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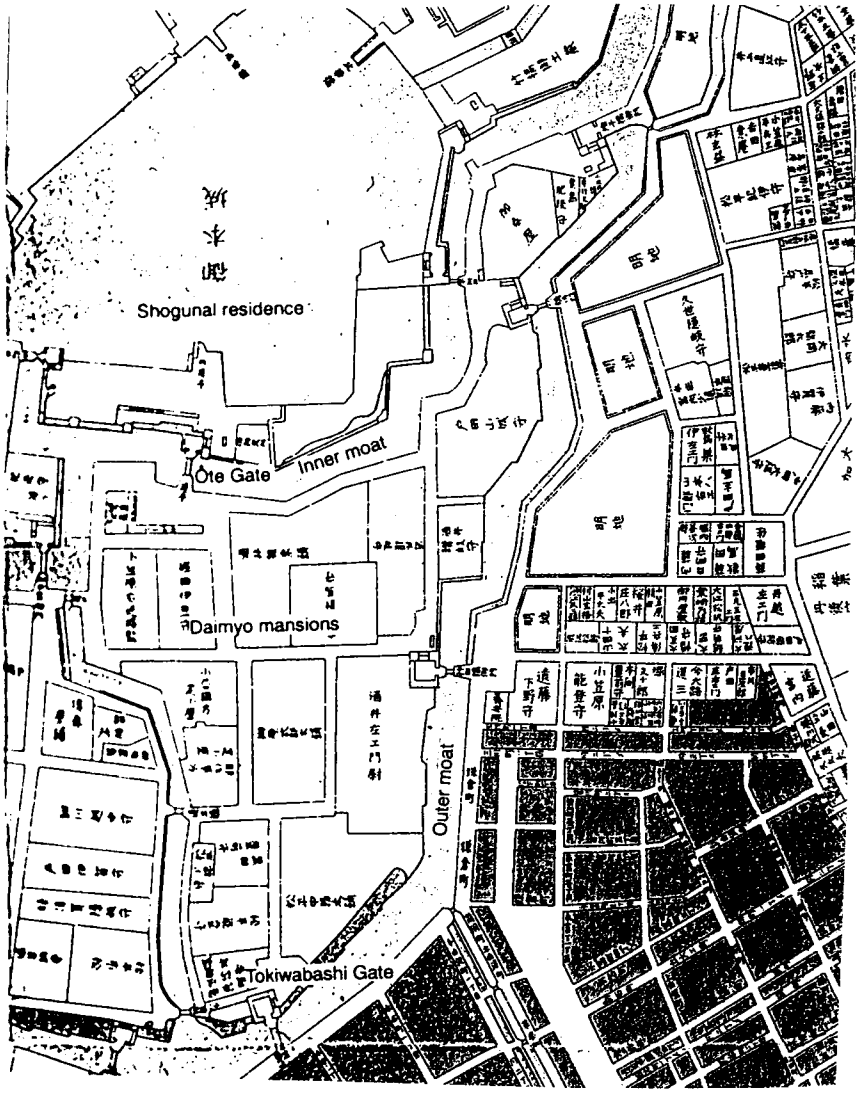

Figure 19 Section of a map of Edo from the Kyōhō era (1716–36) showing the Tokiwabashi gate at the outer moat in the lower part and the Ōtemon gate at the inner moat in the upper part of the map. Note the *masukata* shape of the gates and the fact that the roads do not lead to the gates in a straight line. From Tōkyō shiyakusho (ed.), *Tōkyōshi shikō*, reprint 1994, 1: 121.

Long avenues with imposing vistas were not unknown in Japan. They were present in the layout of the old imperial capitals, Buddhist monasteries, and especially Shinto shrines. The long approach from the sea to Sumiyoshi Taisha at Sakai, as it existed in the Tokugawa period, furnishes an example.

A long avenue of stone lanterns marked by *torii* (ceremonial gates) and bridges – the last of which was (and still is) extremely difficult to cross with its semi-circular arch – led the visitor's gaze to the shrine.

That the shogunate was not oblivious of the need to remind the populace of its authority is indicated by the role assigned to Nihonbashi, the so-called Bridge of Japan. All distances throughout the realm were measured in relation to this bridge at the centre of Edo. Thus even in the remotest part of the country, road signs indicated the precise distance between the ruler and his subjects. But here again, no attempt was made to express political authority in spatial design. The bridge spanned an irregular arm of the complex moat system, which ended up like a twisted appendix, leading vaguely in the direction of the castle. After the Meireki fire, temples and domestic dwellings were relocated away from the crowded centre of the city, roads were redesigned and widened. The necessity for open spaces as firebreaks was clearly perceived, yet no steps were taken to incorporate the famous bridge in an impressive design, with magnificent vistas towards the seat of authority to impress the throngs of people who passed over it daily.

In Paris the construction of the Place Dauphine was financed by merchants, providing residences for the most successful of them closer to the palace. In Edo the commoners, making up over fifty per cent of the city's population, were crowded on some sixteen per cent of the available land. Rather than encourage merchants to invest in stately buildings and squares paying homage to the glory of the ruler, the government punished them and stripped them of their riches if they dared to display their wealth. While urban design in seventeenth-century Paris was meant to enable the monarch to display his wealth and authority and gather the most deserving of his subjects around him, in Edo it attempted to conceal and seclude those in power.

Henry Smith suggests rightly that 'the idea of the city must be approached within a framework of the changing structure of political and economic power' (Smith 1979: 53). The political power of the rulers of Edo and Paris has been approximated, yet the 'idea of the city' varies greatly. In view of this difference, the political function and authority of the Tokugawa *bakufu* must be reexamined.

The Political Function of the Tokugawa *Bakufu* and Edo

Function and Architecture

In his fine study William H. Coaldrake (1996) has shown the link between architecture and authority in early modern Japan. Indeed, architecture as a display of the power to harness the labour and material goods of others has been evident from the dawn of history, expressing itself most succinctly in mortuary monuments, be they the pyramids of Egypt, the enormous stone

slabs that make up the mortuary chambers of prehistoric Avebury in Wiltshire, or the large key-shaped tumuli after which the Japanese Kofun period (250–593) is named. These mausoleums, as also the temples at Nikkō, built to commemorate the first and third Tokugawa shoguns, served important ideological and spiritual purposes. But they had, in the strict sense of the word, no practical function. Yet it is the very functionalism of pre-modern Japanese architecture which struck Western visitors to Japan like Bruno Taut, a functionalism that was neglected in Europe. There, not only in the construction of monuments for the dead but also of those for the living, the display of authority was no longer just a by-product of the structure's function but increasingly a means to an end. It was this burden of symbolic and evocative non-functional form which the architects and designers of the Bauhaus attempted to liberate themselves from. The Bauhaus considered itself unique and avant-garde, but Taut saw otherwise when he found that these ideals had already been translated into architectural form in the seventeenth-century Katsura detached villa outside Kyoto (Naitō 1977: 7).

When studying Japanese early modern architecture of a non-religious nature, this functionalism cannot be neglected. Thus while the famous 'goose-flight' patterned layout of the Tokugawa's Nijō Castle in Kyoto no doubt 'heightened the importance of each separate building and provided opportunity for effective use of a sequence of partial revelations for intensifying the dramatic effect of progressing through the building' (Coaldrake 1996: 155), it also had important practical functions. For it not only provided a maximum amount of daylight for every chamber, but also meant that fires – be they accidental or arson – were easier to contain. The gravel which covered the ground of the gardens surrounding each section permitted no visitor to arrive by stealth, and the long corridors with their famous squeaking 'nightingale' floor boards, made necessary by this layout, served the same purpose.

I would like to suggest that the functional component was also a major factor in the urban planning of Edo, not only at the inception of the city but throughout the Tokugawa period.

Edo's Function and the Authority of the Bakufu

Edo's function was, of course, to be a base for rule over Japan. Both the actual record of events and Tokugawa documents tell us that the hegemony exercised political control over the Japanese islands for more than two hundred and fifty years. On the basis of historical sources, historians have concluded that the authority exercised by the *bakufu* was comprehensive, and that military challenge to the regime ended with the siege of Shimabara in 1637–38 (McClain and Ugawa 1994: 460). However, while no scholar would assess the political strength of a modern authoritarian regime on the

basis of sources furnished by the government and its supporters, this is what has happened in the case of the Tokugawa. The overwhelming bulk of primary sources available today were written either by those in the employ of the *bakufu* or by men within its ideological orbit. When one adds to this the fact that the historical record was kept primarily for didactic purposes, it becomes obvious why caution is necessary. As Arai Hakuseki (1657–1725) stated, 'Write in history only what is worthy of the record.' If Hakuseki was of the opinion that 'the shame' of the sixth shogun Ienobu dancing Noh should not be recorded in history (Knox 1902: 146; Wildman Nakai 1981: 182), one cannot help but wonder what other incidents of 'shame' were omitted from the record.

Thus, for instance, when the Dutch on Deshima were told in 1680 that a fierce civil war was likely to occur over the question of who was to succeed the dying fourth shogun Ietsuna (1641–80) (Coolhaas 1971: IV, 366), there is no indication of an impending crisis in the otherwise detailed record in the *Tokugawa jikki*, the records of the Tokugawa *bakufu*. The chronicle notes the rumour that the Grand Councillor (*tairō*) Sakai Tadakiyo (1624–81) intended to install an imperial prince as successor instead of Tsunayoshi (1646–1709), the lawful heir as the younger brother of the childless shogun (Kuroita 1976: 5, 354B). But it does not elaborate on the dissent this caused beyond noting without explanation that two days prior to the shogun's death additional guards had been assigned to the Ōte and Sakurada gates of Edo castle, through which the *daimyō* passed (Kuroita 1976: 5, 337B).

When Engelbert Kaempfer visited Japan some ten years later, his Japanese informers told him that the *daimyō* were not content with their subordinate role but 'were thirsting for political authority' (1712: 495). One of the few remaining sources documenting *daimyō* unwillingness to accept *bakufu* commands is a letter by Ikeda Mitsumasa (1609–82) addressed to Sakai Tadakiyo. In it he explicitly cautioned that in the past unjust oppression inevitably led to revolt. He pointed to a number of recent popular uprisings and suggested point blank that even the *daimyō* themselves might rebel (Bodart-Bailey 1993: 310). This letter is contained in Mitsumasa's personal diary of events. However, at the height of the conflict between *daimyō* and *bakufu*, the diary suddenly breaks off. Did it perhaps contain matter that the guardians of the record, historians like Hakuseki, considered 'shameful,' and therefore best to eliminate?

Scholars have argued that Tokugawa legitimacy, and hence its authority, rested on the mandate to govern received from the emperor and on the Confucian concept of *kōgi*, the government's concern with the public good (McClain and Merriman 1994: 10). However, even some nine decades after the event, Ieyasu was portrayed as a usurper to a visitor like Kaempfer (Kaempfer, 1777–79: 1, 247). The Confucian concept of the Mandate of Heaven did not provide justification for the control the *bakufu* exercised

very publicly over the emperor and his court at Kyoto (Bodart-Bailey 1998b: 195). Thus a Confucian *daimyō* like Tokugawa Yoshinao (1600–50), lord of Owari and member of the *gosanke*, held the view that the *daimyō*, including the *gosanke*, were not the shogun's retainers but those of the emperor. The shogun was no more than the 'head of the troops' (*hatagashira*). And even though Yoshinao was Ieyasu's son, he instructed his descendants that if the *bakufu* were to take military action against the emperor, as the Kamakura *bakufu* had done in the Jōkyū (1221) and Genkō (1331) wars, they were not to fight against the imperial house. Two hundred years later the fourteenth domain lord, Yoshikatsu (d. 1883), acted on these instructions (Bodart-Bailey 1998b: 195).

Another Confucian *daimyō* and member of the *gosanke*, Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628–1700), held similar views and is said to have performed regular ceremonial obeisance in the direction of the imperial palace. As is well known, when the choice between shogun and emperor had to be made in the nineteenth century by his descendants, they opted for the emperor, even though a member of their family was occupying the post of shogun (Bodart-Bailey 1998b: 196).

With such sentiments being present among the *gosanke*, the very *daimyō* upon whom the shogunate was supposed to rely for the greatest support, it is not the fall of the shogunate but the length of its hegemony that should surprise us. In other words, it is doubtful whether the *bakufu* and its contemporaries took the stability which historians ascribe to it in hindsight for granted.

With the *a priori* conviction that the *bakufu* was confident in its authority, scholars have interpreted even small changes in the layout of Edo castle as reflecting a change from military to ceremonial rule (for instance Senda 1993: 258, 260). A comparison with Europe draws attention to the *bakufu*'s function and permits a more nuanced judgement.

Edo's Position

Edo has been compared with Paris, London and even St. Petersburg (McClain 1982: 3; Smith 1979). However, it differs in one important aspect from all these cities: Edo was not built at a natural crossroad of traffic but situated in a political, economic, and geographical backwater. Even St. Petersburg, which has been described as having risen dramatically from 'a swampy bog' (McClain 1982: 7), was in fact built where at the close of the seventeenth century the Swedish town of Nyenschanze was developing rapidly due to its strategic commercial location. Already in 1683, years before Peter the Great chose it as the site for his new capital, Engelbert Kaempfer recorded that walls were being constructed for a new city with houses of stone to replace the old town with its wooden buildings (Kaempfer ms 2923, f. 116 v.).

In tracing the historical development of the area later occupied by Edo, the scholar Tamura Akira likens the site to a hole in a doughnut, a place which was least developed compared to neighbouring areas such as Kenukuni (comprising modern Gunma and Tochigi prefectures), Suruga, the Bōsō peninsula, Hitachi, and so on. When Minamoto no Yoritomo (1147–99) established the Kamakura *bakufu* he chose the much more accessible site of Kamakura. In 1457 Ōta Dōkan (1432–86) began the construction of Edo castle, but Tamura points out that this was merely the furthest outpost of the Uesugi domain. The Hōjō family, which ruled over the Kantō area during the Age of Warring States, in turn chose the more conveniently located Odawara for their headquarters (Tamura 1992: 13).

The reason for the unpopularity of the site of Edo was that at the time both the Tone river and the Ara river flowed into Tokyo bay, and their wide deltas, that of the former extending to some sixteen kilometres, formed a formidable natural barrier. The river tributaries permitted navigation only with small boats, and in between the ground was swampy or prone to flooding (Tamura 1992: 14).

In his book *Ieyasu wa naze Edo o eranda ka?* (Why did Ieyasu choose Edo?) Okano Tomohiko at first glance seems to argue exactly the opposite, namely that Asakusa and Shinagawa were already important harbour towns during the Middle Ages, and that the location had some commercial importance. Okano shows that Shinagawa in particular, on the basis of the available sources, had established trading connections with Ise and Kumano (Okano 1999: 72, 140). But when faced with the question of why the site of Edo had not previously attracted attention as a political centre while Kamakura and Odawara had, he explains that the Tone river constituted a formidable barrier, dividing the Kantō area into a northern and southern part, areas culturally different and politically opposed (Okano 1999: 146). Thus due to the Tone river, the site of Edo was an undesirable frontier area, an explanation not incompatible with Tamura's 'hole in the doughnut.'

The fact is that turning the site of Edo into a population center required considerable civil engineering works, including altering the course of rivers, draining parts of the bay and flattening some of the surrounding heights. Unlike other large cities, the site of Edo was not a natural population center, for it offered few advantages for settlement. Yet the very difficulties that had detracted from the site as area for settlement, gave it exceptional strategic value, something which the Tokugawa used to full advantage.

With the difficulty of the site, initial progress on rebuilding Edo castle after it came into Ieyasu's possession in 1590 was slow, especially since Ieyasu himself was called upon by Hideyoshi to assist with the building of Fushimi castle and had to delegate the work to others. Edo of the Bunroku era (1592–96), the scholar Mizue contends, was still simply one of several Tokugawa strongholds (Mizue 1997: 116).

With Hideyoshi's death in 1598, and especially after the decisive Tokugawa victory at the battle of Sekigahara two years later, in which he eliminated the forces that threatened his supremacy, Ieyasu could have chosen a more convenient site. A location like Nagoya or Sunpu, present-day Shizuoka, where he established his retirement seat, would have provided a more accessible and convenient location for the administrative capital of the country. Yet Ieyasu chose to keep his administration at Edo, and rather than making this awkwardly situated location more accessible, he and his successors erected additional barriers to its approach.

The Approach to Edo

If the Tone river had constituted a formidable barrier to the north of Edo in pre-Tokugawa times, the *bakufu* did nothing to ease access to its seat of authority on establishing itself there. If anything, it did the contrary. Soon after the final victory over the Toyotomi forces, in 1616, the *bakufu* erected some fifteen water barriers (*mizuzeki*) with their checkpoints for boats (*jofunaba*) along the Tone river, maximizing its effectiveness as an impediment to the flow of traffic.[12] The access to Edo along other waterways was similarly brought under the control of the government.

Edo was located on a sheltered bay, and after the swamps had been drained, a large, safe harbour was created. Consequently the bulk of the voluminous amount of supplies required by the population of Edo was transported by the sea route. No *daimyō*, however, was ever permitted to approach the shogun's capital in the comfort of his own fleet. This he could only use as far as Osaka (Edo Tōkyō Hakubutsukan 1997: 69). After this point he had to submit to the strenuous journey by land, enduring the dangers of being carried across rapidly flowing rivers and the odium of being heaved up and down steep mountain passes in his narrow palanquin, as well as the ignominy of passing government inspection points.

Ieyasu began to control the sea approach to Edo even before he had established his authority over the rest of the country. By 1604 he had appointed an officer (*funate*) and a squadron of thirty-nine men to secure the harbour. Five years later, in 1609, he issued an order for the confiscation of *daimyō* ships of a tonnage of five-hundred *koku* and above, and forbid the construction of such vessels. Together with the laws governing the alternate attendance of *daimyō* at Edo, this restriction became part of the 1635 *buke shohatto*, the regulations outlining proper conduct for high-ranking members of the military class (Kōta 1955: 80). Some scholars argue, however, that this law did not apply to freight ships. To ensure that only freighters travelled the route to Edo and did not carry forbidden goods, all ships had to submit to inspection at Shimoda (Watanabe K. 1991: 59; Watanabe N. 1992: 264). To ensure, in turn, that no ship would head out to sea and enter Edo harbour without passing the

inspection point at Shimoda, the construction of vessels was limited to a design where the stern was open to the waves when the rudder was lowered. Thus vessels had no choice but to hug the coast and were unable to travel at night when the approach of a storm could not easily be detected (Kaempfer 1999: 254).

The land approach to Edo was controlled with equal severity. The various measures, especially the famous barriers at Arai and Hakone have been discussed in detail by Constantine Vaporis (1994) and need no further elaboration here. With the approach to Edo guarded in this fashion, the city needed no protective walls. The *bakufu*'s defences were much more sophisticated, not just outside, but also inside the city.

Inside Edo

Louis XIV is said to have made Versailles his residence and the seat of government in 1682 because he distrusted the citizens of Paris, himself having had to escape through a window when the palace was besieged by a mob of commoners. To control the mob, European autocrats like Louis XIV built wide avenues where they could display their military and control the commoners, if necessary by force, the logic being that a gun cannot shoot around a corner.

In the *bakufu*'s design of Edo, straight thoroughfares were used in a similar fashion, as a means of control over both population and fire. The administrative division of the *machi* as a linear unit comprising houses on both sides of a street resulted in long, straight streets and a neat grid plan for most parts of the city. Visiting foreigners – Kaempfer, like the earlier visitor Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco – were greatly impressed by the uniformity and straightness, as well as cleanliness of the streets (Cooper 1965: 284; Kaempfer 1999: 349).

However, the regular pattern of streets stopped at the outer moat of the castle. The roads that led in the direction of the bridges and well-staffed guardhouses that controlled access to the area within the moat were secondary roads, often running at right angles to larger roads. Moreover, these roads did not lead straight to the point of entry but to a place adjacent to it, thus requiring a sharp turn to enter. In Edo there were no great portals at the end of long avenues through which a large army could pass swiftly and easily. Instead the castle was guarded by its famous *masugata mon*. Named after the *masu*, a square measuring box, these entrances consisted of two gates on adjoining sides of a walled square, forming a box-like enclosure. Thus those entering had to turn a sharp corner to exit and moreover could be locked into the enclosure until the desirability of their passage was established. In addition, the inner gate was surmounted by a fortified guardhouse, which could function as machicolation, a construction known as a *watari yagura mon*. Finally a large guardhouse was usually

positioned facing the inner exit of the gate (Chiyoda Kuritsu Yonbanchō Rekishi Minzoku Shiryōkan 1990: 4) (fig. 19).

Foreign visitors like Kaempfer were duly impressed by the castle's fortifications. In Kaempfer's eyes the whole area encircled by the outer moat was one large fortress 'with ramparts and moats, gates, bridges and guard towers in which further fortresses with more and superior ramparts, moats, gates, bridges and guard towers were situated.' He noted that the walls of the inner moat 'are built up high with incredibly large square boulders. ... At the back the walls are filled in with soil and on top fortified with long buildings and square multi-storied guard towers. ... The wall itself has guard posts of stone jutting out in accordance with the art of fortification' (Kaempfer 1999: 353). Traversing the outer precinct, where the residences of the most important *daimyō* were located, Kaempfer's party had to pass a great number of fortified gates, moats and bridges. The inner precinct, the area past the Ōtemon gate, had similar fortifications, but was, in addition, separated from the outer precinct by a long stone bridge and 'bastions sealed off twice.' Finally the party 'climbed about twenty paces up a winding road, which was sealed off on both sides with incredibly high walls.' Only then did the party reach the Hyakuninban, the 'guard of one hundred men,' where the visitors were detained for over an hour until the invitation to proceed further was delivered. Passing two further gates and climbing up steps, the party finally reached the forecourt of the shogunal residence (fig. 20). This was 'only a few paces wide,' surrounded by a wall and guarded by a watch tower. Even though the castle was rebuilt after the Meireki fire, the main, ceremonial entrance to the ruler's residence remained a small, difficult-to-reach courtyard, with firing ports in the walls surrounding it. A few steps led up to the entrance door with its Chinese-style gable (*karahafu*), just large enough to provide some protection from the weather to those rare visitors whose lofty status permitted being carried to the very door of the *honmaru*. The arrangement of the entrance with its own extended roof was known as *kurumayose* and, if we can believe Kaempfer's sketch, was no larger and no different in design from similar structures of the houses of nobility and temples.

Sketching parts of the castle and its inner fortifications was strictly forbidden, but Kaempfer did so secretly, providing us with the only extant drawing of the entrance to the main building, the *honmaru*, as it was reconstructed in the Manji era (1658–60) after the Meireki fire (Kaempfer 1999: 358). This structure, in turn, burned down in 1844, before the advent of photography, making Kaempfer's sketch all the more valuable.

A comparison of this modest and strategically hidden entrance to the main building of the shogun's residence at Edo with the splendid portals of European palaces with their commanding views along straight avenues, makes the difference in design and layout and, ultimately, purpose of the

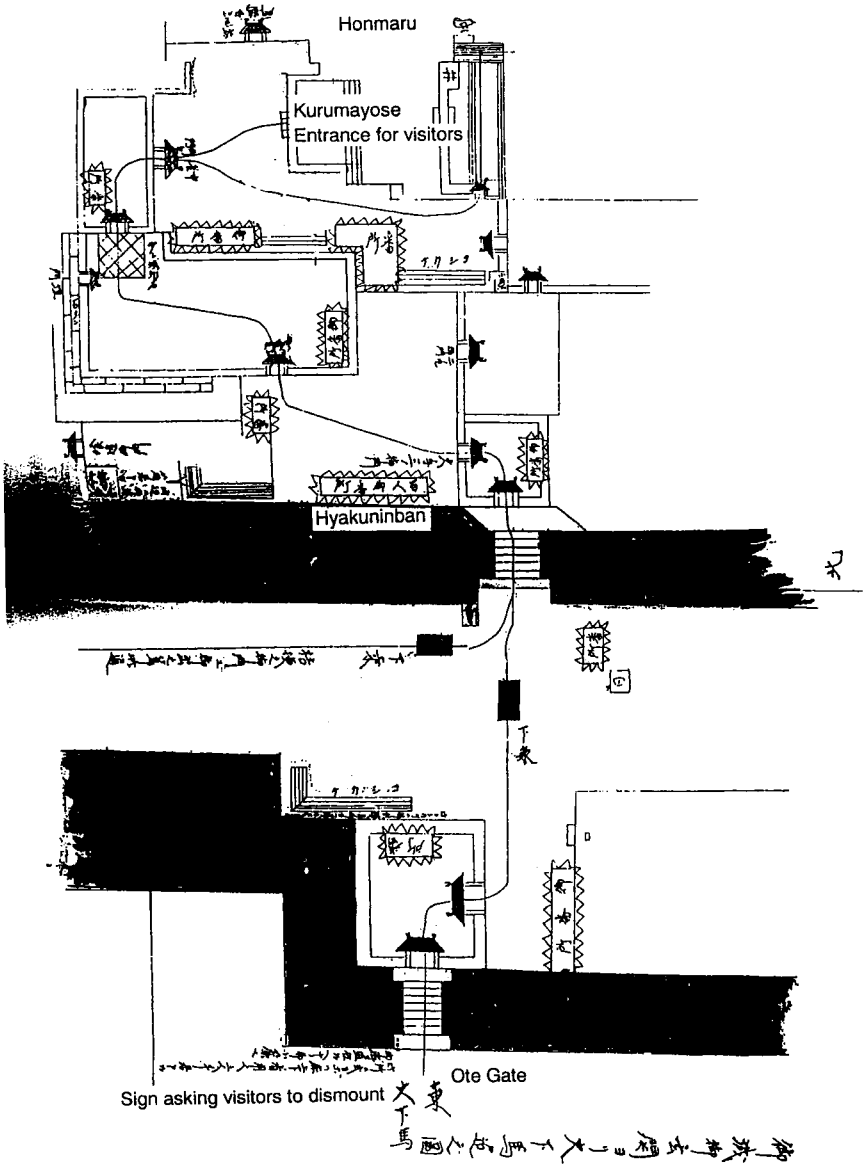

Figure 20 Simplified map showing the shogun's route on leaving Edo Castle for Ueno. Map adapted by B. M. Bodart-Bailey from Fukai, 1997, pp. 20–1. Original in the National Diet Library, Tokyo. Note the *masukata* shape of the gate. The various guard stations have been surrounded with zigzag lines for identification.

ruler's residence abundantly clear. Moreover, while the design of Edo castle was guarded with utmost secrecy, the plans of Louis XIV's Versailles were liberally circulated and copied by the aristocracy of Europe. If 'the idea of the city,' and by extension the ruler's residence, reflects the structure of political power, then the difference in the structure of authority between the Sun King and his contemporary in Japan, the fifth Tokugawa shogun Tsunayoshi (1646–1709), are amply documented.

The power of the French crown did not last. Louis XVI might well have cursed the urban design of his ancestors as he was led through magnificent avenues and squares to the guillotine in full view of thousands of his subjects. The storming of the Bastille and the events that followed would have been a very different matter in Edo, where the layout did not permit crowds access to military installations and the ruler lived behind solid fortifications. The demise of the shogunate in 1868 followed a very different pattern. Aware of the mounting opposition and an early defeat at Fushimi, the fifteenth shogun handed over his authority voluntarily. With Edo's military fortifications, the final attack on the shogun's castle would have been a long and costly one, and he was enlightened enough to avoid it.

Conclusion

The nature of Tokugawa authority is a complex subject debated by scholars from the time its authority fell and inquiry into and discussion of its structures was finally permitted. The details of the picture undergo change as new primary material becomes available and scholars' political convictions and techniques of interpretation alter. Yet due to the totalitarian nature of the Tokugawa regime and the philosophical concepts of what History ought to be, sources furnishing us with a view not sanctioned by those in authority will always be rare. The demographic record is one of the few sources that could not be manipulated in a similar fashion and one that consequently deserves our attention.

This record tells us that the Tokugawa *bakufu* throughout its existence apprehensively maintained a defensive and well-guarded position towards its subjects. Patterns of settlement throughout the country speak of the strict control it considered necessary over both samurai and commoners. Over samurai as they plied their appointed route at the appointed time to the shogun's seat where the families of the most important among them lived as hostages, over commoners settled in strictly controlled *machi* units, segregated from the samurai and away from the seat of authority, at locations determined by and serving the government's needs. Not interfering with customs of religious worship, this pattern developed without opposition.

The pattern is most obvious in Edo. The *machi* units of the commoners were not only separated from the shogunal castle by a buffer zone of

samurai settlements, but a further barrier consisting of moats, walls, and battlements existed. Beyond the castle's outer moat, the roads were straight, facilitating crowd control. They did not, however, provide easy access to the ruler's seat; the main traffic arteries ran parallel to the castle at a distance and not towards the bridges with their guard houses serving as narrow points of entry to the castle. While samurai settlements around the castle served as protection from the commoners, the approaches to the castle within the inner moat indicate that the *bakufu*, nevertheless, did not trust the samurai for its safety. Narrow winding roads and multi-cornered entrance gates hindered rather than assisted the operation of military units. Even though the destruction caused by fires provided the chance for change, the castle's layout remained one designed not for the ruler's military units parading in a display of strength or sweeping aggressively into a crowd but for defensive military fighting and siege.

The Tokugawa *bakufu* lasted for over two hundred and fifty years, but the urban patterns it created belie the claim that it was secure in its hegemony.

Notes

1 For Europe's rapid population increase in the eighteenth century see Zeeden (1981: 102–3).
2 Kaempfer's manuscript *Heutiges Japan*, British Library MS Sloane 3060; English translation C.G. Scheuchzer (1727) *The History of Japan*. London; re-translation B.M. Bodart-Bailey (1999) *Kaempfer's Japan: Tokugawa Culture Observed*. Hawaii University Press.
3 For details see Berry (1982), pp. 102–4.
4 Cited in Nagahara K., *et al* (eds) (1987) pp. 157–8.
5 See map 5: Domain Planning and the Use of Urban Space, 1538–1630 in McClain (1982: 36).
6 See map in Tamai (1988: 40).
7 For instance an order issued by Gamo Ujisato for Wakamatsu. Mizue R. (1977: 116). McClain noted the same development for Kanazawa and points out its importance as a security measure (1982: 28, 35).
8 See, for instance, map no. 10 of the settlement around Zenkōji in Nagano in *Kokushi daijiten* (1979) vol. 13, between pp. 76–7.
9 For an illustration see Coaldrake (1969), p. 131; *Kokushi daijiten*, 1979, XIII, ill. 16, between pages 75 and 76.
10 1 *ken* is approximatively about 1.99 yards or 1.82 meters.
11 This is the standard explanation given by Japanese scholars and also appears in Coaldrake (1996) p. 136.
12 Inoue (1999: 35). For an illustration and detailed discussion of the water barrier at Kanamachi Matsudo see pp. 39–50.

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CHAPTER 4

Metaphors of the Metropolis

Architectural and Artistic Representations of the Identity of Edo

William H. Coaldrake

The city of Edo became a state of mind as well as the physical focus of the Tokugawa state. The architecture of the elite and the art of the *ukiyo-e* prints exploring themes of the *shitamachi*, or 'downtown' Edo, form both parallel and contrasting metaphors of the identity of that great city. The power this city exerted over the artistic imagination of the populace, rather than the political controls exercised by the *sankin kōtai* system, are its enduring cultural and psychological legacy.

Metaphors serve an elaborate and sometimes perplexing part of social science theory. They belong to the family of tropes, which includes the kindred spirits of metonymy and irony, and revel narcissistically in Saussure's distinction between signifier and signified (Sapir 1977: 3–4). This figurative language helps us understand the architectural and artistic representations of Edo from the seventeenth to the middle of the nineteenth centuries. It will be argued that the development of Edo from 1590, and the arrival of Ieyasu on the Kantō Plain, until the collapse in the 1860s of the *sankin kōtai* system of compulsory 'alternate attendance' by the *daimyō* in the city, stimulated two distinct but inter-related views of its own identity, one born out of high culture ambition, the other spawned by the popular culture. It will be shown that specific metaphors of the metropolis evolved within these two spheres as a direct result of changing political and artistic preoccupations: the creators of early Edo relied on architecture to establish one metaphor of the city, based on an elite vision and sustained metonymically by the representation of order in the architectural attributes of the castle, the palace and the gateway. By the middle of the Tokugawa period, it will be argued, the use of architecture as a metaphor had become more muted. *Daimyō* gatehouses of this era represent a more pragmatic accommodation with reality, while the memory of the earlier, more grandiose

city was revived in historicist screen painting depicting the ideal shogunal city, as if to compensate for the loss of authority in actual architecture.

The final stage in this process is the mutation of the elite architectural metaphor with its appropriation by *ukiyo-e* artists in the later eighteenth century and first half of the nineteenth centuries. The locus of both signified and signifier shifts to the *shitamachi*, with the architecture of the shogunal and *daimyō* establishment irreverently re-interpreted in print designs using irony and parody instead of awe and respect to create a new visual iconography of identity expressing the rebellious and rambunctious attitudes of the *Edokko* (children of Edo) and redefining the metaphorical meaning of Edo.

The Early City as an Elite Metaphor

How did the city of Edo serve as a metaphor of elite culture? Architectural form is universally recognised as an effective metaphor, offering a tangible means of constructing an artificial reality (Arnheim 1977; Metcalf 1989; Harbison 1991; Millon and Nochlin 1978; Markus 1993). Edo underwent its primary development in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century as the planned headquarters for the Tokugawa family. From the very beginnings of Tokugawa occupation in 1590 it was conceived as both a metaphor and as a mechanism for Tokugawa authority (Coaldrake 1981). Naitō Akira's ground-breaking work in the 1970s established, on the basis of new documentary discoveries, that there was a close correlation between the Tokugawa socio-political order and the morphology of the city of Edo (Naitō 1972). This was to be seen demonstrated in the zoning of the population according to status within its distinctive spiral moat system, and in a geomantic correlation between the orientation of the city and the perceived order of the universe (Naitō 1972: 16–19). There has been debate about the reliability of Naitō's sources and his emphasis on the 'city from above', but his work has established beyond doubt that the Tokugawa illusion of Edo was as important as the reality of its built environment. The city was consciously created as a tool for buttressing government authority. The physical character of the city was determined by the great state construction projects, begun in the 1590s under the founding shogun Ieyasu and reaching a crescendo in the 1630s under the third shogun Iemitsu (1604–51): the shogunal castle and its surrounding palaces and walls, the Tokugawa family mausolea at Shiba, temples such as Kan'eiji, and the gateways and audience halls which the *bakufu* (shogunate) required the *daimyō* to build for the ritual of *onari*, or shogunal visitation. The city plan was organized on a spiral pattern geomantically orientated to align with the cosmos, thereby establishing a direct equation between Tokugawa rule and the order of the cosmos. Monumental construction projects were imposed on the *daimyō* by the Tokugawa as a mechanism to reduce their resources, in

particular the manifold burdens of supplying building materials, excavating moats and constructing walls for Edo castle. Further substance for the Tokugawa metaphor of authority was supplied by the erection of a ring of thirty-six forbidding barbican gatehouses to guard the approaches to the inner city. Not content with fortifications alone to bulwark their establishment, the Tokugawa extended the metaphor of legitimate rule by building sumptuous palaces within the castle walls for the conduct of shogunal government and by requiring the *daimyō* to create palatial residences around the castle, there to receive the shogun and his entourage with all the pomp and panoply of the court. By this stratagem the *daimyō* were housed securely within the physical framework of the new Tokugawa order, put in their place literally and, most significantly for our study, metaphorically.

Official architecture also created an insistent high culture metaphor of ideal government, providing both psychological reinforcement and ritual settings for the enactment of shogunal government. The Tokugawa systematically sought to substitute illusion for reality by the architectural expedient of associating their own palaces and mausolea with Chinese traditions of beneficent rule. This they did by decorating their palaces and mausolea with sculptures depicting legendary Chinese rulers and sages engaged in virtuous acts.

Unfortunately little remains today of the early city of Edo, but three gateways which typify the artistic production of the 1630s surviving at other locations allow us to explore this idea further. These are the Karamon of the Nishi Honganji, Kyoto, and the Yōmeimon and Karamon of the Tōshōgū at Nikkō.

The Nishi Honganji Karamon in Kyoto is dominated stylistically by the sweeping *karahafu* or cusped gables characteristic of the *daimyō* palace gateways at Edo. Like the Edo gateways, decoration covers the entire structure and sculptural reliefs fill every space between. *Kirin*, or mythological creatures with the bodies of giraffes who foretell the coming of sages in Chinese mythology, prance amongst fleeting clouds between the principal tie-beams while *kara-jishi*, or mythological Chinese lions, frolic in a bed of flowering peonies, evoking images of power and wealth. Of particular symbolic importance are the four large sculpted panels set in the side transoms of the gateway. On the east side at the front the sage-ruler Huang Shigong rides a white mule (fig. 21, side elevation), while opposite him on the west transom is his attendant Jiang Liang, one of the Daoist Immortals, who is shown rescuing his lord's boot from a dragon in the sea. At the rear of the gateway the sage Xu Yu, deeply offended by an offer of high office, washes his ears in a waterfall. Opposite him Chao Fu, another sage, turns back from crossing the river sullied by the contents of Xu's ears, pulling his ox with him. These didactic scenes are depicted in brilliantly polychromed sculpture in the round with the type of heroic realism now associated with totalitarian rule. In the Tokugawa context they visually proclaim the association of the Tokugawa with the sagely rule of Confucian allegory.

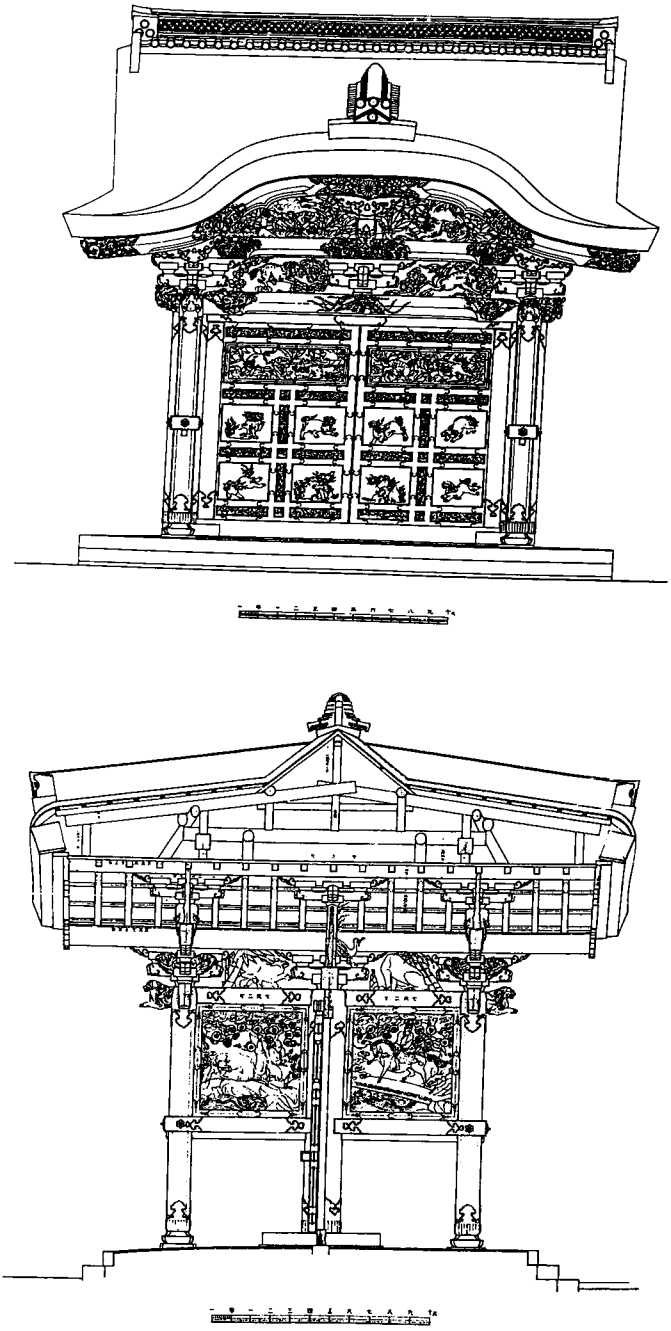

Figure 21 Nishi Honganji Karamon. Front and side elevations. (Source: Bunkachō, *Kokuhō jūyō bunkazai [kenzōbutsu] jissoku zushū*.)

The Yōmeimon and Karamon of the Tōshōgū at Nikkō are even more wilfully ornamental, a visual feast of mythological creatures and Chinese paragons, the pristine, lime-white surfaces of the structures standing out in dramatic contrast to the bracket arms lacquered black with inlaid gold vine patterns. Large *kara-jishi*, carved in the round, thrust aggressively forward from the head of each pillar of the first floor while others prowl the main lintel. Twenty-two separate figural compositions depicting Confucian themes are inserted between the bracket sets above. They include such subjects as the *kinki shoga*, the 'Four Accomplishments' of painting, calligraphy, music and of *go*, together with a host of Confucian sages and Daoist Immortals. On the Karamon a sculpture of the Duke of Zhou, that paragon of virtuous Confucian rule, is set directly over the front bay of the gateway, an unambiguous message of sagely rule at the entrance to the most sacred precinct in Tokugawa shogunal architecture (fig. 22).

These three gateways may be physically distant from Edo, which helps account for their survival today, but they are closely identified chronologically, artistically and politically with the city of Edo and the world of architectural metaphor. The Karamon of Nishi Honganji was similar in architectural style and political purpose to the ceremonial gateways built by the *daimyō* at the entrances to their Edo palaces to receive the shogun during an official visitation. It was moved and substantially rebuilt at its present location at Nishi Honganji in 1632, in anticipation of an official visit to the temple by Tokugawa Iemitsu, a visit that ultimately never transpired. The Nikkō gateways, for their part, were not only similar in style to contemporary shogunal architecture made in Edo, but were also built under the direction of the same master carpenters and sculptors who were responsible for the greatest Tokugawa palaces and mausolea in Edo itself. There is even a document preserved in Tokugawa records from the period which establishes that the Yōmeimon was prefabricated in an Edo workshop and then transported in parts overland to Nikkō, where it was assembled in its present location (*Nikkō shaji bunkazai hozon-kai* 1974: 9–10).

The shogunal and *daimyō* buildings were deliberately engineered as part of a strategy to construct an illusion of authority using the power of the architectural metaphor to convince the viewer of the legitimacy of Tokugawa rule. In this way Edo reminds us of the rhetorical question posed by Robert Harbison in his challenging study of the meaning of architectural form: '... is it the truth or simply the falsehood of a society which one learns from its monuments?' (Harbison 1991: 37).

The Middle Tokugawa Period and the Artistic Metaphor of the Ideal City

In 1657 the Meireki fire destroyed some eighty percent of Edo. Subsequently the administration of the city became more pragmatic, concerned with the hazard of fire and the realities of managing one of the

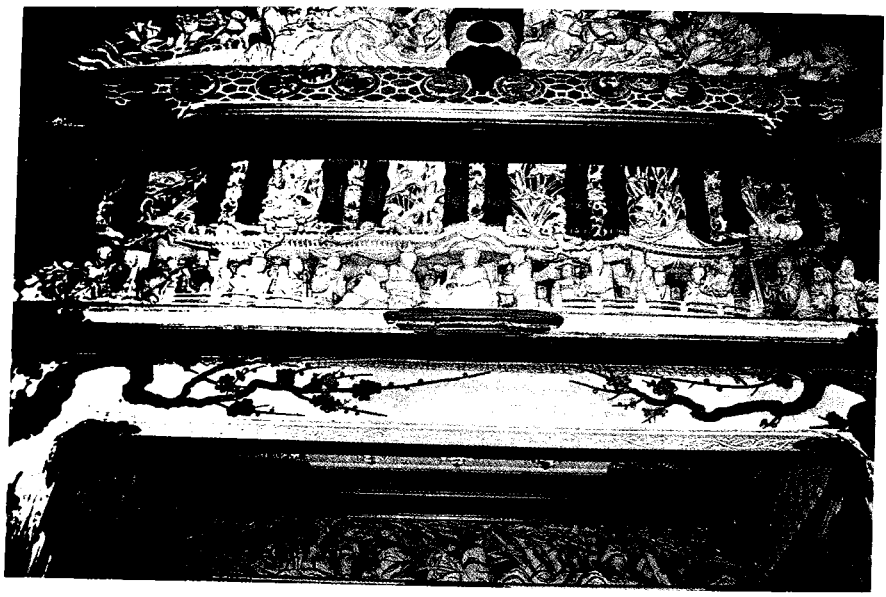

Figure 22 Karamon, Tōshōgū, Nikkō. Detail of sculpture (Duke of Zhou).

world's most populous cities, rather than with creating a spectacular urban demonstration of shogunal authority. In political terms, such metaphors were no longer essential. By the 1650s the Tokugawa shogunal dynasty was firmly entrenched and the political imperative for grand architectural metaphors to adorn the city had passed. The rebuilding of the central keep or *tenshu* of Edo Castle itself was postponed after the Meireki Fire, the surest indication of the changing priorities of the new era.

The *tenshu* of Edo Castle may have been physically destroyed in 1657, but it makes a special encore appearance in the definitive work of establishment screen painting of the middle Tokugawa period, the *Edozu byōbu* (Illustrated screens of Edo), now held in the National Museum of Japanese History (fig. 23). Here it rises again above a recreation of the Edo of Iemitsu's shogunate, fabled in its architectural treasures and hallowed in memory.

What was the reason for the pictorial rediscovery of the Edo *tenshu* and its surrounding shogunal city well after its destruction in 1657, and what does this reveal about the artistic and architectural metaphors of mid-Tokugawa period Edo? To answer these questions it is first necessary to understand the reasons for dating the *Edozu byōbu* to the early eighteenth rather than the early seventeenth century.

The *Edozu byōbu* were first identified as a depiction of the city of Edo in the 1970s together with the *Edo meishozu byōbu* (Illustrated screens of famous places in Edo), now in the Idemitsu Museum of Art, Tokyo (fig. 24).

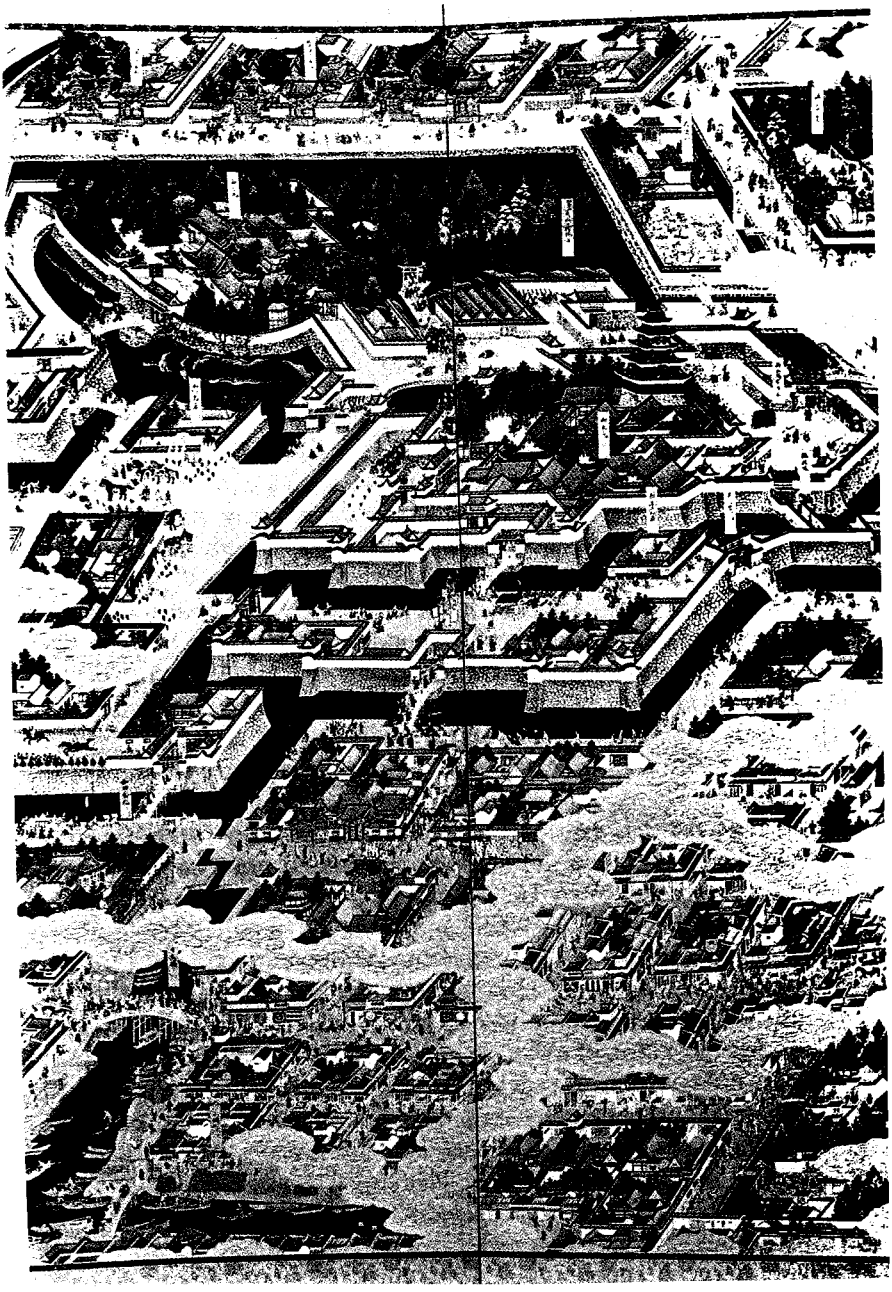

Figure 23 *Edozu byōbu.* Detail of the right two panels of the left screen showing Edo Castle and vicinity. (Courtesy of National Museum of Japanese History.)

Figure 24 *Edo meishozu byōbu.* Detail of the right four panels of the right-hand screen. (Courtesy of Idemitsu Museum of Art.)

As a result of an understandable enthusiasm for the richness of detail, particularly of Edo castle and its destroyed *tenshu*, both works were tentatively dated to the early era of the Tokugawa city (Naitō and Suwa 1972). More considered analysis of the condition and architectural content of each work now suggests that the *Edozu byōbu* should be dated to the early eighteenth century, or about a century later than the Idemitsu screens. As this different dating significantly changes the metaphor of Edo represented by the *Edozu byōbu* it is important to establish the reasons clearly here.

The Idemitsu screens are appreciably older in condition than the *Edozu byōbu* and the architectural content presents an internally consistent view of Edo in the years 1626 to 1632. For example, they show the Tōshōgū completed at Ueno in 1626 (Naitō and Suwa 1972: 4–5) but omit the Taitokuin Mausoleum built for the second Tokugawa shogun Hidetada (1578–1632) at Zōjōji in 1632 (Coaldrake 1996: 164–80). Further, the scenes of the *shitamachi* show *yūjo kabuki*, banned by the shogunate in 1629, another indication of a date prior to 1630 (Naitō and Suwa 1972: 6). There is always a possibility of depicting activities such as *yūjo kabuki* after their demise, but the coherent and consistent presentation of buildings, together with the condition of the work, point consistently to the years from 1626 to 1629 as the date of the Idemitsu screens.

The *Edozu byōbu,* by contrast, includes two glaring architectural errors which would not have been acceptable in a painting contemporary with the reign of Iemitsu as shogun (1623–51). First, the palace of Tokugawa Tadanaga (1606–33), the younger brother of the third shogun Iemitsu, is shown in a prominent position to the immediate east of the castle (see fig. 23, top right). (Naitō and Suwa 1972, '*Edozu byōbu no sekai,*' section 2).

Tadanaga was disgraced, forced to commit suicide, and his palace dismantled, in 1633. Yet in this painting it still stands in pride of place near the castle of his brother. It is inconceivable for this pariah palace to have been included in a product of the Edo painting establishment during or even shortly after the reign of Tokugawa Iemitsu as shogun. Second, and even more telling, the *tenshu* built for Iemitsu in 1638 is shown with serious mistakes in the arrangement of cusped and triangular gables (*karahafu*, *chidorihafu*) on the visible south and east sides of the building when compared with the architectural drawings made by the Kōra, the family in charge of building works for the construction of the *tenshu* in 1638 (Coaldrake 1996: 132–35). These gables were a key element in the architectural design of the building. Moreover, the large cusped gable on the fourth level of the east side, which completes the hierarchy of gables in the overall design, is completely overlooked. A painting fundamentally flawed in its depiction of the most important building in the city, if not the state, would not have been acceptable for a shogunal or *daimyō* patron while the *tenshu* still stood or memories of the building were still fresh, ruling out the possibility that the screens were painted for Iemitsu or as a tribute to Iemitsu completed shortly after his death.

Judging from the physical condition of the screens, fresher and newer than securely dated early Tokugawa-period works such as the Idemitsu screens, as well as the factual errors, it may be concluded that they date to well after the destruction of the *tenshu* in 1657.

The stylistic similarities between the Idemitsu screens and the *Edozu byōbu* contributed to the initial confusion in dating them both to the early seventeenth century. The similarities – including an elevated viewpoint, tilted picture plane, spatial abbreviation achieved with strategically placed bands of gold leaf clouds, and composition based on the divergent orthogonal mode of representation – arise from the common influence of pervasive traditions in Japanese high culture rather than a similar dating. There were a number of influences on this style of painting. These consisted of 'paintings of manners and customs' (*fūzokuga*), which had their origins in court painting of the Heian period and which flourished in the Momoyama period; the *yamato-e* tradition of depiction of famous beauty sites (*meisho-e*), also dating from the Heian period; the scenes of Kyoto or *Rakuchū rakugai zu*, which celebrated the renaissance of the imperial capital after the devastation of the wars and urban strife of the second half of the fifteenth and first part of the sixteenth centuries (Kyōto National Museum 1966; Tsuji 1991); and the idiosyncratic perspectival system of the Tosa and Kanō painting traditions which may be traced ultimately to Tang dynasty court painting.

Despite these formal similarities, there is an entirely different emphasis in the subject matter of the two works. The Idemitsu screens display a lively interest in the activities and architecture of the people of the city, with the

elite architecture positioned at the periphery of the composition to the extent that it was of only marginal psychological concern. Only one *onari* gateway is shown. The influence of the *fūzokuga* tradition is as important as that of the *rakuchū rakugai zu*. By contrast, the *Edozu byōbu* are distant visually and detached psychologically from the people in the city they portray, closer in spirit to the magisterial panorama of Kyoto presented in Kanō Eitoku's (1543–90) definitive Momoyama period *Rakuchū rakugai zu* (held by Yonezawa City) (Okami and Satake 1983). It emphasises the architectural achievements and lifestyle of the elite, from their palaces with the gilded and sculpted *onari* gateways to their boar hunting in the countryside around Edo. This is unmistakable evidence of an overtly rhetorical purpose in reinforcing an establishment metaphor of the meaning of Edo. This rhetorical city of Edo is far removed in time and space from the reality of Edo of the first half of the seventeenth century, which it appears to represent. The *Edozu byōbu* is as much a work of fantasy as fact, a polemical pastiche re-creating a city which never existed at a single moment in the Tokugawa period. Even the cartouches used to 'identify' each of the major buildings in this fantasy 'Edo' are an exercise in documentary deception calculated to give the work a certain verisimilitude to enhance its credibility as a 'document.'

When was this enigmatic work actually painted? An important clue is furnished by comparison with the *Tōkaidō bunken ezu* (Scaled map of the Tōkaidō; Ōta Memorial Art Museum) (Ogi *et al.*, 1987: 5) by the noted early *ukiyo-e* artist Hishikawa Moronobu (d. 1694). This set of printed illustrated maps showing the great coastal highway later to be immortalised by Hiroshige (1797–1858), was published in 1690 (see Chapter 6). It features a view of Edo castle shown immediately above the label for 'Edo.' The *tenshu* is clearly visible, with surrounding walls and towers floating above the city. More than a generation after the destruction of the *tenshu* in the 1657 fire, its memory still lingers as a symbol of Edo in the popular imagination. Significantly for our discussion of the dating of the *Edozu byōbu*, Moronobu, for all his talents as an artist, is guilty of similar errors in depicting the *tenshu*. Moronobu's *tenshu* is shown with four levels, not the five that once existed in reality. This is not only inaccurate but also highly improbable for any Japanese building because of the association of the number four with the word for 'death.' Moronobu, like the artist responsible for the *Edozu byōbu*, also made basic mistakes in the depiction of those troublesome gables, to the extent that only a single triangular gable is shown on his version of the building.

The past was in the air by the turn of the eighteenth century, but it was historicism not history which triumphed. Historical circumstances suggest that the *Edozu byōbu* probably date to the era of influence on shogunal politics of Arai Hakuseki (1657–1725), advisor to the sixth shogun Ienobu (ruled, 1709–13) and seventh shogun Ietsugu (ruled 1713–16). Under

Hakuseki's insistent historicism there was a strong revival of official interest in the Iemitsu *tenshu*. The Tokugawa official chief master builders, members of the same Kōra family that had rebuilt the *tenshu* in 1638, were commissioned by the shogunate, probably in 1712, to make a complete set of technical drawings for a new *tenshu* (Hirai and Itō 1992: 260). These drawings, comprising plans and elevations made meticulously to scale and completed with colour washes, show interest existed in the shogunate in re-establishing the castle *tenshu* as the focal point of the city (Hirai and Itō 1992: figs 10: 1–3, *Ontenshu ezu,* Naikaku bunkō). We know from his dispute with the same shogunal master builders as part of his reforms of shogunal protocol that Hakuseki himself took an informed interest in architectural styles (Nakai 1988: 191–2, 226–7; Coaldrake 1996: 193–7). It seems likely that he was also involved in the plans to rebuild the *tenshu* and perhaps in the commissioning of the *Edozu byōbu* themselves.

The grandiose scheme to rebuild the *tenshu* was soon to be abandoned in the climate of financial stringencies of the Kyōhō era (1716–35) but the *Edozu byōbu* survives, together with the Kōra *tenshu* drawings, as unmistakable evidence of an official desire in the early eighteenth century to revive the memory of the architectural achievements of Iemitsu's Edo as a metaphor of good government and an ideal city. It represents an officially sponsored, consciously contrived recollection of an early age of architectural grandeur. It was an attempt, at an historical juncture when the architectural achievements of the ruling class were disappearing in the face of economic and political change, to re-affirm the validity of the older metaphor of Edo as city of the shogunal establishment using the pictorial tool of a monumental screen painting.

Daimyō Gatehouse Architecture of the Middle Tokugawa Period and the Muted Metaphor of 'Keeping up Appearances'

The creation of an heroic metaphor of early Edo in a work of establishment art of the middle Tokugawa period was in striking contrast to a new accommodation with reality in contemporary establishment architecture. While art sought to revive the memory of the opulence of early Edo, architecture created a more muted metaphor of the establishment by 'keeping up appearances.'

This new metaphor was created using *daimyō* gatehouses as the tool. In the face of the decline in the prestige and economic power of the *daimyō* class with the growth of a money economy, and the perennial and prohibitive cost of rebuilding palaces after fire, copious architectural edicts were issued as part of the periodic waves of reformist zeal which swept the shogunal administration. The objective was to regain political control of the built environment. The priority was to extend the earlier policy of reserving gateway architecture as the exclusive prerogative of the warrior

class by specifically regulating the style of *daimyō* gateways. Gateways by their very role as entrances and exits were the most publicly visible buildings in the *daimyō* palace complexes. The strategy of regulating their style according to their owners' status had the virtue of preserving the visible fabric of the Tokugawa status order by standardising the style of *daimyō* architecture according to official rank expressed in *koku*. This offered the *daimyō* a cost-effective means to maintain their claim to a distinct architecture of authority while allowing the shogunate to regulate the *daimyō* hierarchy using a readily legible architectural language.

The result was a radical change in the style of the gateways built at the main entrances to the *daimyō* palaces in Edo, from the exuberant *karamon* of early Edo, to more modest entrances set into the walls of the rowhouses that surrounded the *daimyō* complexes. These gatehouses or *nagayamon* lacked the expressive power of the earlier palace gateways but they assumed new importance as the generic symbol of *daimyō* status. At the same time subtle variations in architectural details spelled out in a specific visual language the precise rank of the *daimyō* for whom they were built.

Detailed regulation of *daimyō* gatehouses began after another major fire in Edo in 1772 which necessitated extensive rebuilding of *daimyō* palaces. After the fire a regulation was issued by the shogunate requiring even the highest ranking *daimyō* to build *nagaya* rather than the more elaborate freestanding style of gateway.[1] As a result the modest rowhouses which flanked the streets around the *daimyō* palace compounds were modified for their new role as principal entry and symbol of rank in the Tokugawa order by the simple expedient of adding guard houses, or *bansho*, beside the main doors (Coaldrake 1988: 397–410). These *bansho* were used to house the guards who supervised traffic through the gateways, but as the focus of attention as well as traffic they became a convenient and cost-effective vehicle for expressing rank within the *daimyō* class.

We can 'read' this new iconography of status and rank using a contemporary guide, the *Aobyōshi* (Blue cover book), a woodblock-printed compendium of rules of protocol and etiquette published in 1840–41 (fig. 25). *Aobyōshi* was a handbook prepared for the convenience of members of the warrior class. One complete section is devoted to *daimyō* gatehouses, itself an indication of their political importance. This section includes a chart of officially approved gatehouse styles, accompanied by written explanations, in much the same way that military forces today publish charts showing badges of rank. Eight diagrams illustrate the various styles, showing the number, style and placement of *bansho*, their roof gables, foundation stones and windows, as well as the number of side doors to be set into the main entrance behind. The accompanying text reprints the most detailed government regulation of gatehouse style issued thirty-one years earlier in 1809.[2] The text sets out in detail the characteristics of gatehouses to be used by *daimyō* of different rank.

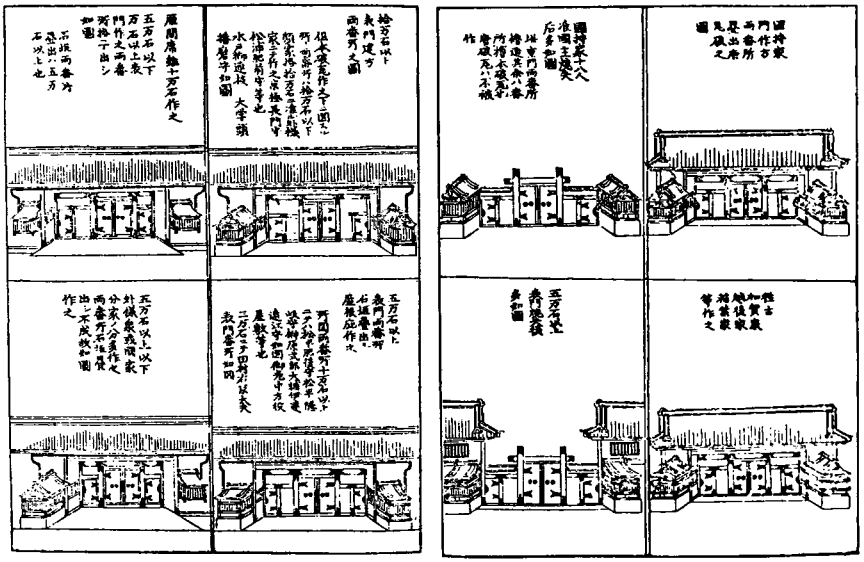

Figure 25 *Aobyōshi.* Detail of *daimyō* gatehouse styles and regulations.

Two of these diagrams serve to demonstrate the official correspondence between architectural form and *daimyō* rank. The diagram at the top right (fig. 25) shows the architecture for a *daimyō* with the high rank of over 100,000 *koku*. He was permitted to use two *bansho*, one on each side of the main entrance, and to cover these with *karahafu*, the cusped gable that had been used for the freestanding ceremonial gateways of the early Edo period.[3]

The diagram second from the left in the lower rank shows the gatehouse for a *daimyō* with a rank of 50,000 to 100,000 *koku* serving as *rōjū* or senior councillor. He was permitted to build a *nagayamon* with two *bansho* but was not allowed to use the all important *karahafu* for his roofs. Instead the *bansho* were to be covered with strictly utilitarian sloping roofs.

Two *daimyō* gatehouses of the types described above miraculously survive to the present day. These confirm the application to actual gatehouses of the shogunal regulations. The first is the Ikedamon, which now stands in the outer wall of the Tokyo National Museum complex at Ueno (fig. 26). It was originally built as the principal entrance to the mansion of the *daimyō* of Tottori to the immediate southwest of Edo Castle.[4] The Ikeda were the *daimyō* of an entire province and had the high rank of 325,000 *koku*. In accordance with the top right diagram it is equipped with two *bansho* each roofed with a *karahafu*.

The second surviving gateway is now located some seventy-five kilometres east of its original site in Edo, rusticating in bucolic isolation at the Yamawaki Gakuen summer camping ground near the coast of the

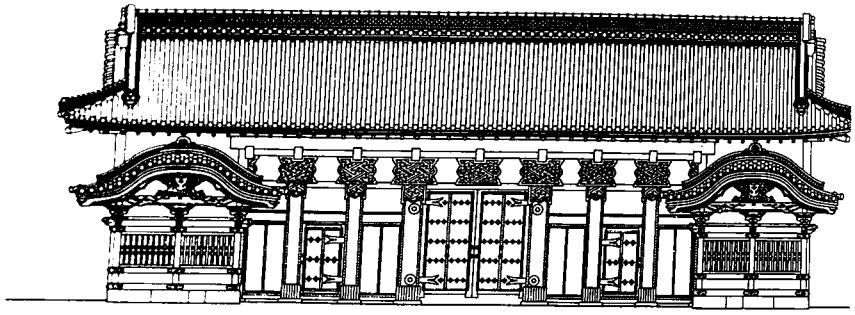

Figure 26 Ikedamon. Precincts of Tokyo National Museum. (Source: Bunkachō, *Kokuhō jūyō bunkazai [kenzōbutsu] jissoku zushū.*)

scenic Bōsō peninsula at Kujūkuri (fig. 27).[5] Records reveal that it was first built as the front entrance to the palace to the immediate south of Edo Castle reserved as the official residence of one of the senior councillors. It may accordingly be named the Gatehouse of the Senior Councillor, or Rōjūmon. The *rōjū* responsible for the construction of this gatehouse had a rank of between 50,000 and 100,000 *koku* and the extant building conforms precisely with the stipulated style for the main gatehouse to the official residence of a *rōjū* of this rank shown in the bottom row of the *Aobyōshi* diagram (Ishii 1982 vol. 3: 137; Coaldrake 1988).

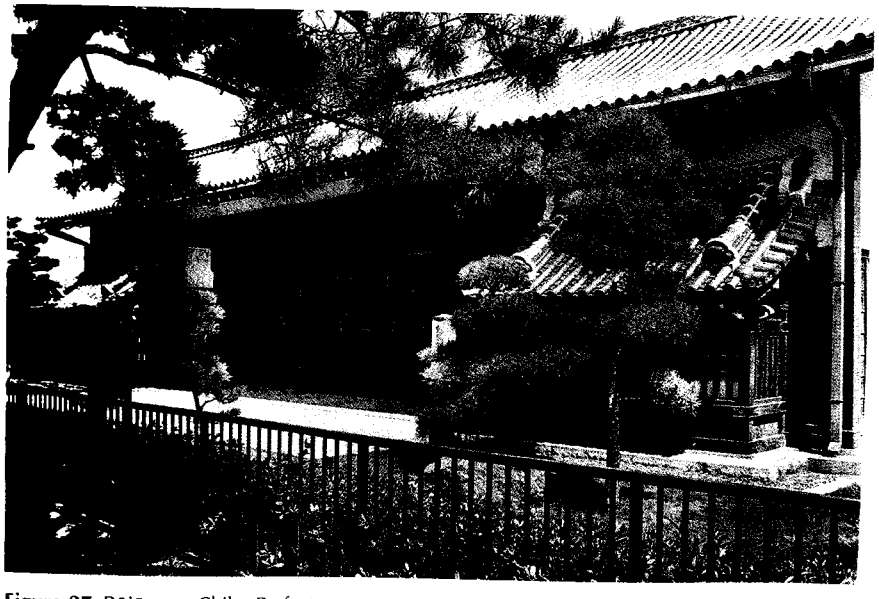

Figure 27 Rōjūmon. Chiba Prefecture.

The Ikeda and Rōjū gatehouses demonstrate the detailed and controlled language of status and rank in the later Tokugawa hierarchy. They were used to convince the viewer of the continuing power of the establishment while masking increasingly serious economic problems. This policy was justified politically with Neo-Confucian rhetoric, particularly with frequent written exhortations in sumptuary edicts to do things 'according to one's status' (*bungen ni ōjite*) (Shively 1964–65). Once again the elite architecture of the city served as a consciously constructed metaphor.

'Stealing the Show' in later Edo: *ukiyo-e* and the Popular Appropriation of the Architectural High Culture

Whatever the pretensions to a convincing presence made by the *daimyō* gatehouses, by the later eighteenth century the architectural theatre of the high culture had become a sideshow in Edo to artistic developments in the popular culture. Conscious high culture metaphors lost their credibility as political reality was redefined as a result of the spontaneous artistic exuberance associated with the patronage of the ebullient *chōnin* sector and the world of gratification of the pleasure quarters. Edo changed inexorably, with a new symbiosis formed between the popular culture and the character of the city. The resulting mass urban culture was literate and visually sophisticated, experimental and wilfully irreverent to the elite culture. Of its own creative volition it refused to be confined by the official city and its carefully constructed political metaphors of order and ownership. It drew from the high culture energetically and indiscriminately: the decoration of the seemingly mundane, such as Hokusai's (1760–1849) printed comb design for the elaborate coiffure of the high ranking courtesan using the motif of the eight-spoked wheel symbolising the paths to Buddhist salvation as a parody on the paths to pleasure (Nishiyama 1997: 16); *ukiyo-zōshi* like Saikaku (1642–93)'s novels of the life and loves of the Shin Yoshiwara written in an irreverent creative dialogue with *The Tale of Genji* (Hibbett 1975: 94–95); and *ukiyo-e* prints of the theatre and amusement districts, and of people at work and play, set against the backdrop of scenes of the city, including its *daimyō* palaces and shogunal castle.

The *Edokko* emerges from the art and literature as the anti-hero larger than life. This denizen of the downtown at work and play became the stuff of legend, to be immortalised in *ukiyo-e* print and popular novel alike, speaking a distinct dialect (Gerstle 1989: 63–84) and regarding the world of the elite with proprietorial bemusement. This character was to be enshrined by the 1780s in the *sharebon* or 'fashionable' books of popular literature. To be a true *Edokko* meant 'to have your first bath in the water of the city aqueduct, and to grow up in sight of the *shachi* (the sculpted roof tile finials) of Edo Castle,' according to the great exponent of *sharebon*, Santō