaches its climax. This can be seen from illustrations in the *Miyako Gion E Zu E* (1894), for example.

The magnificence of the Gion Festival and the close inter-dependence between the urban festival and urban dwelling is vividly described in historical records such as the above mentioned *Yamahoko-Yurai-Ki*, which describes how

“... Streets in the city centre were colourfully decorated before the procession. Each townhouse had lanterns and large pieces of cloth, *manmaku*, hanging in front of the property. Golden and silver painted screens, *kingin byōbu*, and red woollen carpets were seen everywhere.

*Each house competed in the beauty and splendour of its decorations inviting many visitors. Indeed, in this moment, Kyoto showed its most magnificent face”.*

## **The Picture Window Effect and the Visual Significance of the Screen Festival**

The visual significance of the screen displays is not only dependent on the artistic decorations of the interiors, but on the total visual settings of the displays. This includes, as an essential part, the inter-relationship between the urban dwelling and the street.

A well-known design concept of traditional Japanese architecture is the ‘picture window’, *yukimimado* (literally, ‘snow viewing window’). This means a special landscape technique of introducing the exterior landscape into the interior space so that the exterior can suddenly, through a skilfully placed window or door opening, be enjoyed inside the house. Such technique is in particular, popular in Zen temples and gardens, where the ‘picture window’ effect is commonly used to

manipulate the garden views and to produce unexpected views along the walking routes. The landscape is not revealed once and for all, but enjoyed piece by piece with time.

In a very similar way, in the screen displays, when the wooden partitions are removed and the house is exposed to the street, the passer-by can observe the interior of the house which would otherwise be inaccessible to public view, adding to the artistic impact of the displays. During the festival nights the impact of these interior sights is emphasised by the solitude and darkness of the dwelling streets that are in great contrast to the crowded and flashy main streets. The visual significance of the Screen Festival even today originates in the striking beauty of these unexpected views. With the disappearance of the wooden townhouse tradition, such sights have, however, become extremely rare. It is ironic that while a number of displays are highlighted in tourist pamphlets the town considers the architecture that surrounds them as without value and has made no attempt to protect the wooden structures and the cultural patterns attached to them.

## Chapter 18

# The Current Profile of the *Hoko* Neighbourhoods

### Introduction

The objective of chapter 18 is to give a general picture of the current profile of the *hoko* neighbourhoods. As the main indicator in the analysis the author has used the population trend. In addition to this, the general profile of the built fabric was studied, that is, the number of wooden/reinforced concrete buildings. The use of these buildings was also observed on-site. Observations were the major source of information. The site investigation included a total of 758 buildings. Structures inside the urban blocks were not recorded. Besides field surveys the municipal registers were also available.

### Population Trend

Over the past 30 years a drastic drop in population has taken place in the city centre and, in particular, in the *hoko* neighbourhoods. While the total population in Kyoto has shown a slight increase, in the *hoko* area the number of inhabitants has dropped from 6,738 inhabitants in 1960 to 2,-

658 inhabitants in 1990<sup>141</sup>. In other words, during this period the population decreased by almost two thirds (61%). The number of residents in the *hoko* neighbourhoods during the 40-year period 1950-1990 is shown in table 1, Appendix 4. Based on this table, we identified four major population categories of the *hoko* neighbourhoods:

- a) *Hoko* neighbourhoods where the population has decreased for a time threatening the existence of the city community.
- b) *Hoko* neighbourhoods where the population has been decreasing slowly.
- c) *Hoko* neighbourhoods where the population has been decreasing but the number of inhabitants is still relatively high.
- d) *Hoko* neighbourhoods where the population has been slowly increasing or has remained stable.

As can be seen from the categories above, the population has been decreasing in the first three

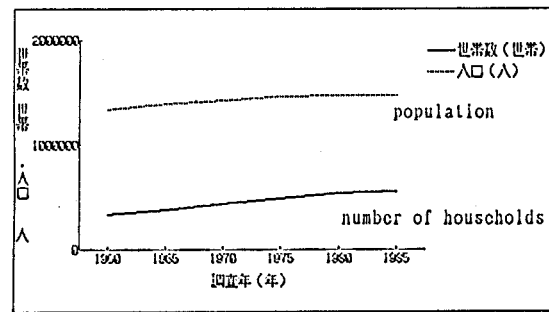


FIG.44 POPULATION TREND. WHOLE KYOTO IN 1960-85.YT.

categories. Although the population has been decreasing in categories B and C, in the C group the population is still relatively large and it has remained at over 100 inhabitants per neighbourhood. However, only three such neighbourhoods can be found today.

The worst situation is in category A. The population has dramatically decreased and the city communities have almost collapsed. In 1990 in this group of *hoko* neighbourhoods the population had decreased by 92% from what it had been in 1950 and only thirty-five inhabitants were left. In one neighbourhood, Takannachō, the number of inhabitants fell to zero in 1990. The situation in Kankohokochō was not much better. Here, one inhabitant was left. In Naginatahokochō two inhabitants remain. Most of the new buildings have been office buildings with no residential function.

In category D the population has been increasing slightly or remained the same particularly during the past ten years. This has been mainly due to the construction of new apartment houses that have been built in these neighbourhoods<sup>142</sup>. Except for two neighbourhoods, Tenjinyamachō and Banochō, habitation is still strong. The population exceeds 100 inhabitants in these neighbourhoods. In two *hoko* neighbourhoods, Taishiyamachō and Kazahayachō, the population even exceeds two hundred inhabitants. In particular, in Taishiyamachō, population numbers have remained the same even over a 40-year period.

### Age of Population and Number of Households

During the 25-year period 1960–1985 the main feature of the age trend has been the general ageing of the population. The number of younger people has declined dramatically while the share of aged people has steadily grown. The evolution that has taken place can be observed in Fig. 46.

Evaluated through school districts, the so-called *motogakku*, the picture is not much better. There were seven fewer children in 1985 than in 1980 in each city community. Furthermore, there are many *hoko* neighbourhoods with no children of primary school age. In 1991, of the six original school districts, four southern school districts and two northern districts were combined into one district. In other words, the *hoko* neighbourhoods that once were pioneers in establishing the public primary school system throughout Japan are now facing collapse of the school system.

While the total number of households grew slightly in Kyoto as a whole, in the *hoko* neighbourhoods the number of households remained almost the same. That the decrease in the number of households was not as dramatic as might be expected from the population trend, might be due to the fact that while the younger generation has moved outside the city centre, the older generation has still continued living there. Furthermore, the large number of small flats built in the city centre has, in particular, increased the number of

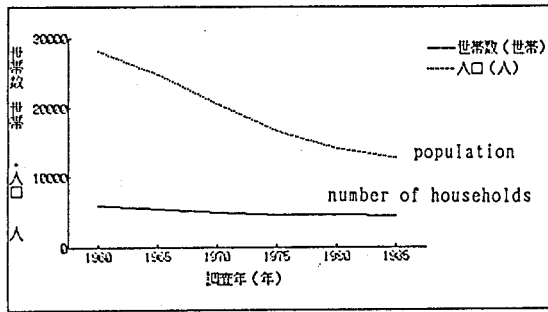


FIG. 45 POPULATION TREND. THE HOKO NEIGHBOURHOODS IN 1960-85. YT.

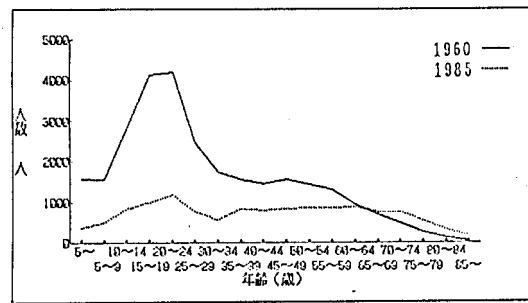


FIG. 46 AGE STRUCTURE. THE HOKO NEIGHBOURHOODS IN 1960-85. YT.

small households. This has influenced the structure of households in the *hoko* neighbourhoods too.

In 1988 there were 1,050 households altogether.<sup>143</sup> In one *hoko* neighbourhood the average number of households was 33. The average size of household was 2.3 persons. In other words, the size of the families was rather small. For the number of households in Kyoto as a whole and in the *hoko* neighbourhoods, see Figs. 44, 45.

## Profile of the Built Environment

The number of wooden buildings in the *hoko* neighbourhoods was registered systematically by the Yamahoko team. Although the survey was limited to the buildings along the residential streets, through these investigations we can get a general picture of the number of wooden buildings that exist.

According to the investigation, which comprised a total of 758 buildings, there were altogether 436 wooden buildings. In other words, more than half (58%) of buildings were still wooden. If the inner parts of the *hoko* neighbourhoods had been taken in consideration, the number of wooden buildings would have been even larger. Furthermore, among the wooden buildings, 299 (39%) were of *machiya* style, 128 (17%) of *kanban*, shop sign style facades, nine (1%) other wooden structures. The number of reinforced concrete buildings was 322 (42%).

However, there were large differences between individual neighbourhoods. The different profiles

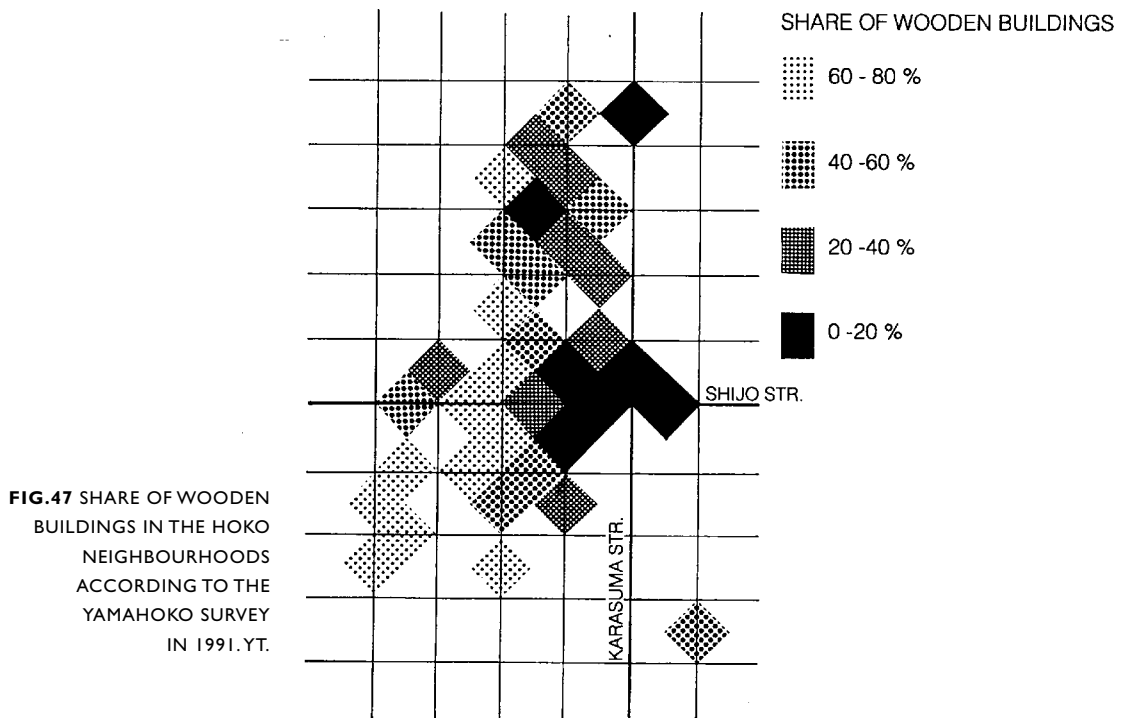
of the built environment in the *hoko* neighbourhoods are shown in Fig. 47. The figure shows the share of wooden buildings in each neighbourhood.

## Use of Buildings

The *hoko* area as part of the Muromachi kimono wholesale district, is traditionally characterised by an urban structure where dwelling/residential areas have been mixed with other land-uses such as kimono production and trade. This picture is to a large degree still valid today. Although the kimono industry is in decline, a relatively large number of kimono activities is still found. Of the 737 buildings investigated, 316 (43%) were used for trades linked with traditional industries. Of these, as many as 249 (79%) were involved with the kimono industries and trade.

## The Current Profile of the *Hoko* Neighbourhoods and the Future of its Heritage

The continuity of the Gion Festival is secured by law, by local preservation organisations and by huge public and private subsidies. Still, the future of the festival is threatened in a number of ways. With the lack of a younger generation, the continuity of the festival has become endangered in many *hoko* neighbourhoods. With few surviving members in the city neighbourhood the tradition



has become difficult to maintain. The cultural know-how necessary for the festival such as the proper maintenance of time-honoured rituals and display techniques is vanishing at an accelerating speed.

A large part of the work needed in the organisation and management of the festival, is done as paid part-time work. Already in six *hoko* neighbourhoods the festival is run by outside volunteers and the significance of the township community as a mutual cooperation unit has degenerated. Many of the volunteers even come from outside Kyoto. An acquaintance from Osaka, who is working there for a large Japanese company, volunteers in Funehokochō, the neighbourhood of ship shape float. Festival volunteers are even hired among the foreign students at Kyoto University. In Naginatahokochō, which is the neighbourhood of the living pageboy, no family is left in sole charge of their local pavilion. Representatives of the Yasaka Shrine supervise the festival. According to the Yamahoko investigation only six neighbourhoods were under no imme-

diated threat and could manage the festival without help from outside.

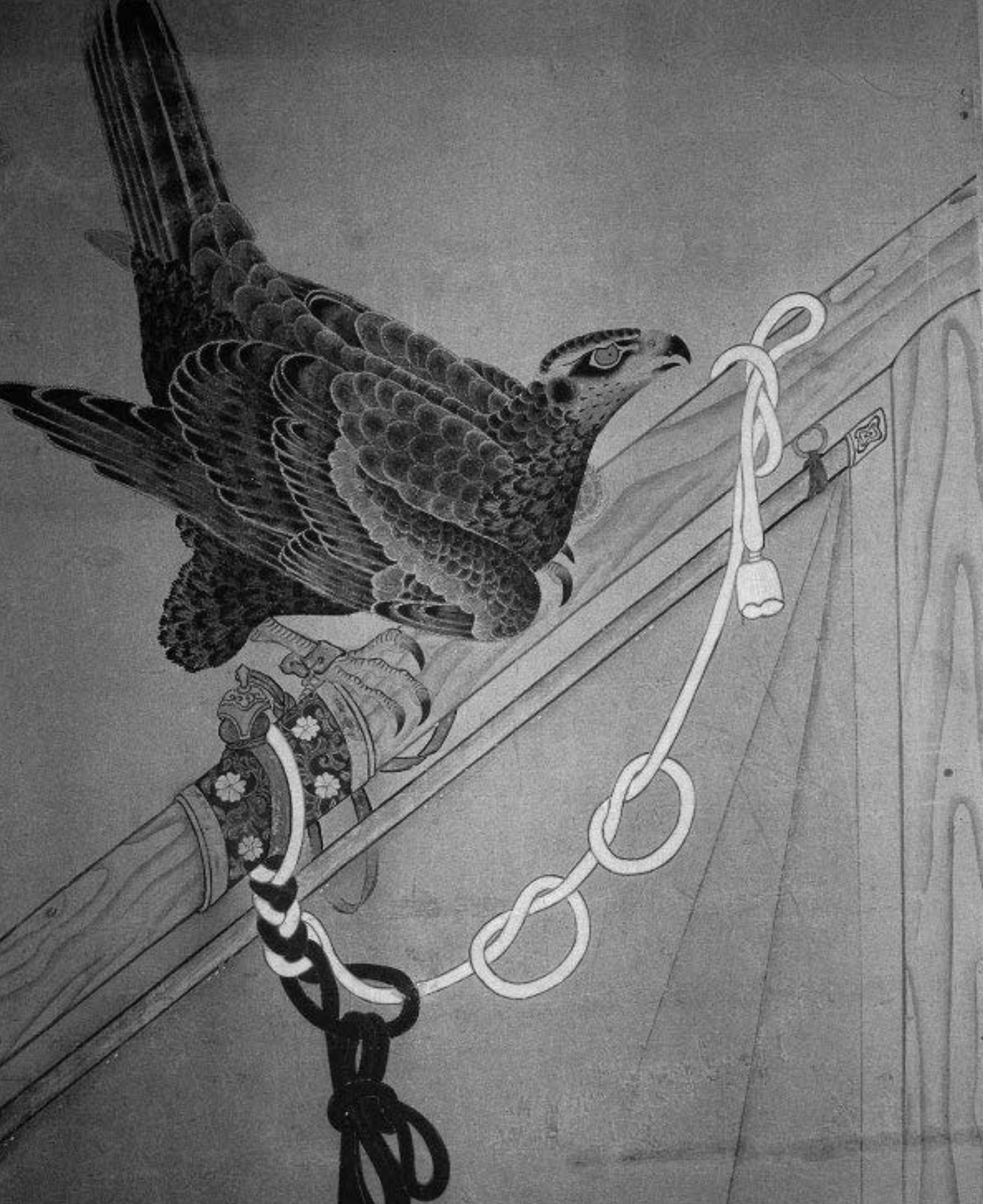
Despite the extensive construction activity in the city centre, the number of residents has increased in only a few *hoko* neighbourhoods. Even in those neighbourhoods with new residents, only in a few communities have they been integrated into the urban festival. Because the construction industry and the market favour the construction of small tenant apartments, new residents have mostly been short-term residents such as students, unmarried young people or childless couples who are often from outside Kyoto and have no personal interest in the festival.

With the decreasing and ageing population it has become more and more difficult to maintain the festival. The dramatic increase in maintenance expenses, such as the expensive restoration and repair work on the cultural properties, has increased the financial burden on the vanishing neighbourhoods. According to the Yamahoko survey, the economy has already collapsed in a number of *hoko* neighbourhoods.

As to the built fabric, the *hoko* neighbourhoods are characterised by a multitude of building types from the wooden frame houses to reinforced concrete and steel structures. The wooden frame houses are in a majority in the narrow lanes and side alleys. As quiet residential oases they are perhaps more important than ever. In many areas, however, a process of dramatic urban change has begun threatening the character and life of the neighbourhoods. One dominant feature of the built environment is the uneven character of the urban transformation process. There are now *hoko* neighbourhoods where large office buildings dominate and neighbourhoods where many wooden townhouses survive and the transformation process has hardly yet begun.

As was analysed above, most of the vanishing *hoko* neighbourhoods are located in the vicinity of the Shijo-Karasuma area. In other words, they are in the core of the central business district with its large conglomeration of commercial and business functions. In these areas it is likely that the urban transformation process will continue. Outside these areas the picture of the built and urban environment is, however quite different. In particular, there are many well-preserved city neighbourhoods west of Nishi no Tōin Street. Among the 11 neighbourhoods, which showed an increase in population, eight communities were located in this area south of Shijo Street. These are city areas that until now have been spared the most extensive city development. Habitation is in these areas still strong and there are a large number of wooden frame houses. It is these more peripheral neighbourhoods where it still makes sense to speak about urban conservation.

Below, the author will investigate, through the example of three neighbourhoods, the architectural and urban patterns that exist in the *hoko* neighbourhoods. These field surveys will further clarify our picture of the urban profile of the *hoko* area and the character of its urban heritage.





P A R T V I I

FIELDWORK  
IN THE HOKO  
NEIGHBOURHOODS



## Chapter 19

# Introduction to the Fieldwork on Architectural Patterns of Three *Hoko* Neighbourhoods

### Description of the Survey Area

The foci of Chapter 19 are three historic *hoko* neighbourhoods: Kakkyoyamachō, Shinkamanzachō and Yatachō. By their different scale and lifestyles they illustrate three types of urban environment characteristic of the city centre and the *hoko* area today. Shinkamanzachō is a city neighbourhood with kimono textile manufacturers' houses and small urban tenanted terraced houses. Yatachō is a kimono textile wholesale district with both distribution and dwelling functions. Kakkyoyamachō is characterised by mixed land use combining dwellings with small shops, *tempo*. Two of the neighbourhoods studied, Yatachō and Kakkyoyamachō, illustrate the concept of the *ryōgawachō*, the pre-modern system of self-governing township communities. Shinkamanzachō, on the other hand, is a tenement lane in the middle of an urban block between Yatachō and Kakkyoyamachō.

The objective of the fieldwork was to obtain information about the special features of the architecture and urban heritage in these historic neighbourhoods, which still survive, but are severely endangered by the transformation process of the town.

The survey area is defined by Shijo Street in the north, Ayanokōji Street in the south, Shinmachi Street in the east and Nishi no Tōin Street in the west. In the township structure of Kyoto, Yatachō and Kakkyoyamachō show the pattern of 'lying' neighbourhood, while Shinkamanzachō is a representative of narrow tenement lanes. The location of the three neighbourhoods in the survey area is shown in Fig. 51.

### History of the Neighbourhoods

#### *Kakkyoyamachō*

According to *Yamashiro Meisho-shi* a temple named Anyo-ji existed around the present Kakkyoyama-



FIG.48 LIFE IN SHINKAMANZACHŌ BEFORE THE SECOND WORLD WAR IN THE 1940S. SS.

chō around 1110. This temple was moved to another place by order of Toyotomi Hideyoshi. After this record, the oldest record from Kakkyoyamachō is documented in 1500, just after the Ōnin wars, in the list which records the festival floats. According to the list there is a 'Michi-tsukuri-yama', a mountain shape float between Shijo Nishi no Tōin and Machi (the present Shinmachi) Streets. In a historical record from 1571 the area is known as 'Kawadanachō'. The area had many shops specialising in leather cutting. The name probably referred to this activity.<sup>144</sup> In 1560 a Christian priest was recorded in a place named Kawanodana and ordinary poor people lived in the area. It was recorded that the priest was living in the house of a woman. This is the oldest record concerning Christianity in connection with a location in Kyoto.

In 1673 in *Rakuchū E Zu* the Chinese ideogram of 'kawa', which means leather, was changed to an ideogram of the same pronunciation but which has the meaning of river. In other maps the ideogram 'leather' is used. One hundred years later, in 1762 a famous guidebook, *Kyō Machi Kagami* was published. In this guidebook the present name Kakkyoyamachō is found for the first time. In the municipal archive there are almost five hundred documents preserved which record pre-modern life in Kakkyoyamachō.<sup>145</sup>

### *Shinkamanzachō*

According to *Historical Place Names of Kyoto*, the name of Shinkamanzachō appears in historical records for the first time in the *Rakuchū E Zu* in 1637. It is mentioned as 'a narrow pass from south to north' and called 'Koyaku no zushi'.<sup>146</sup> Near the end of the middle ages the area is shown with

this name in all maps. Legend has it that in the Heian period a famous priest Kuya established a small temple, which was later named 'Koyaku-dojo'.<sup>147</sup> A historical record from 1520 tells that a temple named Koyaku was at that time used as a base camp for an army group. According to an old guidebook from the Tokugawa era, *Yamashiro Meishoshi*, the location of the temple was 'Koyaku no zushi', in other words, the present day Shinkamanzachō.

In the urban structure of Kyoto Shinkamanzachō illustrates narrow urban lanes which were established in pre-modern times in the grid-plan area in the middle of the urban blocks. Such urban layers are an important part of Kyoto's urban morphology and examples of reshaping of urban space that has taken place in the grid plan area for centuries.

### Yatachō

In Yatachō the oldest known document is from 1376, when a merchant delivering oil is recorded as having had his dwelling there. An old map depicting the landscape before the Ōnin wars shows a temple known as Yatadera in the area. In 1590 the temple was transferred to Gyōkoku-Sanjo by order of Toyotomi Hideyoshi. It can still be found there today. Before the Ōnin wars the area was known to have presented a Jizōhoko, a festival float, in the Gion Festival. The Yatadera was known for a statue of Jizō that became the symbol of the neighbourhood's float. In a historical record from 1500, which deals with the reorganisation of the Gion Festival there, is a mention of 'Kotohariyama', a pavilion with a destroyed *koto* instrument. It is the major symbol of the festival float in Yatachō even today and exhibited during the festival weeks in the Sugimoto house for public view together with other historical assets.

In 1571 the name Yatachō appears for the first time and it was established as the name of the area. In *Kyoto On Yakusho Muki Taigai Oboezaki* from 1717, which is a document published by the central government to inform newly arrived officials from Edo (Tokyo) about matters in Kyoto, one house in Yatachō is mentioned. The house belongs

to Mr. Jinpei Suminokura, known as a powerful merchant in Kyoto. The document records that the width of the house was approximately 53.6 metres and the depth of the site 168 metres. When the ordinary houses were only 6.7 - 13.4 metres in width, the house of Mr. Suminokura was exceptionally large.

### The Built Environment

The first multi-storey buildings in the survey areas were built in the 1960s. The new buildings were mainly cooperative dwelling houses or buildings of kimono corporations. In Kakkyoyamachō there are also modern office buildings and a hotel. Kakkyoyamachō is in the process of change. Most of the buildings in the neighbourhood are still small-scale townhouses with commercial *kanban*, shop sign facades. The scale of the new buildings is radically different from the old environment. The integrity of the built environment has been largely destroyed.

Of the three neighbourhoods, Yatachō particularly shows a mixed urban landscape with a mixture of multi-storey buildings and wooden townhouses. In Shinkamanzachō major changes have been hampered by a narrow street and complex ownership conditions. At its narrowest point the street is only 2.8 metres wide. Most of the buildings are tenanted terraced houses with complex land and house ownership. Some of the terraced houses along the lane were originally built for the servants and kimono workers in the service of the Sugimoto family. Only one large-scale multi-storey building has been built in the vicinity of the neighbourhood. This building is completely out of proportion when compared to other buildings along this wooden tenement lane. The over scaled new building can be observed, for instance, in the measurement drawing that the author carried out in Shinkamanzachō, Fig. 19. The survey areas have preserved much of their pre-industrial spatial character up to today, particularly in the inner parts of the neighbourhoods. This is mainly due to the magnificent Sugimoto house, the site of which is almost four

times larger than the average site in the *hoko* area. The total built area in Yatachō is 5066 sq. m. and the surface area taken by wooden buildings 2967 sq. m. In other words, a notable part of the built surface area is still taken by the wooden building stock.

At the moment, however, all three neighbourhoods are in a dramatic transitional phase in their development. The population is ageing and declining in numbers. The traditional industries in the area are decreasing although the kimono wholesale function is still relatively strong. With the collapsing economy of the *hoko* neighbourhoods, the Gion Festival is losing its foothold as a living tradition. In addition, with the demolition of wooden townhouses, the screen displays and other collective traditions are disappearing at an accelerating speed. Many of the old buildings along Shijo Street, perhaps already waiting to be demolished, look rather dilapidated.

## The Survey Area and Urban Conservation

In the land use map the survey area is part of the commercial and business district. The development ratio is highest in Kakkyoyamachō and its immediate vicinity. The development ratios are defined according to the character of the bordering street, whether it is a dwelling street or a main street, and also by the distance of a building

from the bordering streets. Thus buildings that are located near Shijo Street have higher building ratios than those distanced from the street. The development ratios are between  $e=4.0$  and  $e=7.0$ . Compared with the existing land use, the development ratios are high in all three neighbourhoods. When the city-planning map was prepared there must have been no doubt that considerable changes in the land use of the area were to be expected.

Furthermore, most of the wooden buildings in such well preserved neighbourhoods as Shinkamanzachō are, according to the fire prevention legislation, actually illegal, because of the narrowness of the lanes. The buildings on the opposite sides of the streets are too near to each other. In all three neighbourhoods the use of wood as a construction material for new buildings is forbidden. The future of all three neighbourhoods is characterised by a great uncertainty, largely because of the vicinity of the Shijo and Karasuma area, one of the major expanding centres of the town.

## Description of the Recording

All good planning starts by asking the question 'what values are there today?' – economic values, human, social, cultural values. The heritage should be a self-evident starting point for physical planning and for political decision making. This means identifying the cultural values, presenting them in

**FIG.49** VIEW FROM SHINKAMANZACHŌ, LEFT THE SUGIURA HOUSE. RS.



**FIG.50** VIEW FROM AYANOKŌJI STREET, YATACHŌ. RS.



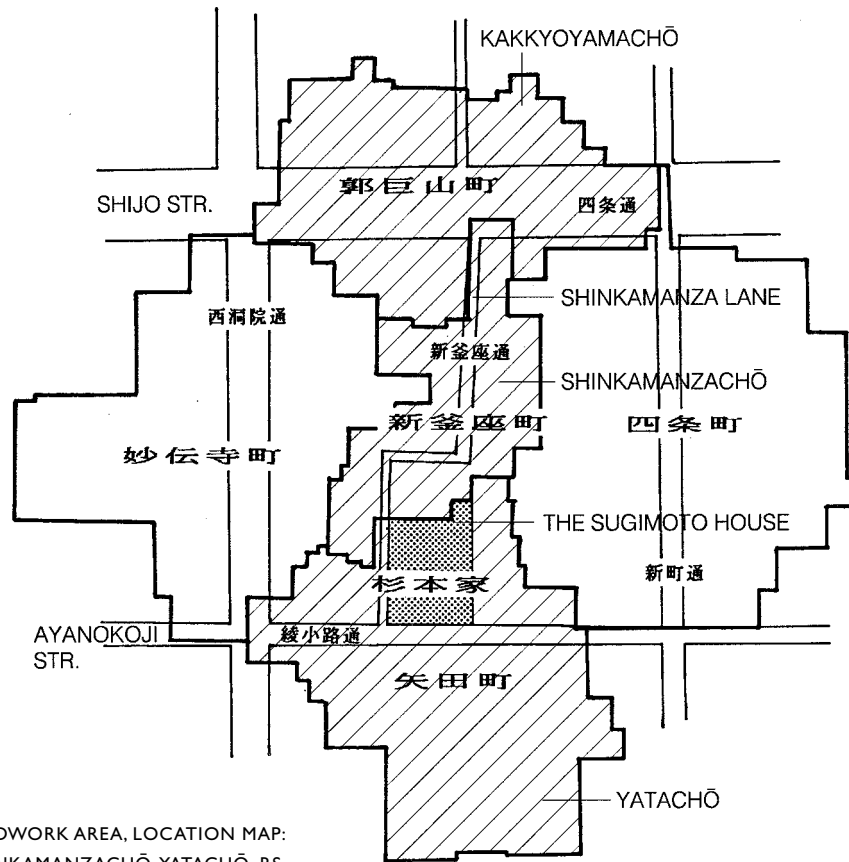


FIG.51 THE FIELDWORK AREA, LOCATION MAP: KAKKYOYAMACHŌ, SHINKAMANZACHŌ, YATACHŌ. R.S.

a way which makes them easily understandable and accessible, and promoting a greater awareness among planners, decision makers and – above all – the general public. In the thesis the *hoko* area is analysed and inventoried in its present, even contradictory shape. In other words, not as they once upon were, or as our expectations or preconceived images of them might be, but as something more fragmentary, less beautiful, something that has gone through many changes, some of them even contradictory, but which still can present an inspiring challenge for urban conservation and research.

In the field surveys the street elevations were systematically photographed, measured and drawn for the documentation by the author. The necessary technical assistance for the measurement work was provided by a group of students from the Nishikawa laboratory. Altogether approxima-

tely a hundred facades were measured and surveyed for the research.

For the documentation the author took four basic measurements: width of the house (*maguchi*), height of the upper eaves (*noki shita*), height of the ridgepole (*mune takasa*) and height of the lower eaves or canopy (*hisashi*). In addition, the facades were systematically photographed. The photographs were used to help drawing work, in analysing proportions etc. Some key details were checked afterwards on site and measured separately. This is a relatively uncomplicated and quick method, which is widely used by the Nishikawa laboratory when a large number of buildings must be measured in a short period of time. The method is therefore used, in particular, for documenting large groups of buildings or townscapes.

The drawings were made using the Japanese 'Hanako' drafting program. All facades were drawn in 1:100 scale and then joined together as street facades. Because of the limitations of the Japanese drawing program, the emphasis was on the clarity and information value of the measured drawings. Their artistry or pictorial effect was considered less important. The present analysis and the way of looking at the matter were primarily operative. The point was in the analysis and in exact recording of the townscape, not a building history or conservation study. The measurement drawings can be seen in Figs. 19, 20, 53, 54 and 55.

The inventory views the building stock from the architectural and urban point of view and thus does not replace other analyses such as historic investigations or assessments of social and technical conditions. Also, since the scope of the inventory covered whole streetscapes, and since the level of precision aimed at providing a general picture of the building stock, the investigation was limited to the exterior of the buildings. How important systematic building inventories would have been at the initial stages of drawing up general city plans and urban programmes, is a separate question and one of those issues that the author has addressed throughout the research.



**FIG.52** VIEW FROM YATACHŌ. IN THE FOREGROUND THE SUGIMOTO HOUSE. RS.



## Fieldwork No. 1: Building Inventory

### The Content of the Fieldwork

The study covers all the building stock inside the three neighbourhoods, including new multi-storey buildings. Altogether 97 buildings were surveyed: 36 in Kakkyoyamachō, 38 in Shinkamanzachō and 23 in Yatachō. Two sites were vacant. The author divided the building statistics into four categories:<sup>148</sup> investigation of building materials, building categories, number of floors and building styles.

### Building Materials

The building materials were divided into four categories: wood, reinforced concrete, steel, other structures.

### Building Categories

The author used five building categories:

- Detached houses, *kodate no machiya*. The detached houses are the dominant building type in Kyoto.
- Tenanted terraced houses, *nagaya*. The buildings have shared walls with the adjoining buildings. In Kyoto, unlike Osaka, the terraced houses were, never the dominant types of urban dwelling.
- Storehouses, *kura*. The fire resistant storehouses

are one important building type of the historic urban dwelling and the traditional Kyoto townscape.

- Multi-storey buildings. In the multi-storey category were included all those structures which have three or more floors.
- Those, which were outside the four categories, were described as 'other' such as the common facility in Kakkyoyamachō.

### Number of Floors

The buildings were divided into five categories by the number of floors:

- Buildings with one floor.
- Buildings with 1.5 floors. Buildings in this category are the 'classic' Kyoto townhouses, *tsushi nikai*. The buildings have a low upper floor.
- Buildings with two floors, *hon nikai*. *Hon nikai* is a late, 20th century, variation of the *tsushi nikai* building category.
- Buildings with three to five floors.
- Buildings with more than five floors

### Style of Buildings

Buildings were classified in four categories with regard to style:

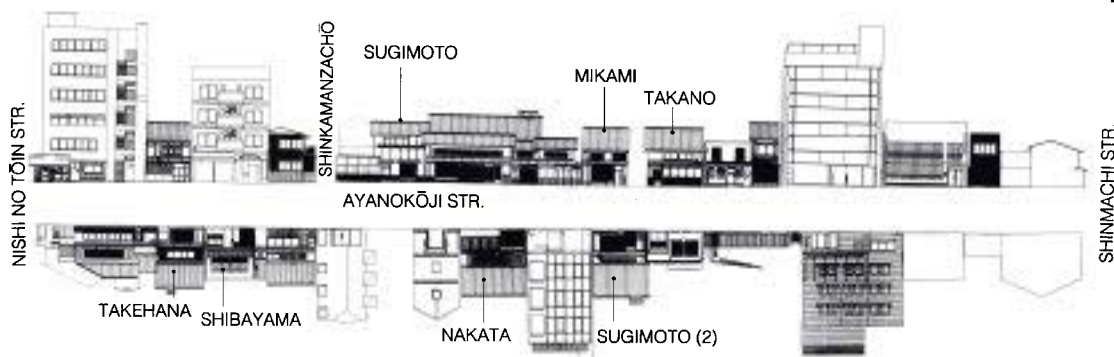
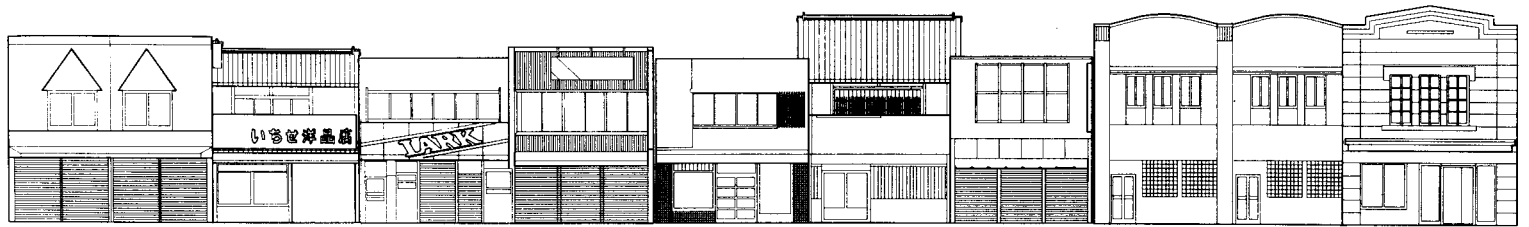
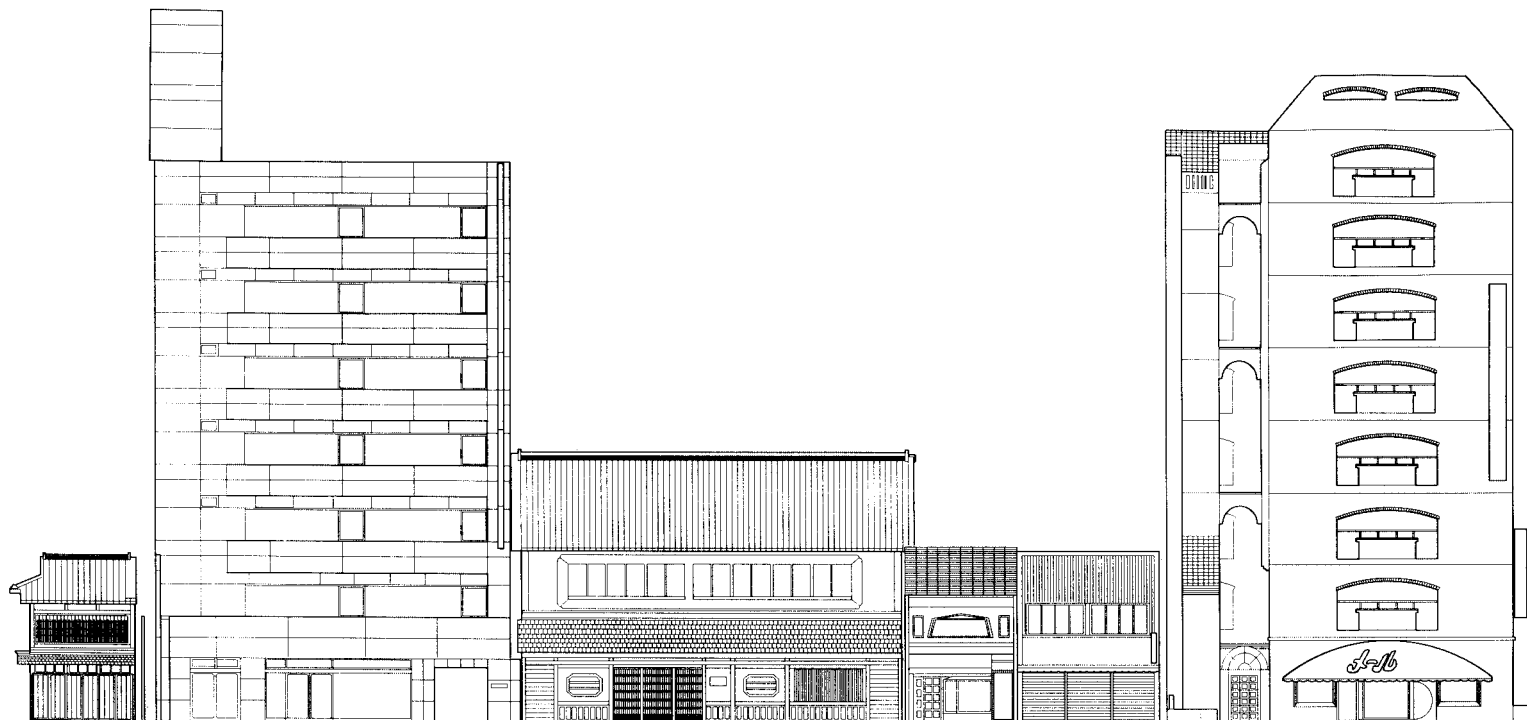
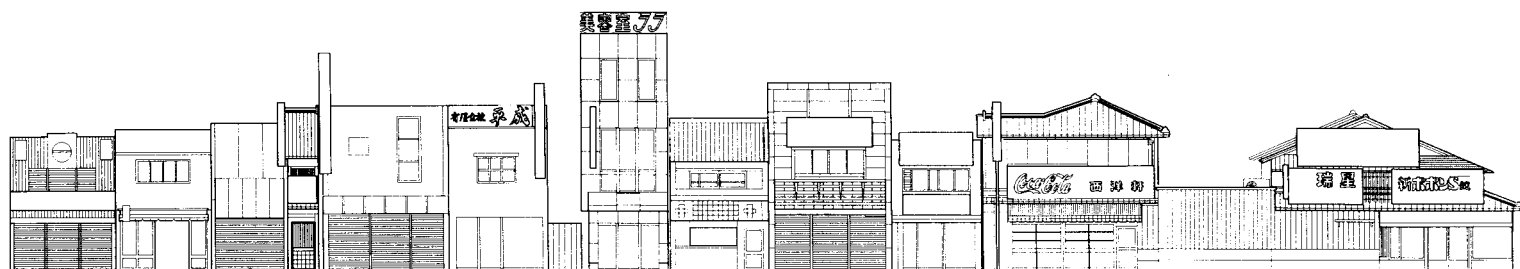


FIG.53 STREET FACADE OF YATACHŌ. THE SUGIMOTO, MIKAMI, TAKEHANA, SHIBAYAMA, NAKATA AND TAKANO HOUSES ARE INDICATED IN THE DRAWING. MEASUREMENT DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.





**FIG.54** (ABOVE) SOUTH FACADE OF KAKKYOYAMACHŌ BETWEEN NISHI-NO-TŌIN AND SHINMACHI STREET. THE COMMON FACILITY IN THE MIDDLE IN THE CROSSING OF SHIJO AND SHINKAMANZA STREETS. MEASUREMENT DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.



**FIG.55** (BELOW) NORTH FACADE OF KAKKYOYAMACHŌ BETWEEN NISHI-NO-TŌIN AND SHINMACHI STREET. MEASUREMENT DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.



酒  
菜々



**FIG.57** A MODERN, HON NIKAI, MACHIYA WITH 1.5 FLOORS. YATACHŌ. RS.

- Machiya*, townhouse style. In this style the author included all wooden buildings with a wooden structural frame and a pitched tiled roof.
- Kanban kenchiku*, shop sign style. In the street elevation the wooden framed buildings have a shop facade like a large shop sign.
- Shimotaya* style. A derivation of the *machiya*, townhouse style. Some wooden buildings in the central area are of the *shimotaya* style, although in fewer numbers. Its hallmarks are usually a high wooden fence and a main building that is recessed from the street.
- ‘Other’ such as multi-storey buildings, fire-proof storehouses, *kura*, etc.

## Survey Results

### *Building Materials*

All three neighbourhoods still have an exceptionally high number of wooden structures left. Among the 97 buildings studied a large majority, 83 were wooden. In all three neighbourhoods the share of wooden buildings was still more than half of all buildings. In Shinkamanzachō in particular, the number of wooden buildings was exceptionally large. In this neighbourhood, all the buildings

except one were wooden. This is one of few those places where one can still experience the unspoiled atmosphere of old Kyoto and the historic neighbourhoods. The character of the area cannot be said to have changed outwardly in the past 20 years. The block typology, building materials and scale of the houses are the same as they have been for centuries. The survey results are shown in Fig. 1, Appendix 4.

### *Building Categories*

Most of the wooden buildings in Yatachō and Kakkuyomachō were in the *kodate no machiya* category, in other words they were detached townhouses. The number of these houses was 54. The relatively large number of urban tenements, *nagaya*, in the survey area, altogether 24 houses, is explained by Shinkamanzachō, the dominantly urban tenement lane. In addition, there were three fire proof storehouses, *kura*. Two of them were found in the Sugimoto site and one in the site of common facility. They are important landmarks of the changing townscape. The number of multi-storey buildings was 15. The survey results are shown in Fig. 2, Appendix 4.

**FIG.56** (THE OPPOSITE PAGE) STOREHOUSE, *KURA*, AND A HIGH GARDEN FENCE. SHINKAMANZACHŌ, THE SUGIMOTO SITE. RS.



**FIG.58** TSUSHI-NIKAI MACHIYA. THE TRADITIONAL KYOTO TOWNHOUSE WITH 1.5 FLOORS AND WITH A WELL-PRESERVED LONG MUSHIKO MADO, INSECT WINDOW, IN THE UPPER FLOOR. YATACHŌ. RS.



**FIG.59** A MODERN, HON NIKAI, MACHIYA WITH TWO FLOORS. YATACHŌ. RS.

### *Number of Floors*

According to the field survey, here and there the townscape has been encroached upon by new buildings too large to fit in well. This is the case particularly in Kakkyoyamachō where the tallest multi-story buildings have eight floors. In Yatachō, the scale of new buildings is smaller, but because of the many new buildings that have been built in the neighbourhood, only fragments of the wooden town remain, and the building tradition has not been continued properly. If it were not for the Sugimoto house and some other wooden townhouses still existing in Yatachō, it would be difficult to identify the old townscape and the identity of the neighbourhood. 11 buildings showed 3-5 floors and four buildings had more

than 5 floors. One third, 28 buildings of the wooden frame buildings were still in the classic, *tsushi nikai* category. In other words, they followed the pattern of the classic Kyoto townhouse. A representative of this building category can be seen, for instance, in Fig. 58 that shows one such *tsushi nikai* building in Yatachō. The number of buildings that had two floors was 52. The *hon nikai* frame was common in Kakkyoyamachō and Shinkamanzachō. The survey results are shown in Fig. 3, Appendix 4.

### *Style of Buildings*

Most, 48 buildings, of the wooden-frame houses showed the *machiya* style. In Kakkyoyamachō, however, the shop sign style, or *kanban kenchiku*,



FIG.60 A MODERN, HON NIKAI, MACHIYA WITH TWO FLOORS. YATACHŌ. RS.



FIG.61 KANBAN KENCHIKU, SHOP SIGN STYLE. YATACHŌ. RS.

dominated. Also in Yatachō, there was a number of shop sign facade houses, see, for instance, Fig. 61. The total number of shop sign style houses was 27. In addition, two wooden-frame houses were of the *shimotaya* style. Both of them were located in Shinkamanzachō. The survey results are shown in Fig. 4, Appendix 4.

The relatively large number of variations found in the building categories and styles in the survey area is a common feature of the Kyoto townhouse and the wooden town heritage. The large number of buildings surveyed makes the sample representative and illustrates the character of the built fabric in other *hoko* neighbourhoods also.

## Fieldwork No. 2: Use of Building

### The Aim of the Fieldwork

The aim of the case study was to investigate the present use of the buildings. In particular, the author focused on the use of the ground floor. The case study is based on the observations and inventories made on site. In addition to the field observations, Mrs. Sugiura, as a local resident, was an important source of information.

### Use of Buildings

The author divided the main use of the buildings into five categories: residential buildings, those with mixed use in combination with dwelling, commercial buildings such as office buildings and kimono enterprises, other uses and vacant buildings.

### Use of the Ground Floor

The Kyoto townhouse with such spaces as shop or manufacturing space on the ground floor, the author focused particularly on the use profile of the spaces at ground level. The author used six use categories: dwelling, shop, workshop or manufacturing space, office space or enterprise, empty and other. The ground floor was classified as a shop, if the *omote*, room next to the street was a shop, and as a residence if the room was used as a dwelling room.

### Survey Results

#### Use of Buildings

A majority of buildings had a mixed use in combination with dwelling. The total number of residential buildings was 66. In other words, a majority of buildings had a residential function. The number of commercial buildings without residential function was 16. Another important feature was that there was a relatively large number of empty or abandoned houses, especially in

Shinkamanzachō. The total number of vacant buildings was nine. The survey results are shown in Fig. 5, Appendix 4.

#### Use of the Ground Floor

In 26 buildings the ground floor was used as residential space. In Shinkamanzachō especially the number of residential function was high. The ground floor was used as dwelling in 20 buildings. Shop was found in 28 buildings.<sup>149</sup> There were many shops especially in Kakkyoyamachō. In this neighbourhood the number of shops was 23. Furthermore, workshop or working space was found in eight buildings. The number of manufacturing spaces was thus relatively low. The few number of working spaces was, in particular, prominent in Shinkamanzachō, which previously was a flourishing kimono-manufacturing lane. The workshops were in the following fields: kimono manufacturing (4), textile dyeing (1), maker of traditional name plates (1), designer of kimono crest (1) and maker of sliding doors (1).

In addition to workshops, there were enterprises and offices. The total number of them was 12. Many of them had a traditional profile. The kimono wholesale function continues to have a strong foothold in the neighbourhoods. There were a number of kimono wholesale enterprises particularly in Yatachō.

#### Trends of Instability

Some trends of instability were observed. One example was the large number of vacant or abandoned spaces. As many as 13 buildings had a vacant ground floor. In Kakkyoyamachō in particular, the number of vacant spaces was high. The ground floor was vacant in nine buildings. However, because of the limitations of the survey method and the limited survey area, it is not possible to draw any final conclusions. Also, the quar-



ters surveyed border on one of the major streets in Kyoto. The central location affects the urban development of the sample quarters in an unpredictable way. In particular, the large number of vacant or abandoned spaces in the area may be explained against this background. The survey results are shown in Fig. 6, Appendix 4.

## Fieldwork No. 3: The Architecture

### The Aim of the Fieldwork

Throughout the case study, the author aimed to test, in particular, the architectural patterns of the survey area and its vernacular vocabulary. For the survey, altogether 82 wooden framed facades were studied: 36 in Shinkamanzachō, 30 in Kakkyoyamachō and 16 in Yatachō. The new, multi-storey buildings were excluded.

The major objective of the recording was to identify the architectural patterns and carpentry elements of the wooden framed facades as well as to analyse the alterations and modifications made to them. The recording is primarily intended to aid decision-making as the preliminary step in the monitoring and evaluation process of the historic neighbourhoods. In particular, the investigation aims to identify the number and types of traditional carpentry and building components. The inventory as such cannot be used as a planning or design tool as it would demand a more careful investigation of the origins of the design elements of the buildings.

### The Method of the Survey and Major Results

Traditional Japanese architecture is based on the post and beam structure where the facades consist of an exposed wooden structural frame. Within a unified frame the facade is filled in with various kind of building components such as windows, doors and earth panels where individual building components can be removed or replaced by an other element. This principle was adapted in the four historic preservation areas as one of the key concepts in developing the preservation methodology for the wooden facades. Dr. Yamasaki describes the matter thus:

*“... then we interpreted that the facades are composed of ‘facade frame types’ and ‘design elements’ such as sliding doors, lattice work windows and earthen wall panels fixed in the frames. These design elements are mutually interchangeable, a wall panel can be replaced by a window for example. Each facade type has suitable design element variations”.*<sup>150</sup>

For the current building inventory the facades were divided into five kinds of major building components: roofs, eaves, walls, windows, doors. This was the basic categorisation used by the Nishikawa laboratory in the building inventories. Then the author analysed their individual design elements such as roof tile design, wall structure, wall materials and the number of *kōshi* lattice partitions. Because of the often different treatment of the ground and upper floors, the architectural details on the ground and upper floors were analysed separately.

#### **Roofs, Yane**

The author counted the number of buildings with a traditional pitched roof. In addition, the number of flat roofs and other roof shapes were also counted. Then the author investigated the roofing materials and the type of roof tile design. Of the 97 buildings studied a large majority, 82 buildings, have a pitched roof shape (see Fig. 7, Appendix 4). Furthermore, 80 buildings in the survey area have the traditional tile roof covered with authentic Kyoto roof tiles left. This is a large number, which gives character and identity to the whole townscape. One such elegant tile roof in the survey area can be seen in Fig. 63.

#### **Roof Tile Pattern**

The author used two tile categories, the *ichimonjikawara* and the *sankarakusa* pattern. The roof tiles of ordinary townhouses in Kyoto are usually



FIG. 62 TILE ROOF PATTERNS, SHINKAMANZACHŌ. RS.

either of these two patterns. The roof tile pattern that is used in fire-proof storehouses, is known as *hongawara*. As to the (traditional) design of roof tiles, most of the tile roofs were of *ichimonjikawara* and *sankarakusa* design patterns. Both were found in equal numbers (27 roofs each). All tile roofs, could not, however, be identified because they were invisible from the street. The number of these cases was 24. The survey results are shown in Fig. 8, Appendix 4.

### **Lower Eaves or Canopy, Hisashi**

An important architectural element of traditional townhouses is the canopy or lower eaves between lower and upper floor. The author also considered the roof tile pattern in this part of the roof.

As one of the most important architectural elements of the Kyoto townhouses, all the *machiya* style, wooden-frame buildings in the survey area showed a canopy between the ground and upper floor area, 48 buildings in all. In the canopy far the most common roof tile pattern was *ichi-*

*monjikawara* design. Altogether 34 buildings showed this roof tile pattern. The survey results are shown in Fig. 9, Appendix 4.

### **Walls**

The wall structure was divided into two main categories: *shinkabe*, ‘half-timber’ style, and *ōkabe*, plastered style. *Shinkabe*, ‘half-timber’ style, in particular, illustrates a traditional wall structure with an exposed wooden structural frame. In the 17th century descriptions of Kyoto there were, as was described in chapter 5, examples of the plastered type townhouses known as *nuriya*. Despite the fire-resistant qualities of such buildings, the people of Kyoto seemed to prefer the *shinkabe* or ‘half timber’ style, in which structural columns and beams are exposed. This style is still common and one of the characteristic features of the Kyoto townhouse.

In the wooden-frame buildings almost all facades (41) showed the half-timbered, *shinkabe*, style. In Kakkyoyamachō, because of the shop sign

style, plastered walls, *ōkabe*, were common. The number of plastered walls in this neighbourhood was 23. In the upper floor the *shinkabe* structure dominated. This wall type was found altogether in 47 facades. The survey results are shown in Figs. 10 and 11, Appendix 4.

### Building Materials

As to the building materials, in the ground floor as many as 21 buildings showed traditional plaster, *tsuchi*, wall treatment. In addition, mortar was common. This material was found in 23 buildings. In the upper floor the number of traditional plaster, *tsuchi*, walls was 32 and mortar in 23 walls. In other words, the number of plastered walls was still relatively large. The survey results are shown in Figs. 12 and 13, Appendix 4.

### Colours

Unlike our mental picture which is largely a result of the black and white pictures of the modernist image of Japanese architecture, the traditional architecture of Japan was not at all monochromatic but full of fine and deep colours. Besides yellow or brown, there were pink, black, Indian red, dark green, and dark blue. However, with the penetration of contemporary materials and colour pigments into the market, the fine old colours have gradually disappeared from the townscape. Some old colours can, however, still be found. Besides colour, the surface treatment of wooden structural parts,

*mokubu*, in every *shinkabe*, half-timbered wall was also considered. Usually the wood is left in structural parts in its natural state, which naturally turns to a darker shade by exposure and daily polishing. When painted, black is common. The most common wall colours were grey (23), yellow (ish) (19) and brown (18). In other words, the colours were rather traditional (see Fig. 14, Appendix 4).

### Windows

In traditional Japanese architecture the windows and doors were barred by square bars of wood known as *kōshi*. In this field survey also the author paid a special attention to them. Windows on the ground floor were classified in four broad groups as to whether they had a lattice window, *kōshi*, a glass window, a glass window and lattice window in combination, or another type of opening such as an entrance door or a garage. Lattice windows were of two basic types: *hirakōshi* the flat lattice window or/and *degōshi*, a projecting lattice bay window. In addition to the *kōshi* partitions, the author recorded such wooden facade elements as rain closets, *tobukuro*, and protective wooden wall partitions, *koshikabe*, 'hips wall', of traditional carpentry and design. Morse described the *tobukuro* in the following way:

*"...Not only the verandah but entrance to the house, as well as the windows when they occur, are closed at night by amado. In the daytime these shutters are stowed*



FIG. 63 TILE ROOF, SHINKAMANZACHŌ. RS.



**FIG. 64** ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS: *DEGŌSHI*, PROJECTING LATTICE WINDOW AND *INUYARAI*, A LOW BAMBOO FENCE. THE SUGIMOTO HOUSE. RS.



**FIG. 65** ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS OF THE SUGIMOTO HOUSE: *KŌSHI*, LATTICE, DOOR; *HIRAKŌSHI*, FLAT LATTICE WINDOW, *TSUCHI*, PLASTERED WALL, *KŌSHIKABE*, 'HIPS' WALL, *INUYARAI*, DOG'S FENCE. RS.

away in closets called *tobukuro*. The closets are places at one side of the opening or place to be closed, and just outside the groove in which the shutters are to run. They have only the width of one shutter, but are deep enough to accommodate the number that is required to close any entrance".<sup>151</sup>

On the upper floor the most distinctive architectural element of the Kyoto townhouses is the *mushiko mado*, insect window. On the upper floor the author placed the facades in five categories according to their opening type: those with a well preserved insect window, *mushiko mado*, those with a glass window, those with a glass window and a partially preserved *mushiko mado*, those with another type of window or opening, those facades which had no window on the upper floor.

A large number of wooden facade partitions are preserved. 19 facades (23%) can still be categorised as traditional wooden lattice facades with various *kōshi* designs. Altogether there were 20 individual flat lattice windows, *hirakōshi*, and 18 *degōshi* partitions. Furthermore, there were 20 rain closets, *tobukuro*, and 16 wooden 'hips wall', *kōshikabe* partitions. The design of *kōshi* partitions was, however, very heterogeneous and varied from facade to facade. Thus, in the survey area the author could not detect any unified *kōshi* style (such as can be found, for instance, in the historic pres-

ervation areas). The elegance of the *kōshi* design culminates in the survey area in the facades of the Sugimoto house, see Figs. 64–66.

In the upper floor, only three well-preserved long *mushiko mado*, insect windows, could be found. In most of the townhouses the *mushiko mado* opening was replaced by glass windows. The survey results are shown in Fig. 16, Appendix 4.

### Doors

Doors were divided into five main categories: a wooden sliding door (in the building inventory: *ita*, blank), a lattice sliding door, *kōshi*, a sliding door with an aluminium sash, a shutter or, other modern door type such as fire door, no door. Thus, besides traditional doors, we took into consideration sliding doors with an aluminium sash and metal shutters.

Of the 82 facades studied, more than one third, 32 facades, still have either a wooden lattice, *kōshi*, or *ita*, wooden blank, door. The survey results are shown in Fig. 17, Appendix 4.

### Other facade elements

Outside the facade such elements as wooden fences, air conditioners, protecting reed screens, *sudare*, shop signs, *kanban*, roller shutters and planting were investigated. On the Sugimoto site there is a large number of old trees the site being a green oasis even for a wider area.



**FIG.66** ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS OF THE SUGIMOTO HOUSE. DEGŌSHI, PROJECTING LATTICE WINDOW AND INUYARAI, A 'DOG'S' FENCE. RS.

The most important architectural elements were wooden protective fences of different types such as *inuyarai*, a low protecting bamboo fence in the lower part of the façade and *komayose*, a low protecting wooden fence. Both of these fence types were found in the survey area (see, for instance Fig. 66). Furthermore, an important architectural element in the survey area is the high wooden fence, *takabei*, that is found in Shinkamanzachō on the Sugimoto site (see Fig. 56). A number of protecting reed screens, *sudare*, that are common everywhere in the Kyoto townhouses, were also found.

## Conclusions of the Architectural Vocabulary Fieldwork

### *The Lack of Unified Style*

Among the traditional building elements are, above all, the elegant tile roofs, which dominate the streetscape even in the midst of the altered

townscape. Altogether the author identified more than 50 different, less or more traditional, building components from the traditional design pattern of roof tiles to colours and materials of the walls, and to the elements of the traditional carpentry such as rain closets and protective 'hips walls'. Because of the comprehensiveness of the survey, the survey gives a relatively reliable picture of the architectural elements that are characteristic for the wooden-frame houses not only in the *hoko* area, but in a wider area in the city centre as well.

The traditional architectural elements of the wooden frame façades had been renewed in many façades so that the character and design unity of the buildings has completely changed and the composition of the façade altered in such a way that almost nothing exists of the original design. Carelessly made repairs have in many façades replaced the old sophisticated organic materials such as wood and earth plaster with

new facade materials such as imitation ceramics and even stone and brick. Cheap new materials essentially change the look of the facades, the elegance of which was originally based on the harmony of proportions and sparing use of materials. Modern window and door repairs unfortunately make no use of traditional carpentry skills. In the survey area there are unfortunately only three long, ornamental *mushiko mado*, insect windows left. Instead ready-made prefabricated aluminium units of standard construction and design have been fitted in large numbers.

As a result the facades are a conglomeration of heterogeneous elements and their design unity has been lost. With glass windows, iron railings or iron bars have increased to protect the interiors from onlookers and intruders. Other common additions are shop signs, particularly in the commercial buildings in Kakkyoyamachō. All these new elements add to the visual turmoil of the townscape. The commercial language culminates in those facades where the whole facade has been designed as a large shop sign. In these facades an intrusive number of foreign architectural motifs have been added. In these buildings we can now find a jungle of styles from romantic or colonial 'Spanish' to rustic red brick facades. In some spots the outlook of the houses is more like Las Vegas than Kyoto and quite far from our preconceived images of Kyoto. As an example of the current mixture of styles is, for instance, a row of shop facades in Kakkyoyamachō, on the southern side of Shijo Street as they can be seen in the measurement drawing, Fig. 55.

Even those facades that have been spared by the most radical changes have gone through minor or major changes. Except of the facade of the Sugimoto house, which has been carefully preserved in its authentic design condition, the author could not record any other structure, which had kept its design identity and authentic materials entirely without later changes and additions. Thus, if there is any general conclusions to be drawn from the field survey, it is the evident lack of any unified architectural style.

### Questioning the Current Heritage Assessment Methodology

In the context of the current heritage assessment methodology which aims to preserve the aesthetic integrity of the townscape, as the method was adapted in the historic preservation areas, the 'spoiled' and often aesthetically unpleasant wooden frame facades that were documented in the field survey can hardly be considered of value. The obvious heterogeneity of the style of the wooden facades and the setting as a whole poses a difficult question to the preservation authorities. Obviously there is no unified 'style' into which these heterogeneous facades could be successfully 'restored'.

But is the whole question right? Why could these facades not be accepted as they are with all the changes and alterations wrought in them by time? Should rather the whole concept behind the heritage argumentation be changed so that the authorities could accept these wooden facades in their present condition as an essential part of the urban heritage and history of their town? Aesthetic value or beauty is only one value category among others; in addition to aesthetic or historic values economic, human, social and cultural values should be given consideration, too. Nowadays such stratification might be appreciated more than was the case before. In such a framework of thinking each stratum adding to the present identity of the building is thought to be of equal interest.

Everywhere preservation criteria have changed as social and historical aspects have gained ground replacing purely aesthetic views. In such a context, it is more important than the integrity of the wooden facades that the old building stock is kept in overall good repair so that the values it represents will not be entirely lost. This applies equally well to our sample quarters too. The author maintains that a new approach to urban preservation is necessary in Kyoto and should be implemented now when there still is a large number of wooden houses left.

At a more general level, the change of conservation paradigm does not only apply to Kyoto but

is closely related to the urban conservation problem of wooden towns in general. Because of the vulnerability and fragility of the wooden town tradition and the authenticity problems involved, special attention should be paid to the methodological approach. The wooden town heritage can-

not be evaluated using same criteria as towns built in stone or brick; change and a certain degree of 'unauthenticity' must be tolerated and accepted, if any of the wooden heritage is to be saved. The houses and their architecture cannot be 'frozen' if they are to continue as living environments.



**FIG. 67** DECORATIVE WALL DETAIL,  
SHINKAMANZACHŌ. RS.



## Chapter 20

# Introduction to the Field Survey on Traditional Dwelling Patterns.

### The Aim of the Fieldwork

The fieldwork below concentrates on traditional dwelling patterns that exist in the *hoko* neighbourhoods and their immediate vicinity today. The field studies consist of two parts:

1) In the first part (fieldwork no. 4) the author surveys and analyses seven historic urban dwellings, which were measured and surveyed by the municipal heritage authorities in 1991. The urban dwellings which were documented for the survey, though ordinary townhouses, are all architecturally and aesthetically very qualified and thus represent the best of Kyoto townhouse traditions. The spectrum of fine interior spaces stretches from the museum-like interiors of the Naka house to more ordinary urban dwellings. The structures are among those very few everyday structures that have been documented by the heritage authorities to date. As to their dwelling plans, all the surveyed houses are representatives of the *unagi no*

*nedoko* pattern, 'sleeping place of an eel', the standard Kyoto dwelling plan on long and narrow sites. This plan type is further classified in a number of sub-groups depending on the site and the taste and wealth of the owners and builders. In the following the author will describe two such basic plan types:

#### *Omoteya-Tsukuri Machiya*

This is one of the basic plan types of Kyoto. In this plan type there is a two-storey main structure, *omote*, in the street elevation. The functions of the house are divided between a number of sub-structures as earlier explained in chapter 20. Between the built areas there are small inner gardens that are the most characteristic feature of this dwelling plan.

#### *Takabei Tsukuri*

'High Fence' Style. In this style the main building is recessed from the street. A characteristic

feature of the *takabei tsukuri* style is a high wooden fence. Two of the surveyed houses, the Kobayashi and Naka house, show this style. The variation, which can be seen in the plans and in the skilful combination of building volumes on the individual sites is in itself one impressive piece of evidence of the richness and creative spirit of the best Kyoto urban traditions.

2) In the second part (fieldwork no.5) the author surveys and describes a typical urban tenement, a *nagaya* type urban dwelling, which the author measured for the thesis during the Yamahoko programme. The tenement pattern represents an urban dwelling that has shared walls with

the neighbourhood buildings. Compared to the dominant, *kodate no machiya*, detached pattern, the tenement pattern has been much less studied and published and has practically remained outside the scope of academic research. In the current research the *nagaya* pattern represents an interesting type of pre-modern urban vernacular dwelling, without which our picture of Kyoto's pre-modern dwelling patterns and the richness of its urban heritage would not be complete.

The exact location of the surveyed townhouses in the central area is shown in the survey map, Fig. No.2.

## Fieldwork No.4

# Field Survey Of Seven Historic Urban Dwellings

### The Aim of the Fieldwork

The survey is based on a field survey organised by the Cultural Heritage Office and assisted by a group of students from the Nishikawa laboratory in 1991-92. The field survey was part of the municipal documentation programme for historic structures in 1991. Altogether seven urban dwellings in the city centre in and around the *hoko* neighbourhoods were measured and surveyed, their plans drawn, the old documents investigated and the residents interviewed. Besides the main structures, other structures on the site and in the gardens were surveyed as well. The survey investigates these structures, in particular, from the urban conservation point of view. The aim of the investigation is thus, not so much to identify the general principles of the traditional urban dwelling as to focus on the special way each of the investigated structures has adapted to the present conditions, the way the structures have been maintained and on their physical and technical condition.

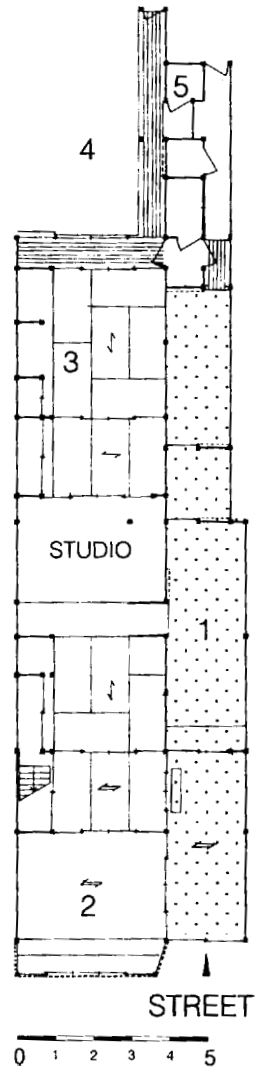
Through the municipal documentation work the author had an opportunity to observe the evaluation and argumentation methods on-site and in particular, the problems involved within the listing work. These problems have already been pointed out and referred to above. The example of these houses shows how alarming the preservation situation in Kyoto really is. After the documentation five of the houses were included in a book describing well-preserved Kyoto townhouses, and thereby their special cultural history and architectural qualities were acknowledged.<sup>152</sup> None of the structures, however, qualified as a cultural asset.

### Description of the Seven Documented Houses

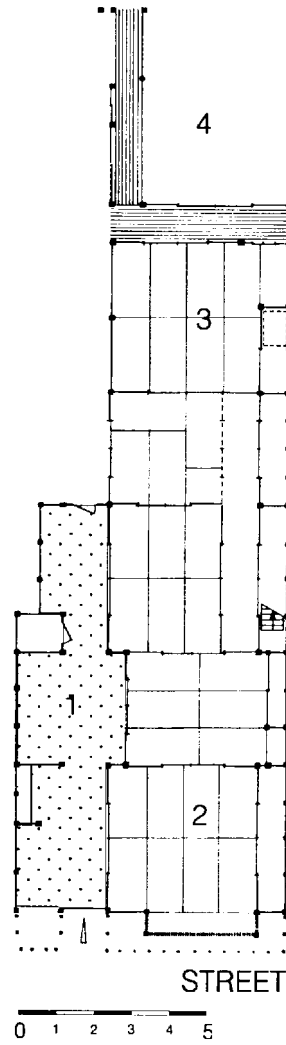
Almost all the documented houses are Meiji era structures and being wooden buildings, they are already of considerable age. Besides the main



**FIG.68** FACADE OF THE FUKUYAMA HOUSE IN IWATOYAMACHŌ. RS.

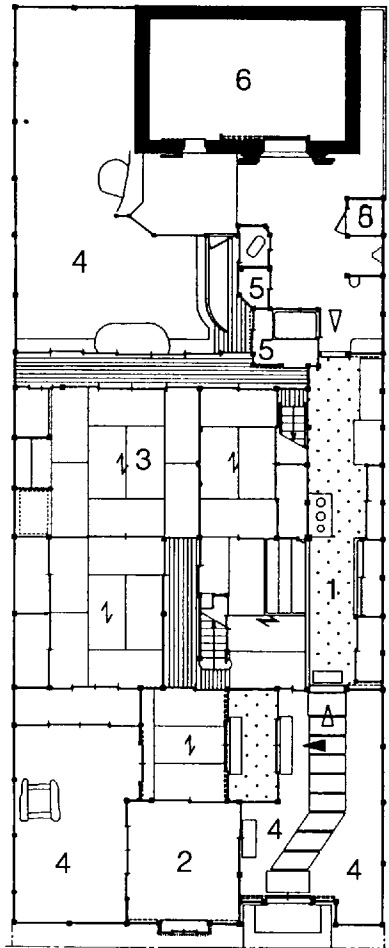


**FIG.69** PLAN OF THE FUKUYAMA HOUSE  
MEASUREMENT DRAWING BY THE  
CULTURAL HERITAGE OFFICE.



**FIG.70** PLAN OF THE ITO HOUSE. MEASUREMENT  
DRAWING BY THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OFFICE.

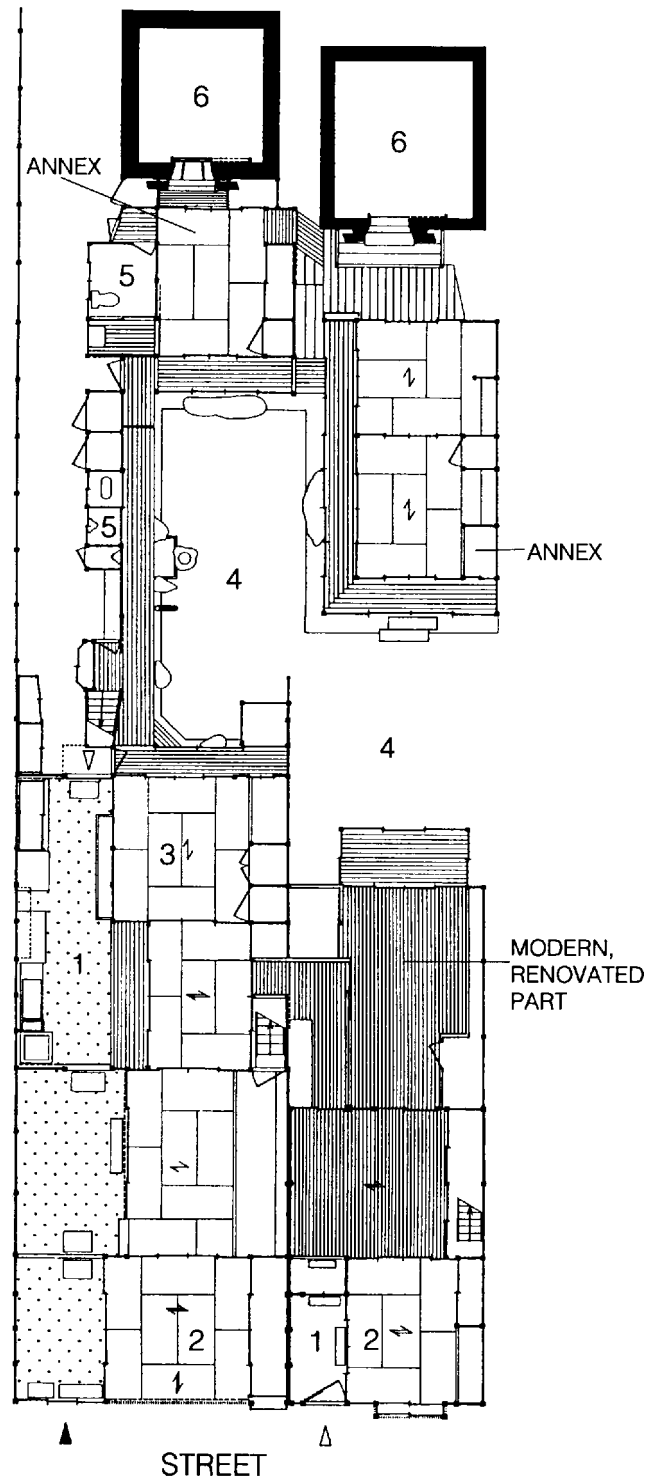
- 1 TŌRINIWA, CORRIDOR
- 2 OMOTENOMA, WORKING ROOM
- 3 ZASHIKI, GUESTROOM
- 4 NIWA, GARDEN
- 5 TOILET, BATH
- 6 KURA, STOREHOUSE



STREET

0 1 2 3 4 5

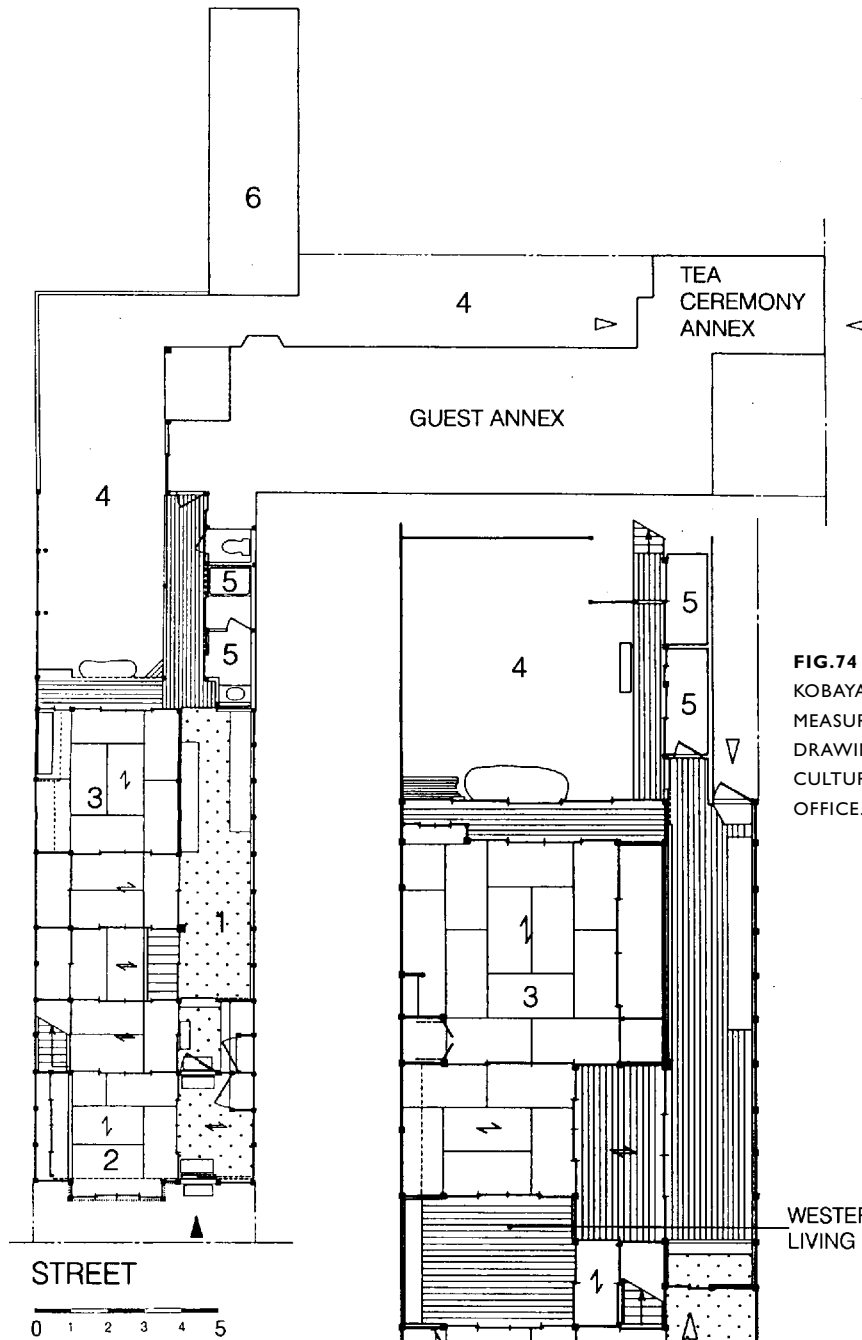
**FIG.71** PLAN OF THE NAKA HOUSE. MEASUREMENT DRAWING BY THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OFFICE.



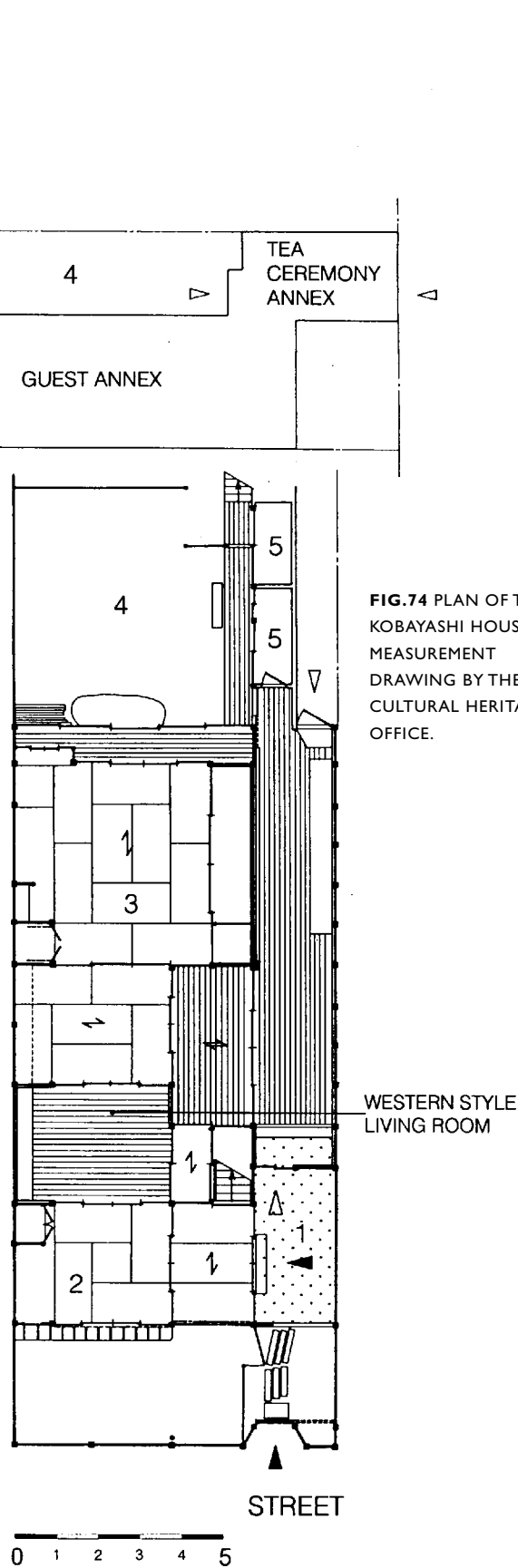
STREET

0 1 2 3 4 5

**FIG.72** PLAN OF THE NAKAE 1 AND NAKAE 2 HOUSES. AT THE BACK OF THE SITE THERE ARE TWO FIRE-PROOF STOREHOUSES AND TWO ANNEXE BUILDINGS. MEASUREMENT DRAWING BY THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OFFICE.



**FIG.73** PLAN OF THE MATSUMOTO HOUSE.  
MEASUREMENT  
DRAWING BY THE  
CULTURAL HERITAGE  
OFFICE.



**FIG.74** PLAN OF THE KOBAYASHI HOUSE  
MEASUREMENT  
DRAWING BY THE  
CULTURAL HERITAGE  
OFFICE.

WESTERN STYLE  
LIVING ROOM

**FIG.75** FACADE OF THE KOBAYASHI HOUSE. SHIMOTAYA STYLE, THE HOUSE IS RECESSED FROM THE STREET. NOTE THE HIGH WOODEN FENCE, TAKABEI, AS A HALLMARK OF THE STYLE. RS.



structures there are courtyard and outbuildings of different types. These courtyard buildings are sometimes even older than the main structures. The newest of the houses was the Naka house, built in 1930 in a highly traditional wooden frame style. All the families residing in the houses have lived in Kyoto for many generations. The people residing in these houses are occupied in traditional industries, so that they present a cross section of the social profile of the city centre.

Mr. Fukuyama is a textile dealer and kimono designer, Mr. Nakae a kimono wholesale dealer and Mr. Matsumoto with his wife are kimono manufacturers. Mr. Ito and Mr. Naka are retired. In the pre-modern Kyoto the production and trading cloth was closely integrated with its wooden town architecture and the *machiya* lifestyle. In these houses work and family life have been almost inseparable for generations. Of the seven houses, the Matsumoto house is the only one which is still used as a dwelling and manufacturing space. The Fukuyama and the Nakae 1 houses although residences earlier, now serve as offices for family enterprises, while the Kobayashi, Ito, Matsumoto, Naka and Nakae 2 houses are used as residences. Two of the houses, the Ito and the Fukuyama houses, are known for their exhibition function during the Gion Festival, which lends them the status of local landmarks.

Each of the houses studied illustrates the aesthetic integrity of the historic urban dwelling and Kyoto's architectural heritage. Much labour and money has been spent keeping these houses carefully preserved. Moreover, most of the families have deliberately chosen the *machiya* lifestyle, in other words, living in a traditional townhouse. Though ordinary urban dwellings, all the houses have many fine qualities. Besides having well preserved main structures many of the houses have one or two massive storehouses which add to the high architectural qualities of the site. In addition, there are private tea ceremony houses and annexe buildings used as guest houses. All these structures add to the charm and high standard of this lifestyle.

The dwelling plans as parameters of the traditional lifestyle offer great variety and inventiveness as all the houses have been adapted to changing conditions and modern lifestyle. Compared with the cramped conditions of modern urban dwellings and the standard mini apartments dominating the housing market, these houses offer many luxuries that most middle class families can only envy. There is abundant storage space, working space at home and an annexe for the older generation, all examples of the high dwelling standard these houses offer to their residents. Most of the houses have been recently renovated so that they also have all modern commodities.

Although all are representatives of the building types that evolved on the deep sites, they are of different types; the variation itself being one fascinating feature of the historic urban dwelling and the urban heritage of Kyoto. All the houses have a very distinct personality, identity and character which leave a strong impression on the visitor and which clearly distinguish Kyoto from other Japanese towns. Except the Naka house, which has been carefully maintained in its authentic condition, all the houses have gone through changes either minor or major, which add to, rather than deplete their charm.

A description of the houses is given below.

***The Fukuyama House. Kyoto shi, Shimogyō-ku, Shinmachidōri Takatsuji Agaru. Iwatoyamachō.***

The house was purchased in the Meiji period by the grandfather of Mr. Fukuyama. The oldest structure on the site is the storehouse, which is thought to be more than a hundred and eighty years old. Mr. Fukuyama is a wholesale dealer for Japanese kimono textiles and also, a kimono obi designer for the Nishijin weaving industry. Mr. Fukuyama wants to keep the old house but he is uncertain whether his daughters will be able to keep the property after him although the family will continue the kimono business. The surrounding area is characterised by new high-rise buildings.

A remarkable part of the interior (the *omotenoma*, the front room, in particular) has been kept unchanged since the great typhoon in the Taisho era and has the interior furnishing of that period. The family moved out in 1970 and the building has since been used as office space for the family enterprise. Except for deformations in structural parts caused by the construction of high-rise buildings in the neighbourhood, the house is in good condition. The earth floor area has gone through remodelling and the stone floor, the old cooking range and the well have been demolished. The structural members are, however, still exposed.

A small pool designed by Mr. Fukuyama's father in the early 1920s was demolished when a studio was built in the middle garden (*nakaniwa*).

Since the construction operation, the house gets sunlight for only a few hours a day in winter. In the beautiful back garden the visitor is moved to another world: there is a garden shrine dedicated to *Hachi Dai Ryō*, a White Snake, (because of the snakes that used to live in the garden still before the Second World War), the old storehouse and some old camellia trees.

The family is one of the families who participate in the public exhibition during the Gion Festival giving the house the status of a local landmark. In this neighbourhood the exhibition is rotated between a number of families. Iwatoyamachō is one of those *hoko* neighbourhoods where the public exhibition is organised in private homes.

***The Ito House. Kyoto-shi, Shimogyō-ku, Nishi no Tōin Ayanokōji Nishi Iru Minami Kawa. Ashikariyamachō.***

The house was built in 1890 by the grandfather of Mr. Ito. The family has lived on the same site since 1760. The present owner is an eighth generation, his daughter a ninth generation and their seven-year-old grandson a tenth generation Kyoto resident. All documents concerning the history of the family were burnt in the city fire of 1864. Before the Meiji era the family specialised in the dying of the upper part of men's festival kimonos.<sup>153</sup> The business, however, ceased more than a hundred years ago. The family owns land and urban tenant houses in the neighbourhood. As in the other houses, one of the aesthetic foci is the garden, an essential element of the Kyoto townhouse. Three garden shrines are dedicated to the *Inari san*, to the *Benten san* and to the Great Sun Buddha, *Dainichi Nyorai*. At the back of the garden there is a tea ceremony house, which was built in 1933. The site, which is almost 50 metres long, is exceptionally deep.

The earth floor area, *doma*, was originally two and a half *ken* wide (approximately five metres), but was remodelled in the 1940s. It is now much narrower. The cooking range, *kamado*, was demolished but the well still exists. On the ground floor there are the following rooms: *omotenoma*, *genkan*



*no ma, nakanoma, daidokoro, oku, niwa, chashitsu* (front, entrance, middle, kitchen, back, garden, tea-ceremony room). On the upper floor two tatami rooms have been joined to form one large room.

The family album is full of pictures of the Gion Festival. Among the family treasures are many valuable historic screens from the Meiji and Edo periods. According to Mr. Ito, the family was the only family in the neighbourhood which had fine screens to display. However, the family has not participated in the festival since the Second World War. Mr. Ito, who is now 75 years old, and his wife want to keep the old house as long as they live, but they do not know what will happen after them. The *machiya* style house needs repair and renovation that the present owner cannot afford.

### **The Kobayashi House. Kyoto-shi, Nagakyō-ku, Nishi-no-Tōin.**

The house is designed in the *takabei-tsukuri* style, which means that the main two-storey structure is recessed from the street and instead of a facade there is a high wooden fence. The only opening is the gate at the eastern end of the fence. The entrance to the house is reached through a small front garden. As in the Fukuyama house, the middle garden, *nakaniwa*, has been rebuilt. It is now a western style living room. The *zashiki*, parlour is one of the largest among the houses studied with fine *sukiya* style design and with such architectural elements as picture alcove, *tokonoma*, shelf, *tana*, and lute-alcove, *biwa-toko*.<sup>154</sup> The size of the guest room is 10 mats. At the rear of the site there is an



**FIG.76** INTERIOR OF THE NAKAE I HOUSE. VIEW FROM THE EARTH FLOOR AREA, TŌRINIWA. RS.



**FIG.77** INTERIOR OF THE NAKA HOUSE. VIEW OF THE EARTH FLOOR CORRIDOR, TŌRINIWA. THE STRUCTURAL PARTS SHOW A SOPHISTICATED WOODWORK WITH A COMBINATION OF DIFFERENT WOODEN MATERIALS. RS.

**FIG. 78** GARDEN OF THE NAKAE HOUSES WITH A STONE LANTERN AND STEPPING STONES. IN THE BACKGROUND A BAMBOO FENCE – ALL ELEGANT ELEMENTS OF A KYOTO TOWNHOUSE. RS.



annexe building with two floors. The earth floor area, *doma*, is excellently preserved. Because of its fine interior spaces and other architectural qualities, the house was considered to have potential as a cultural asset.<sup>155</sup>

***The Matsumoto House. Kyoto shi, Nakagyō-ku, Ogawadōri Rokkaku Sagaru Higashi Iru. Motohonnojichō.***

The house was built in 1888. The old smoke and ventilation opening can still be seen in the roof. A major remodelling took place a few years ago when the kitchen was modernised and the bathroom and a new guest room annexe added using traditional carpentry techniques. The house is a very good example of how the historic urban dwelling has been successfully adapted to changing lifestyles and renovated without violating too much the authentic atmosphere of the old house. As a two-generation residence the house offers a luxurious standard which includes, among other things, a small tea ceremony annexe. Also, the neighbourhood is exceptionally well preserved. Twenty-seven wooden houses survive in the neighbourhood. This is one of those places in the city centre where we can still sense the unspoiled atmosphere of the historic neighbourhoods.

In the floor plan the earth floor area runs along the southern side of the house and five living rooms are grouped along it. The width of the earth floor area is 1 *ken* (approximately 1.8 metres). The living room, *okunoma* (literally: the room in the rear of the house), has a picture alcove, *to-*

*konoma*, a shelf, and a writing desk. All show excellent materials and design. The *ranma* partition, the wood work between the horizontal lintel and ceiling in the living room is made of dark Japanese *kurogaki* wood, a rare and expensive material today. Due to a special mortar-bamboo technique the interior walls have kept their surface in perfect condition without shrinking or any other visible damage. The upper floor is used as working space, where the kimono silk textiles are painted.

The family is the third generation in the Nishijin kimono textile industry. They are known as specialists in a craft known as gold painting.<sup>156</sup> This technique is the final stage in kimono making. It resembles modern airbrush technique, through which the painted figures get their final touch and artistic finishing. But, as Mrs. Matsumoto said, such work is ‘very boring to do every day’. The family, which has been granted the Award of the Kyoto Handicraft Union, has no successor. The Nishijin kimono industry is in great economic difficulties.

***The Naka House. Kyoto shi, Kamikyō-ku, Muromachi Oike Agaru, Higashikawa.***

The house was designed by the father of Mr. Naka who was an architect, and built using the same design methods and techniques as the Kyoto Shimabara *Sumiya* residence, a building that is famous for its design and designated as a cultural asset. Because of its excellent design techniques and materials the Naka house has all the qualities of a

historic landmark, but as a relatively new structure from the 1930s lacks the present criterion of age.

The house is designed in the *takabei tsukuri*, 'high fence style' with a low pavilion, *hiraya*, on the street elevation. The proportions and design of the street facade are, however, quite different from that of the Kobayashi house. Especially, the design of the flat lattice window and the front gable of the pavilion are delicate. In the interior a prominent feature of the house is an exceptionally well-preserved earth floor area, *doma*, with a sophisticate wood work and with a fine combination of different wooden materials. The posts and beams are made of Japanese pine and pale Japanese maple is used in the sliding doors.

In the living room the *ranma* partition has a

mountain motif highlighted with gold paint. In the elegant living room on the upper floor a picture alcove, a shelf, a lute alcove and a writing desk, are of elaborate *shoin* style. Mr. Naka lives alone in his beautiful house just a few metres from the busy Oike Street.

***The Nakae 1 and the Nakae 2 Houses.***  
***Kyoto shi, Kamikyō-ku, Shinmachi Ayanokōji Sagaru, Nishikawa. Funeyamachō.***

These two houses owned by the Nakae family are elegant examples of well preserved and well maintained urban dwellings. The Nakae 1 house, which earlier was the residence and head office of the family enterprise, now serves as office space. The second house is used as the family residence. The



**FIG.79** GARDEN OF THE MATSUMOTO HOUSE WITH RENOVATED TOILET-BATHROOM ANNEX ON THE RIGHT. RS.



**FIG.80** INTERIOR OF THE NAKAE 1 HOUSE. VIEW FROM OMOTE, OFFICE ROOM WITH OLD FURNISHINGS. THE ROOM GETS SIDELIGHT FROM ABOVE. RS.



**FIG.81** INTERIOR OF THE RENOVATED AND PARTIALLY REMODELLED NAKAE 2 HOUSE. RS.

family has run a kimono wholesale business since the Edo period.<sup>157</sup> The family, which comes from Kameoka, near Kyoto, has lived in Kyoto for 250 years. According to family documents, the family established the kimono trade in the neighbourhood in 1822. The old house burnt down in the city fire in the Meiji period. The residence was built in 1870 and the storehouse one year later. The Nakae 1 house was built much later, in the Meiji era, in 1907. A second storehouse and an annexe building were built two years earlier, in 1905. The residence was rented after the Second World War, but it was brought back into family ownership and is now used by the family as their residence.

In both houses the low upper floor has been preserved and is used (as traditionally) as a storage space. The garden is one of the largest of the houses surveyed with large stone lanterns, stepping stones and other traditional elements. To keep the garden in its original shape is a demanding task and takes a notable amount of the yearly reparation costs as they said. Compared with the spacious garden, the guest room of the Nakae 1 house is surprisingly small. The elegant office room gets side light from a ceiling window and has old furnishings. The old cooking range was demolished and the wood heating stove for the bath replaced by gas in the 1930s. Except for these changes the interior is in authentic condition. The

house has been regularly repaired and is in excellent condition, but as Mr. Nakae said, to keep the old house in good shape is not only demanding but also very expensive. The residence went through a major remodelling five years ago. It is now a combination of traditional and new design elements with 'Frank Lloyd Wright' style interiors. The guest room has wooden board floor and it is used as a Western style dining room with a dining table and chairs. Also the toilet-bathroom has been rebuilt.

## The Future of the Houses

Surrounded by high-rise buildings with their often drastically changed environment, it is a miracle that so many fine historic urban dwellings and traditional dwelling environments have survived up to the present day. In the houses studied it was still possible to enjoy the authentic Kyoto atmosphere even in the midst of the heavily changed cityscape. As an essential feature of the surveyed houses were the inner gardens, which were laid out and designed with at least as much care and skill as the wooden frame buildings. Small garden shrines and other ceremonial characteristics added to the heritage value of these sites.

With the increasing construction activity on neighbourhood sites, it will however, be difficult to keep the fine domestic qualities. New buildings,

usually devoid of aesthetic quality, are being built near the old, more graceful buildings destroying their privacy and spoiling their garden scenes. As part of the commercial and business district the future of most of the surveyed sites is characterised by great uncertainty, so that radical precautions will be necessary if anything of the traditional living environment is to be saved. Almost all the houses studied face a change of generation soon. This will be a critical moment not only for the houses surveyed but for many other historic urban dwellings too.

Not even one of the families could be certain of the future of their house meaning that any far-sighted planning of the property was impossible. From the preservation point of view regular and continuous maintenance of a property is one of the basic necessities for economically sound preservation of the building. None of the structures were considered qualified to be nominated as cultural assets, although they were acknowledged to have many fine qualities.

## Fieldwork No. 5

# Survey Of An Urban Tenanted Terraced House, *Nagaya*

### Description of the Survey

The field study below is focused on the documentation of the physical features of one *nagaya* pattern urban dwelling, the Sugiura house in Shinkamanzachō. The field survey is based on the measurements of the house, which were carried out in 1991 by the author and assisted by a group of students from the Nishikawa laboratory. For the survey the author listed the names of the individual rooms as family members use them: the size of the rooms, their everyday use and the storage spaces they contain. The screen display, as staged in the house, and the role of the house in the Gion Festival are studied separately in chapter 20.

As a *shōbai*, in other words a textile manufacturer's dwelling and production space, the Sugiura house is divided between the space for business, and the production and living spaces. All the rooms and structural members are based on the old Kyoto *tatami* module, which is larger than that used today.<sup>158</sup> The house is the so-called *omote nagaya* type<sup>159</sup> with the main structure, *omote*, on

the street elevation, a privy-bathroom annexe at the rear and a small garden in the southeast corner of the site. Between the garden and the house runs an L-shaped veranda, *engawa*.

The width of the house is 7.1 metres and the length 8.8 metres. The size of the house is quite average for Shinkamanzachō.<sup>160</sup> Compared with the long and narrow *unagi no nedoko* pattern, the site is very shallow, but typical for this kind of urban terraced houses. From the plan organisation of the Sugiura house we can read the spatial organisation and character of many other urban tenanted terraced houses too. Practically all the buildings along Shinkamanza Street are of similar pattern. The average size of a dwelling house in this neighbourhood is 70 sq. m. and the smallest tenanted house only 26 sq. m. Furthermore, 83% of houses were less than 100 sq. m. and 25% less than 50 sq. m. All buildings were less than 200 sq. m.

Unlike in the usual tenement pattern, the Sugiura house has not shared walls with its neigh-



**FIG. 82** NIWA, GARDEN. ON THE RIGHT THE TOILET-BATHROOM ANNEXE. THE SUGIURA HOUSE. RS.



**FIG. 83** BUTSUDAN, THE BUDDHIST ALTAR IN THE ZASHIKI, GUEST ROOM. IN THE FOREGROUND A TEA CEREMONY SET. THE SUGIURA HOUSE. RS.

bourhood buildings. In other words, the house cannot technically be described as a tenement. Because of its other *nagaya* like properties, the author, however, keeps the *nagaya* categorisation throughout the work.

### History of the Sugiura Family

The Sugiura family came to Kyoto from Omihachiman, Shiga Prefecture and before that from Aichi Prefecture where the family was known for making tiles for temples. Mr. Sugiura's father moved to Kyoto when he was sixteen. Before the family moved to their present house, the family lived in two other houses in the same neighbourhood, both of which still exist.

The family has lived on the current site for more than 80 years. They are one of the oldest families in the neighbourhood and the Meiji period house is one of the oldest houses along Shinkamanza lane. The house was originally a ten-

ant house built for kimono artisans in the employment of the Okao family. The house was bought by Mr. Sugiura's parents after the Second World War, when many tenant houses were sold to tenant families as part of the American Occupation land-reform programme. In this programme, which was carried out in 1947-49, tenant-operated land in Japan, which had remained at about 45 % since early in the century, was reduced to less than 10 % by banning all absentee landowners. Generous credit terms and high inflation after the war made it easy for urban tenants to acquire ownership of the land at a relatively low price.<sup>161</sup> Also in Shinkamanzachō a large number of former tenant houses were sold as was found out by the author in the survey that was referred in chapter 8.

Specialising in the dyeing and cleaning of kimonos, the family is one of the few kimono manufacturer families left in Shinkamanzachō. Most of them are retired or have changed occu-



**FIG.84** ZASHIKI, GUEST ROOM WITH TOKONOMA ALCOVE. THE SUGIURA HOUSE. RS.

pation with the decline in kimono production. Before the war almost all the residents in the neighbourhood were kimono manufacturers for the producer-landowner Okao family, who specialised in the famous Kyoto *shibori* knot dyeing technique. Today almost all the socio-economic ties, which 20 years ago dominated life in the neighbourhood have been broken. Except for old Mrs. Okao, who lives in the neighbourhood, all the other members of the old landowner family have died. Mr. Sugiura now runs his own business, working independently for his clients. The family has three daughters, two of whom are married and have moved away.

The location of the Sugiura house and the house of Mrs. Okao is shown in the measurement drawing, Fig. 19. As can be seen from the drawing, the Sugiura house shows a well-preserved Meiji era wooden lattice facade with such delicate carpentry elements as *tobukuro*, rain closet, *degōshi*, projecting lattice bay window and wooden sliding door. The house of Mrs. Okao is new but follows the scale and style of old townhouses in the neighbourhood.

The family members resident in the house are Mr. and Mrs. Sugiura and their youngest daughter who, in her twenties, is one of the few young people left.<sup>162</sup> Two of the rooms on the upper floor are sublet to a young relative from Hokkaido.

## The Floor Plan Before

The original plan organisation is that of a typical Kyoto townhouse: a long corridor with an earth floor, *tōriniwa*, runs through on the other side of the house and the tatami covered living rooms are organised along it. The garden is at the rear, in the north-west corner of the site. Thus, even in the shallow *nagaya* sites the house is oriented towards its inner parts. The tiny inner gardens and their interior views were – and still are – one of the charming features of these otherwise densely built urban sites.

In the Sugiura house the earth floor corridor, *tōriniwa*, runs through the house on the southern side of the site. Originally the *tōriniwa* corridor was, as usual, two floors high. Three tatami rooms, the *omote*, *nakanoma*, *okunoma*, front, middle and back rooms, were organised along it. The *daidoko*, kitchen, was originally part of the earth floor area, *doma*, where the washing room now is. The middle of the earth floor area was used as a dyeing space. In other words, the manufacturing function was an integral part of the function and spatial arrangement of the tenement house.

On the upper floor there were three tatami rooms in a row with the staircase in the middle room. The balcony on the upper floor was larger than now, eight mats.



## The Floor Plan Now

The house went through a major remodelling at the beginning of the 1960s when the house served as a residence for two generations, when the mother of Mr. Sugiura was still alive. The earth floor area was rebuilt as only one floor high. The dining-kitchen was rebuilt in the middle part of the house (*nakanoma*) now with a wooden board floor. A second staircase and a bathroom were added. On the upper floor three rooms were divided into six smaller rooms. Only the guest room, *zashiki*, kept its old shape.

The remodelling and alterations largely obscured the original room organisation of the house. The old structural members can, however,

still be seen in places, for example the wall and door posts. In the renewed parts the remodelling has often been done with much less care and with cheap building materials. As a result the house is currently a mixture of different materials and tastes from various periods. Rooms that survive from the old plan organisation are the well preserved *omote* (room nearest the street), which functions as the working space for Mr. Sugiura, *zashiki*, the guest room, the veranda and the garden. Thanks to them the house still keeps the major traits and atmosphere of the traditional urban house.

The plan and section of the house are shown in Figs. 109 and 110, as decorated for the Screen Festival.



FIG.85 DAIDOKORO, MODERN KITCHEN THAT WAS BUILT AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 1960'S. THE SUGIURA HOUSE. RS.

## The Future of the House

As one of the town's potential expansion areas, the neighbourhood around the Sugiura house faces threats that have deleterious effects on its urban characteristics and life. Such threats include both the lack of proper conservation and management policies as well as the threatening effects of the expanding business and commercial area. The urban transformation process has progressed rapidly behind Shinkamanzachō after the fieldwork was carried out. Many old buildings, which during the measurement work still were preserved, have been demolished. The sites have been developed with high rise buildings of eight to ten floors. One tenement

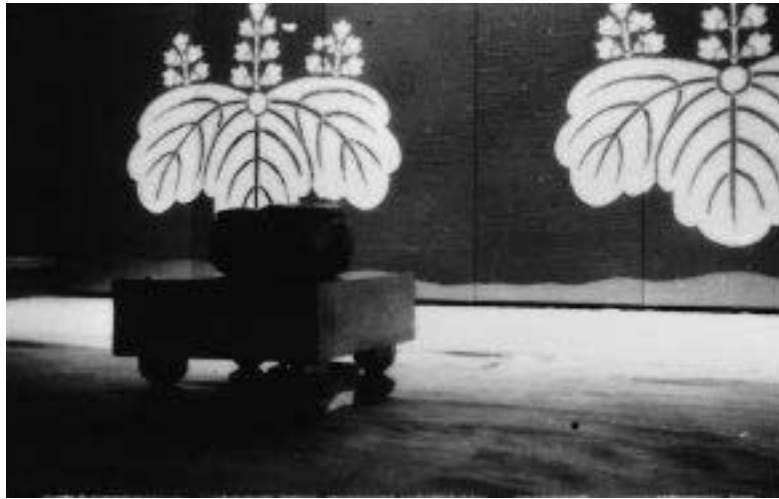
building was demolished to give a way for a parking lot.

Furthermore, the withering manufacturing activity has increased the speed of the deterioration process of the built fabric of the neighbourhood. A number of buildings are abandoned or empty. Cosmetic repairs are not nearly enough to solve the renovation problems that the buildings along this urban tenement lane face. The location of the area behind Shijo Street increases the pressures for more intensive land use.

A decision on the future of the house has to be made within the next couple of years. In the old house a major renovation will have to be made. In particular, the privy and the bathroom need repair and partial rebuilding. The Japanese



FIG.86 OTEARAI. THE JAPANESE STYLE TOILET. THE SUGIURA HOUSE. RS.



**FIG. 87** FESTIVAL  
DECORATION OF THE  
SUGIURA HOUSE.SS.

style toilet will be unsuitable for an ageing couple and also the bathroom (*furo*) needs repair. The different floor levels of a traditional Kyoto townhouse might also cause problems if there is an aged person in a family using a wheelchair.

At the present moment the bathroom is used only occasionally. The couple still follows the habit of visiting the local neighbourhood bathhouse (*osentō*) which is located only a few metres away from their house. For the family it might be too expensive to hire traditional carpenters for the bathroom renovation work. On the other hand, the standard ready-made bathroom units that are in the market do not fit the style and atmosphere of the old house. Nor are the ready-made units cheap.

For the old couple the house is also too large. The ageing family will discontinue manufacturing activity in a few years' time. One potential vision for the family is to develop the site, possibly, in cooperation with the neighbouring sites. Joint speculation with the sites backing on to it is one option, which might provide financial return but which would also risk the physical integrity in this part of the neighbourhood. Mrs. Sugiura is also worried about the future of the Screen Festival and whether it will be possible for her to continue the display in this place.

## Conclusions of the Dwelling Pattern Fieldwork

There is a number of conclusions that can be drawn from the fieldwork. The current methods for evaluating heritage in Kyoto have not been able to identify the heritage value of the city as a whole. As a result, a continuous transformation process is going on threatening not only architecturally and historically qualified and distinguished buildings but important parts of Kyoto's built fabric as well. The overemphasis on landmark values emphasises few spots for living environments and leaves the everyday environment as a free battleground for developers and land speculators. In the worst case, the landmark preservation leads to indifference to everyday dwelling patterns and townscapes which however are important for the understanding and reading of the town as a whole.

Instead of geometrically shaped and clearly defined and architecturally unified urban blocks Kyoto is consisting of a large numbers of individual spots each site adding its own variation to the total picture of the whole. The preservation of few landmarks is meaningless if the immediate environment around the protected houses is changed to a concrete jungle (as the author observed in the site surveys) spoiling garden views, lighting circumstances and privacy on the sites. Thus, the

damage caused by individual new buildings amidst old quarters in such cities as Paris or Helsinki is far not so great than in Kyoto and can, in best cases, be made quite organically.

Most of the preservation problems that were involved on the surveyed sites, were related to the city planning problems as a whole. For any heritage evaluation to be successful, these basic problems should be solved first. Moreover, it is questionable if the current heritage methodologies are a right evaluation tool. The evaluation methods that take concern only a limited number of heritage values, causes the evaluation be not only absurd but also utterly harmful. Even today there is no legal protection for any of these structures and even in the case they were protected, they could be protected only as museum objects thus freezing their life within.

Compared to the historic urban dwellings, the tenement building stock is, if possible, even more difficult to evaluate in cultural heritage or architectural terms. The current threat to the building stock is a direct result of the city planning methods so that they should be changed first. Another question is whether even the right city planning policies can work effectively if they are not combined with effective urban renovation plans. The minimum demand for all the surveyed sites should be:

1) that the heritage value of the everyday buildings and sites is acknowledged and this view is integrated in the general approach to city planning and methodologies used,

2) that the city planners begin to regard the ordinary building stock as worthy of renovation and this view is adapted into housing policy programmes and plans,

3) that the heritage evaluation assessment methods are developed so that they concern the requirements of vernacular buildings and all their value categories.

In Finland the discussion on urban conservation began at the end of the 1960s when the conservation and repair of wooden working class areas such as Käpylä and Wooden Vallila in Helsinki and Porth Arthur in Turku became topical. The preservation problems of these areas were very similar to areas now described.

In Kyoto there might be better ground for preservation discussion now than before. In the 1992–1997 municipal housing programme a shift of focus of public housing policy could be observed for the first time. According to this programme the focus of housing policy is gradually moving from the suburban areas to the city centre and thus, to the historic city neighbourhoods. This new development has occurred at the same time, as there is a growing number of ageing people living in the city centre. Although the new trend lends hope, that public housing policy could gradually be moved away from new production to renovation and modernisation of the old building stock, as late as in 1997, the municipal renewal proposals that were under planning on such urban tenements lanes as Shinkamanzachō, were based on a radical rebuilding and reshaping of the old environment.

## Chapter 21

# Introduction to the Fieldwork on Cultural and Urban Patterns of the Screen Festival.

### General Outline of the Fieldwork

Compared with the Gion Festival, which in Kyoto has been the topic of a mountain of scholarly studies, the Screen Festival has been studied only occasionally, and even then, from the point of view of the historic screens. The Yamahoko investigation was one of the first surveys which aimed to assess the wider, urban context of the displays. This is also the major aim of the current research.

The analysis is based on on-site fieldwork that the author carried out in Kyoto as a member of the Yamahoko team. Approximately one hundred neighbourhoods were examined, including listing more than 134 articles and 160 screens. The fieldwork had to be carried out in a very short period of time because most of the screens were publicly displayed for only a few hours during the two festival nights. As an integral part of the Yamahoko survey the individual screens were analysed and surveyed by a group of art history students

as to their size, period, painter's name and themes. In the first place, the present study is not an art-historical study of screens, but a study which is focused on the cultural and urban patterns of the displays. An essential part of the cultural value of the display tradition is understood to be the urban context.

### The Hayakawa Survey in 1977

The main source of information for the analysis, apart from the fieldwork, was a master's thesis study carried out by the architect Masuhiko Hayakawa at Kyoto University in the laboratory of Prof. Atsushi Ueda in 1977. Prof. Ueda is a well-known advocate for Japanese architecture in Japan and abroad. He initiated the exhibition on the Kyoto townhouse, *Kyō-Machiya*, in the Kyoto Museum in 1990. He is also the author of *The Inner Harmony of the Japanese House* (Kodansha:

Tokyo 1990). The exhibition and the book have served as an important source of inspiration for the current work.

In the Hayakawa survey, all the displays in and around the *hoko* neighbourhoods were systematically recorded and analysed. Through this survey the author gained useful information about the history and profile of individual displays in the cross-section period 20 years ago. 1977 was one of the years when the speed of urban change was at its peak. The number of displays had dropped to a very low number. However, many traditional displays of high artistic quality still existed then. The Hayakawa survey although it may differ in technicalities such as the slightly different outlining of the survey area, provided a useful source of reference and a comparison survey for the present inventory, where the author draws the current cross-section profile of the Screen Festival.

## Content of the Fieldwork

The content of the fieldwork is as follows:

*Fieldwork no. 6* is a short introduction to the displayed articles. Even now the folding screens are the major content and visual focus of the displays. In addition, luxurious kimonos and other kimono related silk textiles are on display.

*Fieldwork no. 7* is a cross-section of the present day festival. In particular, the author focuses on the current profile of the displays, such as the number and location of the displays. The professions and occupational fields of those who display are also investigated and certain properties such as the construction material (wood/rein-

forced concrete) and the general character (high rise/traditional) of the exhibition facilities are examined.

*Fieldwork no. 8* is a documentation of the manifold display patterns that exist in the festival. The focus of interest is on traditional displays and in particular, on the inter-relationship between the house and the street. In other words, the fieldwork focuses on the urban patterns of the festival.

In *Fieldwork no. 9* the cultural know-how and the staging technique are studied in detail using one ordinary kimono home display as an example. The home display described illustrates the unpretentious kimono artisan home displays that flourish particularly outside the *hoko* neighbourhoods. Through this fieldwork the author also acquired knowledge of the manifold value-judgements and meanings an individual, displaying person may attach to the festival.

In *Fieldwork no. 10* the author draws the profile of seventeen individual displays. They include a sample collection of the most prominent displays today. All these displays are important local landmarks. The focus of study is on the urban qualities of the displays, rather than on the description and arthistorical value of individual screens. Qualitative changes in the festival are described through the example of two traditional displays that are now shown in a modern (reinforced concrete) setting.

The survey area was bounded by Oike Street in the north, Horikawa Street in the west, Karasuma Street in the east and Takatsuji Street in the south. The lining of the survey area can be seen in the survey map, in Fig. 2.

## Fieldwork No.6

## The Profile of the Displayed Articles

## The Aim of the Fieldwork

In the following investigation the author pays attention particularly to the role of home treasures and folding screens.<sup>163</sup> Still today, the home treasures play a dominant role in the festival emphasising the contextual and place values of the festival. Aside from the screens, that are the major visual foci of the displays, the author counted 23 different kinds of articles that had been put on display. Thus elegant kimonos and kimono textiles, picture scrolls, old armour, wooden models of festival floats and classical flower arrangements add to the charm of the displays. The elegance of the display depends not so much on the number of displayed articles, but rather on the artistic setting and the choice of items. In other words, the aesthetic and visual value is as much in the ensemble as in the individual items that are on display. An essential part of the charm of the displays is their relationship with the audience and the street.

## General Description of the Screens

Although an expert, art historian study of the screens was outside the scope of the thesis, the following information is aimed to orientate the reader about the main characteristics of the exhibited screens. In general and as it turned out in the fieldwork, it is impossible to give a simple and consistent classification scheme for the different kinds of screens which are exhibited, because of the great variety of styles, painting themes and periods represented. The author has limited herself to some of the most common themes and styles and to the major painters and painting schools.

As to the age of the screens, besides many contemporary screens from the beginning or middle of this century, there are many fine screens from the Meiji and Edo periods. Kyoto was one of the centres, where with the growing interest in Japanese aesthetics in Europe in the 19th century, antique screens were copied in large numbers to be exported to foreign countries. Most of the screens seen in the festival are such copies of famous, older screens. For the details of the screens the author consulted art historian, Assoc. Prof. Ms.



**FIG.88** MATSU - TSURU - PINES AND CRANES, A COMBINATION THAT IS REGARDED AS AUSPICIOUS. THE MATSUMI DISPLAY, YAMADACHŌ. RS.



**FIG.89** WOODEN MODEL OF THE FESTIVAL FLOAT IN THE MORII DISPLAY, KANDAIJINCHŌ. RS.



FIG.90 A JAPANESE EAGLE IS PAINTED ON EACH LEAVE OF THE MAIN SCREEN. THE KONDA DISPLAY, EBŌSHACHŌ. RS.

Iwama, who with her students investigated and classified all the screens in the festival. Two exhibition catalogues (in Japanese) provided information on individual, historically valuable, screens.

#### ***Exhibition at the Municipal Museum of Art in 1975***

In the exhibition 38 screens from different periods and painters were collected in and around the city centre. Some of the screens are still exhibited in the current festival, such as screens in the Matsushita display (display no. 50), a set of screens depicting bamboo by Tsuji Kako in the Arakawa display (display no. 24) and a set of screens from the Edo period, which portray hunting on Mount Fuji, in the Ichihara display (display no. 46).

#### ***The Gion Festival Exhibition in 1983-84***

The exhibition was organised by three authorities concerned about the future of the Gion Festival. Among the art treasures, besides nine wooden models of the festival floats and four picture scrolls, there were eight screens owned by private collectors. Two of the screens are still displayed in the festival: A pair of six-leaved *Rakuchū-Rakugai* screens from the Edo period seen in the Ikegaki display (display no. 4) and a two-leaved *Gion Sairei Zu* screen seen in the Ueno display (display no. 13).

#### **The Age and Topics of the Screens**

At the moment, besides ordinary screens made by urban artisans, there are fine screens from almost all the major Kyoto painting schools. These paint-



ings demonstrate not only the high artistic level and historic value of individual screens, but also the high cultural level of the whole festival. This group of screens includes, to mention only some of them, paintings from the famous Kano school, (which Yasunari Kawabata mentioned in his comments on the Screen Festival), the Sumiyoshi school and the Hasegawa school, which are all well-known historical Kyoto painting schools.

Among individual painters there are such renowned painters as Tessai Tomioka (1836-1924), Shonen Suzuki and Shiko Watanabe. The oldest screen is a painting by Donshu Ohara (-1587) portraying a Japanese festival. Besides these historically valuable museum-piece screens, there are many ordinary screens made by urban artisans. Altogether the author identified four major groups of painting topics and themes:

A large majority of screens deals with Chinese painting themes. In this group are black and white paintings with classic landscape themes such as paintings depicting mountains and water. Other popular painting motifs are pine trees and cranes, *matsu* and *tsuru*, a combination which has traditionally been considered auspicious (see, for instance, the Matsumi display: display no. 39, Fig. 88)

Among the philosophical themes there are such combinations as the Japanese *koto* instrument, *shōgi* game and *sumie*, ink-painting teacher<sup>164</sup> as in the Imae display (display no. 6) or an ink painting teacher among his students as in the Komatsu display (display no. 32, Fig. 118). In the philosophical category of paintings there is also a screen show-

ing ‘twenty-four legends depicting happy parent-hood’.

Among the historical painting motives one common genre are the *Rakuchū-Rakugai* screens, which are Edo period or later copies of the originals. Like the original paintings, they portray Kyoto at different seasons, and show events in and around the capital. Among this genre of screens there is a fine museum-piece screen from the middle of the Edo period in the Ikegaki display (display no. 4), which was mentioned in the exhibition catalogue above. Furthermore, in the Issetso display there is a fine *Rakuchū-Rakugai* screen from the same period. This screen portrays, among other events, the Gion Festival. The display, unfortunately, is not accessible to public view.

The fourth group of paintings deals with seasonal themes. Since the Gion Festival was viewed as celebrating the summer season, themes with seasonal references are common. In the seasonal category are, for example, such screens as ‘kimono ladies looking at fire-flies in the moonlight’ referring to a popular leisure activity in late summer eves in Kyoto, even today. Other paintings with seasonal themes are screens and picture scrolls that derive their themes directly from the Gion Festival, and also screens which, like many float decorations, refer to the water element. One of the most fascinating screens among this genre is a screen which depicts colourful Kyoto fans painted as if floating under the water. This screen is shown in the Komatsu display in Ennogyōjachō (see Fig. 94). Not all seasonal screens, however, de-



**FIG. 91** AN ANTIQUE TAPESTRY IN THE FUKUI DISPLAY, HAKURAKUTENCHŌ. AN EXAMPLE OF THE REVITALIZATION OF THE FESTIVAL. RS.



FIG.92 KIMONO OBI IN THE IWATA DISPLAY, BANOCHŌ. RS.



FIG.93 CLASSIC HYŌGI FLOWER ARRANGMENT IN THE ICHIHARA DISPLAY. RS.

rive their themes from this special season. There are paintings with autumn grasses and even screens, which portray snowy mountains.

## The Profile of the Displayed Articles Today

For the survey the displayed articles were classified in six major groups: screens, kimono textiles, armour, wooden models, other articles and flower arrangements.

### Screens

In 1991-92, out of the total of 56 displays, screens were the main content of the displays in 49 of them. The number of screens in one display was usually from two to four screens. Altogether the Yamahoko team recorded more than 160 screens. The setting of the screens took a number of patterns such as screens in U shape or in a row.

### Kimonos and Kimono Textiles

The Muromachi area as one of the major centres for Kyoto's kimono trade, a number of luxurious kimonos and kimono textiles are on display. In particular, the number of kimonos was large in the displays set up by kimono enterprises and wholesale companies. In these displays the kimonos have an important image and business supporting role. The type of kimonos ranged from Chinese an-

tique kimonos such as in the Komatsu display (display no. 32) to gorgeous *no* costume kimonos and self-dyed kimonos. Beside kimonos other kimono related articles were on display such as kimono string and kimono obi, all these items being outstanding works of art.

### Old Armour and Other Antiques

Old armour was recorded in three displays: the Matsuzakaya (display no. 27), Sakane (display no. 42) and Hirai (display no. 51) displays.

Among other popular antiques are, for instance, decorative hand-woven mats that add colour (blue mats are common) and sense of taste to the displays.

### Wooden Models of Festival Floats

Although not so old, the oldest ones were from the Meiji period; large wooden models depicting festival floats add their charm to the festival. They are intended to be a reference to the role of the Muromachi district in the Gion Festival and thus examples of articles that are culturally and context bound. Altogether the author counted seven large wooden models. The largest ones were almost two metres long. One such wooden *hoko* model is seen, for instance, in the Morii display, see Fig. 89.

### Flower Arrangements

The most common of the minor exhibits are classical flower arrangements, which add colour and a seasonal quality to the displays. In the Gion Festival, flower arrangements accompany other decorations. The *hyōgi* flower, in particular, is identified with the Gion Festival. It is a flower arrangement, which demands a special technique, which can be mastered only after several years of practice. This arrangement is one example of the cultural know-how of the Yamahoko kimono families. These classical flower arrangements were recorded in numerous displays. One such *hyōgi* flower arrangement is seen in the Ichihara display

(display no. 46), Fig. 93. In the background there is an antique screen which portrays hunting of boars on Mount Fuji. The screen has been listed by heritage authorities.

### Other Articles

In one display the display objects were derived from the Iwatoyama float, such as the tapestries which decorate the float during the procession. In another display the focus was an antique tapestry from 16th century Belgium. The tapestry was purchased for the family collection a few years ago. This is one example of the recent attempts to revitalise the Screen Festival.



FIG. 94 COLOURFUL FANS ARE PAINTED AS IF FLOATING UNDER THE WATER. THE KOMATSU DISPLAY, ENNOGYŌJACHŌ. RS.



FIG.95 THE CHŌJI DISPLAY, KAZAHAYACHŌ. KIMONO-RELATED ARTICLES ARE ON DISPLAY. HK.

## Fieldwork No. 7

# The Current Profile of the Screen Festival

## Introduction to the Fieldwork

The number of kimono families exhibiting has fallen dramatically, particularly since the Second World War. A low point was reached at the end of the 1970s, when the number of displays fell to only 30 displays. The city's transformation process threatens the display tradition in a number of ways. In particular, the wooden town architecture context has become endangered. In the investigation, which is focused on the general outlines of the festival, the author set up two major objectives:

- 1) To investigate the exact number of displays
- 2) To investigate the current profile of the displays

The field material was divided into five groups: the name and address of the exhibition, the display facility, the profile of the exhibiting person or company, the field of the enterprise and the display year.

## The Profile of Displays in 1991-92

During the two display years the author recorded a total of 56 displays.<sup>165</sup> An increase of 26 displays was thus noted. Among the displays listed 38 were within, and 18 outside the *hoko* neighbourhoods. The number of displays thus increased both inside and outside the *hoko* neighbourhoods. The distribution map for 1991-92 is shown in the survey map, Fig. 2. The names and addresses of the individual displays are given in Appendix 6.

The most frequent number of displays was recorded in Muromachi Street, where there were 12 altogether. In addition, there were 10 displays in Shinmachi Street, six in Karasuma Street, six in Nishikikōji Street and five in Ayanokōji Street. 70% of the displays were found along these five streets, which are the traditional core of the Screen Festival.

## The Profile of the Exhibition

The exhibitions are placed in three categories: home displays, combination home-enterprise, and enterprise. Enterprises were divided into two sub-groups: traditional industry and industries outside the traditional field.

### *Home Displays*

In 1977 70% of exhibits were home displays, in other words, they were set up by private kimono families.<sup>166</sup> Also today most displays were home displays, 35 in all.

The profile of home displays was as follows: home displays six, combination home-traditional industry 25, other home displays four. The number of home displays in the Yamahoko neighbourhoods was 21 and outside the *hoko* neighbourhoods 14. Thus, particularly outside the Yamahoko neighbourhoods, the home category displays formed a large percentage of the total number.

### *Displays Outside the Home Category*

21 displays were outside the home category such as displays set up by kimono enterprises and companies or even by large hotels and banks. There were 17 displays outside home category in the *hoko* neighbourhoods and four outside these neighbourhoods. The share of these displays was thus large, particularly in the Yamahoko neighbourhoods. Most of the enterprises operated in traditional fields. Only five displays were exhibited by enterprises outside the traditional fields.

### *Professional Profile of the Enterprise*

Even today most of the participants were in the kimono textile industry: altogether 35 displays.

The following enterprises exhibited: kimono manufacturing two, kimono wholesaling 25, dyeing seven, one kimono obi maker. In addition there were such traditional fields as fan making (one), *tatami* making (one), manufacturing wooden boxes

(one), a Japanese style restaurant (one). Six displays were outside the traditional field. In six displays the occupation of the exhibitor could not be identified.

## The Profile of the Display Facility

The author classified the display facility in two major categories: wooden/reinforced concrete structures. The author also observed the number of floors.

### Reinforced Concrete Structures

Almost half, 26 displays, took place in reinforced concrete structures. The number in 1977 had been 10, thus there was an increase of 16 displays.

In the *hoko* neighbourhoods there were displays in 20 reinforced concrete structures, more than half of the total. Outside the *hoko* neighbourhoods the number of these displays was only six.

### Wooden Structures

Among the display facilities there were altogether 30 wooden structures. Among them 18 were investigated in the *hoko* neighbourhoods and 12 outside them. Outside the *hoko* neighbourhoods the share of wooden structures was thus, still relatively large. Furthermore, of the wooden structures, 20 had a *machiya* shape, in other words, a traditional wooden frame facade. *Kanban*, shop sign facade, was recorded in seven displays. Three displays took place in rebuilt wooden structures, which were designed in the traditional town-house, *machiya*, style.<sup>167</sup>

### Number of Floors

Three categories were used for the number of floors: those with two or less floors, those with three to five floors and those with more than five floors. 30 display facilities had two floors, 17 had three to five floors, 9 had more than five floors. 38 buildings had three or fewer floors. Thus, most of the exhibition facilities were still of relatively small scale.

## The Building Material of the Display Facility versus the Profile of the Displaying Person/Enterprise

The author compared the profile of the exhibiting person/enterprise and the building material of the exhibition facility. Outside the home category the vast majority of displays, 17, took place in reinforced concrete structures. In the category of home displays the great majority, 26, took place in wooden structures. In other words, there was a correlation between the home-category and the wooden display facilities.

## Summary

Below the author will draw conclusions focusing especially on two major issues:

- 1) The general profile of the displays
- 2) Current trends

### The General Profile of the Displays

The survey recorded a general increase in the number of displays. The number of displays almost doubled over the past 15 years. Moreover, of the 30 displays, which existed in 1977, only 13 or 14 displays could be identified as having survived up to now. Thus, the number of new displays was even greater than would appear from the numbers alone. It is thus no exaggeration to say that the festival has been undergoing a revival during recent years. Displays along Muromachi Street particularly, the traditional core of the festival, increased. There were only two displays in 1977, so the increase to 12 displays is remarkable. Moreover, the physical changes in the built environment did not notably affect the growth in the number of displays. 62% of buildings along Muromachi Street are reinforced concrete structures.

Furthermore, a very traditional profile of those who display was recorded. The kimono industry has kept a strong foothold in the festival. The screen displays continue to be a highly appreciated tradition of the Muromachi kimono families. The Union of the Kyoto Textile Industry has

played an important role in the revival of the festival. In the middle seventies it had an image boosting campaign to promote the kimono textile industry. With this objective in mind it also promoted such traditions as the Screen Festival.<sup>168</sup> The large number of kimono textile enterprises, which participate in the festival, demonstrates that these efforts have not been in vain

The general atmosphere now might be different from 15 years ago. With the extensive media interest in traditional events there might now be a higher degree of public awareness of such traditions as the Screen Festival. The display is seen as a source of local pride. According to this survey, the kimono enterprises are very much involved in the festival and the number of kimono enterprises has even increased. Even the number of home displays, against our expectations, was able to grow. Besides kimono merchant families many ordinary kimono artisan families participate in the festival.

### **Current Trends**

One prominent feature is the disappearance of many traditional displays that were still on the scene twenty years ago

The second feature is the relatively low total number of displays. The number of displays is still very low and nowhere near the number in the years before the Second World War. According to the Yamahoko survey there are only 1.08 displays per *hoko* neighbourhood. This is anything but promising if we consider the future of the festival. Furthermore, there are many *hoko* neighbourhoods where no screen displays were recorded at all. The author recorded 17 such neighbourhoods already, in other words, almost half of all the *hoko* neighbourhoods.

Third, there is a gradual disappearance of the home context. While the emphasis earlier was on kimono homes with a traditional life style, there are now many displays outside the home category. In the *hoko* neighbourhoods almost half of the displays are now outside the home category, in other words, the displays are set up by enterprises and companies (although many in the traditional ki-

mono field). Outside the Yamahoko area the number of home displays was, however, still relatively large.

Furthermore, related to the later trend, there is a gradual disappearance of the wooden townhouse context. The number of displays in reinforced concrete structures increased being now almost half of all displays. This is a large number and not without an effect on the atmosphere and character of displays.

## Investigation of the Staging Patterns

### Introduction to the Fieldwork

The major aim of the investigation was to record the staging practices and patterns today. Particular attention was paid to the wooden townhouse context as the scenic stage of the festival. In the traditional architecture the technique of display was managed by such things as the choice of the display room and by the viewing pattern. The display could be seen through lattice, *kōshi*, partitions or the wooden partitions could be removed so that the public and private domains merged into each other. Ms. Iwama saw the exposed rooms as the quintessence of the traditional displays:

*“... Is not one of the great meanings of the Screen Festival to be found in the way the urban dwelling is exposed as if on a stage?”<sup>169</sup>*

In some displays, in particular if the number of screens was large, many rooms are used for the display. In that case the onlooker can enter the house and enjoy the screens in the inner parts of the house. Then the guestroom, *zashiki*, is most often used as for staging the display. In the traditional displays there is a strong sense of relationship not only between the onlooker and the staged screens, but also between the onlooker and the house.

This investigation focused particularly on two things:

- 1) the traditional staging patterns
- 2) the modern window displays

In the field survey all displays and their staging patterns were investigated, their plans with the placing of individual screens drawn and photographed. The investigation form is attached in Appendix 5. In addition to the material provided by the Yamahoko field surveys, the survey by Hayakawa with its many pictures and graphic illustrations, provided valuable information on the staging techniques of the festival in a cross section period when major changes in the display technique had not yet taken place.

### Description and Classification of the Display Patterns

The author studied the display patterns and the staging technique from three different viewpoints:

- 1) name and location of the display room
- 2) viewing pattern and the route taken by the public



**FIG.96** THE STREET PATTERN. THE DISPLAY IS VIEWED FROM THE STREET. THE KONDA DISPLAY, EBŌSHACHŌ. HK.





**FIG.97** THE KOJIRO YOSHIDA DISPLAY IN ROKKAKUCHŌ. THE OPEN WALL PATTERN: THE WHOLE FACADE IS OPEN TO THE STREET. HK.

3) partition between the outdoor and indoor space.

Through this classification the author hoped to get a exact picture of the manifold of the display patterns that exist in the festival and also, to get tools through which to analyse the changing trends in the festival. The present analysis is the first comprehensive study on the urban patterns of the Screen Festival. In describing the names of the display rooms and display patterns the author uses terms that the Japanese researchteam used in their work.

## Name and Location of the Display Room

The author used four categories depending on the location of the room:

### *Pattern A, Room Next to the Street*

The Screen Festival is concerned with the impact on the street, the most popular room for staging screens is usually the room next to the street (*omote*). According to Hayakawa in the traditional displays the rooms used for the display were most often such rooms as the *mise-no-ma*, shop, *omote-no-ma*, front room or *omote-mise*, front shop. In modern office buildings the display room is usually the shop or an office room.

A majority of the displays, 36 followed this pattern. Of these 18 were in wooden, 18 in reinforced concrete structures.

### **Pattern B, room in the inner parts of the house**

According to Hayakawa such rooms as the *irori-noma*, fireplace room, *nakanoma*, middle room, *uriba*, selling room, *misenoma*, shop, *kakobu*, writing room, *zashiki*, guest room, *ōsetsuma*, guestroom, were used. Many large displays were of this pattern. Still today pattern B is mainly identified with large traditional displays. If the hierarchy was not marked clearly and the room was not tatami floored, the author considered the display room as pattern C.

Pattern B was recorded in 13 displays. 11 displays were recorded in wooden and two in reinforced concrete structures.

In this category of displays there were such fine displays as the Ueno (no. 13), Matsuuma (no. 17), Kojiro Yoshida (no. 28), Komatsu (no. 32) and Ban displays (no. 33).

### **Pattern C, *tōriniwa*, genkan, entrance hall or corridor**

In this pattern the entrance hall, or in wooden structures, the *tōriniwa*, the earth floor corridor, is the major stage for the display. The difference between pattern C and pattern A, is that in pattern A the display room is a tatami-room while in pattern C it is not.

The entrance hall was used a s place for display in nine displays. Of these, five were found in reinforced concrete and four in wooden structures.

The displays in wooden structures that took the entrance pattern, were: the Kizaki (no.18), Shimizu (no. 49), Kitagawa (no.7), Koizumi (no. 25) displays. In the reinforced concrete category were the Imae (no.6), Chikitsi (no. 31), Jumatsu (no.36), Matsushita (no. 50), and the Kyoto Hotel (no. 48) displays.

### **Pattern D, show window**

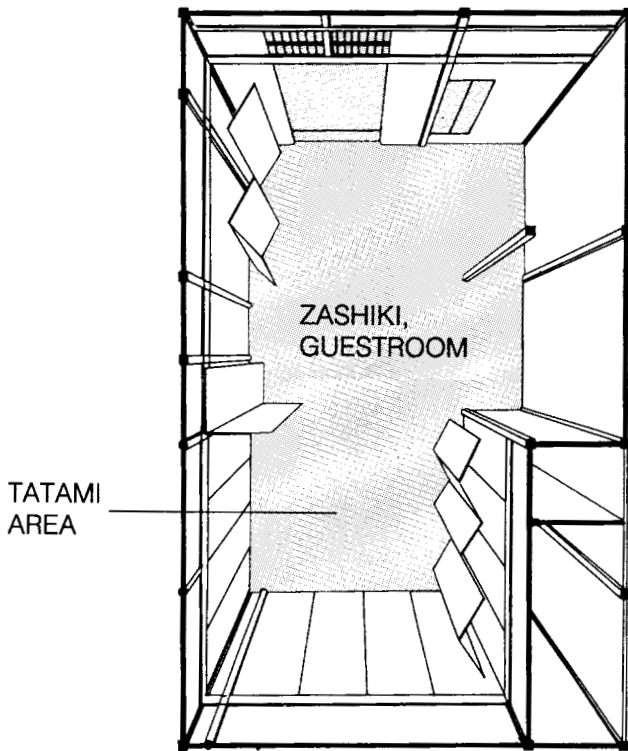
In this pattern the show-window box is decorated. An example of these modern show window displays is the Itariyard display in Koiyamachō (Display no. 38), which can be seen in Fig. 100. Though diverging from the more traditional displays, the author included this pattern as one new type of display.

There were five show-window displays altogether.

The Furukawa display (display no. 2), which in 1992 took the entrance and home patterns, in 1991 decorated only the show-window. Thus the number of show-window displays in that year was six.

## **Viewing Pattern and the Route Taken by Public**

The effectiveness of the display depends on how the onlooker observes the display. An essential aspect in the viewing pattern is how the relationship between the audience and the house is



**FIG. 98** OIE, HOME PATTERN. PERSPECTIVE DRAWING OF THE BAN DISPLAY BY THE AUTHOR. THE SCREENS ARE DISPLAYED IN THE GUESTROOM.

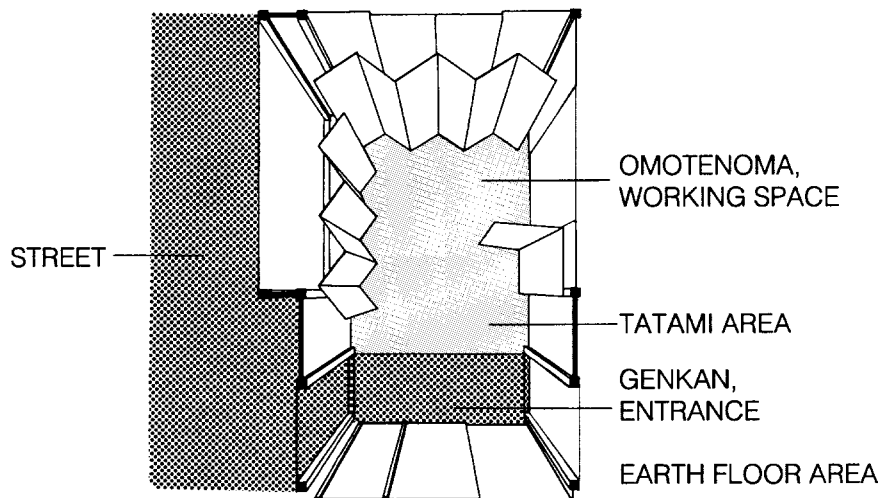


FIG. 99 MISENOMA-TŌRINIWA, SHOP-ENTRANCE PATTERN.  
PERSPECTIVE DRAWING OF THE SUGIURA.  
DISPLAY BY THE AUTHOR.

manipulated. In Japan, the visitor is regarded to stay outside house as long as she keeps her shoes and is standing in the earth floor area (*doma*) of the house. Only when she leaves her shoes, the visitor is allowed to enter the tatami area. In other words, as soon as the visitor has entered the tatami area, the visitor is regarded to have entered the house. In the Screen Festival this relationship is manipulated in a number of ways. Hayakawa observed three basic patterns:

- 1) from the street, without entering the house
- 2) from the entrance hall in the earth floor area without entering the tatami area.
- 3) in the tatami room. Hayakawa named this viewing pattern as the *oie* pattern, home pattern, because the viewer or audience in this pattern literally enters the house. As a display room can be used any of the tatami rooms in the inner parts of the house. The author keeps the same classification.

**Pattern A.** The screens are displayed in the *misenoma* (shop) and the audience views the display from the adjoining entrance space

The screens are displayed in the tatami area and the screens are viewed in the entrance hall without leaving shoes. In 1977 most of the displays were of this pattern A. It continues to be common. Fig. 99 shows the general principle of the *misenoma-tōriniwa*, shop-entrance pattern. The example is taken from the Sugiura house in Shinkamanzachō (display no. 44). The shop-entrance pattern is not limited to traditional displays, but can be found in modern reinforced concrete structures too.

Altogether 24 displays took the entrance pattern. This was more than one third of all displays. The entrance pattern was mainly identified with the wooden buildings. Of all entrance patterns 20 displays took place in wooden structures. Only four examples of the entrance pattern were found in reinforced concrete structures.

The author divided the entrance pattern into two sub-groups:



FIG. 100 MODERN WINDOW BOX PATTERN. ITARIYARD, KOIYAMACHŌ. RS.



FIG. 101 ENTRANCE PATTERN. TOHO, ROKKAKUCHŌ. RS.

1) The display takes an asymmetrical pattern. The author calls the asymmetrical pattern the *misenoma-tōriniwa*, shop entrance pattern. Hayakawa did so too. The great majority, 16 displays, was of the asymmetrical pattern and 14 displays of them were found in wooden structures

2) The display takes the frontal pattern as in some *genkan*, entrance, displays, or as in those displays which take place in modern office entrances. The frontal pattern was found altogether in eight displays. Of these displays six took place in wooden and two in reinforced concrete structures.

***Pattern B. The audience leaves the shoes in the entrance hall, enters the house and the screens are looked at in the house***

Perspective drawing of the Ban display in Honeyachō (display no. 33) that is depicted in Fig. 98 shows the general principle of the *oie*, home pattern.

The *oie*, home pattern was recorded in 15 displays altogether. Of these, seven were recorded in wooden and eight in reinforced concrete structures. Many displays in this category are shielded from public view and they are shown only privately.

***Pattern C. The display is viewed from the street***

This is one of the ‘classic’ patterns that evolved in the context of the wooden town architecture and open wall. Because of the removable lattice, *kōshi*

partitions the display, and thereby the whole house can temporarily be exposed into the street. In modern steel-reinforced concrete structures most of the street patterns (if not all) are window displays where the display is looked at through a closed glass window. Fig. 96 shows the principle of the street pattern or *kōshi* open pattern in the Konda display in Ebōshachō (display no. 30).

27 displays took the street pattern. Of these, 11 displays took place in wooden and 16 in reinforced concrete structures, in other words, the street pattern was largely identified with the new, steel and reinforced concrete buildings.

**Partition between the Outdoor and Indoor Space**

In the classic displays communication between the display room and the street area was managed and regulated by the open or half-open wooden partition, *kōshi*. In new reinforced concrete structures, the display is usually seen through an open or closed glass window or door. The author uses three categories:

***Closed glass window or door***

This pattern has become common with reinforced concrete and glass structures and modern air conditioning. The sense of closeness



FIG. 102 STREET PATTERN. KAMATA, NISHIKIKŌJICHŌ. RS.



FIG. 103 MODIFIED OIE, HOME PATTERN. SCREENS ARE VIEWED IN THE DISPLAY ROOM. YAMASHIN, HAKURAKUTENCHŌ. RS.

and intimacy between the displaying person and the audience is sacrificed for security and comfort.

Eight displays were viewed through a closed glass window or door. Of these, seven were in reinforced concrete structures.

Displays in reinforced concrete structures were: the Moritaka (display no. 14), Nakamura (display no. 19), Kawarazaki (display no. 20), Eibien (display no. 21), Arakawa (display no. 24), Yasuda (display no. 45), Senso (display no. 53) displays. Only one of these categories of displays was found in a wooden structure: display no. 1, the Nakao display.

### Open window or door

The relationship between the house and the audience is more intimate than above.

In five displays the partition was an open glass door.

Of these displays the Yamada (display no. 56), Ikegaki (display no. 4), Fukui (display no. 22), Ichida (display no. 26) were displayed in reinforced concrete structures. Koizumi (display no. 25) was displayed in a wooden structure.

### Wooden lattice *kōshi* partition

The display is viewed through lattice *kōshi* partition or *kōshi* partition is removed. This is the classic traditional pattern that can be found only in the wooden town house context. It is thus one of the unique cultural patterns of the festival. The audience stands outside the house, but because of the

open facade the public can see deep into the inner parts of the house.

The *kōshi*, lattice open pattern was recorded in three displays: the Kojiro Yoshida (display no. 28), Matsuzakaya (display no. 27), and Konda (no. 30) displays. They were all among the most beautiful displays in the festival. In addition, some displays could be seen through a half-open wooden partition such as the Morii (display no. 41) and Miyagawa displays (display no. 43) adding a charming element to these displays.

### Summary

Because many displays took more than one display pattern, we considered different combinations and classified the displays into six categories:

- 1) The street pattern, 19 displays
  - 2) The entrance pattern, 17 displays
  - 3) The street and the entrance pattern, five displays
  - 4) The street and the *oie*, home pattern, two displays
  - 5) The *oie*, home pattern, 11 displays
  - 6) The *oie*, home pattern and the entrance pattern, two displays
- [Total 56 displays]



FIG. 104 ENTRANCE PATTERN. KAMATA, NISHIKIJICHŌ. RS.

Large majority of displays took the *misenoma-tōriniwa*, entrance pattern, where the onlooker has access to the entrance hall of the house, but is not encouraged to enter the tatami area of the house. This is a semi-public pattern where the audience or visitor can partially enter the building but is still officially regarded as standing outside the house. This is one of the traditional patterns, which is still very much used and alive today. According to our survey, the entrance pattern was mostly identified, as would be expected, with the wooden structures but could be found in small numbers in reinforced concrete structures as well.

Beside the entrance pattern a small number of wooden structures took the open wall, *kōshi* pat-

tern. In this pattern the audience stands outside the house in the street but the whole house is exposed into the street. This is a traditional pattern with a sense of closeness and a strong experience of place. The number of these patterns is low. Only three displays were recorded with this pattern. This is an alarming trend, if we think of the successful continuity of the festival. Only one of them, the Kojiro Yoshida display in Rokkaku-chō, shows a completely open wall where the whole house is exposed to the street and the public can see through the open wall deep into the inner parts of the house.

Furthermore, there were a number of *oie*, home patterns. In this pattern the audience lit-

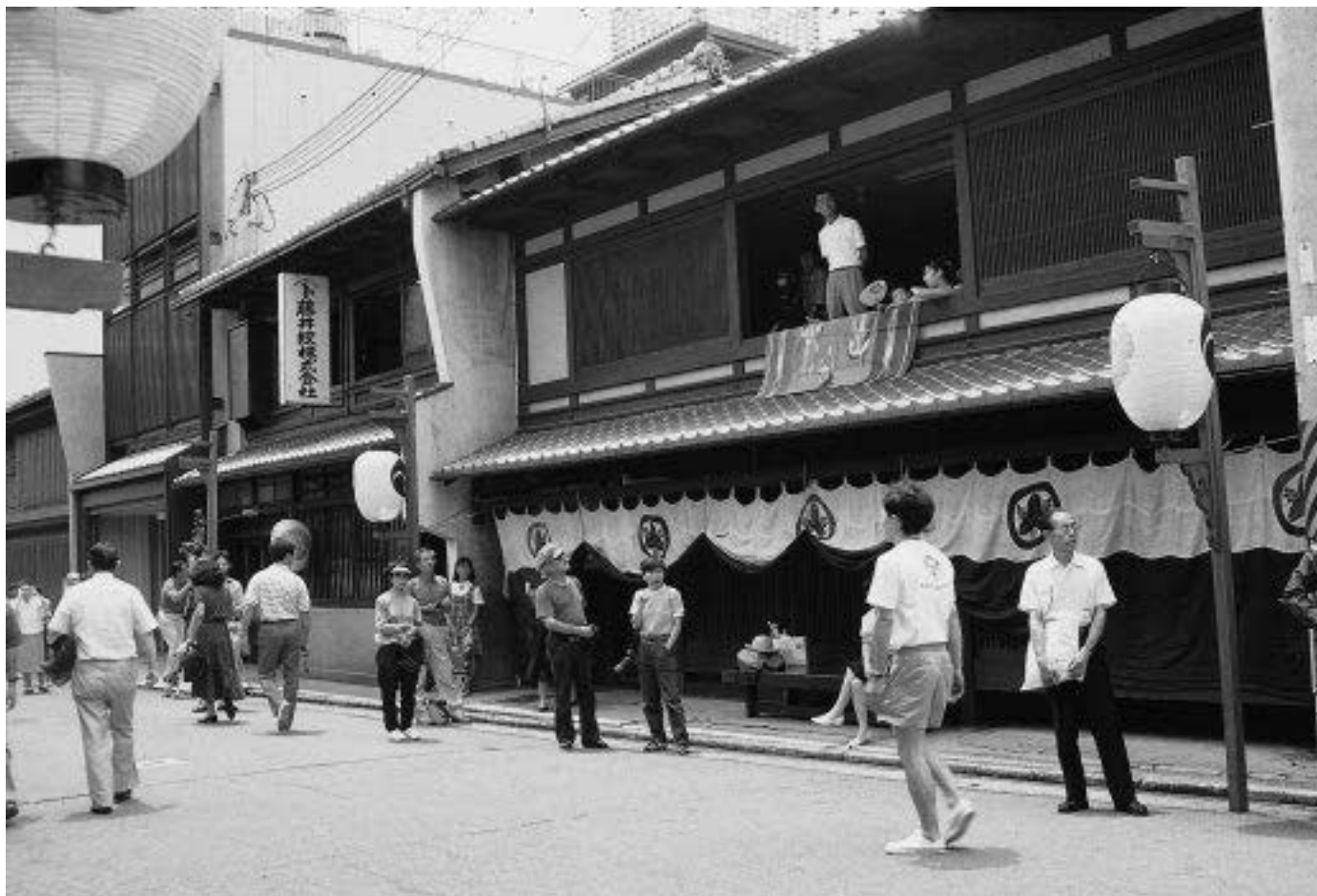


FIG. 105 STREET PATTERN. THE KOJIRU YOSHIDA DISPLAY. ROKKAKUCHŌ. RS.

erary enters the house. The irony, however is, that most of these displays were closed off from public view and could be viewed for the survey only by special permission. There were many fine displays in this category including Matsuuma in Shijochō and Imae in Uradeyamachō. The pattern itself is not bound to the wooden town house context, but can be found in modern structures as well. This however, necessitates that there is a clear articulation between the tatami area and other, more public parts of the house. An example of a successful adaptation is the Komatsu display in Ennogyōjachō. The display is also worth of noting because of its many fine historic screens.

A relatively large number of displays is today looked at through a closed glass window. When examined from the visual effectiveness of the display, the window pattern appears to embody a fundamental shift in the idea of the staging tradition. The effect is superficial when compared with the more classic displays. Nor is the large number of window displays very promising if we think of the continuity of the atmosphere and authenticity the festival. Closing off the displays behind a glass wall, although understandable from the displaying person's point of view, is one of the unfortunate trends which has come about in recent years. The number of these displays is already alarmingly high, degrading essential urban values in the festival.



FIG. 106 THE KONDA DISPLAY. EBŌSHACHI. RS.



## Fieldwork No. 9

## The Profile of One Kimono Home Display

## Introduction to the Fieldwork

The focus of the case study is the Sugiura display, a modest home display in Shinkamanzachō (display no. 44). Without any museum-piece screens or other precious antiques, the display portrays a kimono artisan's home display of the type that flourishes particularly outside the *hoko* neighbourhoods. The material for the survey was acquired during two field surveys in 1991-92, when the author participated together with the family in the staging of the display. In the field survey, all the articles that were staged for the display were examined and their position in the display investigated. Further information was acquired through numerous talks and discussions with Mr. and Mrs. Sugiura, both before and after the festival.

Compared to some displays where, the display tradition has been continued since the Meiji or even Edo period, the Sugiura display is rather new. Screens and other artefacts were purchased by Mr. Sugiura's mother. She began the display tradition before the Second World War. Altogether the Su-

giura family owns seven antique screens to be displayed in the festival. As well as the screens, classical tea ceremony sets, picture scrolls and other cultural artefacts are used in the display.

As a tenant lane Shinkamanzachō was never at the centre stage of the Gion Festival. However, some families used to display screens. Before the war the display was dominated by the Okao family, who were the influential producers-landowners of the neighbourhood. In the Okao display as Mr. Sugiura said:

*"... one could see from the street deep inside the house between the daidokoro, kitchen, and the misenoma, shop, and splendid screens were displayed".<sup>170</sup>*

The Okao display however, was discontinued in 1941. While it flourished before the Second World War, after the war only four families kept up the tradition. Today the Sugiura family is the only family which continues the tradition in the neighbourhood.



**FIG. 107** THE SCREEN DISPLAY IN 1991. THE HORSE AND MONKEY SCREEN, A FLOWER ARRANGEMENT AND A FAMILY HEIRLOOM DOLL. THE SUGIURA DISPLAY. RS.



FIG. 108 THE SCREEN DISPLAY IN THE SUGIURA HOUSE IN 1992. THE SIX-LEAVED WILLOW SCREEN. RS.

According to Mrs. Sugiura, it was Mrs. Okao, the wife of the landlord, who played a vital role in introducing the custom of the Screen Festival to this kimono artisan family. She gave advice regarding the choice of articles such as the elegant tea ceremony sets and on the necessary cultural know-how. In this way, those who were tenants could also participate and become integrated into the festival. Moreover, these displays gained special meaning in an environment, where traditionally only those who were landowners or house owners could participate in the Gion Festival.

### Description of the Content of the Display

The main stage for the display is, as is usual, the *omotenoma*, the shop or working space, which is emptied of its everyday furnishing and decorated

with the folding screens for the festival. The public has access to the earth-floor entrance space. The display takes thus the *misenoma-tōriniwa*, shop-entrance pattern as in most home displays today. The family has only once removed the wooden partitions and exposed the house to the street since the Second World War. Besides the main display, the *zashiki*, guest room is also staged for the festival. However, the guest room is shown only to private guests. In the main display three screens are usually displayed in each year. The content of the screens and their placing changes every year being one of the charming features of the festival.

The key person in the display is Mrs. Sugiura, to whom the display and the choice of articles are a means to express 'her pleasure and delight to display' as she said. She thinks about the setting and the mood of the display long before the actual display. Furthermore, there is an explanation given

by Mr. or Mrs. Sugiura related to every item that is on the stage. Some of these explanations are listed here, but to list all of them would have been almost impossible. Many of the display items refer directly to the *hoko* area or the Gion Festival, such as a family heirloom doll depicting *Jingu Kogo*, one of the symbolical figures of the Gion Festival; or a black and white picture scroll, which portrays Naginatahoko, the leading float in the festival procession.

### The Sugiura Display in 1991-92

The author divided the display according to the displayed room into three categories: the *miseno-ma*, workshop display, the *zashiki*, guestroom display and the outdoor space. The list of the displayed articles, their placing in the display room and some characteristic features such as the dimensions of the displayed screens are given in Appendix 4, table 2. The section and the plan of the display can be see in Figs. 109 and 110. Numbers in the drawings refer to the numbers in the appendixlist.

#### *The Miseno-ma, Workshop Display in 1991 and 1992*

In both years the screens were arranged in a loose U-form. In 1991 there were three main screens. The main screen was a six-leaved black and white screen painted in ink. This screen depicts a Chinese mountain landscape and it was placed in the middle of the room. In addition, there was a blue six-leaved screen, which portrays a Chinese Calendar. This screen was placed on the left side of the main screen. The third screen was a black and white two-leaved screen. This screen portrays two Chinese horoscope animals, the horse and the monkey. This was placed on the right side of the main screen. Beside screens the display included such decorative elements as a pair of hand-woven antique mats, a flower arrangement and *sudare*, light reed screens, used as space dividers between the display room and the entrance space. Such screens are a popular element in other screen displays as well.

The display in 1992 followed much the same pattern as in 1991. Also the number of screens was the same. Variation was achieved through the different choice of screens and flower arrangement. The main screen was a six-leaved black and white landscape screen, which portrays willows. The two other screens were a Chinese mountain landscape screen (in 1991 the main screen) and a low screen which contains prints of Hiroshige. Together these three screens gave a totally different mood for the display.

#### *The Zashiki, Guestroom Display in 1991 and 1992*

The dining-kitchen is temporarily closed off from view by a sliding door when the guest room is decorated for the display. The number and placing of screens is altered each year. The pattern of display is less fixed than in the main display. Besides screens, the display may include such elements as a tea ceremony set or other family treasures that are on display. The decorations in the *tokonoma* alcove are an integral part of the mood of the display.

In 1991 there was only one low screen displayed. This was a two-leaved screen with prints of Hiroshige. The theme of the prints is '53 views on Tokaido'. Tokaido was the old main road between Edo and Kyoto. Along this route there were 53 post stations and inns, which were placed so that every post had some special landscape view. In 1992 only one large six-leaved screen was staged. This screen depicts two groups of men catching fish on the shore with two fishing nets. All these screens are family heirlooms and valued treasures of the house.

#### *Decorations Outside the House in 1991 and 1992*

The major decoration outside the house are the festival lantern and a decorative cloth (*manmaku*) with the family crest. These decorations are hung under the lower eaves during the night time inviting visitors to see the display. The lantern is not only associated with the Screen Festival, but it is one of the major symbols of the Gion Festival. Altogether

er five families in Shinkamanzachō hung such lanterns outside their doors during the last festival night in 1992. In 1991 a temporary bench was also installed outside the Sugiura house inviting visitors to see the festival display and the decorated house.

## Summary

With its screen display the Sugiura house has become a kind of temporary local landmark taking an important role in the festival. The urgency of historic preservation has already been asserted in earlier chapters. Special sensitivity is now needed to assess the heritage value of these ordinary kimono home displays. The continued cultural practice of the screen display tradition in this family is itself an important measure of social and cultural value. Besides purely art historical or antique arguments, that have been in the foreground until now, the assessment of val-

ues should include, at least, the following value categories:

1) Individual interpretations and significance a displaying person or/and the community attaches to the display. Among these are, for example, the social pride and the self consciousness the displaying person has in a tradition usually described as the privilege of the kimono merchant class.

2) The deep sense of attachment to place the displaying person has. In the Sugiura case it includes not only such physical things as the age of the house (the house as the oldest structure in Shinkamanzachō) but also social ties and family histories in the neighbourhood. Until now social value has tended to mean all those values expressed by the community that fall outside the professional framework.

3) Public accessibility. Those who visit the Sugiura house during the festival, Japanese and Western visitors alike, are all contributing to its

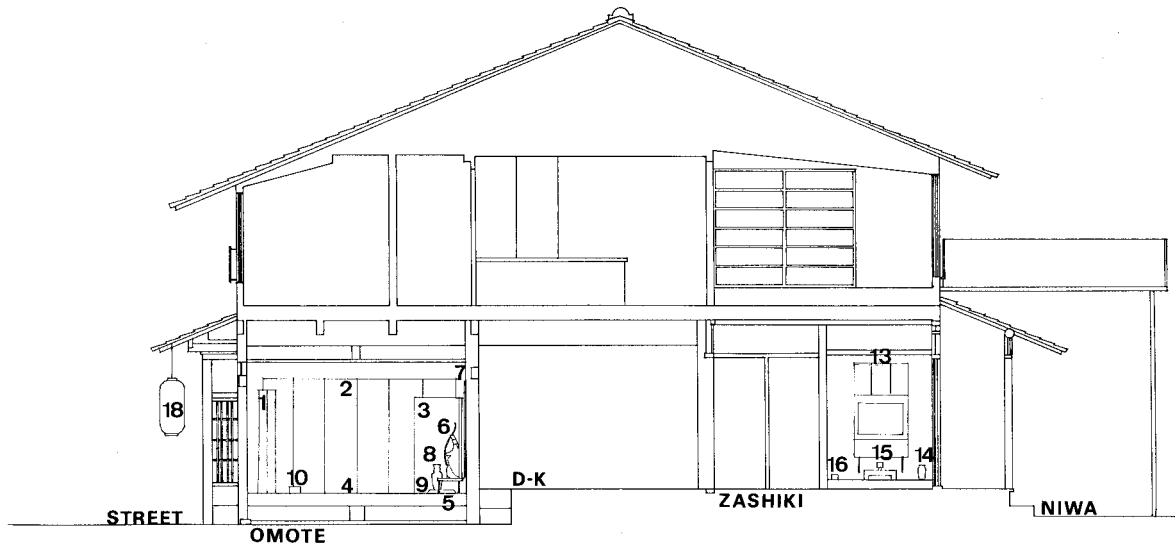
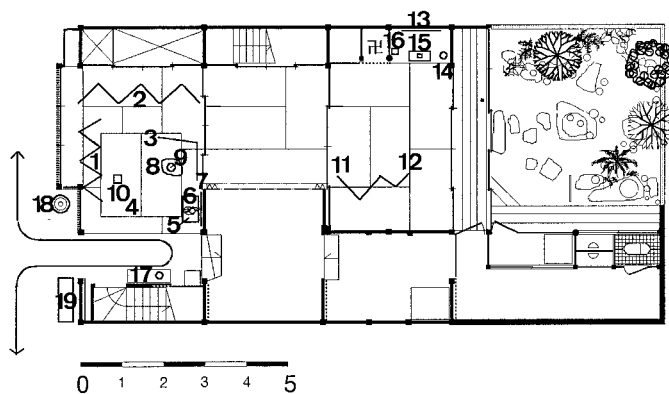


FIG. 109 SECTION OF THE SUGIURA DISPLAY. MEASUREMENT DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.

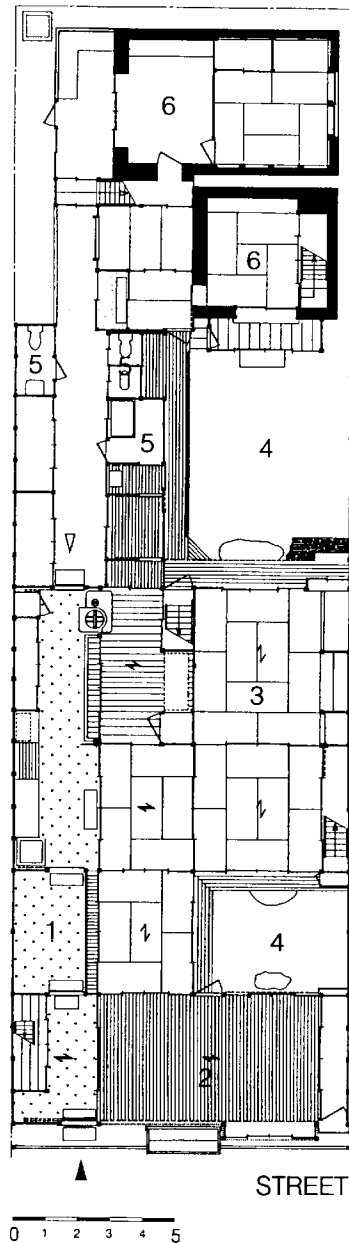
continuation and helping to shape the culture of that place. The remoteness, darkness, or ‘difficulty to find’ add to rather than detract from the charm of that place. The most exciting places are those in remote lanes and unexpected places far-away from the pressing crowds of the Gion Festival.

4) The display items as an ensemble. Although the individual display items might lack (expert) value, the culturally conditioned display patterns and the total setting as an ensemble adds essentially to their charm. Among these patterns are, for instance, such temporal patterns as the flower arrangements individually chosen and skilfully arranged for the display. An essential aspect of the total ensemble is the wooden townhouse context without which the whole meaning of the display would be essentially degraded or even, lost.



**FIG. 110** PLAN OF THE SUGIURA DISPLAY.  
MEASUREMENT DRAWING BY THE  
AUTHOR.

## Seventeen Screen Displays



**FIG. 111** PLAN OF THE KOJIRO YOSHIDA HOUSE. THERE ARE TWO INNER GARDENS IN THE PLAN AND AT THE BACK OF THE SITE TWO FIRE-PROOF STOREHOUSES. MEASUREMENT DRAWING BY THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OFFICE.

### Introduction to the Fieldwork

The purpose of the investigation is to record the major classic displays of today. The scenic changes implemented by new settings are traced through two displays, which are staged in modern office buildings.

The material for the study was acquired through on-site field surveys. All the displays described illustrate some important aspect in the survival of the festival. Among the exhibitors there are, as before the Second World War, such powerful Muromachi kimono families as the Imae, Ban and Matsuzakaya families. For them the display is treasured not only as a family tradition, but the display continues to have an important image and business-supporting role.

Because of the important role of *kōshi*, the open wall pattern, all of them are described below. Among them, the Kojiro Yoshida display with its fine interior spaces exposed to the street is one of the attractive foci of the whole festival. It also illustrates the listing and argumentation problems facing the protection of the exhibition structures today. In spite of its fine architectural and urban qualities, the wooden structure is not considered qualified enough as a cultural landmark.

Most of the displays described take the *miseno-tōriniwa*, shop-entrance pattern, the most important staging pattern today. In the shop-entrance pattern one has a partial access into the house, which would otherwise be inaccessible to public view. Together with the open wall pattern, the entrance pattern illustrates cultural patterns that evolved from and essentially depend on their wooden townhouse context. This pattern has a pivotal role in manipulating the scenic effect and the intimate scale characteristic of the traditional festival. As the investigation shows, there are still many fine traditional displays with the entrance pattern left. They are all examples of the indispen-



FIG. 112 THE BAN DISPLAY, HONEYACHŌ. HK.

sable heritage values of the wooden townhouse context.

Three of the exhibiting wooden structures, the Ban, Kojiro Yoshida and Matsuzakaya houses, have been separately documented by the municipal authorities. They were included in the same book published by the Cultural Heritage Section that was already introduced in the earlier chapters of this work. The book portrays historic urban dwellings in Kyoto. Although the publication is more symbolic than implementing actual designation, it can be hoped that the publication will increase awareness of the importance of the wooden town architecture and thereby also promote its preservation and protection. Among the three structures only the Ban house has been preserved by law. Among the displaying townhouses, the Ban house is, therefore, in a special category of its own.

Current unfortunate trends in the display tradition are illustrated, in particular, by two displays: the Imae and the Ikegaki displays, which are located in modern, reinforced concrete structures. Both displays are examples of the degenerative effects the growth of the Gion Festival into a mass event has brought to the festival. The loss of privacy and the pressures of mass event have caused the originals to be screened off from the public: in the Ikegaki display through a glass window; in the Imae display by closing off the whole display from public view. In the Aoki and Komatsu displays the old atmosphere is more successfully preserved. Both display in rebuilt or partially renovated structures.



FIG. 113 THE FURUKAWA DISPLAY, TENJINYAMACHŌ. RS.



FIG. 114 THE KOJIRO YOSHIDA DISPLAY, ROKKAKUCHŌ. HK.

## Description of the Seventeen Screen Displays

The seventeen documented screen displays were:

### *The Furukawa Display. Nishikikōji Shinmachi Higashi Iru Minamigawa, Tenjinyamachō.*

The author chose the Furukawa display to be portrayed here, not so much because of the displayed articles, but because of its fine interior space, which is exposed to the viewer from the entrance hall through the long and narrow house. There is a garden and a stone lantern at the rear of the house. This is one of those places where it is still possible to enjoy the charm of the traditional architecture with its long and fascinating interior views. Protecting and preserving even some of these views would be a major step towards keeping the authentic atmosphere of the festival. The focus of the screen display is a set of four-leaved screens. The screens which are painted by Abe Shunpo, portray cranes and date from the Meiji period. As well as the screens luxurious kimono textiles bring their own splendour to the display. The Furukawa display is one of the three displays in Tenjinyamachō on the southern side of Nishikikōji Street (see Fig. 113).

### *The Ban Display. Rokkaku Karasuma Nishi Iru Minamigawa, Honeaychō*

The Ban display is one of the oldest displays in the festival with many years of patronage and a high profile in the kimono production. The house is, as already stated, one of the five ordinary townhouses, which have so far been nominated as a cultural asset. The nomination took place in 1990. According to family records, the family moved into the neighbourhood in 1896, in other words, more than one hundred years ago. It is thought that the oldest part of the house was built at that time. The focus of the display is a famous piece of Japanese art history: a black and white screen painted by Suzuki Shonen (1848-1918) depicting a wolf (see Fig. 112, previous page). The display, which takes place in a semi-dark entrance hall, is one of the most impressive scenes in the festival. In addition to the entrance display, a splendid display takes place in the inner parts of the house with many museum-piece screens. The elegant *zashiki* display was photographed for the Yamahoko survey by Hiroshi Kyogoku, see Fig. 8.

### *The Yoshida Display. Shinmachi Takoyakushi Agaru Nishikawa, Rokkakuchō*

The owner of the display, Mr. Yoshida, returned to Kyoto twenty years ago after having studied and taught in Tokyo. As an artist, a professional painter, he appreciated the beauty and history of the Gion Festival. Mr. Yoshida is now one of the



FIG. 115 THE MATSUZAKAYA DISPLAY,  
ROKKAKUCHŌ. RS.



key persons in the festival, who organises cultural projects and art exhibitions related to the festival, many of which are held in his own house in Rokkakuchō. The house is a well-kept wooden structure of the *omoteya tsukuri machiya* style from the Meiji period (1909). The house shows an elevated upper floor (1935). The wooden facade is designed with such imposing details as the *battarishogi*, a sales bench which can be lifted up on the wall when not in use and put to full use in such events as the urban festival. The plan of the house is shown in Fig. 111. At the back of the narrow and deep site there are two gorgeous store-houses.

The festival tradition was continued after the Second World War until 1958, but was interrupted during Mr. Yoshida's stay in Tokyo. In 1976, Mr. Yoshida partially rebuilt and reconstructed the wooden facade, which now plays an important role in the festival. For him the house and the display are an integrated whole. As he said:

*"...The proportions and the materials of the wooden architecture harmonise naturally with the staged screens".*

As an artist's home the house itself is like a museum. Like many other displaying persons in the festival Mr. Yoshida is an enthusiastic antiquarian and art collector. The loft studio on the upper floor is filled with old and new pottery, books, paintings and pieces of sculpture collected all

around the world. The display reflects his aim to keep the festival tradition, not only as a "colourful public display, but as something which one can participate in and make for oneself".<sup>171</sup> The staged kimonos are designed by Mr. Yoshida and his wife. The display is one of the three surviving open wall displays and among them the one which survives in the most open form. In the current evaluation system, the house is considered to be too young to qualify as a listed or protected landmark.

### *The Matsuzakaya Display. Shinmachi Takoyakushi Agaru Higashigawa, Rokkakuchō*

With the Yoshida display the Matsuzakaya display is one of the few *kōshi* open patterns and one of the important foci of the whole festival. The building, which is the head office of the Matsuzakaya kimono company, is in the *omote tsukuri machiya* style with an unusual nine and a half *ken* width. The house was built in 1902. The family is, with the Mitsui family, one of the oldest families in Rokkakuchō. The family moved to Kyoto in 1741 and into the Rokkakuchō neighbourhood in 1748. Today however, the display is set up by company executives. None of them lives in the neighbourhood. The display has been set up with the same pattern since the 1950s. The facade is decorated with two lantern stands and a decorative curtain screen with family crest. Like the Kojiro Yoshida house, the Matsuzakaya house too, is one

of those wooden structures in the festival which deserves attention from the heritage authorities. It is not the absolute antique value of the screens, but rather the whole setting that makes the heritage value of these displays.

### ***The Konda Display. Muromachi Rokkaku Agaru Nishikawa, Eboshachō.***

The house is built of fine quality Japanese cedar, *sugi*. With spacious interior spaces, many show rooms, fine traditional inner gardens, elegant guestrooms and a tea ceremony room annexe, the structure has all the good qualities of the traditional Japanese house. The words of Edward Morse, who described the material qualities of the traditional Japanese house at the end of the 19th century, could have been directly taken from this house:

*“... The papers of fusuma of neutral tints, the plastered surfaces, when they occur equally tinted in similar tones, warm browns and stone colours predominating; the cedar board ceiling with the rich colour of that wood; the wood work everywhere modestly conspicuous, presenting the natural colours undefiled by the painter’s miseries, these all combine to render the quiet room and refined to the last degree”.*<sup>172</sup>

The wooden structures were restored a few years ago and they are in excellent condition. The author visited the house in 1993 and was shown all the interior spaces and their screens. The public sees only the shop, *misenoma* display, through the open lattice window. With the Yoshida and Mat-

suzakaya displays the Konda display is one of the three surviving lattice, *kōshi* open displays, and therefore, in a special category of its own among the exhibiting townhouses. Among the fine museum screens there is a large screen by Kano Tsunenobu, a renowned Kano-school painter from the middle of the Edo period. The painting, which consists of two six-leaved screens, portrays the Japanese eagle with one eagle painted on each leaf. There is also a two-leaved screen by Okamoto Seiki, a famous Edo period painter. The screen portrays a pine tree in a snowy landscape.

### ***The Matsuuma Display. Shinmachi Shijo Sagaru Nishigawa, Shijōchō.***

The display is a fine example of the classic home display pattern, where the screens are enjoyed entering the *tatami* area of the house. The owner, Mr. Matsuuma, who was a well-known kimono dealer, died in his fifties in 1992. Before his death he started many initiatives for establishing funds for the reconstruction of the Gaisen Fune Hoko, the large ship-shaped float of this neighbourhood. The ship burnt down in the city fire in the Meiji period. Only the exhibition remains in Shijōchō. The family moved into the neighbourhood in Tai-sho 10 (1923). The original display was even more gorgeous than that which we see today. The display practice was, however, stopped because of the ‘growing low level and bad manners of the public’.<sup>173</sup> In other words, crowds attracted to the Gion Festival themselves have begun to demean the experience.



FIG. 116 THE MATSUUMA DISPLAY, SHIJOCHŌ. RS.



FIG. 117 THE KONDA DISPLAY, EBŌSHACHŌ. RS.



FIG. 118 THE KOMATSU DISPLAY, ENNOGYŌJACHŌ. RS.

The many temporary hawker stalls in front of the house, which have proliferated in recent years, spoiled the atmosphere with bad smelling oils and noise. The public display had already been stopped by that time. Among the displayed screens there is a museum piece *Rakuchū-Rakugai* screen (paintings inside and outside the capital) from the Edo period. The unfortunate thing is that the display is no longer shown to the public. As a wooden structure it is, however, one of the structures that could be brought back to revitalise the open wall pattern.

### *The Komatsu Display. Muromachi Sanjo Agaru Nishikawa, Ennogyōjachō*

The display takes place in a new structure, which has been built in a *machiya* shape. A *karesansui* type dry sand and stone garden and three spacious storehouses survive from the previous house at the back of the site. The storehouses are ‘full of old paintings and screens’ as they said. The owner is a Muromachi kimono dealer who is a collector of paintings and antiques so that there are many museum-piece screens. The display room is long and narrow and the screens are viewed in the *tatami* floored area. Thanks to this display pattern, much of the atmosphere of the traditional display is preserved, in spite of the contextual change. Among the many fine screens, one of the oldest is a pair of screens from the Edo period. This set portrays Japanese fans. They are painted in a river landscape as if floating under the water. This ele-

gant screen is one of my favourite screens in the festival (see Fig. 94). There is also a pair of two-six leaved screens from the Meiji period. The painting portrays Chinese philosophers. On one leaf there is a painter among his students. A further screen of note is a six-leaved screen from 1790, which depicts bamboo and a full moon. The display is a successful example of displays that has been continued in rebuilt structures without too much violating the scale and atmosphere of traditional displays.

### *The Ueno Display. Nishikōji Karasuma Nishi Iru Kitagawa, Uradeyamachō*

The display was documented by Hayakawa in 1977 and still survives up to the present day. As most of the previous displays, it is an excellent example of the heritage value of the wooden townhouse context. Three rooms are staged for the display. Among the many fine screens there is a screen by Kikuchi Keigetsu, a famous Taishō-Showa period painter. The screen portrays ‘kimono ladies looking at fireflies in the moonlight’. This screen is mentioned in many guidebooks about the Gion Festival. Another museum piece screen is a two-leaved screen, the so-called *Gion Zairei Zu* screen. The screen is mentioned in exhibition catalogues, which list historical screens. The wooden facade in Uradeyamachō is decorated for the festival with a decorative festival cloth. The owner of the display, Mr. Ueno, is a famous antique collector. The family operates a Japanese style restaurant.



FIG. 119 THE UENO DISPLAY, URADEYAMACHŌ.YT.

***The Keimei Display. Bukkōji Karasuma Nishi Iru Minamigawa, Kugikakushichō***

The family is one of the large kimono dealer families of the Shinmachi-Muromachi area with many outlets and customers all around Japan. The main structure with an elaborate wooden facade was built in 1936 on the southern side of Bukkōji Street. In the partial rebuilding which took place a few years ago, it was planned to demolish the old facade and parts of the old house, but the carpenter refused to carry out the task. This house is a good example of successful renovation, where the old facade is preserved and thanks to it, the streetscape now keeps some of the features of the historical townscape. Behind the wooden structure there are new building parts.

The screen display was revitalised some years ago. It has been a great success in improving the business image of the company. Besides the screen display the performance includes a baroque concert. In addition, two hundred cotton kimonos are rented out to interested parties, mainly to those in the kimono business such as a business partner in Nagoya, who invites customers to vi-

sit Kyoto during the festival. The custom enjoys great popularity. In 1993 more than five hundred requests to rent a kimono for the festival nights were made.

***The Matsumi Display. Aburanokōji Nishikikōji Agaru Nishi Iru, Yamadachō***

The house in which the display is staged is a well-preserved wooden structure of the *omoteya-tsukuri-machiya* style. This is a very fine display particularly because of its wooden townhouse context. It illustrates in an indisputable way the unique charm of the traditional displays. This is emphasised by the location of the house in a well-preserved neighbourhood that has not suffered urban change. The building pressures and modern city development seem to be very far away from the quiet atmosphere of this display. The display is located on the eastern side of Aburanokoji Street, one block north from Shijo Street.

The family is one of the kimono dyer families of the Nishi no Tōin area. In the workshop, *misenoma*, there is a pair of two six-leaved screens.

The theme is a pine tree and cranes, which together are considered an auspicious combination. Furthermore, in the *misenoma no genkan*, workshop entrance, there is another pair of two six-leaved screens; one two-leaved screen with gold paint and calligraphy and one two-leaved screen which portrays Japanese cranes. The traditional architecture that surrounds the screens makes a perfect setting for the beautiful display (see Figs. 88, 120).

### ***The Nagai Display. Nishikikōji Nishi no Tōin Nishi Iru Kitagawa, Kuyachō***

The display on the northern side of Nishikikōji street takes the *misenoma-tōriniwa*, shop-entrance pattern. What was said of the Matsumi display is also true for this display. The family is one of the kimono dyer families of the area. The factory is on the right of the entrance space. As well as screens, there is a large wooden model of the festival float, which can be found on the centre stage in the middle of the display room. The theme of the main set of screens is 'Snowy mountains'. The screen was painted at the end of the Meiji period. Together with the Matsumi display the Nagai display is one of my great favourites in the festival (Fig. 124).

### ***The Miyagawa Display. Shinkamanza Shijō Sagaru Higashi Iru, Suminogichō***

The display takes the *misenoma-tōriniwa*, shop-entrance pattern. Besides the main display in the *omote*

*no ma*, front room, the bay window is also decorated. When the entrance door is closed, the display can be peeped at through the wooden lattice window. This adds a charming detail to the display. The display is within a one-minute walk of the crowded Shijo Street, along a well preserved wooden lane south of Shinkamanzachō. I visited the Miyagawa display in 1991. This house is one of those structures and sites where we can still experience the unique Kyoto concept of the interior garden views – and all this just in the very heart of the town.

The display has some fine museum-piece screens. In this category there is, among other things, the main screen, which depicts the Musashino landscape. The screen was painted by Minagawa from the Sumiyoshi school in the middle of the Edo period. A pair of two six-leaved screens by Taniguchi Aizan portrays Chinese children playing. Other screens include a low screen by Kikuchi Keigetsu, a famous printer (1879–1955) and one two-leaved screen. This screen is decorated with fan-shaped paintings.

### ***The Sakane Display. Shinkamanza Shijō Sagaru Higashi Iru, Suminogichō***

This is a quiet home kimono display with the *misenoma-tōriniwa*, shop entrance, pattern just a few metres away from the Miyagawa display. The same can be said of the context as of the Miyagawa display. The structures are unpretentious, but have all the charm of the traditional wooden architecture. Although the separate, narrow lane means the dis-



FIG. 120 THE MATSUMI DISPLAY, YAMADACHŌ. RS.

play is often unnoticed by a wider public the quietness of the lane is the great charm of the display. The display is only two minutes' walk from Shijo Street.

The focus of the display is a set of two six-leaved screens from the Edo period. The screens depict the production of silk from the feeding of silk worms to the final silk textile product. Two leaves of this screen can be seen in the cover of this work. The screen refers to the family occupation and has been specially made to be exhibited in the Gion Festival. Among the other articles on display there is a suit of armour and two red toolboxes.

***The Aoki Display. Ayanokōji Nishi no Tōin Nishi Iru Minamigawa, Ashikariyamachō***

The family is a third generation Kyoto family. The display is one in the *misenoma-tōriniwa*, shop-entrance pattern on the southern side of Ayanokōji Street. The facade is built in the commercial *kanban*, shop sign style, but when the house is exposed to the street, the charming interiors of traditional type are a pleasant surprise for the visitor. In this display there are altogether four sets of screens. Two six-leaved black and white screens portray a seashore landscape and a mountain landscape with a waterfall and a hermit's hut. A disciple of the famous painter Suzuki Shonen,

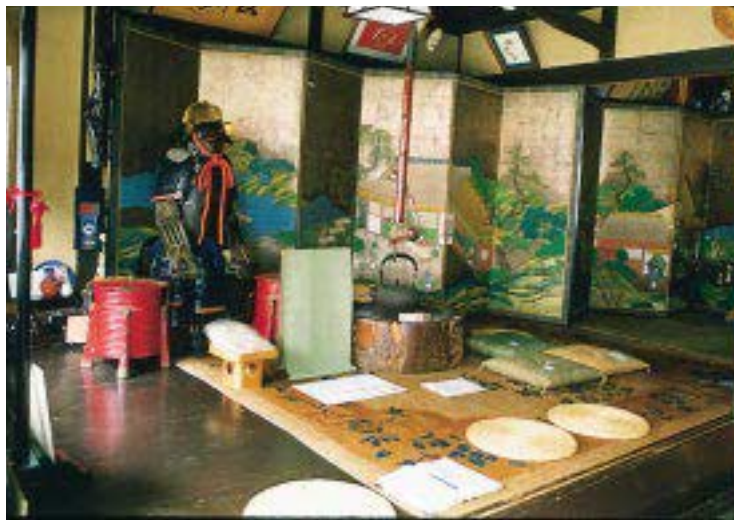
from the Meiji era painted the screens. The display also contains a set of two-leaved gold painted screens. The Aoki display is an example of displays that has successfully continued in partially rebuilt structures but still keeping the charm of the traditional displays.

***The Morii Display. Bukkōji Nishi no Tōin Higashi Iru Minamigawa, Kandaijinchō***

The display is one in the *misenoma-tōriniwa*, shop-entrance pattern on the southern side of Bukkōji Street and has a pleasant homely atmosphere. When the door is closed, the display can be peeped at through the wooden bay window adding to the charm of the display. The family is one of the kimono dyer families of the Nishi no Tōin area. The factory is adjacent to the residence. The focus of the display is a large wooden model of the festival float, which almost fills the tiny display room. Together with the wooden model the major decorations are a screen and a flower arrangement.

***The Ikegaki Display. Shinmachi Nishikikōji Agaru Nishikawa, Mukadeyachō***

The family has lived in the neighbourhood since 1938. In the time when Hayakawa documented screen displays, the Ikegaki was one of the splen-



**FIG. 121** THE SAKANE DISPLAY, SUMINO GICHŌ. A DETAIL OF THE SCREEN IS SHOWN IN THE COVER OF THIS WORK. RS.



FIG. 122 THE MIYAGAWA DISPLAY, SUMINOICHO. RS.

did traditional displays, which Hayakawa called as a 'street museum'. The screens were peeped at through the wooden lattice window or viewed by entering the large display room. Today the Ikegaki display is a good illustration of the changes associated with the move to reinforced concrete structures. In the original display, which took place at a doctor's home in a room called the *machiai-shitsu*, waiting room, three six-leaved screens were displayed. Among them were two fine museum-piece *Rakuchū-Rakugai* screens from the middle of the Edo period. Even today the *Rakuchū-Rakugai* set is still the main focus of the display. However, nowadays the display is seen from the street through a closed glass door. By this seemingly minor change, the character of display has completely changed.

### ***The Imae Display. Takoyakushi Shinmachi Higashi Iru Kitagawa, Ubayanagichō***

The family, which is one of the top kimono dealers in the Muromachi area, moved to the neigh-

bourhood in 1938. Before that the family lived in the Nishijin area, where the family displayed screens during the Imamiya Shrine festival. According to Mr. Imae, who has been the president of the family enterprise since the Second World War, the Screen Festival is no longer the same as it used to be. As a child Mr. Imae went to see screens in Muromachi Street where the most famous screens were traditionally found. Many people spent up to an hour quietly looking at the screens. Mr. Imae has now stopped the public display because of the "lack of manners of the public and their inability to appreciate the screens".<sup>174</sup>

Many of the screens have been specially made for the display. Among the screens are such fine screens as an Edo period pair of two six-leaved screens. This set portrays a *koto* instrument, *shōgi* game and *sumi-e*, inkpainting teacher. Another fine screen is an eight-leaved screen, which portrays a mountain landscape by Shunkyo Yamamoto (1844-1895). The display is on the



FIG. I23 THE MORII DISPLAY, KANDAIJINCHŌ. RS.

northern side of Takoyakushi Street. Like the Ikegaki display the display illustrates the unfortunate changes which have taken place in the staging tradition. The main display is shown only privately. Only a small window-box display, which is decorated at the entrance door, is left for public display.

### Conclusions of the Screen Display Fieldwork

Among the screen displays that were described above only a few of the structures qualify as architectural or historic landmarks. Still, they are important and charming landmarks of a vanishing tradition, still existing but severely threatened by the transformation process of the town. Most of the displays are still located in well preserved neighbourhoods endowing them with a special sense of authenticity and charm. Therefore, more than any individual museum-piece screen, it is the whole setting, which contributes much of the value and meaning of these kimono home displays. Below the author will consider the tradi-

tional value categories and those brought on by the fieldwork.

#### *The Traditional (Specialist) Value Categories*

When assessing the value of individual displays, those with the greatest value could normally be listed as follows:

1) The oldest displays with many years of patronage and a high profile in the kimono production such as the Matsuzakaya display. Even this display was not acknowledged to have a heritage value, because of the relatively young age of the wooden structure and the lack of historic value of the screens, according to the heritage experts.

2) Those existing in historically and architecturally qualified structures such as the Ban display.

3) Those with individual museum piece screens and other valuables without special connection to the character or historical value of the exhibition locale such as the historic screens in the Ikegaki display. The Edo period *Rakuchū-Rakugai* screens are seen through a glass window in a modern business locale.



### Value Categories Detected Through the Fieldwork

Based on the above mentioned criteria conservationists have assessed a small number of displays as having a distinct *historic value* and as such considered them worthy of special protection. However, there are a number of displays without special historic value but which have a value of their own connected to a group of people who value the place and to whom the display tradition has a special meaning. Such meanings may be highly individual such as:

- 1) The special way the screens or other valuables came into family ownership and the “story” of the screen. The author heard a number of such stories during the fieldwork. Many of these stories were connected with the history of the family, or the (usually kimono related) family business.
- 2) The deep sense of attachment to place the displaying person has. Those individuals who

value the tradition and participate in it contribute to its continuation, helping to shape the culture of the place. This includes not only the displaying persons but the accidental visitor and the audience as well. The experience of place is thus widely shared during the festival; the place becomes a landmark through all the collective associations and participation.

The meaning may also be contextual or there may be other values such as:

- 3) The materials, light, scale and proportions of the wooden townhouse differ essentially from that of a modern business locale. The contextual value category may also include such things as the (psychological) ‘remoteness’ of the display facility, darkness or ‘difficulty to see or find’; anything that contrasts with the commercialised, overcrowded mass performance. The *kōshi*, open wall pattern itself is an important heritage value and should be, besides other value categories, included



FIG. 124 THE NAGAI DISPLAY, KYŪYACHŌ. RS.

as an important element to the general evaluation criteria.

4) A useful understanding of place is a 'place as a process': first that the places are maintained to continue to exist, and second, the place continues to exist, because people interact with it. The role of a place in people's everyday lives is one measure of its social value. In the Sugiura display, that was described above in chapter 21, fieldwork no. 9, and in many other kimono artisan displays, the place is not only the home of the people but their everyday working space as well. The use category is especially important in Kyoto where traditional houses were never just residential spaces but had production and cultural functions as well.

5) The screen display tradition as it is described above combines both accessibility and privacy. The fact that the displays can be enjoyed in some person's home gives them special meaning the more the environment around them is transformed into an anonymous place, 'to be found anywhere'. Although the Screen Festival will continue in modern business locales set up by kimono companies, the loss of home displays will evidently reduce the value of the whole place and thus, key meanings in the festival.

The conclusions of the fieldwork suggest that the value of the Screen Festival tradition cannot

be assessed through selected, expert values alone, but also other values and meanings must be taken into consideration. The cultural practices and traditions of the people of a place itself contribute to and make an important social value. The Australian Heritage Commission even equates the broadest definition of social value to its cultural significance. This means that the cultural and individual experiences that shape people's own views of place are important and they should have their own place in the evaluation and assessment methods of the heritage.

In general, the problems related to the protection of the Screen Festival tradition and its context, are not a separate question, but illustrate the urban conservation and heritage assessment problems that are characteristic for the *hoko* area and the city's historic centre as a whole. As long as these methodologies and perceptions are not questioned, the preservation situation will not be essentially improved. Generations, however, change and interpretation of a value change with them. Retaining some of the original landmarks in connection with tourism should promote business, too. In the light of present trends, however, it is more than likely that only a very little of the wooden townhouse context will still be there for coming generations to appreciate.



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P A R T V I I I

# CONCLUSIONS OF THE WORK



## Chapter 22

# Conclusions of the Research

### Questioning the Current Definition of Heritage

The threat to the urban heritage in the surveyed quarters is two-fold, comprising both the threatening effects of city planning as well as the lack of appropriate conservation and heritage evaluation methodologies. In particular, the limited, expert valued definition of heritage is problematic. In general, and as experiences in Europe and other places show, conservation of a few key buildings is no longer thought to be sufficient to ensure the preservation of the cultural history of the wooden town milieu, nor of wider urban values. Although from the architectural and historical point of view the Sugimoto house is without doubt the most important building in the *hoko* area, it would have been better to protect the surroundings of the house as well, so that the building could be experienced in its historic context. It is not merely a matter of preserving the building itself that makes a building understandable and alive, but rather the interaction between the building and its surroundings. This is true of many other surveyed houses too.

Urban patterns that in a local perspective may appear as ordinary and of no great historical or architectural value (or considered even valueless), may in the broader perspective appear to be unique and possess their heritage value. In Kyoto such value categories are, for instance, related to the cultural and social role the Kyoto townhouses, *machiya*, have for the city and for its urban patrimony. Kyoto is appreciated as much because of its whole heritage, the numerous individual small sites packed closely together and the spaces between them, as because of some excellent individual buildings.

Protection and preservation of the urban morphology and pieces of urban fabric is, therefore, as important as protection of architectural monuments, if we are to understand the architectural history of the town and the way of living of its people. In the current day Kyoto, the importance of everyday buildings and wider urban fabric has only grown with the urban changes that are taking place around them. Thus, although individual buildings may lack strict conservation criteria

the number of the preserved buildings and the depth and comprehensiveness of the built fabric itself may, as such, make up an outstanding heritage value. In the present work large areas around Nishi no Tōin Street north and south of Shijo Street with their well-preserved wooden building stock are good examples of such values.

We have also to be reminded of the time perspective. A built fabric that at a certain stage of planning was not seen as worthy of protection may achieve such qualities later with time. The time perspective can thus make sense of the articulation of preservation objectives even in a case where interest has not been expressed in the initial phase of planning and where the environment is generally considered to have no heritage value. The relativity of most values, varying as they do with historical and cultural contexts, requires more flexible criteria than now obtain. At the same time, to be of most use, guidelines need to be made more applicable to specific sites.

In the central areas of Kyoto it is necessary to revise the concept of heritage and to re-evaluate aspects of the cultural significance of a place. Now such a re-evaluation have a much better foundation as a number of international, explicitly defined assessment tools exist. Cultural values are generally acknowledged as an important factor in the definition of heritage. Furthermore, the wooden town heritage as a new area of focus has begun to step into the foreground in the international preservation debate. As was noted in the text, there is an urgent need to accord due recognition to this important and highly vulnerable sector, which has so far figured less adequately in international charters and heritage lists.

This discussion can also, as its best, give Kyoto and its urban conservation problems the necessary international pretext and perspective.

## From Expert Values to the Preservation of the Whole

The architectural beauty of the streetscapes is an over-emphasised conservation value in Kyoto. As a whole, this emphasis has made residents identi-

fy the facade as the only part of the building worthy of protection, while freely shaping their built fabric behind. Such protection actually means very little, because it concerns only a limited part of the protected property and even causes the whole protection seem absurd. Thus, in the Gion Shimbashi area, there are traditional row houses, where the only protected part is the facade and the front part of the house, leaving the backyard and riverside of the house without proper protection. There is also no zoning. As a result brutal tall buildings are built up behind protected buildings so that the streetscape that was intended to be protected is destroyed by the jungle of reinforced concrete and steel buildings. The same is true and happens all the time around the individual, protected cultural assets and landmarks.

Reconstruction of facades for unified townscapes further emphasises streetscape for aesthetic value. In the city centre where it is difficult to find well preserved and unified street facades, the concept is especially dangerous. Giving priority to the atmosphere and homogeneity of townscape leads to indifference to everyday dwelling patterns and townscapes which, however, are essential for the understanding of the city as a whole. In the *hoko* area facade preservation is not only inadequate but inappropriate as well. As a consequence of facade preservation, the courtyard buildings, storehouses and gardens existing on the heritage sites have received little, if any, attention from the city planners and thus, their substance as living environment has been disregarded. In the eagerness to find well-preserved facades, the pre-modern dwelling patterns and their significance for urban morphology and thus for its preservation and evolution, has never been positively analysed.

Furthermore, focusing on and documenting some key buildings only is in itself very problematic. Documenting and selecting key structures is surely one important step towards better treatment and continuity for preserving Kyoto's urban heritage and local landmarks. However, it is far from sufficient in terms of urban conservation. Although it is important to protect individual buildings within a context, it is only recently that the



importance of the urban fabric and larger urban entities in its full sense has come to be understood. This new appreciation has been extended quite logically to the settings of building groups, quarters and whole towns.

On the whole, more attention should in Kyoto be paid to continuous care of the everyday milieus where individual sites or even whole neighbourhoods still stand intact. In these areas (this research identified a large number of them) the actual age of the buildings or strict preservation directives are not so important. What is more important is that the continuous maintenance of the heritage is actively supported and that the overall scale of new buildings and dwelling patterns harmonise and coincide with the old environment. The wooden town tradition as it exists in the central area and its manifold expressions should be the decisive yardstick and all planning measures should be carried out in relation to it.

## The Screen Festival Tradition and the Meaning of Place

The conclusions of the thesis suggest that the value of a place cannot be assessed through selected, official expert values alone, but other values and meanings must be taken into consideration too. The cultural practices and traditions of the people of a place make up an important social value. The Australian Heritage Commission even equates the broadest definition of social value to its cultural significance. This means that the cultural and individual experiences that shape people's own views of place are important and they should have their own place in the evaluation and assessment methods of the heritage. Social values and place oriented value criteria are especially important when evaluating such traditions as the Screen Festival.

As was found in the fieldwork, an essential aspect of the value of the displayed screens is their place. Separated from their place, the screens lose an essential part of their meaning. Bringing and selling the artefacts or parts of the home collections to museums or antique collectors affects the

integrity of home collections. Thus, it is most desirable that the family treasures and historic screens are appreciated in their original locations and places, not as 'frozen' museum relics (although this does not mean that any screen should not be placed in a museum).

If bringing cultural heritage within the walls of a museum makes them easier to see, it also curtails the viewer's temporal awareness. In an antique building or landscape one moves in time among survivals; in a museum they are shorn of duration, as David Lowenthal has noted.<sup>175</sup> The most artful placement, the most breathtaking proximity, cannot compensate for that detachment. The landmarks must not be moved from their original place if they are to mark their 'land'. It is, thus, essential that the screens and kimonos be protected in their context. As mere museum objects the screens and kimonos are somewhat meaningless.

Secondly, the display items of lesser value long gathered together also gain value as an ensemble. This is particularly true of the Screen Festival, where most of the display items are home treasures often owned for several generations within the same family. In one display there might be valuables, but also other relics or objects of less historical importance but equally valued because of their associations with family members, dead or alive, for example. The display as an ensemble often also adds to their value as an aesthetic composition. The wooden townhouse context itself is an important heritage value that adds to the meaning and value of the place. Besides purely art historical or antique arguments, the assessment of values should thus include an essentially broader range of value categories.

## Revising the System of Protection Priorities

The methodological step that was taken in the historic preservation areas which stresses continuity of building and carpentry traditions over authenticity - with certain limitations - could successfully be applied in the city centre, too. Some

of the wooden structures surveyed were examples of successful renovation and partial reconstruction during recent years. Without such reconstruction we would now miss many unique cultural patterns that exist in the Screen Festival. It is these examples where reconstruction should be considered as well grounded and as something that really makes sense. Currently, however, there seems to be a kind of regrettable hypocrisy about the whole way of dealing with this marginal but important issue. Instead of regarding such changes as obstacles to evaluation and listing systems, they should be seen as positive attempts to keep the tradition alive and therefore, as operations which deserve full support from the heritage authorities.

Our own experiences in urban conservation work in Finland show that evaluation systems that are strictly focused on some limited quality may be harmful for protection and preservation as a whole. It may inhibit other values from being given proper consideration. Therefore, instead of absolute criteria, there should be different lists and evaluation methods for different heritage structures. In other words, the evaluation grades should vary and depend on the listed structures and sites. Lacking age and authenticity were used as arguments why such fine structures as the Naka house and the Kobayashi house (lacking authenticity) did not qualify under the listing system, although they were acknowledged to be of architectural and historical value. Among this group of structures were also common facilities and their pre-modern building types.

If a building is important to the character and identity of a community and it is beloved and recognised as a symbol, then it is a landmark. Evaluating and listing everyday buildings should not only compel one to be more sensitive to differing values, but it should also provide an opportunity for revising the whole structure of heritage criteria and arguments as, for instance, Tuominen has noted.<sup>176</sup> In this work as an example of such neglected heritage values are, for instance, the manifold display patterns, that are found and depend on their wooden townhouse

context. In the thesis the author listed a large number of such distinct qualities of the 'place'.

## Questioning the Argument of Age

The 50-year date that is often used to establish landmark status is not critical. What is more important is that it defines a community's traditions and culture. This idea is especially relevant in Kyoto where the wooden building stock has been rebuilt many times and the whole heritage falls outside the norm of what we think of in Europe as historic fabric or heritage. As for the underlying objective, age is less important. It is a question of what we can learn from a building or a building stock and what its cultural significance is.

Prof. Nishikawa has estimated that the average age of an ordinary Japanese wooden house is 40 years. However, if the house is regularly maintained, the age can be extended dramatically and is, actually, much longer. Most of the everyday buildings which were portrayed in the thesis or which were investigated by the Yamahoko programme, were wooden structures of considerable age. Many of the houses studied were more than one hundred years old. In almost all these buildings the structural members were in excellent condition. As experiences from other places show, age plays no significant role if the protected houses qualify in other respects.

In Finland we have successfully preserved and protected wooden townhouse areas where buildings are 50 years old or even less. In many countries the authorities still have to cope with a statutory 100 or 50 year rule. In others the rule has been gradually relaxed or the whole issue left to the academic tradition.<sup>177</sup> In the United States it is required, that for a building to be listed in the National Register its value must be established at least 50 years before, and in England the 'thirty-year rule' was adopted in 1988 whereby modern buildings 30 years old could be protected under the planning acts.<sup>178</sup> In international built heritage argumentation work the field of conservation has spread enormously by virtually eliminating

cut-off dates and including even 20th century buildings. The age criterion is used both as an absolute criterion or, as something which adds to other criteria and values.

## The Need for a Place-Oriented Urban Conservation

The major reason for the desolation and destruction of the urban fabric in the *hoko* area is the lack of preservation interests described in the existing land-use plan. Through the rapid speed of land speculation, existing qualities are also disappearing very quickly and will most likely continue to do so in the future. After the author had completed the measurement work, two sites in Shijōchō were developed and the silhouette behind the low shop facades in Kakkyoyamachō is now dominated by two windowless multi-storey car parks. In addition, one wooden townhouse in Kakkyoyamachō was demolished to make way for the construction of another car park building. At the same time Yatachō suffered the loss of two wooden buildings. The pressures on the built fabric have not ceased although the bubble economy has burst. Therefore, it is important that conservation is observed and discussed together and close co-operation with the general land-use objectives.

As was observed in the thesis, the same planning regulations are applied in the centrally located city neighbourhoods as in the more peripheral areas. Even one new building, if wrongly placed or over-scaled, may suddenly ruin a whole neighbourhood. In the *hoko* area it hardly makes sense to implement historic preservation for the whole area: the neighbourhoods nearest Shijo and Karasuma Streets will probably continue their role as part of the central business district far into the future. On the other hand, there is no reason why preservation objectives should not be implemented in more peripheral areas. In these areas the pressure for intensive land use are lesser and these areas are still relatively well preserved.

Well preserved historic neighbourhoods between the Nishi no Tōin and Shinmachi Streets south and north of Shijo Street should be put

under the closest protection – though there may be individual sites and some spots that already have been damaged. In these areas, entire districts, not only strips of land or a few rows of houses, should be declared protected areas and closed to new construction unless such new construction is particularly well adapted to its surroundings. In these areas there are still many authentic zones, whole entities of urban fabric consisting of many traditional wooden lattice facade residences where the special charm of the old neighbourhoods is still maintained. If just these areas were adequately preserved or protected against unexpected brutal change, Kyoto could still conserve some of the essential aspects of the ordinary life and living traditions of the ancient capital.

This change, however, requires city planners and conservationists to actively begin to pay attention to these everyday environments and initiate place-oriented conservation policies in the context. Although it is beyond of this research to present such a plan, it would be in the interest of all parties that a rational and reliable urban conservation plan exists. This speaks for a procedure where general preservation objectives are clearly expressed and pointed out already at the earliest stage of the planning procedure:

1) For those interested in preservation it is a question of creating a readiness against pressures for change and of protecting buildings and environments worthy of preservation. The largest challenge for town planning in Kyoto is to do with retaining the urban morphology of a town and its essential everyday buildings and sites.

2) For a potential developer it is question of getting information about the qualities of a certain building or property and of those demands for preservation that may exist. An optimal case for a developer is when a minimal number of limitations are implemented in the plan. This, actually is the case today. A good conservation plan necessarily means that there exists a number of clearly expressed regulations and rules if it is to succeed in its goal. In general, the higher the heritage value of an area is, the more detailed and numerous also the regulations and limitations are.

3) For the property owner who owns an old house such information provides basic information on how or she he should proceed to maintain his property in the best possible condition in the future. At the same time, good maintenance means that the qualities of the built environment are preserved and that the protection aims accepted *de facto*.

### The Conservation of the *Hoko* Area as a Cultural Heritage

The conservation of a city centre as a whole or in parts, is an especially difficult task owing to the expansion and growth of the city and the fragility of the wooden building stock. High land values together with high plot ratios, in particular, pose challenges to city planning policies. The transfer of development and building rights is used successfully in many places to move the value of air space above preserved environments to areas more conducive to high rises and effective land-use development. This course of action would demand not only a radical reassessment of Kyoto's future but also significant financial commitment as have many similar efforts to safeguard and protect culturally important cities across Italy, France and other parts of Europe. On the other hand, there is no doubt that Kyoto, as one of the great cities of the world, is worthy of and deserves such action.

At the moment far the most important document relating to the future of Kyoto is the new master plan which was enacted in 1993. The plan shows in a specific manner the future profile of Kyoto and the orientation of its policies, which are exhibited in it. In order to progress with urban improvement that invigorates tradition, the plan introduces a special way of thinking that aims to lead as it is formulated 'to conservation, renewal and creation that give life to regional particularities'. The plan will, accordingly, advance with a finely detailed urban improvement plan that strives for harmonisation with the natural environment and the historic particularities in each area. One of the three key areas which is men-

tioned in the plan, is the midtown area, in other words the historic city centre and its urban quarters. This is an important formulation, which if carefully implemented, could, at least theoretically, provide an entirely new basis for future urban policies which would better take into consideration the special character of the historic neighbourhoods and also create a potential framework for an appropriate conservation plan.

In spite of the progressive spirit that is expressed in the plan, however, as late as 1994, when more than 20 major urban projects were scheduled to mark Kyoto's 1200th anniversary, there was not a single concrete measure for preserving Kyoto's urban heritage. Quite contrary, using Kyoto's anniversary as a pretext, everything possible was being done, as Prof. Peternolli has noted, to homogenise the city's cultural identity and totally extinguish its true value and meaning to the world. All this was done in the name of progress and internationalisation that remains one of the most over-used local mass media slogans that appeared during the build-up to Kyoto's 1200th anniversary celebrations. This vaguely defined 'internationalisation' meaning different things according to circumstances, speakers and audience is not what is needed. What is required is the protection and restoration of Kyoto's extraordinary cultural heritage, from the monumental religious buildings to the simplicity of private homes, as the best and perhaps the only way to preserve the international value of the city.<sup>179</sup>

The new station building and the Kyoto Hotel project are just few examples which illustrate the lack of attention resulting from inappropriate perception of heritage and, at least for the outside observer, an almost incomprehensible insensitivity towards those values. Another such questionable project was the recent plan by the municipal authorities to construct a copy of a Parisian bridge between the Sanjo and Shijo Bridges over the Kamo River in one of the most sensitive spots of the historic townscape. The project has, however, been cancelled because of the opposition of the local citizen groups and residents.

In such a place as the historic city centre of Kyoto, the minimum demand should be that the basic principles of city planning are brought before the public and evaluated in a wider perspective. Decision-making may be obscured because there is great municipal interests in keeping the *status quo*. When there is a question of large financial interests, the preservation question naturally tends to stay in the background. An extremely energetic action would be, therefore, be required, perhaps on a national, or even on an international level. The preservation efforts carried out by the national authorities, or the worry expressed by foreign visitors has so far not been sufficient to convince the local authorities of the need to place Kyoto and its heritage in a wider perspective.<sup>180</sup> If the current policy continues, the author is concerned that the good image of a Japan that respects its heritage and cultural traditions will be seriously damaged.

### Conservation Plan as an Enhancement of Living Tradition

The major goal of the current research was not to make each and every home a protected cultural property, but rather to help citizens and heritage authorities to work together to solve some of the key problems faced by the townhouses and the urban heritage. As shown by our case examples such an approach is especially important in the central area of Kyoto where most of the houses lack distinct or clearly definable architectural or historical values, but are still important examples of a traditional lifestyle and dwelling patterns. In such places the everyday buildings should not be preserved merely for their historicity alone, but for their value to the wider community. This is because architecture cannot be assessed in the same way in which one judges a painting, since the built environment is not merely an art, but a setting for everyday life, and thus artistic qualities cannot be abstracted without considering those functional characteristics and the role these buildings play in the everyday lives of ordinary people.

Preservation narrowly understood cannot improve or adapt to the implacable pressures of

change. Seen as a part of change, preservation takes its place among other fruitful and creative ways of treasuring heritage. On the other hand, without a past that is malleable as well as generously preserved, the present will lack models to inspire it and the future will be deprived of a lifeline to its past. What is needed in the surveyed quarters, is an adequate urban conservation plan. Such a plan would speak for the preservation interest and it would add an important viewpoint to the general landuse plan. The urban conservation plan would indicate such spatial arrangements as the characteristic plot division system, typical street alignments such as the narrow tenement lanes and also, the enhancement and better appreciation of the traditional dwelling patterns. The focus of city planning would be moved from the mere change to appreciating the environmental patterns of the historic environment and the context.

Urban conservation would not be limited to preserving 'as such' but the plan would allow changes, even to build new buildings to replace older ones. The new buildings would not necessarily follow the style of the old buildings but they could have their own contemporary style. Above all, it should be a question of balance between maintenance and adaptation rather than a ruthless and barbaric misuse and destruction of the existing fabric and heritage. When the emphasis is on the heritage values of an environment, the strategy will directly serve those who are using that environment and living in it, in other words, the local residents.

In Finland, for instance, there are many good examples of how new buildings have been adapted to a historical context thereby adding to the old environment not only new physical elements but also entirely new cultural meanings. Examples of such successful urban adaptations can be found, for instance, in Porvoo and Tammisaari if we look only at Finland. In such a wider framework of conservation, the potential landmarks will find their place naturally and with less enforcement. Identifying urban conservation, not as a rigid preservation of a physical structure, but as an enhancement of its heritage values, the heritage area could

even be given a much-needed socio-economic boost. In a such framework of thinking a conservation plan would promote investment by legitimising its organically transformed urban space. Retaining some of the original landmarks in connection with tourism would promote business, too. In the light of present trends, however, it is more than likely that in the *hoko* area there will be little left for the coming generations to appreciate.

### The International Perspective

The new perception of conservation requires, that the concept of heritage and urban patrimony that was at the heart of the Venice Charter be more precisely defined. This view makes it imperative that the interpretation of a historic monument and historic place should be extended not only to its physical environment but to its socio-cultural environment as well. The highest attention must be given to the relationship between the heritage and the community that has inherited it. This view is particularly important in the *hoko* neighbourhoods, with their culturally-rich dwelling patterns, with their role in the kimono production and trade and with such outstanding traditions as the Gion Festival.

In a more general level, there is a growing need to perceive the cultural heritage in the light of its cultural context. This thesis identifies this need and likewise, stresses the importance of the local context. In the *hoko* neighbourhoods the tradition of the urban festival lends urban preservation and cultural protection a special cultural and architectural historical interest. The *hoko* neighbourhoods – even in the residual state in which they have survived – provide coherent evidence of outstanding cultural and historic values that may deserve even the status of a ‘world heritage site’.

The conclusions of this work do not apply only to Kyoto but are closely related to the urban conservation problems of wooden towns in general. Because of the fragility of the wooden town tradition and the authenticity problems involved, the methodological approach should be paid special care. The wooden town heritage cannot be evaluated using same criteria as towns built in stone or brick; change and a certain degree of ‘unauthenticity’ must be tolerated and accepted, if any of this wooden heritage is to be saved. The houses and their architecture cannot be ‘frozen’ if they are to continue as living environments.



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P A R T I X

POSTSCRIPT



## Chapter 23

# The Changing Stage of the Tradition - Living Tradition or Panda's Cage?

In his introduction to Yanagi's book, a Japanese ceramist Shoji Hamada writes about the violence of modern objects, a quality originating from a liberated individual's creative energy that causes a feeling of emptiness and violence. Abstract works are not born from an experience of a genuine inner world. Their emptiness is that of nihilism and destruction. The traditional Japanese room never created an image of poverty or absence despite having few pieces of furniture. With its palpable materiality and warmth it is a far cry from any abstracted or simplified concept of space. The traditional aesthetics of objects culminated in the tea ceremony, where instead of mere ritual, the aesthetic focus is created by objects and forms, as well as by the thoughts and feelings aroused by them in the viewer. The choice of objects, the colours and materials of the room, the garden and decorations can be seen as agents enabling people to sense, experience and actively participate in the creation of beauty in everyday life. This dynamic concept of

beauty apparent in the tea ceremony, which requires the presence of an observant person, also plays an important role in such traditions as the Screen Festival.

Furthermore, beauty is an essential element in a Buddhist, and particularly a Zen Buddhist understanding of the world. According to the Buddhist philosophy, merely looking at a beautiful object makes a person see 'his own inner home'. Therefore, whoever acquires a beautiful object, 'in reality buys himself and whoever looks at a beautiful object, recognises his original self'.<sup>181</sup> In the Gion Festival, thousands of pairs of eyes watch and are being watched. For the artisan and the exhibitor, another person's observation is important because it is a manifestation of one's own existence. A look contains a subconscious touch.

The most important thing, however, is the ability to produce something of one's own. Therefore, the displayed objects and antiquities should not be evaluated solely according to their

aesthetic and historical value alone, if the exhibitor has displayed the objects with a pure heart and his or her own sense of beauty. The importance of the display tradition is, therefore, not primarily in its historical or aesthetic value, but in the meaning it holds for the exhibitor.

The Japanese tea ceremony developed criteria for beauty based on tangible features such as form, colour and design. Zen appreciated *shibui*, profoundness, simplicity and ‘the inner radiance’ of objects. Beauty was not merely a physical characteristic, but also a mental attitude towards objects. The Japanese gardeners or tea masters viewed their environment with care and tenderness. Ordinary objects became beautiful when someone cared for them. In this way, beauty consisted of both beauty and ugliness. This tender attitude is a far cry from the rude way the traditional environment is viewed and even actively destroyed in many places today – even in Kyoto.

Even beauty is based on values and thus, proper methods of criteria cannot be defined before the concept of ‘value’ is determined. If a lifestyle is comprehended as an attitude towards values, no such thing as an outdated lifestyle exists. According to modern progressive thinking, cultural innovation is possible only in a modern society. However, the attitude towards traditional customs and values has to be re-evaluated everywhere, since people in their own lives need to experience rituals passed on by tradition, with new meanings added through historical changes.

Objects and buildings are not merely ornaments or physical constructions. They also express man's view of the world. As Alberto Alessi, for instance, has observed, objects are ‘an excellent system of communication’.<sup>182</sup> In traditional societies and communities, objects such as houses, clothes, ritual and utility objects were much more than a simple code language for a current fashion or a trend.<sup>183</sup> Objects were used to express the community's values of life in various ways and rituals. A specialist interested only in dates, merits in art history, or aesthetic values, cannot be an authority for a method of interpretation acknowledging cultural meanings and values.

Something more is needed to allow the complex of various voices and meanings to emerge and come into the light. Town planning, if only concerned with efficiency ratios or functional zoning, strives to force the environment into a logic-rational order. This order is not commensurate with culture, since culture can be seen as a structure consisting of layers. The inadequacy of the one-sided, purely rationalistic approach in the present-day Kyoto and in its historic neighbourhoods, has probably become evident throughout this research.

The fading away of the display tradition threatens not only the physical symbols such as the buildings and the exclusive, antiquarian screens, but also the central meanings of the festival. Maintaining original meanings in changing circumstances is problematic, if not impossible. Common values that bind people together have disappeared from the modern world. This has also happened in Japan, where on the other hand, many traditional values have been carefully preserved. A change in the physical environment necessarily means a change in the interpretative environment as well. “A moon that raises above the Higashiyama Hills and above a modern skyscraper is not the same”, as Prof. Yamasaki has put it.<sup>184</sup>

This is one of the reasons why objects made in a different cultural background seem to lose some of their essential quality when moved to another environment, away from their ‘home’. It is pleasing in itself that the screen display tradition continues in modern office buildings with the historical screens on display. However, the dimensions, materials, structures, colours, lighting and use of the display building are often entirely different from the original environment of the display, and these contextual changes affect the meaning of the objects.

The dimensions, colours and materials of the screens were originally designed to be in harmony with certain interior spaces and rooms. In particular, the Japanese have a profound appreciation of darkness. As Tanizaki described:

*“... And so it came to be that the beauty of the Japanese room depends on variation of shadows, heavy shadows against light shadow - it has nothing else. Westerners are amazed at the simplicity of the Japanese room, perceiving in it no more than ashen walls bereft of ornaments”.*<sup>185</sup>

Individual screens were sometimes and even today are, decorated with gold painted figures. In the darkness of the room such screens are an impressive sight. Looking at these screens in a brightly-lit modern hotel lobby is completely different from peeping at them in twilight through a wooden lattice window. This change is most apparent in displays viewed through glass windows from the street. Also, a direct physical contact, the feeling of closeness between the objects, the displaying person and the spectator, characteristic of traditional displays, is lost.

Nowadays Kyoto people are torn between the present and the past. As Kristeva says: “Nothing keeps them there any more, and nothing ties them here yet”.<sup>186</sup> People feel they do not belong anywhere. The tighter the bond is with their past, the farther away they seem to be from the present. They are tempted to speculate with and gain profits from the past, but they also love their old environment and suffer having to give it up. For kimono enterprises and families that participate in the display tradition, the future seems desperate, or at the very least, uninteresting. Many people who were interviewed during the Yamahoko programme, said that they will go on with the display tradition and keep their houses in order, but they do not know or even care to know what will happen to the display tradition when they are gone. One of the interviewees, self-conscious and slightly bitter, crystallised the thought: “An old Kyoto attitude is to mind one’s own business”.<sup>187</sup>

It was amazing, indeed, to discover that many interviewees knew other displays only through tourist pamphlets and art literature. They had never actually seen them, even though some of the displays were located only a few hundred metres from their own houses. The coordinator of the Kita Kannon Yama float had not even once in his

lifetime visited the decorated festival float in his neighbouring block.

In the post-modern world tradition begins to copy itself. Reality becomes fiction and images. Yesterday’s pilgrims have become today’s tourists. Some Zen temples offer weekend packages for instant enlightenment, including vegetarian meals and Spartan conditions with no heating or other conveniences. Participation in imaginary realities, however, affects the way in which reality is organised and experienced. Jencks argues that “eclecticism is a natural development in a culture of choice”.<sup>188</sup> Places portrayed in a certain way, particularly if they have the capacity to attract tourists, may begin to ‘dress themselves up’ as the fantasy images prescribe.<sup>189</sup> In other words, people have an image of the place before they even visit it.

Architect Arata Isozaki was not so far from the truth, as already observed, when he compared the position of the ‘maintainers of cultural heritage in Kyoto’ with the giant panda, locked in the cage of the modern heritage and tourist industry.<sup>190</sup> While the Gion Festival has expanded into a mass event, quite a few of the participating kimono families have become bored with the roles of ‘preserver of tradition’ or tourist clown. More and more exhibitions are on display only privately. A noticeable proportion of the exhibitors of 1992 did not appear in the festival in 1993. Crowds attracted to historic sites and structures themselves demean the experience.

Tourism and mass media have affected the way people think about their cultural heritage. The elegant posters in travel agencies are filled with the home displays, and the owners of the rare wooden townhouses have become popular TV-stars. However, the publicity brought by the mass media has not been altogether negative. The display tradition has become livelier and is now an important factor in many kimono companies with regard to sales and public image. Nor has the commercialisation of the festival, with renowned companies appearing as sponsors necessarily meant the deterioration of the aesthetic and cultural standards of the festival. To mention only one exam-

ple are the elegant and artistically presented packages of sake vine used as a decorative element of the Shinto altars in the festival displays.

The rapid expansion of the museum culture and the flourishing heritage industry, both starting around the 1970s, have affected the commercialisation of history and culture. Over 500 museums have been opened in Japan during the past fifteen or twenty years. As for instance, Hewison has argued, “post-modernism and the heritage industry are linked, since both conspire to create a shallow screen that intervenes between our present lives and our history.... In these circumstances history becomes a contemporary creation, more costume drama and re-enactment than critical discourse”.<sup>191</sup> History becomes a creation of the present, more like masquerade, and repetition, than a critical discourse. We are doomed to search for history through our own pop-idols and images, while the true history escapes our reach.

We end up in a paradox. The reason for protecting the cultural heritage is in its marketing and sales possibilities. Searching for routes may at its worst end up in fiction or in pastiche, a mere sales image. Under these circumstances tradition can, even at its best, be only museum culture, while true history appearing here and now is too ordinary to interest anyone. While the kimono industry in Kyoto has to face possibly the greatest financial difficulties of all time, and the wooden houses deteriorate while awaiting repair and renovation, Kyoto advertises itself as an elegant wooden town, using aesthetically pleasing and carefully designed photographs.

Inside the Museum of Kyoto an ‘authentic’ Kyoto streetscape has been reconstructed only a few hundred metres away from the *hoko* neighbourhoods, while outside the museum old town-houses (those which are still left) wait for the bulldozers and new high rise buildings appear here and there, ruining quiet neighbourhoods that are still well-preserved. Another irony of the modern museum culture is that historical screens, which are still the property of local kimono families, are moving into the possession of antique

collectors and museums, away from the historic environment to which they still organically belong.

What one eventually discovers in a Japanese urban festival is the ritual way of comprehending time and space. Time, instead of being a linear onward-moving concept, is considered to exist in many dimensions. When time is perceived in such a way, should not the attitude towards preservation also be changed? The old buildings are continuously maintained and preserved because the values they portray are seen as important and worth preserving. Understood in this way, urban conservation is not only about conserving the shells of an ancient way of life, but it has a living meaning which people can discover again and again for themselves. Instead of a homogeneously shaped, perfect and unchanging concept of time, we face separate fragments of reality, none of which tells the complete truth, but all of which exist side by side. With the linearity of time gone, history can be rewritten.







P A R T X

SUMMARY



# Summary

The research deals with the urban conservation of Kyoto's wooden town heritage. The focus of the research is on the Gion Festival and in the cultural significance of the urban space. Everyday values play an important role in the work. The research is in ten parts.

## Description of the Field of the Research and Urban Conservation. Problems Involved

Kyoto's wooden townhouse architecture and urban heritage in the grid-plan area is in many ways unique, both as regards the stages of its city development and as an architectural phenomenon. Scores of sophisticated analyses have examined the Japanese quality of space and its indigenous building types. In these analyses traditional Kyoto townhouse, *kyō-machiya*, has been a superb example, which has even affected the concept and development of modern western architecture. In Japanese architectural history the evolution of the Kyoto townhouse, the wooden lattice facade and the variety and richness of its dwelling patterns are regarded as examples of elegance unknown in other Japanese cities.

At the present moment Kyoto's urban heritage is faced with various threats which all have deleterious effects on its character and on its life. Such threats are both the threatening effects of town planning as well as the lack of appropriate urban conservation policies. The necessary conceptual developments that were needed in the context and the city planning policies and decision-making do not coincide. The building ratios exceed many times the traditional land use. City planning clauses and regulations that have dealt entirely with technical controls such as height constraints, floor-area ratios and light angles may have worked effectively from the rational point of view. What they have failed to do is to identify the role of urban morphology, building typologies, dwelling

patterns and their disposition in the urban space, in other words, the whole character of Kyoto's urban heritage.

Until now, with the exception of historic monuments, only very few everyday structures have come under protection in Japan and in even those cases, the buildings have been mainly preserved as museum objects. Even in Kyoto, where the city government has been sensitive to preserving landscapes and urban neighbourhoods of special historic and architectural value, efforts to preserve less famous and architecturally less distinguished vernacular buildings and architecture have been few, if any. In 1991, in the list of cultural assets of Kyoto, besides temples and other historic monuments, altogether seven privately owned buildings were registered. Among them were five ordinary townhouses. Meanwhile it was estimated that in the historical grid-plan area alone there were altogether 40 000–80 000 wooden townhouses left.

The failure to preserve traditional Kyoto townhouses is most evident in the city centre. Although the concept of historical neighbourhood was essential in preserving the historic preservation areas, the concept has been limited to areas with special architectural or historical value. Although fine representatives of Kyoto's architectural heritage and historic environments, they are all areas which illustrate some special type or function of urban environment such as geisha areas and pilgrim routes. The protection of these areas is naturally welcome but the protected districts concern most often outlying parts of the city, which were not and even now not are, in immediate danger in a way the urban neighbourhoods in more central areas are. Moreover, the limitations in the protected areas leave too many areas and city neighbourhoods in the city centre for boundless damage.

Focusing on monument conservation and the protection of a few carefully selected areas has led to the compartmentalising of the city and to a

failure of city planning and heritage authorities to identify heritage values of the urban fabric. Limiting the scope of protection to certain carefully selected areas, the city planning authorities have been unable to create a wider impact that would benefit protection of the urban heritage as a whole. It is evident that the heritage evaluation methods and criteria in use have played more than a minor role.

### Case Study Area and the Tradition of the Screen Festival

The case study area comprises thirty-five *hoko* neighbourhoods in the Muromachi area of the town. The neighbourhoods are known being responsible for organising the Gion Festival, a tradition that has continued uninterrupted in the city centre of Kyoto since the beginning of the 16th century. The *hoko* neighbourhoods were selected as the case study area because of their cultural traditions and their great cultural significance. The Gion Festival is one of the three great town festivals of Japan and one of the most splendid among them all. Within the Gion Festival tradition, the author focuses on the tradition of the Screen Festival, the display of folding screens by traditional kimono families. The survey area is one of the major centres for Japan's kimono trade.

Once a year, during the urban festival, streets in the city centre are gorgeously decorated including the display of antique screens. The light wooden *kōshi*, lattice partitions, which are the major architectural elements of wooden-frame townhouses, are temporarily removed, and the interior of the house is exposed to the street as if it were a stage. The rooms, which open to the streets, are decorated with folding screens and other home treasures owned by Muromachi kimono families. The wooden town architecture plays a vital role as the scenic stage of the festival.

Many of the displaying kimono families were, and still are, wholesale dealers of luxurious kimonos and other kimono textiles adding to the splendour and artistic quality of the displays. Among the displaying persons there are also ki-

mono designers and other kimono-related artisans. Many of the displays have many years of patronage with many beautiful museum-piece screens. Even today there are screens which are specially designed to be displayed in the festival. The history of the Muromachi area also explains the excellent artistic quality of the displayed art objects and screens. With this background the Screen Festival is unique, not only in Kyoto but in the whole of Japan. In the thesis the screen display tradition is seen as a key example of cultural values and traditions that developed in the city centre in the urban context of the Kyoto townhouse.

Municipal authorities have paid attention to the Screen Festival tradition only when it has been able to boost tourism as a clearly measurable tourist value. In other words, the focus has been on a few, carefully selected landmarks and antique screens. Only one display has so far been protected by law. The more ordinary home displays as well as the whole wooden townhouse context have been given less if any attention. There is an acute lack of appreciation of such social and cultural values as the inter-relationship between the house and the street and their cultural expressions during the urban festival. Having failed to enhance such values the city planning has resulted not only in the making of deserted spaces in the city, but also in the disappearance of cultural patterns and local landmarks vital for the city. Moreover, a set of cultural values, such as the special Japanese understanding of space, has been sacrificed over more practical and material values.

At the present moment the display tradition is in a drastic process of change. The total number of screen displays has sunken very low and the wooden townhouse context as a scenic stage of the festival is getting rare. Among the 56 displays that were recorded during the field surveys, 26 displays were found in new, multi-storey structures that were built in reinforced concrete or steel. The increasing number of window displays is one of the unfortunate trends that threatens key meanings in the festival. In addition, a growing number of displays are screened off from public view.

## Fieldwork as an Evaluation Tool

For the thesis, the author measured more than one hundred (mostly traditional wooden) buildings analysing their facade types in every detail including building materials, categories, styles and their number of floors. The analysis, which consists of the streetscapes of three *hoko* neighbourhoods, is the first systematic urban conservation documentation in the Muromachi area so far. The neighbourhoods are in the thesis analysed in their present condition with all the changes and alterations they have gone through time; in other words not as our pre-conceived images of them might be. Through the fieldwork such criteria as the 'beauty of streetscape' and criteria of authenticity were tested and analysed.

Traditional dwelling patterns in the survey area are in the thesis examined through a number of pre-modern dwelling plans such 'the sleeping place of an eel', *unagi no nedoko*, and the tenement pattern, *nagaya*. The former illustrates the 'classic' Kyoto dwelling pattern that evolved in the deep and narrow building sites. The pattern gives character and identity to the city structure as a whole. During the urban festival the deep site visible through the open wall is also one of the great charms of the screen displays. Furthermore, the author participated in a municipal documentation work that consisted of seven historic urban dwellings. Through this fieldwork the author could observe municipal evaluation methods on-site.

Furthermore, an indispensable material for the thesis was provided by an extensive field work that was organised as a multidisciplinary joint-project by Prof. Koji Nishikawa's laboratory's research team. The author worked as a member of the team. In this field survey that took place in three following years during the Gion Festival, all the screen displays that were found in the city centre were documented in every detail including the examining of more than one hundred neighbourhoods and 160 antique screens. Rather than being an historical or art historian survey the focus of the research was on the urban settings of the displays. The research identified, for instance, such

time honoured cultural patterns as the open wall and entrance pattern. In both these patterns the audience can visually enjoy or even partially enter the interior of a traditional townhouse that normally is not open for public view.

## Questioning the Heritage Evaluation Methods in Use. The Methodology of the Work

For the thesis the author developed a variety of methods of architectural assessment both on the general level and for the chosen place. Heritage evaluation practices in Kyoto base conservation largely on architectural and historical criteria rather than accommodating some of the perceptions and reactions of everyday users of historic environments. As a result, some interest groups remain under-represented in the evaluation process and some views may never be represented by 'experts'. Many of the elements that make up the 'whole place' remain unidentified, despite the fact that it is the whole rather than the parts that will have heritage value and meaning. In the thesis the author pays attention, in particular, to the selectivity of the criteria and their inability to identify heritage values of the ordinary building stock and such cultural traditions as the Screen Festival.

An important part of the approach in identifying cultural values is acknowledging the importance of place. A special attachment to place may include a long-standing spiritual or religious attachment or other long-standing value-categories such as a continuous use. The Gion Festival tradition, which has continued in the city centre of Kyoto for centuries, is itself already such a value-category. Furthermore, focusing on a few, specially selected landmarks, has not enhanced continuity and everyday use. The use category is especially important in Kyoto where traditional townhouses were never just residential spaces but had important production (silk textile industry, pottery) and cultural functions (tea ceremony, flower arrangement) as well. Although the Screen Festival will continue in modern business facilities set up by wealthy kimono companies, the loss of ordinary

home displays will evidently reduce the value of the whole place and thus, key meanings in the festival.

The methodological approach taken in the thesis aims thus at an approach where dwelling patterns and cultural patterns are identified as an entity. The inter-relationship between the urban dwelling and the street, and the manifold expressions this relationship takes during the urban festival, is one of the key areas to be focused on. Heritage argumentation methods are seen as an important tool how to cope with and enhance the protection of heritage. Individual and collective interpretations, cultural values and readings are seen to add to the significance of the place. They are seen as elements that should be included as argumentation criteria in the evaluation work.

The two Japanese concepts *hare* and *ke*, sacred and everyday space, play an important role in the interpretation of what is the cultural significance of Kyoto's urban space. The role of street as communal space, the pre-modern concept of *ryōgawacho*, 'neighbourhood on both sides of the street' and the cultural significance of the urban festival are analysed and evaluated in terms of their contribution to the analysis of Kyoto's urban space. The urban institutions of the area are in the thesis illustrated by a number of pre-modern building types such as common facilities, local Shinto shrines and Buddhist halls and local storehouses for festival floats. Many of these building types are unique for the survey area and cannot be found in other areas of the town.

## Conclusions

The value categories in use have in Kyoto been specialist oriented, and have been able to identify only to a limited extent the culturally dependent and place-oriented value categories. Less or in sufficient concern has been given to such qualities as individual or collective interpretations or the display setting as a whole. A number of individual and collective value categories are in the survey area connected to a group of people who value the place and who help to keep the display

as a living tradition. Those individuals who value the tradition and participate in it contributed to its continuation, helping to shape the culture of the place. This included not only the displaying person but the accidental visitor (even the researcher herself may contribute to the value or valueless of a place) and the audience as well. The experience of place was thus widely shared during the festival. The place became a landmark through all the collective associations and participation.

Aside purely historical or aesthetic value-categories there were many other, equally important value-categories. Among these were such categories as the special way the screens or other art objects had come into family ownership and the "story" of the screens. An important aspect of the total value of the screens was their place. The materials (wood, plaster, tiles), lightning conditions, scale and proportions of traditional Kyoto townhouses differ greatly from that of a modern business facility (steel, reinforced concrete). The contextual value category also included such things as the psychological 'remoteness' of the display room, darkness or 'difficulty to see or find'. In other words, anything that contrasted with the commercialised, over-crowded mass performance. Many of the kimono home displays were located in well-preserved historic neighbourhoods endowing them with a special sense of authenticity and charm. Therefore, more than any individual museum-piece screen, it was the whole urban setting, which contributed to the value and meaning of the displays and to their value as 'landmark'.

The conclusions of the thesis suggest that the value of the Screen Festival tradition (or any culturally dependent local tradition) cannot be assessed through selected, expert values alone, but also other values and meanings must be taken into consideration. The Australian Heritage Commission even equates the broadest definition of social value to its cultural significance. This means that the cultural and individual experiences that shape people's own views of place are important and they should have their own place in the evaluation methods of heritage.

In general, the problems identified in the protection of the Screen Festival tradition were not a separate question, but illustrated urban conservation and heritage evaluation problems that were characteristic for the city centre of Kyoto as a whole. The wooden town heritage cannot be assessed through selected (expert) values alone, but also other values and meanings must be taken into consideration. The wooden town heritage is appreciated, not only because of its visual and historical characteristics but also because of its capacity to hold cultural values and ways of life.

The conclusions of the work do not apply only to Kyoto but are closely related to the urban conservation problems of wooden towns in general. Because of the fragility of the wooden town tradition and the authenticity problems involved, the methodological approach should be paid special attention. The wooden town heritage cannot be evaluated using same criteria as towns built in stone or brick. Changes and alterations must be tolerated if any of the wooden town heritage is to be saved. Social values, cultural practices and individual and collective interpretations add important elements in the evaluation practices of heritage.





# References

## Chapter 3

- <sup>1</sup> “Book to Focus on Ornate Floats of Kyoto Festival”, *The Daily Yomiuri Shinbun* 1993.
- <sup>2</sup> Herbert E. Plutschow, *Historical Kyoto* (Tokyo: The Japan Times Ltd. 1986), p. 119. According to Prof. Masuda, even 30 000 houses were destroyed in the Shirakawa area of the town. Masuda, T., *Japan* (1969), p. 174.
- <sup>3</sup> *Bakufu*, central government; literally ‘tent government’. Commonly translated in English as ‘shogunate’. Since the Kamakura period the term became the generic term for all later governments of the warrior class. Edward O. Reischauer, *Japan. The Story of a Nation*, p. 46.
- <sup>4</sup> *The Old Capital* (San Francisco: North Point Press 1987), p. 75
- <sup>5</sup> Edward Morse, *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings* (Rutland, Vermont & Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co. 1986), p. 180.
- <sup>6</sup> Every historic float except Hoteiyama in Ubayanagichō.
- <sup>7</sup> The three floats are: Gaisenfunehoko, Takayama, Hoteiyama.
- <sup>8</sup> Tōrōyama, Shijōkasahoko, Ayagasahoko were excluded the nomination because they are recent reconstructions.
- <sup>9</sup> Since 1975, five individuals and three organisations have been recognised as holders of traditional conservation techniques necessary for architectural preservation. Knut Einar Larsen, “Authenticity in the Context of World Heritage: Japan and the Universal”, p. 71.
- <sup>10</sup> Kyoto Fu Bunka Zai Hogo Kikin (ed.), *Kyoto no Bunka Zai Chizu Chō* (‘Map on the Cultural Assets of Kyoto’), 1984.
- <sup>11</sup> The Burra Charter 1996.
- <sup>12</sup> *Kyō no Sumai. Chiiki to Bunkazai to Shite no Minka* (‘ Dwelling in Kyoto. Historic Urban Dwellings as Local Landmarks’), Kyoto 1993.

## Chapter 4

- <sup>13</sup> Masafumi Yamasaki, *Kyoto Its Cityscape Traditions and Heritage* (Tokyo: Process Architecture No. 116, 1994), p.18, p. 21.
- <sup>14</sup> Edwin O. Reischauer, p. 134.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128
- <sup>16</sup> Hiroshi Mimura, Hajime Shimizu, “Issues and Prospect for Development and Conservation in Inner City Area of Kyoto” (Tokyo: *International Seminar on Planning and Management of Asian Metropolises* 1985), p. 5.
- <sup>17</sup> Stewart, p. 85.
- <sup>18</sup> Atsushi Ueda, *The Inner Harmony of Japanese House*, p.172.
- <sup>19</sup> Peter J. Fowler, *The Past in Contemporary Society. Then, Now*, p. 27.

## Chapter 5

- <sup>20</sup> Masafumi Yamasaki in his lecture on the Kyoto townhouse at Kyoto University 1992.
- <sup>21</sup> *Kyoto Its Cityscape Traditions and Heritage* (Tokyo: Process Architecture No. 116, 1994), pp.46-59.

## Chapter 6

- <sup>22</sup> Chris Fawcett, *The New Japanese House. Ritual and Antiritual. Patterns of Dwelling* (London: Granada 1980), pp.10-11.
- <sup>23</sup> Arata Isozaki, *Katsura Villa - Space and Form* (New York 1987).
- <sup>24</sup> Stewart, p. 63.
- <sup>25</sup> Koseki, p. 15.
- <sup>26</sup> Vesterinen, *Japanin kulttuurin antropologista tarkastelua* (‘Anthropological Observations of Japanese Culture’), p. 246.
- <sup>27</sup> Steven Baker et al. (ed.), *Gaijin Scientist* (Tokyo: The British Chamber of Commerce in Japan 1990), p. 5.
- <sup>28</sup> Quoted by Hannu Marttila in “Kirjailija joka sanoo itseään Todeksi” (‘A Novelist who Calls Himself Truth’) , *Helsingin Sanomat* 1994.
- <sup>29</sup> The life’s work of Soetsu Yanagi includes, among other things, the founding of the Japan Folkcraft

- Museum (Mingei-Kan) in Tokyo. He is known in Japan as the founder of the Japanese Folkcraft Movement.
- <sup>30</sup> On the subject, also, see Markku Graae, "Käsityöläisen identiteetti" ('The Identity of an Artisan'), *Muoto* 1993, pp. 51-53.
- <sup>31</sup> A sharp and even now very timely critique was provided by the Nobel prize winning writer Yasunari Kawabata in *The Old Capital* (San Francisco: North Point Press 1987).
- <sup>32</sup> According to Yanagi, objects that cannot be used have something negative in themselves although they are perfectly beautiful. Soetsu Yanagi, *The Unknown Craftsman - A Japanese Insight into Beauty* (Tokyo: Kodansha International 1982), p. 179.
- <sup>33</sup> Ilmari Vesterinen, *Lohikäärme ja Krysanteemi. Näkökulmia Itä-Aasian kulttuureihin* ('Dragon and Chrysanthemum. Viewpoints to East Asian Cultures'). Hämeenlinna: Karisto Oy 1988.
- <sup>34</sup> Mr. Imae commenting on the field survey in his house 1993.
- <sup>35</sup> Ilmari Vesterinen, *Lohikäärme ja Krysanteemi. Näkökulmia Itä-Aasian kulttuureihin* ('Dragon and Chrysanthemum. Viewpoints to East Asian Cultures'), p. 110.
- <sup>36</sup> *ibid.*, p. 109.
- <sup>37</sup> Marcia Muelder Eaton "Estetiikan ydinkysymyksiä" ('Key Problems in Aesthetics') in *Basic Issues in Aesthetics*, p. 171.
- <sup>38</sup> In Europe the *ma* concept has become known especially through the *ma* exhibition which was organised by Arata Isozaki and which visited Paris, New York and was even seen in Helsinki at the end of the seventies. The modern puristic concept of time has been sharply analysed, for instance, by Richard Sennet, in his analysis of the Farnsworth House of Mies van der Rohe. For Sennet the house represents a kind of crystallisation of the spatial concept of Modernism. Richard Sennet, *The Conscience of the Eye. The Design of Social Life of Cities* (New York: Knopf 1990), pp. 112-113.
- <sup>39</sup> Ishii has defined the temporary characteristic of Japanese culture as 'art of fast changes'. This is portrayed in the ability to instantaneously transform an ordinary profane space into a ceremonial, sacred one. Kazuhiro Ishii "The Sources of My Inspiration; in Response to Reyner Banham" (*Space Design* 8904,) p. 013
- <sup>40</sup> Fred Thompson, "Japanilainen ulkotila ja läntinen yhteinen tila – vertailua" ('Japanese Outdoor Space and Western Public Space, Comparison'), *Arkkitehti* ('Finnish Architectural Review') 1/1996.
- <sup>41</sup> According to the Yamahoko survey the standard width of the common facility was 6.7 metres and the depth of the site 37 metres. In other words, the sites were very similar in size to the ordinary dwelling sites.
- <sup>42</sup> In Japan known as *kekkonshikijō*, wedding place.
- <sup>43</sup> Masuhiko Hayakawa, *Gion Matsuri ni Okeru Byōbu Kazari ni Kansuru Kenkyū* ('A Survey on the Screen Festival'), Kyoto: Kyoto University 1978, p. 11.
- <sup>44</sup> Louis Frederick, *Daily Life in Japan at the time of the Samurai, 1185-1603* (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company 1988), p. 59.
- <sup>45</sup> Mrs. Ito, when I talked to her during the field work.

## Chapter 7

- <sup>46</sup> The BST is a law that applies to all buildings throughout Japan. BST consists of both building codes and zoning codes (standards ensuring the safety of urban areas). Zoning codes are enforced within the city planning areas.
- <sup>47</sup> According to the building standard law: "...In order to prevent destruction of buildings by fire, the principal building parts shall, in principle, not be made of wood if the building has a height of more than 13 metres or has eaves at a height of more than nine metres or has a floor area of more than 3000 sq.m." *Outline of the Approval & Certification System under the Building Standard Law* (Tokyo: The Building Centre of Japan 1990), p. 22.
- <sup>48</sup> Masafumi Yamasaki, *Kyoto, Its Cityscape Traditions and Heritage* (Tokyo: Process Architecture No. 116, 1994), p. 147.
- <sup>49</sup> Referred by Tomoko Shibazaki in "Kansai Architects Converge to Save Traditional Wooden Homes in Kyoto", *The Japan Times*, 9.10.1990.
- <sup>50</sup> Diane Durston, *Seven Paths to the Heart of the City* (Tokyo: Kodansha International 1987), p. 6.
- <sup>51</sup> Mrs. Sugiura, when I visited her house for the first time in 1991.

- <sup>52</sup> Yamasaki 1992, commenting on the poor understanding of traditional architecture by university students.
- <sup>53</sup> Steven Baker et al., *Gaijin Scientist. How to find a post in Japan and what it's like when you get there.* (Tokyo: The British Chamber of Commerce in Japan 1990), p. 5.
- <sup>54</sup> Ms. Tomoko Izumita 1994, a Japanese landscape architect, when observing some well preserved wooden townhouses in Finland.
- <sup>55</sup> Assoc. Prof. Masui 1990, when commenting his own topic of research: the early modern (Tokugawa era) township community.
- <sup>56</sup> Masafumi Yamasaki, *Kyoto Its Cityscape Traditions and Heritage* (Tokyo: Process Architecture No. 116, 1994), p. 12.
- <sup>57</sup> In the Osaka-Kobe-Kyoto area the average size of the building sites was 961 sq. m. and in the Tokyo-Yokohama area 810 sq. m. in buildings with more than three floors. Machiya Kata Kyodo Jutaku Kenkyukai (ed.), *Machiya Kata Kyodo Jutaku no Kaihatsu to Moderu Kensetsu Sokushin ni Kansuru Chōsa Kenkyū* (Kyoto: Kyoto Shi Jutaku Kyoku 1992), p. 13. The size of the sites, see Table 2.2.6, same page.
- <sup>58</sup> *Kyō-Machiya*. Kyoto: The Kyoto Museum 29.9.-28.10.1990.
- <sup>59</sup> Diane Durston, "Saga of Tokusayamachō", *Kyoto Journal* 9/1989, pp. 6-8.
- Kyodo Jutaku Kenkyukai (ed.), *Machiya Kata Kyodo Jūtaku no Kaihatsu to Moderu Kensetsu Sokushin ni Kansuru Chōsa Kenkyū* (Kyoto: Kyoto Shi Jutaku Kyoku 1992), p. 7.
- <sup>65</sup> In 1988, at the peak of the building boom, among the 3448 new apartments produced, 1622 (47%) were in the 'one room mansion' category. Furthermore, among these, 63 apartments were in the super expensive category. Two years later, the number was 154. In 1990 there were 2036 new apartments. In Japanese the name of such luxury apartments is: *okushon*. *ibid.*, p. 83.
- <sup>66</sup> Kazuo Hayakawa, *Housing Poverty in Japan*, p. 5.
- <sup>67</sup> During the five-year period 1987-1991 among the houses produced 60.2% were tenant houses, 39.6% ownership houses, and only 0.1% cooperative dwelling houses. In addition, when the profile of the contractor was examined, 82.6% were from Kyoto City and 17.4% from outside Kyoto. As many as 6.1% of outside contractors were from Osaka. *Machiya Kata Kyodo Jūtaku no Kaihatsu to Moderu Kensetsu Sokushin ni Kansuru Chōsa Kenkyū*, p. 8. Especially, see Fig. 2.1.2, Table 2.1.3.
- <sup>68</sup> Masafumi Yamasaki, *Kyoto Its Cityscape Traditions and Heritage* (Tokyo: Process Architecture No. 116, 1994), p. 146.
- <sup>69</sup> Barry B. Greenbie, *Space and Spirit in Modern Japan* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press 1988), p. 36.
- <sup>70</sup> David B. Stewart, *The Making of a Modern Japanese Architecture 1868 to the Present Moment* (Tokyo: Kodansha International 1987), p. 15.
- <sup>71</sup> Hiroshi Mimura et al., (eds.), *Kyōmachiya, Juunin no Kokoroiki - Dō naru? Dō suru?* ('The Fate of the Kyoto Townhouses?')
- <sup>72</sup> This category included: kimono textile industry, industrial art, Japanese style confections.

## Chapter 8

- <sup>60</sup> Koji Nishikawa, Teiji Ito, "Japan: Two Ancient Capitals and the Menace to Them", *The Conservation of Cities* (Paris: Unesco 1979), p. 122.
- <sup>61</sup> Tapio Periäinen 1995, commenting on the level of city planning in Kyoto in the 1960s. After the comment he added, that in that respect things had, unfortunately, not much changed.
- <sup>62</sup> This was the situation in 1992 when I interviewed Dr. Lim Bon at Kyoto University.
- <sup>63</sup> Riitta Salastie, Masaya Masui, "Trends and Meaning of Land Ownership in Yatachō and Shinkamanzachō in Two Cross Sections in 1912-1992", *Proceedings of the Research Meeting*, pp. 845-848.
- <sup>64</sup> Buildings which had more than three floors, were counted in the multi-storey category. Machiya Kata

## Chapter 9

- <sup>73</sup> Shigeyoshi Murakami, *Japanese Religion in the Modern Century* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press 1983), p. 24.
- <sup>74</sup> Among them, 158 were in the first category, *shitei*, and 119 in the second category, *tōroku*. Kyoto Shi Bunka Kankō Kyoku (ed.), *Kyoto Shi no Bunkazai* ('The Cultural Assets of Kyoto City'), p. 29.

- <sup>75</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>76</sup> *General Plan Map of Kyoto*, Map No. 3, 1987.
- <sup>77</sup> A description of the four historic preservation areas: see Riitta Salastie, *Kioton kaupunkirakenne ja ympäristötyypit* (Helsinki: Helsinki University of Technology 1989), pp. 126-139.
- <sup>78</sup> One such preservation struggle which took place in the environs of the Yasaka Pagoda is described and documented by Masafumi Yamasaki in “Kyoto no Keikan Mondai to Kenchiku no Kadan”, *Kenchiku Jaarunaru* 7/1991, pp.8-17.
- <sup>79</sup> Giovanni Peternolli, “The Image of Kyoto Between Past and Present” in *Kyoto in the Fifties as Seen by Fosco Maraini*, p. 25.
- <sup>80</sup> In new buildings the maximum height has been reached only partially. In the 31 metre height category the average height of a building was 19.5m, in other words 61.5% of the allowed height. Furthermore, in the 45-metre height category the height was no more than 45.8% of the maximum height. Machiya Kata Kyodo Jutaku Kenkyukai (ed.), *Machiya Kata Kyodo Jūtaku no Kaihatsu to Moderu Kensetsu Sokushin ni Kansuru Chōsa Kenkyū* (Kyoto: Kyoto Shi Jūtaku Kyoku, 1992), p. 12:Table 2.2.5.
- <sup>81</sup> See, for example, Barry Hillenbrand, “Kyoto’s Demon for Progress, Greed and Indifference are Ruining the Charm and Treasures of Japan’s most Revered City”, *The Times* 1.7.1991, p. 46.
- <sup>82</sup> Peter J. Larkham, “Conservation in Action. Evaluating Policy and Practice in the United Kingdom”. *Town Planning Review* 64(4), 1993, p.352.
- <sup>83</sup> Masafumi Yamasaki in “Historic Urban Environment with Historic Suburban Nature for Livable City”, (Kyoto: 1987), p. 13.
- <sup>84</sup> Kyoto Shi Bunka Kanko Kyoku (ed.), *Kyoto Shi no Bunkazai* (‘The Cultural Assets of Kyoto City’), Kyoto 1992.
- <sup>85</sup> Among the five listed everyday buildings, three are located in the *hoko* neighbourhoods: the Sugimoto, Hata, Ban house.
- <sup>86</sup> *Kyō-Machiya*. The Kyoto Museum 29.9.-28.10.1990. The estimations vary between 40 000 – 80 000 preserved townhouses.
- <sup>87</sup> Gunther Nitschke, “A Sense of Place, Urban Preservation and Renewal in Kyoto”, *Kyoto Journal* 4/1987, p. 19.
- <sup>88</sup> Masafumi Yamasaki, *Shin Miyako no Sakigake* (1990).
- <sup>89</sup> *Kyoto City and People in Transition*, p. 91.

## Chapter 11

- <sup>90</sup> On the subject, among others, Veeseer and Hunt.
- <sup>91</sup> Hubbard, Philip, “The value of conservation”, *Town Planning Review* 64(4), 1993, p. 365.
- <sup>92</sup> Per Kirkeby, p.42.
- <sup>93</sup> Mrs. Sugiura, a talk between her and the author.
- <sup>94</sup> Harsha, Munasinghe, *Urban Conservation and City Life, Case Study of the Port City of Galle*, Acta Universitatis Ouluensis, Oulu 1998, p. 55.
- <sup>95</sup> Australian Heritage Commission, *What is Social Value?*, p. 6.
- <sup>96</sup> *The Old Capital* (San Francisco: North Point Press 1987), p. 77.
- <sup>97</sup> Ito Teiji, Koji Nishikawa, “Japan, Two Ancient Capitals and the Menace to Them” in *The Conservation of Cities*, p. 122. The irony is that most of the everyday buildings that have been protected and preserved so far, are actually, museums.
- <sup>98</sup> Dr. Shintani 1992, commenting on the problems in the listing system.
- <sup>99</sup> Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, p. 193.

## Chapter 12

- <sup>100</sup> Dr. Shintani, commenting on the difficulties in the fieldwork and documentation in 1992.
- <sup>101</sup> As architect George Woolston described the phenomenon in “Popularisation of building inventory procedures”, in Anu Ahoniemi (ed.), *Conservation Training - Needs and Ethics* (ICOMOS - CIF Training Committee Meeting Suomenlinna Helsinki Finland 12.-17.6.1995), p. 172.

## Chapter 13

- <sup>102</sup> Recently among others, Leon Pressoyre: *La Convention du Patrimoine mondial, vingt ans apres* (Paris: Editions Unesco 1993). Referred by Larsen in “Authenticity in the Context of World Heritage: Japan and the Universal” in Knut Einar Larsen and Nils Marstein (eds), *Conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention* (Tapir Forlag 1994), p. 65. This idea was also discussed in

the author's licentiate thesis (Helsinki: Helsinki University of Technology 1989).

- <sup>103</sup> Nobuko Inaba, "What is meant by 'Another Approach' to Conservation?" in Anu Ahoniemi (ed), *Conservation Training - Needs and Ethics* (Helsinki 1995), p. 152.
- <sup>104</sup> Knut Einar Larsen, "Authenticity in the Context of World Heritage: Japan and the Universal", p. 73.
- <sup>105</sup> Ibid., p. 72.
- <sup>106</sup> Larsen gives an excellent analysis on the concept of authenticity as it is understood and practised throughout the building repair and conservation process in Japan. See, Larsen, *Architectural Preservation in Japan* (Trondheim: Tapir Publishers 1994).
- <sup>107</sup> Eugene Benda, *Kyoto City and People in Transition* (The Kyoto Museum 1991), in the preface to the exhibition catalogue.
- <sup>108</sup> Knut Einar Larsen, Nils Marstein (eds), *Conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention* (Tapir Forlag 1994), pp. 35-64.
- <sup>109</sup> Larsen, in "Authenticity in the context of world heritage: Japan and the Universal", p. 74.
- <sup>110</sup> Herbert Stovel, "Cultural Diversity and the Ethics of Conservation" in Anu Ahoniemi (ed), *Conservation Training - Needs and Ethics* (Helsinki 1995), p. 153.
- <sup>111</sup> Koren, Leonard, *Wabi-Sabi for Artists, Designers, Poets and Philosophers* (1994).
- <sup>112</sup> Larsen, in "Authenticity in the context of world heritage: Japan and the Universal", p. 74.
- <sup>113</sup> See, for example, the guide books that the Kyoto City has published on historic preservation areas. Also Yamasaki presents the principle of pattern books in *Kyoto Its Cityscape Traditions and Heritage* (Tokyo: Process Architecture No. 116, 1994). In Finnish the material has been published in the licentiate thesis of the author (Helsinki 1989).
- <sup>114</sup> Masafumi Yamasaki, "On the Historic Townscape Conservation Area in Kyoto" (Kyoto: Kyoto University 1987), pp. 1, 2.
- <sup>116</sup> Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, p. 198.
- <sup>117</sup> Ibid., p. 197.
- <sup>118</sup> David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. 356.
- <sup>119</sup> David Lowenthal, "Criteria of Authenticity", p. 56.
- <sup>120</sup> Hubbard, Philip, "The Value of Conservation", *Town Planning Review* 64(4), 1993, p. 365
- <sup>121</sup> *What is Social Value?* Technical Publications Series Number 3. Australian Heritage Commission 1994.
- <sup>122</sup> Dr. Shintani 1992, the Cultural Heritage Office.

## Chapter 15

- <sup>123</sup> See, for instance, Kisho Kurokawa, *Rediscovering Japanese Space* (Tokyo: Weatherhill 1988), p. 21.
- <sup>124</sup> Naoki Tani et al., "Kinsei (Machi) Kyōdōtai ni Okeru Toshikyōju Systemu ni Kansuru Kenkyū" ('Research on the Urban Dwelling System in the Pre-Modern Period'), in *Jūtaku Sōgō Kenkyū Zaihan Kenkyū Nenpo. Toshi Jūtaku*, 16/1989.
- <sup>125</sup> Outside the Yamahoko area the common facility is found only in one neighbourhood, Matsubara Naka no Machi.
- <sup>126</sup> The lack of common facility was actually evidence of the overall collapse of the *chō* community.
- <sup>127</sup> According to the Yamahoko inventory the common facility served as the exhibition facility in 22 Yamahoko communities.
- <sup>128</sup> In the Yamahoko survey a great variety of functions was identified such as public gathering place, festival management, working space or flower arrangement classroom.
- <sup>129</sup> An important source for the Yamahoko documentation was provided by the measurement works and architectural historic surveys by Prof. Tani, who surveyed the common facilities in the mid 1970s.
- <sup>130</sup> According to the Yamahoko survey these communities were: Kankohokochō, Niwatorihokochō, Hakurakutenchō, Eboshachō, Koromotanachō.
- <sup>131</sup> This was the situation in 1993. Three years later, in 1996, the conservationists had won the fight for protection. The structures had been carefully repaired and they were in excellent condition.

## Chapter 14

- <sup>115</sup> ICOMOS (1987)- "First Brazilian Seminar about the Preservation and Revitalization of Historic Centres". ICOMOS Brazilian Committee, Itaipava.

<sup>132</sup> The common facilities of Hokahoko, Mōsōyama, Araretenjinyama, Hoshoyama.

### Chapter 16

<sup>133</sup> Bruno Taut, *Houses and People of Japan*, p. 236.

<sup>134</sup> Gallian has recorded the history of the family in her doctoral thesis. A wooden plate from the construction ceremony is preserved. According to this plate the ceremony took place on 23.4.1870. Claire Gallian, *L'Evolution du Mode d'Habiter et ses Consequences pour la Protection du Patrimoine Architectural et Urban au Japon* (Kyoto: Kyoto University 1989), p. 38.

<sup>135</sup> Mr. Sugimoto 1992, when the author visited the house.

### Chapter 17

<sup>136</sup> Louis Frederick, *Daily Life in Japan at the time of the Samurai, 1185-1603* (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company 1988), p. 59.

<sup>137</sup> Edwin O. Reischauer, p. 101.

<sup>138</sup> Yasunari Kawabata, *The Old Capital* (San Francisco: The North Point Press 1987), p. 81-82.

<sup>139</sup> Illustration of the Gion Festival 1596-1658.

<sup>140</sup> Historical Record on the Gion Festival 1757.

### Chapter 18

<sup>141</sup> From average 192.5 inhabitants per neighbourhood in 1960 to 75.9 inhabitants per neighbourhood in 1990.

<sup>142</sup> Altogether 27 new apartment buildings were built in the D-group of neighbourhoods. The total number of new apartment buildings in the *hoko* neighbourhoods in 1992 was 32.

<sup>143</sup> Koromotanachō, Shijochō, Ubayanagichō excluded. Source: Dwelling Standard Register.

### Chapter 19

<sup>144</sup> *Kawa* means leather.

<sup>145</sup> *Shiryō. Kyoto no Rekishi* (Kyoto: Heibonsha 1981), pp. 6-17.

<sup>146</sup> *Kyoto Shi no Chi Mei* (Tokyo: Heibonsha 1979).

<sup>147</sup> Kuya, also called Koya was a monk of the Tendai school of Buddhism who lived in 903-972. He entered the priesthood at an early age, and wandered about the country, building bridges, digging wells etc. While urging people to recite Buddha Amida's name. H. Inagaki, *A Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms*

(Kyoto: Nagata Bunshodo 1984).

<sup>148</sup> The author used the same classification methods and categories as used by the Nishikawa laboratory in the four historic districts.

<sup>149</sup> The author sorted the shops into five categories: 1) restaurants and cafes, 2) shops in the field of traditional industries, 3) food shops and 4) other. There were: five restaurants or cafes; two shops in the field of traditional industries (the articles were umbrellas and Nishijin textile bags), four food shops. Other listed products were: thread, raincoats, electric equipment, hearing-aids, pharmacy, cigarettes, men's shirts and flags. In addition, one 'Sewing Academy', one kiosk and three barbers or hairdressers were recorded.

<sup>150</sup> Masafumi Yamasaki, "On the Historic Townscape Conservation Area in Kyoto" (Kyoto: Kyoto University 1987), p. 2.

<sup>151</sup> Edward Morse, *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings* (Rutland, Vermont & Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1986), p. 251.

### Chapter 20

<sup>152</sup> *Kyo no Sumai. Chiiki to Bunkazai to Shite no Minka* (Kyoto: The Cultural Heritage Office of Kyoto City 1993). The houses portrayed in the book were: the Kobayashi, Matsumoto, Naka, Nakae I and Nakae 2 houses.

<sup>153</sup> In Kyoto the business is known as *kobon some*.

<sup>154</sup> With an attached writing alcove, *shoin*.

<sup>155</sup> Dr. Shintani, commenting on the architecture of the house 1992.

<sup>156</sup> In Japanese: *kyo some ginsai kūgei*.

<sup>157</sup> In Kyoto known as *kofuku no roshi*.

<sup>158</sup> 191 cm x 95.5 cm.

<sup>159</sup> not *uranagaya*, the back street *nagaya*

<sup>161</sup> Information of Mrs. Sugiura; also see Edwin O. Reischauer on the land reform programme in Japan in 1947-49, p. 234.

<sup>162</sup> The youngest daughter married and moved away in 1994.

### Chapter 21

<sup>163</sup> Screens which are owned by the *hoko* neighbourhoods and preservation organizations were outside this study.

- <sup>164</sup> *sumie*: literally ink painting
- <sup>165</sup> In 1991 51 displays were investigated. In 1992 the number was 47. In this research we noted the total number of different displays, in other words 56 displays.
- <sup>166</sup> Masuhiko Hayakawa, *Gion Matsuri ni Okeru Byōbu Kazarini Kansuru Kenkyū* (Kyoto: Kyoto University 1978), p. 21.
- <sup>167</sup> In 1977 14 structures were of traditional townhouse, *machiya* style, five had shop sign, *kanban* facades, one was rebuilt in the townhouse style, six were office buildings and four other structures. *ibid.*, p. 16.
- <sup>168</sup> Mr. Kojiro Yoshida 1993, commenting on the recent history of the Screen Festival when I visited his house in Rokkakuchō.
- <sup>169</sup> “*Machiya o butai mitai ni okasete soko wa Byōbu Matsuri no hitotsu no ookina imi o sagashite miooka...*” Dr. Iwama 1993.
- <sup>170</sup> Mr. Sugiura 1992, talk with the author.
- <sup>171</sup> Mr. Kojiro Yoshida, as he said in our interview in 1993.
- <sup>172</sup> Edward Morse, *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings* (Rutland, Vermont & Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co. 1986), p. 316.
- <sup>173</sup> Mr. Matsuuma in 1991 during the site survey in his house.
- <sup>174</sup> Mr. Imae, in 1992 when the author surveyed the display.
- Chapter 22**
- <sup>175</sup> David Lowenthal, in *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. 356.
- <sup>176</sup> Laura Tuominen, *1900-luvun rakennusperintö. Luettelointi- ja suojelukysymyksiä*. Helsinki: Ympäristöministeriö (‘The 20th Century Built Heritage. Preservation and Listing Issues’ Ministry of Environment, Report), 8/1992, p. 63. Tuominen gives an excellent summary of the value criteria and listing systems heritage authorities currently use in different countries.
- <sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63.
- <sup>178</sup> Strike, James, *Architecture in Conservation, Managing Development at Historic Sites*, p. 14.
- <sup>179</sup> Giovanni Peternolli, “The Image of Kyoto”, *Kyoto in the Fifties as Seen by Fosco Maraini*, p. 30.
- <sup>180</sup> There has been increasing apprehension about the future of Kyoto’s architectural heritage amongst the international preservation community. One concrete expression of the international debate is, for example, the ‘Save Kyoto Movement’.
- <sup>181</sup> Soetsu Yanagi, *The Unknown Craftsman - A Japanese Insight into Beauty* (Tokyo: Kodansha International 1982), p. 155.
- <sup>182</sup> Alessi 1994, in an interview in *Vogue Interior*, the number of issue unidentified.
- <sup>183</sup> For more on the subject, see Christer Bengs “Kaupunki korjausrakentamisen kohteena”, *Korjausrakentamisen tutkimusohjelma 1986- 88* (‘City as Subject of Renovation. Research Program for 1986-88’). Helsinki: Valtion Teknillinen Tutkimuskeskus (The State Research Center) 1989.
- <sup>184</sup> Masafumi Yamasaki, “Historic Urban Environment with Historic Suburban nature for Livable City”, *International Seminar on Innovative Planning Strategies for Metropolitan Development and Conservation* (Kyoto: Symposium of World Heritage Cities 1992).
- <sup>185</sup> Junichiro Tanizaki, *In Praise of Shadows* (Rutland, Vermont & Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1988) , p. 18.
- <sup>186</sup> Julia Kristeva, *Muukalaisia itsellemme* (Gaudeamus 1992), p. 21.
- <sup>187</sup> Kojiro Yoshida, his comment on the urban preservation 1993.
- <sup>188</sup> Charles Jencks, *The Language of Postmodern Architecture* (London: 1984) p. 127. quoted David Harvey in *The Condition of Postmodernity : an enquiry into the origins of cultural change* (Oxford: Blackwell 1990).
- <sup>189</sup> David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford: Blackwell 1989), p. 301.
- <sup>190</sup> City Planning Symposium “Kyoto - City and People in Transition”. Kyoto 29.11.1991.
- <sup>191</sup> Robert Hewison, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline* (London: Methuen 1987), p. 135, quoted in David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity : an enquiry into the origins of cultural change* (Oxford: Blackwell 1990), p. 62.

Please note: notes 11, 17, 18, 19 are to be found in chapter 10 and note 12 in chapter 2.





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## INTERVIEWS

- Mr. Fukuyama.** Kimono dealer and designer. Displaying person. Kyoto.
- Mr. Ida.** Lawyer. Kyoto.
- Mr. Imae.** Kimono dealer. Displaying person. Kyoto.
- Mr. and Mrs. Ito.** Landowner and his wife. Retired. Kyoto.
- Ms. Tomoko Izumita.** Landscape architect. Tokyo.
- Ms. Iwama.** Art historian. Associate Professor. The Setsunan University. Osaka.
- Mr. Hiroshi Kyogoku.** Photographer. Tokyo.
- Mr. Lim Bon.** Architect. Kyoto University.
- Masaya Masui.** Associate Professor. Nara Women's University.
- Mr. and Mrs. Matsumoto.** Kimono artisans. Kyoto.
- Mr. Matsumura.** Kimono dealer. Displaying person. Kyoto.
- Mrs. Morii.** Wife of a kimono artisan. Displaying person. Kyoto.
- Mr. Naka.** Retired. Kyoto.
- Mr. and Mrs. Nakae.** Kimono dealer and his wife. Kyoto.
- Dr. Tapio Peräinen.** Architect. Helsinki.
- Mr. Takuji Segawa.** Resident. Naginatahokochō. Kyoto.
- Dr. Akira Shintani.** Researcher. The Cultural Heritage Office. Kyoto.

**Mr. Sugimoto.** Professor in French Literature. Kyoto.

**Mr. and Mrs. Sugiura.** Kimono artisans. Displaying persons. Shinkamanzachō. Kyoto.

**Naoki Tani.** Associate Professor. Osaka City University. Osaka.

**Masafumi Yamasaki.** Professor. Kyoto.

**Mr. Kojiro Yoshida.** Artist. Displaying person. Kyoto.





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Calligraphic works: Shingai Tanaka

If not otherwise indicated, photographs by the author.



# Appendix I

## Japanese – English Glossary

BATTARISHŌGI, ばったりしよぎ, **sales bench**; see also *misedana*.

BENTEN SAN, 辨天様, **deity with luck-bringing qualities**.

BIKAN CHIKU, 美感地区, **aesthetic area**.

BIWA-TOKO, 琵琶床, **lute alcove**.

BUNKAZAI, 文化財, **cultural asset**.

BUNKAZAI HOGO HŌ, 文化財保護法, **law for the protection of cultural properties** (1975).

BUTSUDAN, 佛壇, **Buddhist altar**.

BYŌBU, 屏風, **folding screens**; consist of a number of panels (2–4–6–8) or folds covered on both sides with stout paper. Each fold or panel may have a separate picture upon or, as is usually the case, a continuous landscape or composition covers the entire side of the screen. The screens have been used as space dividers and artistic decorations in traditional Japanese architecture since the Heian era. Many of the famous paintings in Japanese art history are made on such screens.

BYŌBU MATSURI, 屏風祭, **Screen Festival**. The display of folding screens and other home treasures which takes place during the Gion Festival by traditional kimono families. For this performance the wooden partitions are temporarily removed and once a year the house is exposed to the street. At this event the accidental passer-by can see deep into the interior of the house which the rest of the year is closed off from public view.

CHASHITSU, 茶室, **tea ceremony room**.

CHŌ, 町, **township unit**; see also *ryōgawachō*.

CHŌIE, 町家, **common facility**. Literally: neighbourhood house; meeting place for the township community. During the festival the common facil-

ity is gorgeously decorated. They also serve as access ways to larger floats, which are entered through the upper floor of the common facility.

CHŌKAISHO, 町会所, **common facility**; see also *chōie*.

DAIDOKORO, 台所, **kitchen** with IDO, 井戸, **well**; and KAMADO, 竈, **kitchen range**. The kitchen is located in the **earth floor area**, DOMA, 土間.

DAINICHI NYORAI, 大日如来, the **Great Sun Buddha** (in Sanskrit: Mahā Vairocana Buddha).

DE-AI, 出合い, **accidental** (not arranged) **meeting**; see *de-ai-no-matsuri*.

DE-AI NO MATSURI, 出合いの祭り, **urban festival that favours accidental meeting**.

DEGŌSHI, **projecting lattice window**; see *kōshi*.

DOMA, 土間, **earth floor area**.

DOZŌ, 土蔵, **storehouse**.

DOZŌ-TSUKURI, 土蔵造り, **storehouse-style**. Plastered storehouse-style shops became popular in Kyoto in the early part of the 20th century.

FŪCHI CHIKU, 風致地区, **scenic zone**.

FUKUSA, ふくさ, **a piece of silk textile**, used in the tea ceremony.

FUROSABI BYŌBU, ふろさき屏風, **low screen**. The panels are made of rush.

FUSUMA, 襖, **sliding door**.

GION BAYASHI, 祇園囃子, **festival music**. The traditional music of the Gion Festival, which fills the air during the festival weeks in the *hoko* neighbourhoods.

GION MATSURI, 祇園祭, the **Gion Festival**, a religious celebration which has taken place in the city centre regularly since the Heian era (10th century).

GENKAN, 玄関, **entrance**.

GENKAN NO MA, 玄関の間, (tatami covered) **entrance area**; see also *genkan*.

GORYŌE, 御霊會, **beginning of the Gion Festival**. Religious ritual of the Yasaka Shrine.

HANARE, 離れ, **courtyard building**; **annexe** in the back of the garden.

HARE, 晴れ, and KE, け, **sacred and everyday space**, respectively. These two Japanese concepts describe the cultural background of the urban festival.

HIRAKŌSHI, **flat lattice window**; see *kōshi*.

HISASHI, 庇, **lower eaves, canopy**. *Hisashi* is an architectural element, which runs parallel to the facade in the traditional Japanese townhouse between the ground and upper floor.

HISASHI-TSUKURI, 庇造り, **the (art of) construction of the lower eaves**.

HOKO, 鉾, **festival float**; see *yama* and *hoko*.

HOKOGURA, 鉾倉, **storehouse for the festival float**; to store the assembled parts of the float. *Hokogura* are one fine example of the pre-modern building types existing in the *hoko* neighbourhoods.

HOKOMACHI, 鉾町, see Yamahokochō.

HONGAWARA, 本瓦, **roof tile used in Buddhist temples, public buildings and storehouses**; see also *kawara*.

HONNIKAI, 本二階, **building with two floors**. *Honnikai* is a late variation of the *tsushi nikai*, the basic architectural pattern of Kyoto's townhouse. In Kyoto, a distinction between the *tsushi-nikai* and *honnikai* building frames is necessary. *Tsushi*

*nikai* is the 'classic' urban dwelling with a low upper floor. The latter one has two floors.

ICHIMONJIKAWARA, いちもんじ瓦, **roof tile pattern**; see *kawara*.

IDO, 井戸, **well**; see *daidokoro*.

IKEBANA, 生花, **flower arrangement**. A traditional place for the flower arrangement is entrance, *genkan*, or alcove, *tokonoma*.

INARI, 稲荷, **fox deity** in the Shinto belief system. Also **deity of the harvest**.

INUYARAI, 犬矢来, **dog fence**, a protective fence to protect the lower part of the facade. see Inoguchi et al<sup>1</sup>

IRORI, 囲炉裏, **fireplace**; see *irorinoma*.

IRORI NO JIZAI, 囲炉裏のじざい, **fireplace hook**.

IRORINOMA, 囲炉裏の間, **room with a fireplace**.

ITA, 板, **board**; **wooden blank**.

ITABEI, 板塀, **board fence**; **wooden wall**.

JI, TERA, DERA, 寺, **Buddhist temple**.

JIKKYŌ, 十境, (symbolic) **landmark elements**; literally 'ten stages'. The *jikkyō* were part of a culturally appointed landscape with specific (Zen) meanings attached to them.

JINJA, 神社, **shrine**.

KAIRŌKEIKAN, 路景観, **streetscape**.

KAISHO, 会所, **common facility**; see *chōie*.

KAKOBU, かこぶ, **writing room**.

KAMADO, 竈, **kitchen range**; see *daidokoro*.

<sup>1</sup> 京ことば辞典 (A Comprehensive Dictionary of the Kyoto Dialect), Inokuchi, Y., Horii, R., (Eds.), (Tokyodoshuppan, Tokyo, 1992), p.33.

KANBAN, 看板, **shop sign**.

KANBAN KENCHIKU, 看板建築, **shop sign architecture**. A facade variation of wooden frame townhouses, which developed in the context of commercial architecture. In the street elevation the buildings have a shop facade which resembles a large shop sign. Behind the commercial facades there are, however, usually wooden framed buildings with traditional dwelling plans.

KARESANSUI, 枯山水, **sand and stone garden**. Literally: 'dry-mountains-water'.

KAWARA, 瓦, **roof tile**. In traditional Japanese architecture usually divided into two main categories: *hongawara*, roof tiles used in Buddhist temples, public buildings and storehouses, and *sangawara*, 棧瓦, roof tiles used in ordinary townhouses. The two major types of tiles used in ordinary townhouses were *ichimonjigawara* and *sankarakusa* patterns. Even today the roof tiles of ordinary townhouses are either of these two patterns.

KE, け, **everyday space**; see *hare*.

KEN, 間, **measurement unit**. One *ken* is 1.818 m., and equals 60 SHAKU, 尺. One *shaku* equals 0.303 m.<sup>2</sup>

KIN-GIN-BYÖBU, 金銀屏風, **gold and silver painted screens**. Decorative screens are used as background screens on festive occasions. The rich and heavily gilded screens are marvels of decorative painting and design. See also *byōbu*.

KŌBAI, 勾配, **pitched roof; slope**.

KOBON SOME, こぼん 染め, **dyeing technique for the upper part of men's festival kimono**.

KODATE NO MACHIYA, こだての町家, **detached townhouse**. *Kodate no machiya* was the dominant type of urban dwelling in Kyoto. This differs

greatly, for instance, from Osaka that in the pre-modern era was dominated by the urban tenanted terraced houses, *nagaya*.

KOMAYOSE, 駒よせ, **horse fence**; a protective fence outside the facade.

KŌSHI, 格子, **lattice**. In the traditional Japanese house the windows and doors were barred by square bars of wood known as *kōshi*. A sliding screen covered with stout white paper took the place of glass windows. In some cases the windows were projecting or hanging bays; see *degōshi*.

KŌSHI, 格子, open wall pattern; the wooden lattice, *kōshi* partitions are removed and the screen display is viewed from the street.

KOSHIKABE, 腰壁, **'hips wall'**. To protect the lower part of the wall from rain and dirt, a structure known as *koshikabe*, was common. The author used two main categories: the wooden *koshikabe* and other *koshikabe* partitions.

KUNI NO JŪYŌNA DENTŌTEKI KENZŌBUTSU GUN HOZON CHIIKI, 国の重要な伝統的建造物群保存地域, **historic preservation area of national importance**.

KURA, 倉, **storehouse**. The storehouses are one important building type of historic urban dwelling and townscape. In traditional Japanese architecture, family treasures and furniture were stored when not in use, in fireproof structures. With massive walls covered with thick plaster to resist fire and with a smooth surface finish resembling silk, it is a fine building type of aesthetic integrity.

KYO DAI KŌSAKUBUTSU KISEI KUIKI, 巨大工作物規制区域, **height restriction district**.

KYŌ-MACHIYA, 京町家, **Kyoto townhouse**. The urban vernacular style of Kyoto evolved over a long period and reached its climax in the late 18th century. Prominent features of the urban vernacular architecture were the movable wooden lattice, *kōshi*, partitions.

<sup>2</sup> John H. Haig, *Japanese-English Character Dictionary*, Charles E. Tuttle (Tokyo 1997), p.1268.

KYŌ-SOME GINSAI KŌGEI, 京染金彩工芸, **Kyoto craft of gold painting**. A highly specialised craft found in Kyoto's silk textile industry.

KYOTO SHI NO BUNKAZAI, 京都市の文化財, **cultural asset of Kyoto City**; see also *bunkazai*.

KYOTO SHI SHIGAICHI KEIKAN JŌREI, 京都市市街地景観条例, Kyoto urban landscape ordinance.

MA, 間, (Japanese) **space concept**. Literally: interval; space; between.

MACHIAI SHITSU, 待ち合い室, **waiting room**.

MACHIYA, 町家, **townhouse**. A traditional townhouse with wooden structural frame and pitched tiled roof. See also *Kyō-machiya*.

MAGUCHI, 間口, **width of the house**.

MANMAKU, 幔幕, **decorative cloth with the family crest**. Such cloths are hung in front of the entrance door during the urban festival and on other festive occasions.

MATSU, 松, **pine**, and TSURU, 鶴, **crane**, a combination which has traditionally been considered as auspicious. This combination is depicted in many screen paintings in the Screen Festival.

MATSURI, 祭り, **festival**. According to the Nelson Dictionary (Nelson 1984, p. 659), *matsu(ru)* means to **offer; prayers; celebrate; deify; enshrine; worship**; and *matsu(ri)*, a festival. In the Japanese cultural context *matsuri* is generally understood to belong to a tradition where the sacred is made visible through the act of building, rebuilding and renewal of space.

MATSURU, to **offer, prayers; celebrate; deify; enshrine; worship**; see *matsuri*.

MISE, 店, **shop, working space**. In the Kyoto townhouse the shop or working space was an integral part of the dwelling architecture. In the floor plan the shop was the room nearest the street.

MISEDANA, 店棚, **sales stand**. *Misedana* has been described as the origin of the *battarishōgi*, sales

bench, which is fitted in wooden facades and lifted up when not in use.

MISENOMA, 店の間, **shop, working space**; see *mise*.

MISENOMA-TŌRINIWA, 店の間-通庭, **shop-entrance pattern**; the screens are displayed in the *misenoma* and they are looked at in the *tōriniwa*, the earth floor area of the house.

MOKUBU, 木部, **wooden structural parts** which are exposed in *shinkabe* structures; literally 'wooden parts'.

MISE NO DOMA, 店の土間, **earth floor area in front of the mise, shop**. Part of the *genkan*.

MOTOGAKKU, 元学区, **school district**. The system was established in the city centre in the Meiji period.

MOYA, 身屋, **main structure**. In the Sugimoto house, the main structure behind the street elevation.

MUNE TAKASA, 棟高さ, **height of the ridgepole**.

MUSHIKO MADO, 虫籠窓, **insect window**; a long rectangular ornamental opening in the upper floor, unbroken by structural members; one of the imposing architectural details of the wooden frame townhouses.

NAGAYA, 長屋, **tenanted terraced house; tenement**. The building has shared walls with the adjoining buildings. According to the Illustrated Dictionary of Historic Architecture, *nagaya* is described as being "a long house, which is divided into many small apartments, each occupied by a family in the employ of a landowner or a lord"<sup>3</sup>.

NAKANIWA, 中庭, **middle garden**.

NAKANOMA, 中の間, in the traditional dwelling plan (tatami) **room in the middle part of the**

<sup>3</sup> Cyril M. Harris (ed.), *Illustrated Dictionary of Historic Architecture* (New York 1977), p. 370.

house, usually between the *omotenoma* and *zashiki*.

NIWA, 庭, **garden**.

NOKI, 軒, **eaves**.

NOKI SHITA, 軒下, **height of the upper eaves**; literally 'under the eaves'.

NOREN, 暖簾, (slashed and dyed) **curtain**, which is hung outside entrance doors to indicate that the shop is open. Also used as interior decoration.

NURIYA-TSUKURI, 塗屋造り, **plastered wall style**. A special technique, where the wooden structural members are plastered over. This technique is used, for example, in fire-proof storehouses.

OFURO, お風呂, (Japanese style) **bath**.

OIE, おいえ, **home pattern**. One of the traditional display patterns in the Screen Festival. The visitor enters the tatami room and the screens are looked at there.

ŌKABE, 大壁, **plastered wall** covered with plaster or boards which hide the structural components.<sup>4</sup> In traditional architecture the *ōkabe* structure is common in storehouses with their plastered walls. In some buildings the original structural parts may have been hidden in the renovation work behind a new wall covering material. Even in such a case the wall is classified as *ōkabe* wall.

OKAZARIBA, お飾場, **festival exhibition**. The cultural assets and other paraphernalia ascribed to festival float are displayed to public view before the festival procession in the common facility. Festival exhibitions are primarily regarded as sanctified places, not as art exhibitions, with miniature shrines and other objects of worship.

OKU, 奥, **rear; back of the site**.

OKUNOMA, 奥の間, **room in the rear of the house**.

OMOTE, 表, **front**; in the traditional dwelling plan room nearest the street.

OMOTE BETTŌ, 表棟型, **front pattern**. The Yamahoko programme used the term to describe the spatial pattern of the common facility. The common facility is built in the street elevation and the storehouse is found at the back of the site.

OMOTE NO MA, 表の間, **room nearest the street**.

OMOTENAGAYA, 表長屋, **group of tenements**; (ie. not *uranagaya*); see *nagaya*.

OMOTEYA, 表屋, **street elevation pattern of common facility**.

OMOTEYA TSUKURI NO MACHIYA, 表屋造りの町家, **street elevation pattern**. A townhouse with has a two-storey main structure in the street elevation, *omoteya*, and behind that, other structures such as *hanare*, for example. Between the structures are small gardens.

ŌNIN NO RAN, 應仁の亂. **Civil war in 1467-1477** that broke out in Kyoto in the Ōnin era. The city and its environs were laid waste. The struggle was ended only by the exhaustion of both parties.<sup>5</sup>

OSENTŌ, 銭湯, **public bath**.

ŌSETSUMA, 応接間, **guest room**.

OTEARAI, お手洗い, (Japanese style) **toilet**.

RAKU, 洛, **capital** (indicating Kyoto).

RAKUCHŪ, 洛中, RAKUGAI, 洛外, **inside and outside the capital**; the city and its environs. In Kyoto any impression of the city was incomplete without the natural elements or the surrounding moun-

<sup>4</sup> Cyril M. Harris (ed.), *Illustrated Dictionary of Historic Architecture* (New York 1977), p. 385.

<sup>5</sup> E. Papinot, *Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Japan* (Charles E. Tuttle, Tokyo 1982), p. 489.

tains as well as temples and shrines distributed along the foothills outside the city.

RAKUCHŪ-RAKUGAI-E, 洛中洛外絵, **paintings, which depict Kyoto inside and outside the capital.** The oldest of these paintings is thought to be the so-called *Machida* illustration from the first half of the 16th century (1525).

RAKUGAI, **outside the capital.** See *Rakuchū*.

RANMA, 欄間, **transom window**, partition between horizontal lintel and ceiling. In some wealthy houses *ranma* partition was designed with richly decorated woodcarvings. It can be open as in the Sugimoto house.

REKISHITEKI FŪDO HOZON CHIKU, 歴史的風土保存地区, **historic landscape preservation area.**

REKISHITEKI FŪDO TOKUBETSU HOZON CHIKU, 歴史的風土特別保存地区, **special historic landscape preservation area.**

RŌJI, 路地, lane.

RYŌGAWACHŌ 両側町, '**neighbourhood on both sides of the street**'. Pre-modern township system, which was established in the city centre after the Ōnin wars (1467-1477). The system not only added social coherence to the township communities, but it had great cultural significance. The system was erased in the Meiji reform. In the *hoko* neighbourhoods the *ryōgawachō* system has, however, survived up to the present day.

SABI, 錆, **patina**; WABI, 侘び, **taste for the simple and quiet.** These two terms are used to describe the aesthetic ideal and beauty, which in Japan was observed in the passing of time and in the phenomena it produced such as the patina of old objects.

SAIREI, 祭礼, **urban festival.**

SANGAWARA, 棧瓦, **roof tile in ordinary townhouses**; see *kawara*.

SANKARAKUSA, さんからくさ, **roof tile pattern**; see *kawara*.

SHAKUYA, 借家, **tenanted house, tenement.**

SHIBORI, 絞り, **knot dyeing technique.**

SHIBUI, 渋い, (in the Zen aesthetics understood as) **profoundness, simplicity, 'the inner radiance'** of objects.

SHIDŌ, 祠堂, **local shrine or Buddhist hall**, built to enshrine the neighbourhood deity and known according to the enshrined deity as Jizō Dō (the Hall of Jizō Bodhisattva), Kannon Dō (the Hall of Kannon Bodhisattava) etc. *Shidō* is an important pre-modern building type existing in the *hoko* neighbourhoods.

SHIHŌ DANA, しほうだな, a wooden **decorated shelf for tea utensils.**

SHIMENAWA, しめなわ, **sacred rope.**

SHIMOTAYA, しも多屋, **style of residence.** A derivation of the *machiya* style. Some traditional townhouses are of the *shimotaya* style, although in fewer numbers. Ueda (1990, p.190) has defined *shimotaya* as a 'household which has stopped trading. Its hallmarks are usually a small wooden gate and a dense growth of trees and shrubs'.<sup>6</sup>

SHINKABE, 真壁, '**half timber**' style; plastered wall in which the structural members are exposed<sup>7</sup>. See also *okabe*. While both wall structures were evolved within the context of traditional architecture, the use of these terms is not limited to traditional structures but they are used to characterise modern structures as well.

SHITEI, 指定, **1st grade cultural asset**; see *bunkazai*.

SHŌBAI, 商売, **textile manufacturer's dwelling** with a shop or producing function.

<sup>6</sup>Atsushi Ueda, *The Inner Harmony of the Japanese House* (Tokyo: Kodansha International 1990), p. 190.

<sup>7</sup> Harris, p. 491.



SHOIN, 書院, **window writing alcove**. A distinct feature of *shoin* residential architecture that evolved in the Momoyama period.

SHOIN ZUKURI, 書院造り, **residential architectural style**. The style evolved in the Momoyama period.

SUDARE, 簾, **reed screen**, hung in front of windows and doors in summer.

SUKIYA, 数寄, '**Sukiya**'-style. A sophisticated architectural style, which first appeared in such upper class buildings as the Katsura Villa and the Hiunkaku Pavilion but which then spread to the merchant class and was adopted in the tea and residential architecture. In particular, Kyoto's urban architecture became famous for its adaptation of the *sukiya* architecture and the resulting elegance.

SUMIE, 墨絵, **ink painting**.

TAKABEI, 高塀, **high (wooden) fence**.

TAKABEI TSUKURI, 高塀造り, '**high-fence**' style. An architectural style where the main structure is recessed from the street and there is a high wooden fence.

TANA, 棚, **shelf**.

TANZAKU, 短冊, **stripe pattern**. Name of the narrow street layout pattern. The *tanzaku* pattern was established in the city centre after the civil wars in the Tokugawa era. It could not, however, be carried out in the *hoko* neighbourhoods, because of their power and wealth (as it is said). Also, there were temples and other structures in the middle of the urban blocks, which prevented the accomplishment of the Tokugawa land reform effectively and to its full extent.

TATAMI, 畳, **straw mat**.

TATECHŌ, 立町, '**standing**' neighbourhood, refers to the south-north oriented township unit; see also *yokochō*.

TATECHŌ, 立町, YOKOCHŌ, 横町; '**standing**' and '**lying**' neighbourhood, respectively. These two

terms are derived from the geometric shape of *ryōgawachō*.

TENPO, 店舗, **shop**.

TERA, DERA, 寺, **temple**; see *ji*.

TOBUKURO, 戸袋, **rain closet**; literally: 'door pocket'. Rain closet is one important design element of wooden facades<sup>8</sup>.

TOKO, 床, TOKONOMA, 床の間, **alcove**.

TOMUSHIRO, とむしろ, **light bamboo mats**.

TORII, 鳥居, 'torii'; (Shinto) **gate**.

TŌRINIWA, 通庭, **corridor, internal passageway**; runs on one side of the traditional townhouse.

TŌROKU, 登録, **2nd grade cultural asset**; see also *bunkazai*.

TSUBO, 坪, **measurement unit**. One *tsubo* equals 3.78 sq. m.

TSUBONIWA, 坪庭, **small inner garden**. The size of *tsuboniwa* is approximately one *tsubo*, in other words 3.78 sq. m.

TSUCHI, 土, **plaster**, the traditional wall material.

TSUITATE, ついたて, **a solid screen of wood** with heavy frame, supported by two transverse feet and placed on the floor near alcove.

TSURU, 鶴, **crane**; see also *matsu*.

TSUSHI NIKAI, つし二階, **building with a low upper floor**. The basic architectural pattern of the 'classic' Kyoto townhouse.

ZASHIKI, 座敷, **guestroom**; literally: sitting room. A room with alcove, *tokonoma*, and sometimes also with *butsudan*, Buddhist altar.

<sup>8</sup> See, for instance: Edward Morse, *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings* (Rutland, Vermont & Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1986), p. 251.

UGOKU BIJUTSUKAN, 動く美術館, 'moving art museum'; the decorated festival float during the procession.

UDATSU, 卯立, **firebreak wall**; a projecting wall designed to isolate the roof of adjoining building in case of fire and also, to prevent rain from penetrating the gap between the buildings.

UNAGI NO NEDOKO, 鰻の寝床, literally: **sleeping place of an eel**. The name of the standard dwelling plan in the city centre with long and narrow sites. It is one of the basic architectural patterns, which is used to describe the spatial character of Kyoto.

URABETTŌ, 奥棟型, **rear pattern**; one of the architectural patterns of the common facility. The common facility and the storehouse are found at the back of the site. The tenement, *shakuya*, is built in the street elevation.

URANAGAYA, 裏長屋, **back street tenement** (literally: behind a *nagaya* lane); tenement in a poor alley; see *nagaya*.

URANIWA, 裏庭, **back garden**; see *niwa*.

URIBA, 売場, **selling room, shop**.

WABI, 侘び, **poverty; austere refinement**; see *sabi*.

YAMA, 山, and HOKO, 鉾, **festival floats**. *Hoko* takes the form of a towering cart two stories high on four great wheels. *Yama*, literally 'mountain', is carried on the shoulders of dozen or more men, with poles that extend in front of and behind the festival carriage. In a sense the floats are prefabricated, for they consist of timbers that can be fitted together easily and held together by means of rice-straw ropes. When disassembled, the floats are stored in storehouses that are specially designed for the purpose; see also *hokogura*.

YAMAHOKOCHŌ, 山鉾町, or HOKOMACHI, 鉾町. The Japanese name of **the thirty-five hoko neighbourhoods**, which have organised the Gion Festival since the ending of the civil wars in the end of the 15th century.

YANE, 屋根, **roof**. The traditional wooden town architecture is characterised by elegant tiled roofs.

YOIYAMA, 宵山, YOIYOIYAMA, 宵宵山, **festival night**; literally when 'the lanterns are lit'; the two last nights before the festival procession.

YOKOCHŌ, 横町, '**lying**' neighbourhood; refers to the east-west oriented township unit; see *tatechō*.

YOSHIDŌ, よしどう, **light summer sliding doors**. The panels are made of rush.

YUKIMADO, 雪窓, **picture window**; lit. 'snow window'

#### CHRONOLOGY OF JAPANESE HISTORY

NARA era, 奈良時代, 708 – 781	MEIJI era, 明治時代, 1868 – 1912
HEIAN era, 平安時代, 782 – 1181	TAISHO era, 大正時代, 1912 – 1926
KAMAKURA era, 鎌倉時代, 1182 – 1389	SHOWA era, 昭和時代, 1926 – 1989
MUROMACHI era, 室町時代, 1390 – 1595	HEISEI era, 平成時代, 1989–
(MOMOYAMA period, 桃山時代, 1568 – 1602)	
EDO era, 江戸時代 (also called	
TOKUGAWA era, 徳川時代, in various sources),	
1596 – 1867	

The historical eras, or periods as they are also called in English, mentioned above are dated differently in different sources with not a few inconsistencies. The source used in this work is *Nihonshi nenhyō chizu*, 日

本史年票地図 (Tokyo 1996), except for the Momoyama period which is shown as presented by Geishinsha's *Chronological Chart of World Cultural History* (Tokyo 1983). The Momoyama period is used for art historical classifications and is commonly used by art dealers and art historians. Also, it is to be noted that the Heian era is usually counted to start from the establishment of the Heian-kyō (Kyoto) in the year 794. In the above list it is counted as beginning with the reign of the Emperor Enryaku.

## JAPANESE NAMES AND TERMS

All names, including Japanese, are given in the Western order, surname last. In the thesis 'temple' refers to a Buddhist temple and 'shrine' to a Shinto shrine. In Japanese the names of Buddhist temples can be identified by their suffixes: *ji*, *tera*, *dera*, 寺, (Nishihongan-ji, 西本願寺, Kokedera, 苔寺). Sometimes also the term *dō*, 堂, a hall, is used such as Kannon-Dō, 観音堂. The names of Shinto shrines are identified by the terms *jinja*, 神社, shrine (as the Yasaka Jinja, 八坂神社). Macrons have been omitted in names and terms, which appear in English language dictionaries and in the names of persons. These are not italicised. This includes place names like Kyoto, Osaka and Japanese terms like kimono, obi, tatami. Nor are these terms included in the glossary.

Furthermore, the names of famous places and the names of the main streets of Kyoto (such as Shijo Street, Nijo palace) are written without macrons and not italicised. Other Japanese terms and names are generally italicised throughout the text with the exception of the names of the festival floats and the *hoko* neighbourhoods (Kanko Hoko, Niwatorihokochō). In writing Japanese words we use the so-called Hepburn system. This system is based on the system of English spelling pronunciation, and it is arguably easier to read for those familiar with English spelling pronunciation practice. The long vowels are marked with macrons: *byōbu*, *ryōgawachō*. For example, Shibatani<sup>9</sup> gives a good introduction to the writing systems of the Japanese language in the Latin alphabet.

## ADDRESS OF BUILDINGS IN THE CITY CENTRE

The address of buildings in the grid-plan area is written in the text following the old Kyoto standard. The buildings have no address numbers but their location is defined according to the surrounding streets. The name of the street where the building is located, is given first, then the name of the nearest crossing street. The location is defined by giving direction: ascending/descending/east/west/ from the crossing street. In the south-north running streets is used ascending/descending direction that is defined *in relation to the imperial palace*. The direction is ascending, if the location of the building seen from the crossing is ascending from the imperial palace; descending in other case. Thus in the case of the Sugiura house, the address would be given in a following way: Shinkamanzachō Shijo Sagaru (descending), because the house is located on the south side of Shijo Street and thus 'descending' when viewed from the imperial palace (The emperor looks towards the south). In the east-west streets the east/west relationship is used.

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<sup>9</sup> Masayoshi Shibatani, *The Languages of Japan*, (Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp.127-129.

# Appendix 2

## English - Japanese Glossary

**Accidental** (not arranged) **meeting**, DE-AI.

**Aesthetic area**, BIKAN CHIKU

**Alcove**, TOKO, TOKONOMA.

**Altar**, see **Buddhist altar**.

**Annexe**, HANARE. See also courtyard building.

**Asset**, see **cultural asset**.

**Austere refinement**, WABI.

**Back garden**, URANIWA.

**Back of the site**, OKU.

**Back street tenement**, URANAGAYA.

**Bath** (Japanese style), OFURO.

**Beginning of the Gion Festival**, GORYŌE.

Religious ritual of the Yasaka Shrine.

**Between**, MA, see also space concept.

**Board**, ITA.

**Board fence**, ITABEI.

**Buddha**, see Great Sun Buddha.

**Buddhist altar**, BUTSUDAN.

**Buddhist hall**, SHIDŌ.

**Buddhist temple**, see temple.

**Building with two floors**, HONNIKAI.

**Building with a low upper floor**, TSUSHI NIKAI.

**Canopy**, HISASHI.

**Capital**, RAKU. Indicates Kyoto. See also inside and outside the capital.

**Celebrate**, MATSURI.

**Cloth**, see decorative cloth.

**Common facility**, CHŌIE; CHŌKAISHO; KAISHO.

**Construction of lower eaves (Art of)**, HISASHI-TSUKURI.

**Corridor**, TŌRINIWA

**Courtyard building**, HANARE.

**Crane**, TSURU. See also pine and crane.

**Cultural asset**, BUNKAZAI.

**Cultural asset of Kyoto City**, KYOTO SHI NO BUNKAZAI.

**Curtain**, NOREN.

**Decorated shelf for tea utensils**, SHIHŌ DANA.

**Decorative cloth with the family crest**, MANMAKU.

**Deify**, MATSURI.

**Detached townhouse**, KODATE NO MACHIYA.

**Dog fence**, INUYARAI.

**Door**, see sliding door and light summer sliding door.

**Dwelling**; see textile manufacturer's dwelling.

**Dwelling plan**, see 'sleeping place of an eel'.

**Dyeing technique**, see knot dyeing technique.

**Dyeing technique for the upper part of men's festival kimono**, KOBON SOME.

**Eel**, see 'sleeping place of an eel'.

**Earth floor area**, DOMA.

**Earth floor area in front of the shop**, MISE NO DOMA.

**Eaves**, HISASHI, NOKI.

**Enshrine**, MATSURI

**Entrance**, GENKAN.

**Entrance area**, GENKAN NO MA.

**Everyday space**, KE.

**Fence**, see high fence.

**Festival**, MATSURI.

**Festival exhibition**, OKAZARIBA.

**Festival float**, HOKO.

**Festival music**, GION BAYASHI.

**Festival night**, YOIYAMA, YOIOYIYAMA.

**Firebreak wall**, UDATSU.

**Fireplace**, IRORI.

**Fireplace hook**, IRORI NO JIZAI.

**First grade cultural asset**, SHITEI.

**Flat lattice window**, HIRAKŌSHI.

**Flower arrangement**, IKEBANA.

**Folding screens**, BYŌBU.

**Fox deity**, INARI.

**Front**, OMOTE.

**Front pattern**, OMOTEBETTŌ.

**Garden**, NIWA. See also middle garden, back garden.

**Gate**. See Shinto gate.

**Gion Festival**, GION MATSURI

**Gold and silver painted screens**, KIN-GIN BYŌBU.

**Gold painting**, see Kyoto craft of gold painting.

**Great Sun Buddha**, DAINICHI NYORAI; in Sanskrit: Buddha Mahā Vairocana.

**Group of tenements**, OMOTENAGAYA.

**Guestroom**, ZASHIKI; ŌSETSUMA.

**Half-timber style**, SHINKABE.

**Height of the upper eaves**, NOKI SHITA.

**Height of the ridgepole**, MUNE TAKASA.

- Height regulations**; see height restriction area.
- Height restriction area**, KYO DAI KŌSAKUBUTSU KISEI KUIKI.
- High fence**, TAKABEI.
- 'High-fence'style**, TAKABEI TSUKURI.
- Hips wall**, KOSHIKABE.
- Historic landscape preservation area**, REKISHITEKI FŪDO HOZON CHIKU.
- Historic preservation area of national importance**, KUNI NO JŪYŌNA DENTŌTEKI KENZOBUTSU GUN HOZON CHI IKI.
- Horse fence**, KOMAYOSE.
- 'Household which has stopped trading'**, SHIMOTAYA; see also style of residence.
- Home pattern**, OIE.
- Ink painting**, SUMIE.
- Inner garden**, see small inner garden.
- Inner radiance of objects**, SHIBUI.
- Insect window**, MUSHIKO MADDO.
- Inside the capital**, RAKUCHŪ.
- Inside and outside the capital**, RAKUCHŪ-RAKUGAI.
- Interval**, MA; see also space concept.
- Internal passageway**, TŌRINIWA.
- Kitchen**, DAIDOKORO.
- Kitchen range**, KAMADO.
- Knot dyeing technique**, SHIBORI.
- Kyoto craft of gold painting**, KYŌ-SOME GINSAI KŌGEI.
- Kyoto urban landscape ordinance**, KYOTO SHI SHIGAICHI KEIKAN JŌREI.
- Kyoto townhouse**, KYŌ-MACHIYA.
- Landmark elements**, JIKKYŌ.
- Landscape preservation**; see historic landscape preservation area or, special historic landscape preservation area.
- Lane**, RŌJI.
- Lattice**, KŌSHI.
- Light bamboo mats**, TOMUSHIRO.
- Light summer sliding door**, YOSHIDŌ.
- Local shrine**, SHIDŌ.
- Low screen**, FUROSABI BYŌBU.
- Lower eaves**, see canopy.
- Lute alcove**, BIWA-TOKO.
- 'Lying' neighbourhood**, YOKOCHŌ.
- Law for the protection of cultural properties**, BUNKAZAI HOGO HŌ.
- Mat**, see straw mat.
- Measurement unit**: One KEN, 1.818 m. equals 60 SHAKU. One SHAKU equals 0.303 m. One TSUBO equals 3.78 sq. m.
- Main structure**, MOYA.
- Middle garden**, NAKANIWA.
- Mountain shape float**, YAMA.
- Moving art museum**, UGOKU BIJUTSUKAN; the decorated festival float during the festival procession.
- Music**, see festival music.
- Neighbourhood**; see standing, lying neighbourhood.
- Neighbourhood on both sides of the street**, RYŌGAWACHŌ. See also townshipp unit.
- Offer**, MATSURI.
- Open wall pattern**; the wooden lattice, *kōshi*, partitions are removed and the screen display is looked at from the street.
- Outside the capital**, RAKUGAI.
- Partition between the horizontal lintel and ceiling**, see transom window.
- Paintings which depict Kyoto inside and outside the capital**, RAKUCHŪ-RAKUGAI-E.
- Patina**, SABI.
- Piece of silk textile**, FUKUSA.
- Picture window**, YUKIMIMADO.
- Pine**, MATSU.
- Pine and crane**, MATSU, TSURU; auspicious combination.
- Pitched roof**, KŌBAI.
- Plaster**, TSUCHI, usually SEKKŌ.
- Plastered wall**, ŌKABE.
- Plastered wall style**, NURIYA TSUKURI.
- Poverty**, WABI. See also poverty and profoundness.
- Poverty and profoundness**, SABI, WABI.
- Prayers**, MATSURI.
- Preservation area**, see historic preservation area.
- Profoundness**, SHIBUI.
- Projecting lattice bay window**, DEGŌSHI.
- Public bath**, OSENTŌ.
- Rain closet**, TOBUKURO.
- Reed screen**, SUDARE.
- Rear**, OKU.
- Rear-pattern**, URABETTŌ. One of the architectural patterns of the common facility.
- Residence**, see style of residence.
- Ridgepole**, MUNE.
- Ritual**, see the beginning of the Gion Festival.
- Roof**, YANE.
- Roof tile**, KAWARA.
- Roof tile in Buddhist temples, public buildings and storehouses**, HONGAWARA.
- Roof tile in ordinary townhouses**, SANGAWARA.

- Room in the front of the house**, OMOTE NO MA.  
**Room in the middle of the house**, NAKA NO MA.  
**Room in the rear of the house**, OKUNOMA.  
**Room with a fireplace**, IRORINOMA.  
**Room with a workshop function**, MISENOMA.  
**Sacred**, HARE.  
**Sacred and everyday space**, HARE and KE.  
**Sales bench**, BATTARISHOGI.  
**Sales stand**, MISEDANA.  
**Sand and stone garden**, KARESANSUI.  
**Scenic zone**, FŪCHI CHIKU.  
**School district**, MOTOGAKKU.  
**Screen**, see folding screens.  
**Screen Festival**, BYŌBU MATSURI.  
**Second grade cultural asset**, TŌROKU.  
**Selling room**, URIBA.  
**Shelf**, TANA.  
**Shinto gate**, TORII  
**Shop**, MISE; TENPO.  
**Shop sign**, KANBAN.  
**Shop sign architecture**, KANBAN KEN-CHIKU.  
**Short curtain**, see curtain.  
**Shrine**, JINJA.  
**Silk textile**, see a piece of.  
**Simplicity**, SHIBUI.  
**Sliding door**, FUSUMA. See also light summer sliding door.  
**'Sleeping place of an eel'**, UNAGI NO NEDOKO.  
**Slope**, KŌBAI.  
**Small inner garden**, Tsuboniwa.  
**Solid screen of wood**, TSUITATE.  
**Space concept**, MA. See also interval.  
**Special historic landscape preservation area**, REKISHITEKI FŪDO TOKUBETSU HOZON CHIKU.  
**Straw mat**, TATAMI.  
**'Standing' neighbourhood**, TATECHŌ.  
**Storehouse**, KURA, DOZŌ.  
**Storehouse for the festival float**, HOKO-GURA.  
**Storehouse style**, DOZŌ-TSUKURI.  
**Street elevation pattern**, OMOTEYA TSUKURI (NO) MACHIYA.  
**Street elevation pattern of common facility**, OMOTEYA.  
**Streetscape**, KAIRŌKEIKAN  
**Stripe pattern**, TANZAKU.  
**Style**, see *sukiya*-style, Japanese-English glossary, Appendix 1.  
**Style of residence**, SHIMOTAYA.  
**Taste for the simple and quiet**, WABI.  
**Tea ceremony room**, CHASHITSU.  
**Temple**, JI, TERA, DERA.  
**Tenanted terraced house**, NAGAYA.  
**Tenement, tenanted house**, SHAKUYA.  
**'Ten stages'**, see landmark elements.  
**Textile manufacturer's dwelling**, SHŌBAI.  
**Thirty-five *hoko* neighbourhoods**, YAMAHOKOCHŌ or HOKOMACHI.  
**Tile**, see roof tile.  
**Toilet** (Japanese style), OTEARAI.  
**Townhouse**, MACHIYA. See also, Kyoto townhouse; detached townhouse.  
**Township unit**, CHŌ.  
**Transom window**, RANMA.  
**Urban festival**, SAIREI.  
**Urban festival that favours accidental meeting**, DE-AI NO MATSURI.  
**Waiting room**, MACHIAI SHITSU.  
**Well**, IDŌ.  
**Width of the house**, MAGUCHI.  
**Window**, see insect window; lattice.  
**Window writing alcove**, SHOIN.  
**Wooden blank**, ITA.  
**Wooden structural parts**, MOKUBU.  
**Wooden wall**, ITABEI.  
**Working space**, MISE, MISENOMA  
**Worship**, MATSURI.  
**Writing desk**, see window writing alcove.  
**Writing room**, KAKOBU.

## Appendix 3

The Names of the *Hoko* Neighbourhoods and Their Festival Floats

Neighbourhood	Float
Banochō, 場之町	Suzukayama, 鈴鹿山
Ennogyōjachō, 役行者町	Ennogyōjayama, 役行者町
Koromotanachō, 衣棚町	Takayama, 鷹山 *
Ebōshachō, 烏帽子屋町	Kuronushiyama, 黒主山
Sanjōchō, 三条町	Hachimanyama, 八幡山
Honeyachō, 骨屋町	Jōmyōyama, 浄妙山
Koiyamachō, 鯉山町	Koiyama, 鯉山
Rokkakuchō, 六角町	Kitakannonyama, 北観音山
Hashibenkeichō, 橋弁慶町	Hashibenkeiyama, 橋弁慶山
Ubayanagichō, 姥柳町	Hoteiyama, 布袋山 *
Yamabushiyamachō, 山伏山町	Yamabushiyama, 山伏山
Mukadeyachō, 百足屋町	Minamikannon- yama, 南観音山
Uradeyamachō, 占出山町	Uradeyama, 占出山
Tenjinyamachō, 天神山町	Araretenjinyama, 霰天神山
Takannachō, 筭町	Mōsōyama, 孟宗山
Kikusuihokocho, 菊水鉾町	Kikusuihoko, 菊水鉾
Komusubidanachō, 小結棚町	Hōkahoko, 放下鉾
Tōrōyamachō, 螻蛄山町	Tōrōyama, 螻蛄山
Naginatahokochō, 長刀鉾町	Naginatahoko, 長刀鉾
Kankohokochō, 函谷鉾町	Kankohoko, 函谷鉾
Tsukihokochō, 月鉾長	Tsukihoko, 月鉾

Kakkyoyamachō, 郭巨山町	Kakkyoyama, 郭巨山
Kasahokochō, 傘鉾町	Shijōkasahoko, 四条傘鉾
Niwatorihokochō, 鶏鉾長	Niwatorihoko, 鶏鉾
Shijōchō, 四条町	Gaisenfunehoko, 凱旋船鉾 *
Zenchōjichō, 善長寺町	Ayagasahoko, 綾傘鉾
Yatachō, 矢田町	Hakugayama, 伯牙山
Ashikariyamachō, 芦刈山町	Ashikariyama, 芦刈山
Hakurakutenchō, 白樂天町	Hakurakutenyama, 白樂天山
Funehokochō, 船鉾町	Funehoko, 船鉾
Kazahayachō, 風早町	Aburatenjinyama, 油天神山
Tokusayamachō, 木賊山町	Tokusayama, 木賊山
Iwatoyamachō, 岩戸山町	Iwatoyama, 岩戸山
Taishiyamachō, 太子山町	Taishiyama, 太子山
Tōrōchō, 灯籠町	Hoshōyama, 保昌山

\* burnt down

Source: *Nihon Rekishi Chimei Taikei* (Historical Place Names of Japan), Heibonsha

# Appendix 4

## Statistics Collected in Yamahokochō

Table 1. Population in 1950–1990. The categories A, B, C and D refer to the population profiles as explained in Chapter 18. x) refers to the number of new multi-storey residential buildings.

Hoko neighbourhood	Categ.	Number of residents								x)
		1950	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
Takannachō	A	55	34	23	9	7	5	2	–	0
Kankohokochō	A	101	49	35	34	17	–	1	1	0
Naginatahokochō	A	47	35	33	78	14	13	10	2	0
Yamabushiyamachō	A	164	141	70	24	17	17	17	14	0
Kikusuihokochō	A	67	87	77	58	40	33	25	18	0
Niwatorihokochō	B	95	118	98	76	45	41	36	18	0
Ebōshachō	B	139	157	95	66	55	34	34	24	0
Hashibenkeichō	B	111	177	123	89	53	30	29	27	0
Ennogyōjachō	B	168	169	144	94	65	49	37	25	0
Koromotanachō	B	173	168	119	93	55	53	51	43	0
Uradeyamachō	B	160	191	129	107	75	68	47	41	0
Tsukihokochō	B	152	145	106	100	74	69	48	41	0
Kakkyoyamachō	B	128	134	125	115	102	81	72	46	0
Honeyachō	B	146	146	129	118	91	88	65	55	0
Tōrōyamachō	B	203	239	188	148	118	106	105	44	2
Ubanagichō	B	164	150	103	80	68	63	63	57	1
Rokkakuchō	B	202	191	153	107	100	88	76	64	0
Kasahokochō	B	186	190	150	118	94	87	84	69	0
Koiyamachō	B	174	223	167	142	66	56	49	50	0
Komusubidanachō	B	173	191	149	143	96	85	72	66	1
Iwatoyamachō	B	212	251	232	222	160	118	88	86	1
Ashikariyamachō	C	263	246	220	191	172	161	134	113	0
Mukadeyachō	C	379	364	327	264	214	179	146	131	0
Tōrōchō	C	311	328	297	229	194	186	163	138	0
Tenjinyamachō	D	94	148	94	81	44	39	30	46	2
Banochō	D	65	63	46	20	13	8	56	42	1
Zenchōjichō	D	189	172	138	106	85	69	80	98	4
Hakurakutenchō	D	149	236	149	114	74	56	86	109	1
Tokusayamachō	D	218	276	263	271	202	187	149	170	1
Funehokochō	D	231	265	252	212	116	101	82	115	3
Sanjochō	D	300	327	298	253	181	146	144	146	3
Yatachō	D	163	156	184	165	173	181	134	134	4
Shijochō	D	273	316	302	264	206	130	120	142	2
Taishiyamachō	D	255	251	221	203	170	147	120	253	2
Kazahayachō	D	376	404	354	277	228	209	243	230	4
<b>Total</b>		<b>6286</b>	<b>6738</b>	<b>5593</b>	<b>4671</b>	<b>3484</b>	<b>2983</b>	<b>2698</b>	<b>2658</b>	<b>32</b>



Table 2. The Sugiura display. Content of the display in 1991.

No	Room	Displayed article	Placing	Size, mm	Colour	Comments
1	Mise-noma, shop	six leaved screen	in the middle	550*	black and white	'Sansui' mountain landscape
2	"	six leaved screen	left	465*	blue	'Takuho' Chinese calendar
3	"	two leaved screen	right	750*	black and white	Chinese horoscope animals. Horse and monkey
4	"	a pair of mats		1780 x 920	blue	
5	"	table	right corner	470 x 270 h=210		
6	"	Japanese doll	right corner	h=560		'Jingu kogo', a symbolical figure in the Gion Festival. The doll is a family heirloom.
7	"	picture scroll	right corner		black and white	The theme is Naginatahoko, the first float in the procession.
8	"	flower vase and flower arrangement	right corner		blue	Vase of Chinese style. Blue and white flowers.
9	"	wooden plate	right		brown	Under the flower vase
10	"	tobacco box	tatami			Tobacco box
11	Zasshiki, guest room	a low screen	south-west corner	430* h = 850	red	Momoyama style
12	"	a two leaved screen	south-east	720* h=1520		Prints of Hiroshige. Topics: 53 views on Tokaido
13	"	picture scroll	toko-noma			Theme of O'bon Festival
14	"	ikebana	toko-noma			
15	"	incense vessel and stand	toko-noma			
16	"	vase	toko-noma			
17	Entrance	ikebana				
18	Outdoors	festival lantern	under the eaves			
19	"	bench				

\* width of one leave (screen)

THE FIGURES

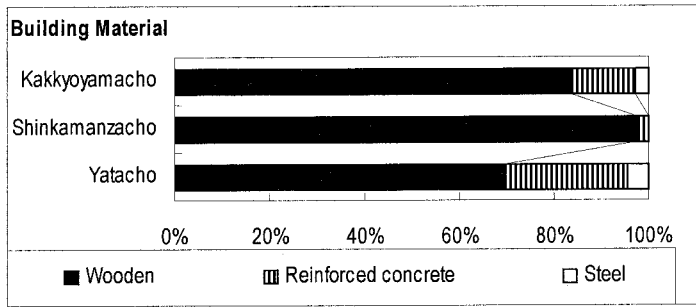


Fig.1. Building material in 97 buildings, of which 23 were in Yatachō, 38 in Shinkamanza-chō and 36 in Kakkyoyamachō.

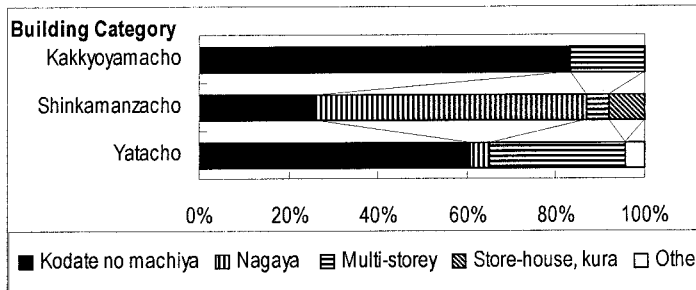


Fig.2. Building category in 97 buildings, of which 23 were in Yatachō, 38 in Shinkamanza-chō and 36 in Kakkyoyamachō.

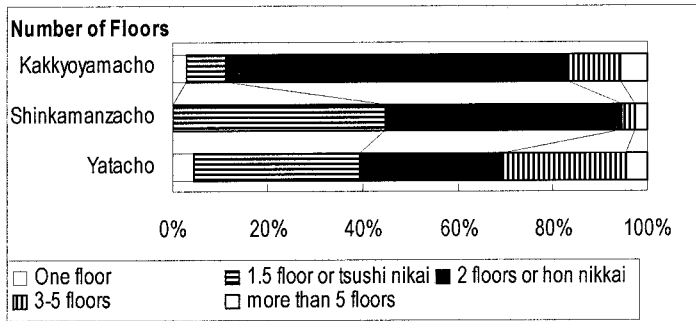


Fig.3. Number of floors in 97 buildings, of which 23 were in Yatachō, 38 in Shinkamanza-chō and 36 in Kakkyoyamachō.

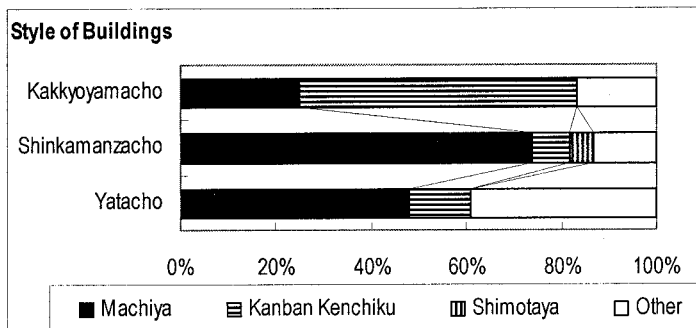


Fig.4. The style of 97 buildings, of which 23 were in Yatachō, 38 in Shinkamanza-chō and 36 in Kakkyoyamachō.

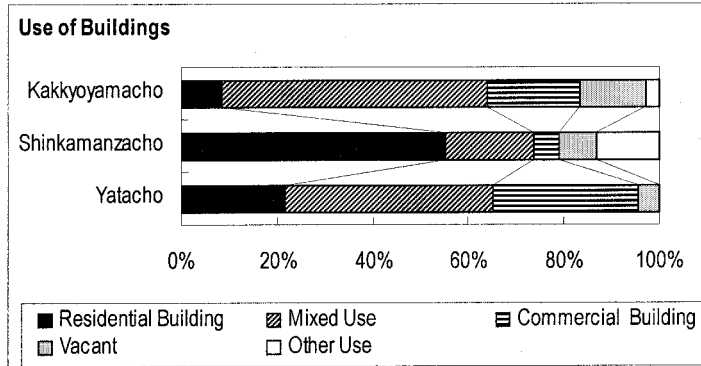


Fig.5. The use of 97 buildings, of which 23 were in Yatachō, 38 in Shinkamanzachō and 36 in Kakkyoyamachō.

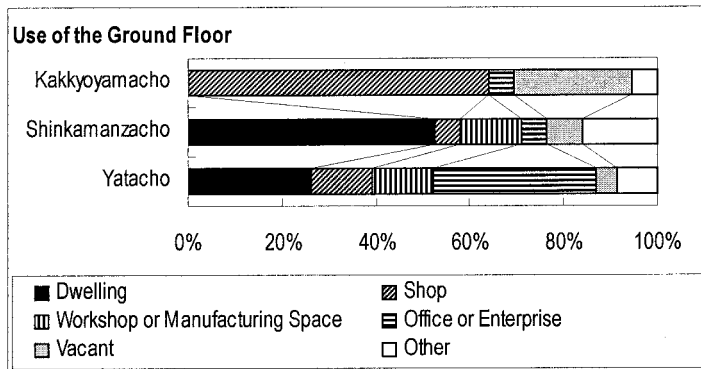


Fig.6. The use of ground floor in 97 buildings, of which 23 were in Yatachō, 38 in Shinka-manzachō and 36 in Kakkyo-yamachō.

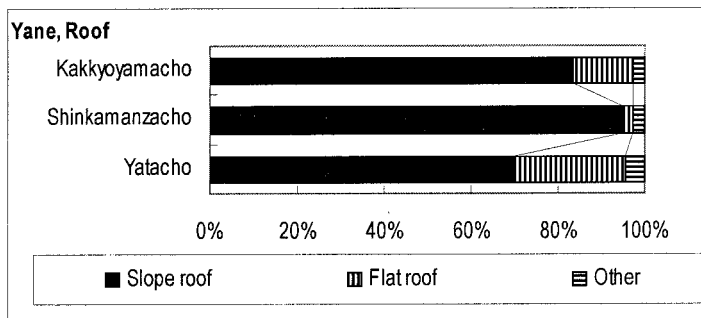


Fig.7. The roof shape in 97 buildings, of which 23 were in Yatachō, 38 in Shinkamanza-chō and 36 in Kakkyoyamachō.

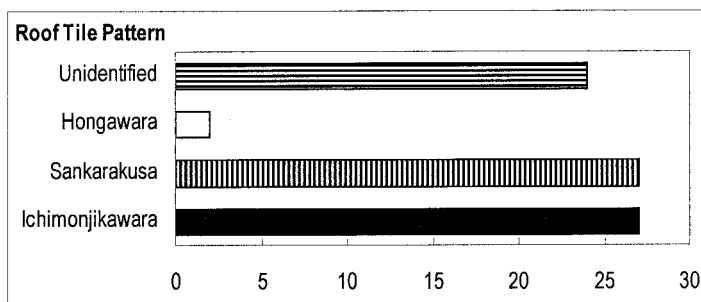


Fig.8. The roof tile patterns in all the 80 tile roofs in Yama-hokochō.

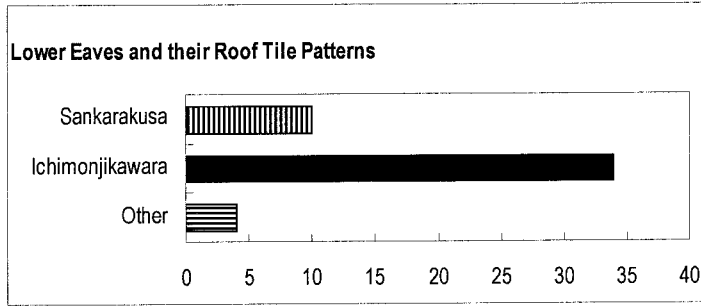


Fig.9. The lower eaves and their roof tile patterns in all the 48 buildings with canopy in Yamahokochō.

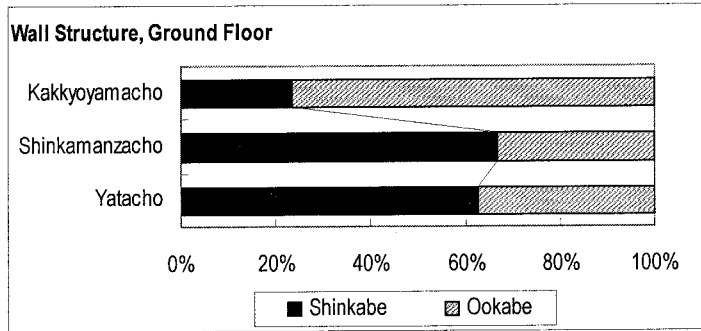


Fig.10. The wall structure in ground floor of 82 buildings, of which 16 were in Yatachō, 36 in Shinkamanzachō and 30 in Kakkyoyamachō.

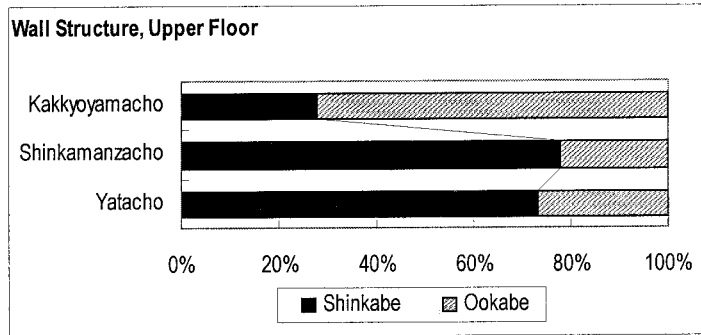


Fig.11. The wall structure in ground floor of 80 buildings, of which 15 were in Yatachō, 36 in Shinkamanzachō and 29 in Kakkyoyamachō.

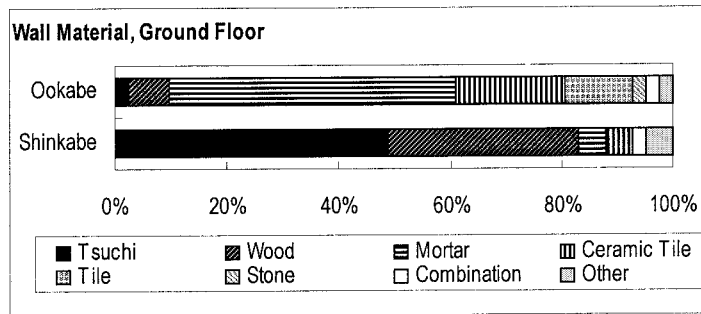


Fig.12. The wall material in ground floor of 82 buildings in Yamahokochō

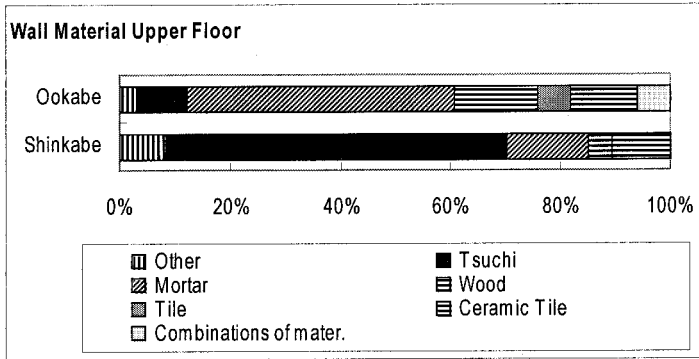


Fig.13. The wall material in upper floors of 75 buildings in Yamahoko-chō.

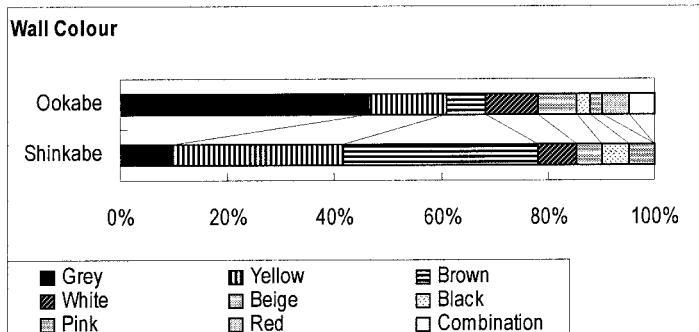


Fig.14. The wall colour of 82 buildings in Yamahokochō.

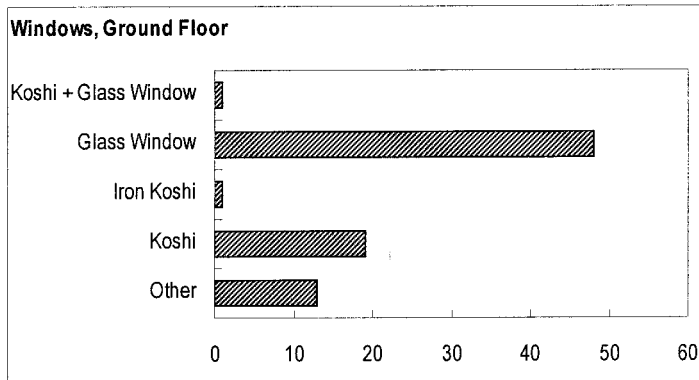


Fig.15. The windows in ground floors of 82 buildings in Yamahokochō.

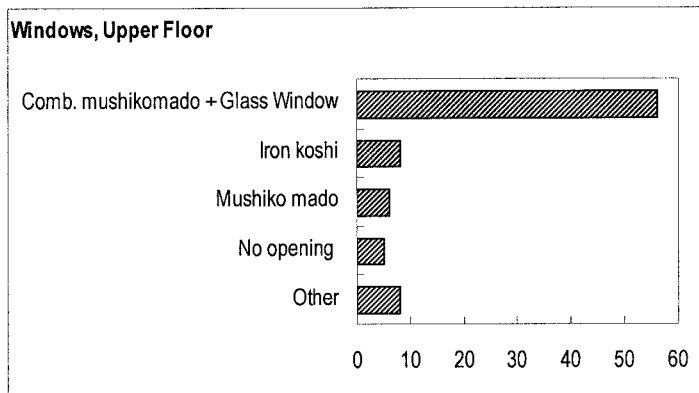


Fig.16. The windows in upper floors of 83 buildings in Yamahokochō.

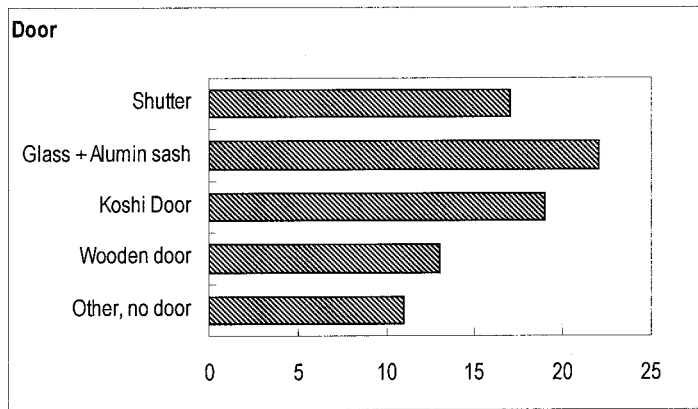


Fig.17. The doors of 71 buildings in Yamahokochō.

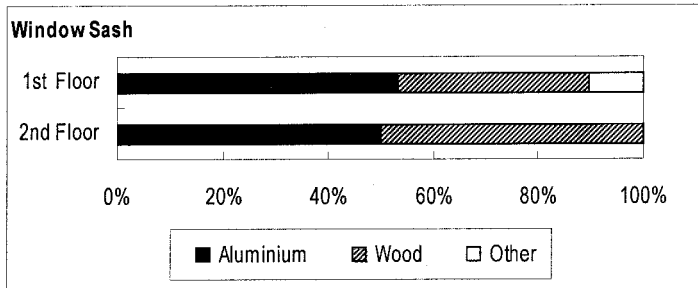


Fig.18. The types of sash in 64 buildings in Yamahokochō.

# Appendix 5

## The Screen Festival, Survey Form

Kyoto University, Faculty of Architecture,  
 Laboratory of Prof. Koji Nishikawa  
 Surveying Person:

Date:

1 NAME:

2 ADDRESS:

2.1 Neighbourhood

2.2 North/south/east/west side of the street

3 STRUCTURE: Wooden/reinforced concrete

3.1 Number of floors, 1.5 floors, 2 floors, 3–5 floors, more than 5 floors

4 USE OF BUILDING: Dwelling/enterprise/other

4.1 Profile of display: Home/enterprise/other

5 PROFILE OF ENTERPRISE:

5.1 Traditional industry/other

6 PLACE OF DISPLAY:

6.1 *Misenoma*, room next to the street

6.2 Tatami room inside the house

6.3 Entrance hall, *tōriniwa*

6.4 Show window

7 LOOKING PATTERN:

7.1 Shop-entrance, *misenoma-tōriniwa* pattern

7.2 Frontal entrance pattern

7.3 Home, *oie* pattern

7.4 Street pattern

8 PARTITION:

8.1 Glass window/door

8.2 Open glass window/door

8.3 Wooden *kōshi*, lattice partition

9 DISPLAY YEAR

9.1 1991

9.2 1992

9.3 1991 and 1992

10 GENERAL PROFILE OF DISPLAYED ARTICLES

10.1 Family heirloom

10.2 Related to family business

10.3 Other

11 DISPLAYED ARTICLES

11.1 Screens

11.1 Kimono or kimono related articles

11.2 Wooden hoko model

11.3 Flower arrangement

11.4 Other

12 SCREENS

12.1 Size and number of the screens

12.2 Genre/topics of the screen

## Appendix 6

### List of the Screen Displays - Byōbu Matsuri 屏風祭

No. 1 Nakao なかお

住所: 錦小路新町東いる北側 天神山町

Address: Nishikikōji Shinmachi Higashi Iru Kitagawa Tenjinyamachō

No. 2 Furukawa 古川

住所: 錦小路新町東いる南側天神山町

Address: Nishikikōji Shinmachi Higashi Iru Minamigawa Tenjinyamachō

No. 3 Nakanishi 中西

住所: 錦小路新町東いる北側天神山町

Address: Nishikikōji Shinmachi Higashi Iru Kitagawa Tenjinyamachō

No. 4 Ikegaki 池垣

住所: 新町錦小路上がる西側 百足屋町

Address: Shinmachi Nishikikōji Agaru Nishigawa Mukadeyachō

No. 5 Kyoto Chuō Bank 京都中央信用銀行

住所: 四条烏丸西いる北側観光鉾町

Address: Shijo Karasuma Nishi Iru Kitagawa Kankohokochō

No. 6 Imae 今江

住所: 蛸薬師新町東いる北側姥柳町

Address: Takoyakushi Shinmachi Higashi Iru Kitagawa Ubayanagichō

No. 7 Kitagawa 北川

住所: 新町錦小路上がる西いる百足屋

Address: Shinmachi Nishikikōji Agaru Nishi Iru Mukadeyachō

No. 8 Yoshida 吉田

住所: 綾小路西の洞院西いる北側芦刈山町

Address: Ayanokōji Nishi no Tōin Nishi Iru Kitagawa Ashikariyamachō

No. 9 Matsuya 松屋

住所: 綾小路西の洞院西いる北側芦刈山町

Address: Ayanokōji Nishi no Tōin Nishi Iru Kitagawa Ashikariyamachō

No. 10 Aoki 青木

住所: 綾小路西の洞院西いる南側芦刈山町

Address: Ayanokōji Nishi no Tōin Nishi Iru Minamigawa Ashikariyamachō

No. 11 Yamada 山田

住所: 綾小路 西の洞院 西いる南側 芦刈山町

Address: Ayanokōji Nishi no Tōin Nishi Iru Minamigawa Ashikariyamachō

No. 12 Maruwa 丸和

住所: 綾小路西の洞院西いる南側芦刈山町

Address: Ayanokōji Nishi no Tōin Nishi Iru Minamigawa Ashikariyamachō

No. 13 Ueno 上野

住所: 錦小路烏丸西いる北側占出山町

Address: Nishikikōji Karasuma Nishi Iru Kitagawa Uradeyamachō

No. 14 Moritaka 森孝

住所: 新町綾小路下がる東側船鉾町

Address: Shinmachi Ayanokōji Sagaru Higashigawa Funehokochō

No. 15 Choji 丁字

住所: 油の小路綾小路下がる東側風早町

Address: Aburanokōji Ayanokōji Sagaru Higashigawa Kazahayachō

No. 16 Mimuro みむろ

住所: 油の小路綾小路下がる東側風早町

Address: Aburanokōji Ayanokōji Sagaru Higashigawa Kazahayachō

No. 17 Matsuuma 松馬

住所: 新町四条下がる西側 四条町

Address: Shinmachi Shijo Sagaru Nishigawa Shijōchō

No. 18 Kizaki 木崎

住所: 新町仏光寺下がる東側岩戸山町

Address: Shinmachi Bukkōji Sagaru Higashigawa Iwatoyamachō

No. 19 Nakamura 中村

住所: 室町綾小路下がる西側白楽天町

Address: Muromachi Ayanokōji Sagaru Nishigawa Hakurakutenchō

No. 20 Kawarazaki 河原崎

住所: 室町綾小路下がる西側白楽天町

Address: Muromachi Ayanokōji Sagaru Nishigawa Hakurakutenchō

No. 21 Eibien 栄美苑

住所: 室町綾小路下がる西側白楽天町

Address: Muromachi Ayanokōji Sagaru Nishigawa



Hakurakutenchō

No. 22 Fukui 福井

住所: 室町綾小路下がる西側白楽天町  
Address: Muromachi Ayanokōji Sagaru Nishigawa  
Hakurakutenchō

No. 23 Yamashin 山新

住所: 室町綾小路下がる東側白楽天町  
Address: Muromachi Ayanokōji Sagaru Higashigawa  
Hakurakutenchō

No. 24 Arakawa 荒川

住所: 室町綾小路下がる東側白楽天町  
Address: Muromachi Ayanokōji Sagaru Higashigawa  
Hakurakutenchō

No. 25 Koizumi 小泉

住所: 室町綾小路下がる西側白楽天町  
Address: Muromachi Ayanokōji Sagaru Nishigawa  
Hakurakutenchō

No. 26 Ichida 市田

住所: 室町綾小路下がる東側白楽天町  
Address: Muromachi Ayanokōji Sagaru Higashigawa  
Hakurakutenchō

No. 27 Matsuzakaya 松坂屋

住所: 新町蛸薬師上がる東側六角町  
Address: Shinmachi Takoyakushi Agaru Higashigawa  
Rokkakuchō

No. 28 Kojiro Yoshida 吉田

住所: 新町蛸薬師上がる西側六角町  
Address: Shinmachi Takoyakushi Agaru Nishigawa  
Rokkakuchō

No. 29 Toho 東邦

住所: 新町蛸薬師上がる西側六角町  
Address: Shinmachi Takoyakushi Agaru Nishigawa  
Rokkakuchō

No. 30 Konda こん田

住所: 室町六角町上がる西側烏帽子屋町  
Address: Muromachi Rokkaku Agaru Nishigawa  
Ebōshachō

No. 31 Chikitsi 千古

住所: 三条新町西いる北側衣棚町  
Address: Sanjo Shinmachi Nishi Iru Kitagawa  
Koromotanachō

No. 32 Komatsu 小松

住所: 室町三条上がる西側役行者町  
Address: Muromachi Sanjo Agaru Nishigawa  
Ennogyōjachō

No.33 Ban 伴

住所: 六角烏丸西いる南側骨屋町

Address: Rokkaku Karasuma Nishi Iru Minamigawa  
Honeyachō

No.34 Iwata 岩田

住所: 烏丸三条上がる西側場之町  
Address: Karasuma Sanjo Agaru Nishigawa Banochō

No. 35 Araki あらき

住所: 烏丸三条上がる西側場之町  
Address: Karasuma Sanjo Agaru Nishigawa Banochō

No. 36 Jumatsu

住所: 烏丸三条上がる西側場之町  
Address: Karasuma Sanjo Agaru Nishigawa Banochō

No. 37 Kawakatsu 川勝

住所: 三条烏丸上がる西側場之町  
Address: Karasuma Sanjo Agaru Nishigawa Banochō

No. 38 Itariyard イタリヤド

住所: 室町蛸薬師上がる東いる鯉山町  
Address: Muromachi Takoyakushi Agaru Higashi Iru  
Koiyamachō

No. 39 Matsumi 松見

住所: 油の小路錦小路上がる西いる山田町  
Address: Aburanokōji Nishikikōji Agaru Nishi Iru,  
Yamadachō

No. 40 Fujino 藤野

住所: 高辻通 西の痘院西いる北側えいようじ町  
Address: Takatsūji Nishi no Tōin Nishi Iru Kitagawa,  
Eiyōjichō

No. 41 Morii 森井

住所: 仏光寺通 西の洞院東いる南側管大臣町  
Address: Bukkōji Nishi no Tōin Higashi Iru  
Minamigawa, Kandaijinchō

No. 42 Sakane 坂根

住所: 新釜座 四条上がる東いるすみのぎ町  
Address: Shinkamanza Shijo Agaru Higashi Iru,  
Suminogichō

No. 43 Miyagawa 宮川

住所: 新釜座 四条上がる東いるすみのぎ町  
Address: Shinkamanza Shijo Agaru Higashi Iru  
Suminogichō

No. 44 Sugiura 杉浦

住所: 新釜座 四条下がる東いる新釜座町  
Address: Shinkamanza Shijo Sagaru Higashi Iru Shin-  
kamanzachō

No. 45 Yasuda 安田

住所: 烏丸錦小路上がる東いる手洗水町  
Address: Karasuma Nishikikōji Agaru Higashi Iru

## Tearaimizuchō

No. 46 Ichihara 市原  
 住所: 室町仏光寺下がる東いる さんおう町  
 Address: Muromachi Bukkōji Sagaru Higashi Iru  
 Sannōchō

No. 47 Keimei 敬明  
 住所: 仏光寺烏丸西いる南側くぎかくし町  
 Address: Bukkōji Karasuma Nishi Iru Minamigawa  
 Kugikakushichō

No. 48 Kyoto Hotel 京都ホテル  
 住所: 烏丸綾小路下がる西いる二帖半敷町  
 Address: Karasuma Ayanokōji Sagaru Nishi Iru  
 Nijōhanshikichō

No. 49 Shimizu 漬水  
 住所: 六角新町東いる南側 玉蔵町  
 Address: Rokkaku Shinmachi Higashi Iru Minamigawa  
 Tamakurachō

No. 50 Matsushita 松下  
 住所: 新町三条上がる西いる町頭町  
 Address: Shinmachi Sanjo Agaru Nishi Iru  
 Machikashirachō

No. 51 Hirai 平井  
 住所: 新町三条上がる東いる 町頭町  
 Address: Shinmachi Sanjo Agaru Higashi Iru  
 Machikashirachō

No. 52 Garuri? がるり?  
 住所: 蛸薬師新町西いる北側不動町  
 Address: Takoyakushi Shinmachi Nishi Iru Kitagawa  
 Fudōchō

No. 53 Senso 千総  
 住所: 三条室町西いる南側御倉町  
 Address: Sanjo Muromachi Nishi Iru Minamigawa  
 Okurachō

No. 54 Kamata 蒲田  
 住所: 錦小路新町西いる南側錦小路町  
 Address: Nishikikōji Shinmachi Nishi Iru Minamigawa  
 Nishikikojichō

No. 55 Nagai ながい  
 住所: 錦小路西の洞院西いる北側町空や町  
 Address: Nishikikōji Nishi no Tōin Nishi Iru Kitagawa  
 Kūyachō

No. 56 Yasuda Fire 安田  
 住所: 烏丸錦小路上がる西側手洗い水町  
 Address: Karasuma Nishikikōji Agaru Nishigawa  
 Tearaimizuchō