THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

THESES, SIS/LIBRARY
R.G. MENZIES BUILDING NO.2
Australian National University
Canberra ACT 0200 Australia

Telephone: +61 2 6125 4631
Facsimile: +61 2 6125 4063
Email: library.theses@anu.edu.au

USE OF THESES

This copy is supplied for purposes of private study and research only. Passages from the thesis may not be copied or closely paraphrased without the written consent of the author.

Celebrating Kyoto, 1895: Regional and National Identity in the 1,100th Anniversary, the Heian Shrine and the Industrial Exposition

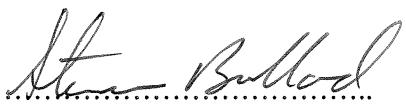
Steven Christopher Bullard

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy of The Australian National University

Submitted September 2003

STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

This thesis is entirely my own original work. It contains no copy or paraphrase of another person's material except where due acknowledgment is made.



Steven Bullard

September 2003

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank my supervisors, Dr Royall Tyler and Dr Stewart Lone, and my adviser, Dr Judith Snodgrass, for their support, advice and patient supervision throughout the research and writing of this dissertation. Special thanks is made to Dr Lone for his encouragement and generous granting of his time during the final stages of the work.

I dedicate this thesis to my family, who have provided moral and financial support over these past years. Work, study and family could not have been safely navigated without their constant love and encouragement. In the final stages of the writing, I was often absent from my duties as a husband and father. I will be forever grateful to my wife, Heather, and to my children, Agnes, Morag and Conor, for allowing me this indulgence. Thank you.

ABSTRACT

In 1895, Kyoto celebrated the 1,100th anniversary of its founding by Emperor Kanmu in the eighth century. As part of the celebrations, the organisers built the Heian Shrine and staged the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition in Okazaki-chō in the east of the city. On the one hand was a panorama of progress and technology; on the other a symbol of the culturally rich legacy of the imperial family. Numerous other events in Kyoto during the year showcased the culture and artistic heritage of the city. The years leading up to the anniversary year also saw the preservation of cultural artefacts, shrines, temples and famous sites.

This thesis attempts to identify a common mode of cultural production in the various anniversary activities and exposition, and questions why these emerged in this form in the latter stages of the nineteenth century. Kyoto had lost the status of capital to Tokyo soon after the Meiji restoration. Issues of identity for the city, as for Japan in general, dominated public discourse through the 1880s and became enmeshed with national efforts to improve Japan's international standing. The preservation and presentation of native Japanese culture emerged as a means to strengthen a collectivity based in the long history and dignity of the imperial family.

The circumstances of the 1895 anniversary celebrations in Kyoto are examined in this context to reveal the motivations of the organisers, the participation and reactions by the residents of the city, and the significance of the events to wider Japanese society. The anniversary combined representations of traditional cultural forms with a celebration of modernity and progress. This thesis seeks to understand how these events worked to strengthen affiliations to the city, to the region, and to the emerging modern nation.

INTRODUCTION 1

REPRESENTATION, DISPLAY AND MODERNISATION 3
REGIONALISM, NATIONALISM, AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF KYOTO 7
SOURCES 13
OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS 16

CHAPTER 1. KYOTO: HISTORY, RESTORATION AND MODERNISATION 20

KYOTO IN ANCIENT TIMES: EMPEROR, CAPITAL AND PALACE 22
Figure 1: Heian Palace Chōdōin 28
BAKUMATSU KYOTO AND THE EMPEROR 30
RESTORATION: HOPE AND REALITY 34
MODERNISATION 41

CHAPTER 2. NATIONALISM AND PRESERVATION OF CULTURE 49

ATTITUDES TO THE PAST IN JAPANESE NATIONALISM 51
OFFICIAL PRESERVATION EFFORTS 55
Table 1: Old Items Preservation Law of 1871 58
Table 2: Survey of old treasures, documents and implements, 1875 63
KYOTO, THE EMPEROR, AND PRESERVATION 69
Table 3: Plan to restore the Imperial Palace, 1883 72
IWAKURA AND THE FIRST HEIAN SHRINE 76
Table 4: Shrines founded in Kyoto 77

CHAPTER 3. CONCEIVING THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF KYOTO 79

PERSONALITIES AND PROPOSALS 81
ANNIVERSARY COMMITTEE 91
Table 5: Anniversary Committee members 91
Table 6: Anniversary Committee offices 92
Table 7: Kyoto Municipal Assembly budget 95
COOPERATIVE SOCIETY AND FUNDING 95
Table 8: Contribution classification and medallions 100
Table 9: Major contibutors totalled by prefecture 103
Table 10: Cooperative Society budget 104
INCLUSION OF THE HEIAN SHRINE 105

CHAPTER 4. HEIAN SHRINE: IMPLEMENTATION 113

THE SHINTO WORLD 115
ARCHITECTURE 118
Figure 2: First Daigokuden proposal 121
Figure 3: Second and third Daigokuden proposals 122

Figure 4: Fourth Daigokuden proposal 123
CONSTRUCTION OF THE DAIGOKUDEN AND ASSOCIATED STRUCTURES 124
Table 11: Contractors who bid for construction 126
Figure 5: Cross-section of the model Daigokuden 129
CONSTRUCTION OF THE HEIAN SHRINE SANCTUARY 132
Figure 6: Cross-section of the shrine sanctuary 133
Table 12: Costing of the Heian Shrine construction 134
Table 13: Comparative costs for Daigokuden and shrine sanctuary 135
HEIAN SHRINE: NO ROOM FOR BUDDHISM? 138
CHAPTER 5. HEIAN SHRINE: RITUALS OF PREPARATION 146
THE RITUAL OF JICHINSAI 147
Figure 7: Enclosure for the Heian Shrine Jichinsai 148
Table 14: Jichinsai participants 150
Table 15: Order of service for the Heian Shrine Jichinsai 151
Figure 8: Entrance to the Heian Shrine Jichinsai enclosure 154
ENTERTAINING AND DECORATING THE CITY 158
Figure 9: Floats used in the Jichinsai 162
SOCIAL ORDER AND DISORDER 167
PARTICIPANTS AND SPECTATORS AT THE CROSSROADS 173
CHAPTER 6. CELEBRATING KYOTO 175
Figure 10: Within the Heian Shrine during the anniversary ceremony 176
ANNIVERSARY CEREMONY 177
POSTPONEMENT AND REORGANISATION 181
PARTICIPATION: CENTRE AND PERIPHERY 188
Table 16: Hokkaidō and Kagawa anniversary activities 193
PRESERVATION 194
Table 17: Preservation funded temples, shrines and sites 197
Figure 11: Cartoon from the *Hinode Shinbun* 200
TOURIST CITY 201
CHAPTER 7. THE EXPOSITION OF CULTURE 204
EXPOSITIONS AND KYOTO 206
Table 18: Expositions in Kyoto in the first half of Meiji 210
FOURTH DOMESTIC INDUSTRIAL EXPOSITION 214
Table 19: Domestic industrial expositions 215
KYOTO AS AN INTERNATIONAL CITY OF CULTURE 221
Figure 12: Layout of the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition site 222
CHAPTER 8. THE NARRATIVE OF PUBLIC DISPLAY 233

PUBLIC DISPLAY DURING THE ANNIVERSARY 236
FESTIVAL OF THE AGES 244
Figure 13: Detail of an artist's impression of the Festival of the Ages 246
Table 20: Perodisation of the Festival of the Ages 251
GUIDEBOOKS AND REPRESENTATION OF THE PAST 258
Table 21: Guidebooks published in Meiji period Kyoto 258

CONCLUSION 266

APPENDICES 273

Appendix 1: Glossary of Japanese terms 273
Appendix 2: Timeline of major events 278
Appendix 3: 'Statement of Purpose' for the celebration of the 1,100th anniversary of the founding of Heian-kyō 286
Appendix 4: National contributions to the Anniversary Cooperative Society 290
Appendix 5: Kyoto Anniversary Committee budget 292
Appendix 6: Cooperative Society Anniversary budget 293
Appendix 7: Passengers using train and ferry discounts 299
Appendix 8: Guidebooks published from 1868–1895 300

BIBLIOGRAPHY 302

Introduction

A small group of fifty or so waited expectantly in front of Kyoto Railway Station in the pre-dawn chill of 11 March 1895. Among them were high-ranking local government officials including the prefectural governor, as well as business leaders, local dignitaries, representatives of residential administrative districts, and other onlookers. Aboard the train they were awaiting, which arrived an hour late at 5.20 a.m., was a delegation of national government officials and Shinto priests from the Imperial Household Ministry *(Kunaishō)*, led by imperial envoy Takeya Mitsuaki (?–?). Takeya was charged with delivering to the people of Kyoto a wooden casket which contained the August Spirit of the founder of their city, Emperor Kanmu (737–806). The August Spirit, ritually divided from the deity enshrined in the Imperial Palace in Tokyo, was to be transferred several days later to the newly completed Heian Shrine *(Heian Jingū)*, situated east of the Kamo River in Okazaki-chō.[1]

The construction of the Heian Shrine was integral to the year-long celebrations commemorating the 1,100th anniversary of the founding of Kyoto by Emperor Kanmu. Since Kanmu moved the court from Nagaoka-kyō in 794, Kyoto had been home to successive generations of emperors and other members of the imperial family. The arrival of the August Spirit signified to the waiting residents the symbolic homecoming of the imperial family since its perceived abandonment by the emperor in the turbulent years following the Meiji restoration in 1868, and, with it, celebrated the recent revival of fortunes of the city. The scale and grandeur of the Heian Shrine, which was modelled on the Daigokuden (Great Hall of State) within the Imperial Palace in Kyoto, was intended to represent not only the glorious past of the city, and by extension that of the nation, but also the hopes for a regional prosperity to be bequeathed to future generations.

---

[1] Details of the transfer of the August Spirit can be found in *Hinode Shinbun*, 15 March 1895; Wakamatsu Masatarō, ed., *Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai kyōsanshi* (Kyoto: Wakamatsu Masatarō, 1896), Sōryū-hen, pp. 29–32; and Kyōto Sanjikai, ed., *Heian sento kinensai kiji*, vol. 1 (Kyoto: Kyōto Sanjikai, 1896), p. 29.

The significance of a train bearing the casket of the August Spirit of Kanmu must not be overlooked. The arrival of a steam locomotive, arguably the predominant image of 19th century modernisation, bearing the spirit of the founder of the city, symbolised the deep social, economic and political changes the city had undergone since 1868, and the role that technology had played in the revival of the city.[2] The importance of this role was illustrated by the fact that the main drawcard during the anniversary celebrations was actually the holding of the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition *(Daiyonkai naikoku kangyō hakurankai)*. Both the site for the Heian Shrine in Okazaki and the precise date of the anniversary celebrations were ultimately chosen in relation to the exposition. Indeed, the staging of the exposition and the construction of the shrine were conceived and planned as a joint project incorporated into the wider celebrations of Kyoto's founding.

Why did the end of the nineteenth century see the emergence in Japan of such an unprecedented civic celebration, and why did the events of 1895 in Kyoto unfold as they did? This thesis argues that an examination of the circumstances of the anniversary reveals how the Kyoto elite acted to transform notions of regional identity by engaging the residents of Kyoto in cultural activities within a wider program of forming a national identity. The staging of the exposition, the founding of the Heian Shrine, and the other events surrounding the anniversary will be the focus of an enquiry that seeks to understand how the unique position of Kyoto in late nineteenth century Japan sheds light on the wider issues of identity and shared cultural heritage. A nexus of local and national conditions gave rise to common forms of cultural production that were evident in the types of celebration utilised in the anniversary of the city. These cultural forms acted to strengthen feelings of civic and regional identity, but the anniversary events also resulted in deeper ties to the nation.

---

[2] Carol Gluck has characterised the steam locomotive as one of the predominant images of modernisation during the Meiji period. Carol Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), p. 101.

The thesis explores how the events in Kyoto in the period leading up to and including 1895 strengthened or otherwise altered the multiple layers of identity and associations held by residents of the city, and of wider Japan, in a period of realignment within new regional, national and international frameworks. Further, it examines the motivations and intent of those who organised the celebrations, and suggests how the residents of the city, and people throughout Japan, responded and participated.

Representation, display and modernisation

The significance of the industrial exposition, the Heian Shrine and the displays of cultural artefacts, and their relation to the anniversary of Kyoto's founding, lies in their common mode of cultural activity. It is widely accepted that the public display of objects—in museums, expositions, art galleries, or even reconstructions of shrines—is an act deeply imbued with cultural meaning.[3] The processes that determine which particular objects are chosen for display, how the objects are arranged, the context of the display, the type of explanatory text used, and what level of access is afforded to its visitors, are all informed by underlying cultural assumptions and relations of power. The reasons for the choice of one object over another, or for the arrangement of two or more objects, reflect the cultural understanding of the organisers. Explanatory texts that may accompany the display provide a context that further develops these views. The viewer of the objects, in turn, makes inferences according to personal experience, understanding of the context of the display, and position within the cultural framework.

Historical narrative is the process which links the past with the present.[4] The objectification of items for public display involves the viewer in a two-fold process of narrativisation. The first concerns the physical layout of displays and is akin to reading

---

[3] See, for example, the range of essays in Ivan Karp et al., eds., *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991).

[4] Barry Schwartz, 'The Social Context of Commemoration: A Study in Collective Memory,' *Social Forces* 61, no. 2 (1982), pp. 374–402, has shown that the commemoration of specific events acts to give sacred significance to the narrative of a social group.

a book. This sequence is encountered in Kyoto, for example, in the pageant founded in 1895 as part of the anniversary, the Festival of the Ages *(Jidai matsuri)*. The history of the city is presented to the spectators as a procession of historic periods from Meiji back to Heian times. The second general process of narrativisation is intrinsic to the act of display, as explained by Bal:

> The very fact of exposing the object—presenting it while informing about it—impels the subject [visitor] to connect the 'present' of the objects to the 'past' of their making, functioning, and meaning.[5]

This connection produces a cognitive map in the mind of the visitor in the form of a narrative. The viewer, informed by individual preconceptions and encouraged by the context of the display and explanatory documentation, completes the 'story' that unites the imaginary past with the tangible present of the object. The display of war relics held during the 1,100th anniversary in Kyoto in 1895, for example, led the visitor past an array of ancient armour and swords toward a massive torpedo and other relics from the just concluded Sino-Japanese war.[6] The visitor was impelled to link the ancient warrior spirit, *bushidō*, and all its associated notions of honour and loyalty, with the soldiers triumphant in the recent conflict.

Bal notes that the visitor is intuitively aware that exposition—the exposing of objects—is a process of representation. The samurai swords and torpedo from the above example are meaningless exhibits in themselves: their significance comes from their representation of people, places and ideals.[7] A direct encounter with physical objects in the present promotes an appearance of truth in the extrapolated imaginings of their past, regardless of the veracity of the resultant narrative.[8] The (past) context from

---

[5] Mieke Bal, *Double Exposures: The Subject of Cultural Analysis* (New York and London: Routledge, 1996), p. 4.

[6] *Hinode Shinbun*, 11 October 1895.

[7] This gives rise to a possible distinction between displays of art and cultural artifacts. Individual items of art may be appreciated for their unique beauty, giving them significance in themselves. However, within a display of art, these individual characteristics are measured as being in some way 'representative' of a particular style or technique. In other words, there is still a strong sense of context and narrative in the significance of beauty.

[8] Bal, *Double Exposures*, p. 5.

which the objects have been plucked is not replaced by the (present) context of the exhibit, but combined into a representational unity in which the truth of the past and present, and the narrative that links them, is self-evident. It is, of course, difficult to determine the motivations and effects on individuals who view the display, and to what degree they accept or deny the truth of this representational unity. The evidence must be carefully weighed to gauge how the mode of display promotes and reinforces underlying cultural assumptions. These assumptions are made evident in displays, for example, by associated text panels that explain the origins and significance of the objects. For the anniversary of Kyoto in 1895, this context was supplemented by a proliferation of guidebooks published in the city during the year. These will be discussed in detail in the body of the thesis.

This process of representation, like culture itself, is not static but exists within a spatial and temporal dynamic. Historical forces cannot be ignored in any analysis of such cultural activities. This representational process may be fundamental to the nature of display, but is produced out of historical circumstance. That is to say, public display—the placement of objects within a contrived context to be seen by a certain group of people—developed, and then flourished, within the emerging industrial landscape of the second half of the nineteenth century. Precursors to the ostentatious acts of display evident in international expositions may be found in the eclectic mix of rare and exotic artefacts and specimens presented in the private curio cabinets of the European nobility in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[9] Their purpose, according to Walsh, was to 'represent the world, and its order, as it was perceived by their owners', and to 'constitute the *world as a view*'.[10] The objectification, classification and presentation of items is thus complicit with the modernising project, which is defined by Walsh as 'a

---

[9] Kevin Walsh, *The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Post-Modern World* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. 18–22.

[10] Walsh, *The Representation of the Past*, p. 19. Raymond Corbey, 'Ethnographic Showcases, 1870-1930,' in *The Decolonisation of Imagination: Culture, Knowledge and Power*, ed. Jan Nederveen Pieterse and Bhikhu Parekh (London and New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd, 1995), p. 59, described expositions as an 'inventory / census of the whole world and the whole history of humankind'.

set of discourses concerned with the possibilities of representing reality and defining eternal truths'.[11] Visual representation, of the kind foreshadowed by these cabinets, was indicative of a fundamental shift in how people subsequently came to understand their position in, and relation to, the outside world. As Yoshimi notes, this rise of vision to a predominant position in nineteenth century Europe was simultaneous with the development of the print media and associated technologies.[12]

The complicity of displays of cultural heritage with the modernising project exposes a paradox for non-Western societies such as Japan. This is noted by Tanaka in an investigation of the role of aesthetics in the formation of Japanese nationalist ideology.[13] He argued that the adoption of foreign institutions and ideas conflicted with the necessary celebration of a native cultural heritage considered essential to build the commonality of identity and purpose in a modern nation-state. The emergence of cultural nationalism in the 1880s coincided with the 'discovery' of Japanese art, a discovery usually attributed to Ernest Fenollosa (1853–1908) and Okakura Tenshin (1862–1913).[14] It was the objectification and classification of Japanese art that provided 'frameworks that give meaning to contemporary concerns'.[15] For Tanaka, the reconstitution of the visual into meaningful frameworks—narratives of cultural heritage—was an essential element in inscribing belief in the abstract emergent social order. 'Art serves as the archives', he stated, 'from which Japanese have constructed an objectivistic and unchanging narrative of their past, a history that

---

[11] Walsh, *The Representation of the Past*, p. 7. Hinsley, quoting the organisers of the 1893 Chicago event, stated that 'the exposition would be in essence "an effort to educate" and "to formulate the Modern"'. Curtis Hinsley, 'The World as Marketplace,' in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), p. 346.

[12] Yoshimi Shun'ya, *Hakurankai no seijigaku: manazashi no kindai* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1992), pp. 11–12. Coombes, quoting John Hobson, describes this gaze of the visitor to expositions as 'spectatorial lust', in Annie Coombes, *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 63.

[13] Stefan Tanaka, 'Imaging History: Inscribing Belief in the Nation,' *Journal of Asian Studies* 53, no. 1 (1994), pp. 24–44.

[14] For the life of these men, and their role in the discovery of Japanese art, see, for example, Saitō Ryūzō, *Okakura Tenshin* (Tokyo: Yosikawa Kōbunkan, 1960), and Tanaka, 'Imaging History,' pp. 24–44. The rise of cultural nationalism in Japan will be explored below in chapter 2.

[15] Tanaka, 'Imaging History,' pp. 26–27.

celebrates their uniqueness and corrects the baneful effects of modernity.'[16] Similarly, the visual representations of Japan's past evident during the celebration of Kyoto's identity in 1895, in the exposition, in the shrine, and in other cultural practices, aided ordinary Japanese to position themselves within emerging narratives of common heritage.

Regionalism, nationalism, and the significance of Kyoto

One of the difficult and much debated problems for scholars of late nineteenth century Japan concerns the tension between regionalism and nationalism in the transition to a modern nation-state. Prior to the Meiji restoration, the standard explanation went, people's allegiance was to a local lord or domain.[17] The emperor was a distant, even unknown figure to most residents of the Japanese archipelago during the pre-modern period.[18] After the changes imposed by the centralised Meiji government, however, these same residents were quite suddenly ready to die less for their locality than for an abstract community known as 'Japan' headed by an emperor who was divine and inviolable. More recently, scholars have qualified this understanding by suggesting that regionalism and nationalism were not always at odds. The case of Kyoto in 1895 supports this view. This thesis argues that focussing on the opposition of region and nation is not the only productive method for understanding the changes in Japanese society during this period.

One of the historiographical trends in recent studies of Japanese nationalism is to focus on local issues. Neil Waters, for example, produced such a study of the Kawasaki area.[19] Waters deliberately chose a region free of violent 'incidents' *(jiken)* or 'people's

---

[16] Tanaka, 'Imaging History,' p. 41.

[17] See, for example, a recent critique of this understanding in Helen Hardacre and Adam L. Kern (eds.), *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), especially the introduction by Hardacre, pp. xxii–xxv.

[18] Takashi Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), pp. 4–9.

[19] Neil Waters, *Japan's Local Pragmatists: The Transition from Bakumatsu to Meiji in the Kawasaki Region* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1983).

rights movements' *(jiyū minken undō)* in an attempt to understand how the vast majority of Japanese localities coped more or less smoothly with the changes of the Meiji period. One of his conclusions was that some continuity in the regional administration and economy from the Tokugawa period enabled local leaders to act as a buffer to minimise the disruption of centrally imposed reforms.[20] One difference between Water's study and this thesis is that, while local administrators in Kyoto at various levels often contested national and regional interests, there was a sharp discontinuity at the beginning of the Meiji period, when large numbers of courtiers, businessmen and former domain officials left the city and followed the emperor and the new government to Tokyo. Unlike the case of Kawasaki examined by Waters, the power vacuum in Kyoto, as explored in this thesis, was filled by energetic young entrepreneurs, many of whom had few ties to the city or its pre-restoration administration. Indeed, many of these men, as will be explored later, played key roles in the organisation of the anniversary.

Works that examine these changes on a prefectural level, notably James Baxter's study of Ishikawa, seek to understand how national interests were represented in the Meiji period through the newly established regional bureaucracy.[21] Baxter found that instead of being coerced by the central authorities, the local rulers and people of Ishikawa often actively participated in building a sense of nation. Further, the remarkable changes undertaken in the years after the Meiji restoration did indeed lead residents of Ishikawa to a strong sense of identity with the nation and the emperor. However, this was not at the expense of an equally strong local identity and pride, accompanied by a deep lingering respect for the Maeda family (the former domain lords).[22]

---

[20] See especially Waters, *Japan's Local Pragmatists*, pp. 123–131.

[21] James C. Baxter, *The Meiji Unification through the Lens of Ishikawa Prefecture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1994).

[22] Baxter, *Meiji Unification*, pp. 250–255.

In contrast to the works of scholars such as Waters and Baxter, this thesis examines aspects of regional and national identity within cultural practises rather than in administrative and bureaucratic structures. For example, one of the earliest civic celebrations in Japan of the type seen in Kyoto was the 300th anniversary in 1891 of the restoration of Kanazawa castle by Maeda Toshiie (1538-1599). The celebration, which included a ritual at the Oyama Shrine followed by several days of Noh, sumo, horse racing, dance and other festivities, incorporated a sense of hope for regional economic growth and social stability.[23] In concrete terms, the heir of Toshiie was invited to attend and asked to assist in the establishment of a local commercial bank. While analysis of this type of event was placed beyond the scope of Baxter's work, or of other such works as Michael Lewis' study of Toyama,[24] this thesis contends that such anniversaries and civic rituals provided a powerful symbol for the collective character, or identity, of the modern city. Thus, to understand the nature of identities at various levels in Meiji Japan, it is essential to explore such rites.[25]

A further approach has been taken by Karen Wigen in her geographic-historical studies of the Ina Valley in central Japan.[26] The Ina Valley, unlike Kyoto, had no distinct physical, cultural or political identity, and was chosen as an object of study because of the interdependent economic networks that had developed in the region by the mid-eighteenth century.[27] Wigen suggested that an imposed political geography and promotion of the triumvirate of 'roads, school and industry' as objects of regional pride in the 1870s and 1880s provided for a smooth 'interaction between local desires

---

[23] Haga Shōji, *Meiji ishin to shūkyō* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1994), pp. 340-344.

[24] Michael Lewis, *Becoming Apart: National Power and Local Politics in Toyama, 1868–1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Centre, 2000).

[25] Haga, *Meiji ishin to shūkyō*, p. 345, considered that anniversaries, especially those involving shrines for historic figures who founded or restored a city, were intrinsically linked to the construction of a new religious framework under the aegis of 'Shinto'.

[26] Karen Wigen, *The Making of a Japanese Periphery, 1750–1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), and Karen Wigen, "Constructing Shinano: The Invention of a Neo-Traditional Region," in *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Japan*, ed. Stephen Vlastos (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 229-242.

[27] Wigen, *Japanese Periphery*, pp. 13-21.

and national imperatives'.[28] The case of the Kyoto anniversary tells us that cultural activities, even when framed as a legacy of an imperial past, must be acknowledged along with the modernisation project for a fuller understanding of regional identity during this period. However, Wigen's comments concerning the contested local implementation of centrally driven reform during the Meiji period, and the impact of transport improvements on the regional economy, amply demonstrate the value of her approach. In this thesis often we cite the political, economic and geographical conditions of Kyoto in order to provide a context for the investigations. However, the principal focus is on the processes of public display, preservation, celebration, and other cultural activities in order to tease out the emergence of a sense of group belonging and position within narratives of regionalism and nationalism.

On the broader question of Japanese nationalism, it is worth noting the positions of the major English-language works. Delmer Brown defined nationalism as a 'type of group loyalty', and explained it in terms of pre-existing elements activated by social conditions in the face of external danger.[29] For Brown, it was issues of treaty revision in 1887 which provided the impetus for the emergence of a national group consciousness.[30] Brown's analysis, however, describes nationalism as a fundamentally monolithic entity bound to the actions and ideas of a central elite, which is not surprising considering the period when it was written. A more recent perspective of the construction of this national identity is contained in Carol Gluck's work on ideology in the late Meiji period.[31] However, according to Gluck, though the late 1880s saw the emergence of a sense of nation along with rising expectations in the promulgation of the constitution and establishment of a national representative assembly, it was only after 1890 that national ideology truly began to emerge.[32] Her findings of most relevance to this study concern the large range of people and

---

[28] Wigen, "Constructing Shinano", pp. 238–239.
[29] Delmer Brown, *Nationalism in Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955), p. 2.
[30] Brown, *Nationalism in Japan*, p. 112.
[31] Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths*.
[32] Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths*, pp. 17–41.

institutions involved in the production of a diverse and contested ideology during the period. As a study of the 1895 anniversary affirms, notions of hegemony arise from a series of coexisting and overlapping ideologies, many of which emerge out of accident and improvisation.

Whereas Gluck examined ideology as the articulated statements and exhortations concerning social life and identity, this thesis is primarily concerned with the ideology of cultural practices. To be sure, many statements of ideology in the sense discussed by Gluck were made in Kyoto leading up to 1895 and are examined here. However, analysis of key cultural forms evident in the anniversary, for example preservation and presentation, is entirely absent from Gluck's work. Indeed, it was largely absent from other studies of nationalism in Japan and elsewhere until the publication of the influential theses of Benedict Anderson and Eric Hobsbawm in 1983 took studies of nationalism beyond matters of race, politics and the economy.[33]

The most influential work on Japan inspired by Hobsbawm, and the work closest in topic to this thesis, is Fujitani's account of the emergence of invented traditions in Japan in the late nineteenth century.[34] It focused on the modern cult of the emperor within the nation-state, and the emergence of large scale imperial pageants and ceremonies. Fujitani described how a symbolic topography emerged from debates concerning the location of imperial ritual in the late 1880s. The ideology of the new social order was reflected for Fujitani in the symbolism of three locations: Tokyo, the new home of the emperor, the centre of national government institutions, and symbolic of progress and modernisation; Ise, the apex of the newly formed religious order, a

---

[33] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, Revised ed. (London: Verso, 1991), and Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

[34] Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy*. Tradition, for Shils, was in its most basic sense 'that which has been and is being handed down or transmitted'. Edward Shils, Tradition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 13. Hobsbawm contended that 'invented traditions' which emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries sought to 'establish continuity with a suitable historic past'. Hobsbawm et al., eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, p. 1. Klaus Antoni, 'Japan and the Unversal Categories of "Nation" and "Nationalism"—Some Remarks on a Current Academic Debate,' *Oriens Extremes* 34, no. 1-2 (1991), pp. 139-145, criticises Hobsbawm's approach as being too 'Euro-centric' and offers an alternate focus on 'Traditionalism' rather than on tradition itself.

symbol of the divinity of the imperial line and the link with the mythological origins of the land; and Kyoto, representative of 'tradition' in Japanese society and rich in physical objects with imperial connections. Fujitani employed the term 'mnemonic sites' to describe the attribution of significance to ritual pageantry and historic monuments.[35] Kyoto was central to the utilisation of mnemonic sites to engender national identity and to represent the long history of the imperial line. Fujitani cited the Kyoto anniversary celebrations in 1895—something that few other studies of the period have done—as representative of this practice.[36]

However, this thesis diverges from Fujitani's study in two ways. Firstly, Fujitani's analysis of Kyoto as representative of the past is fundamentally Tokyo-centric. His characterisation of Kyoto is useful in terms of how the city was positioned from a national perspective but it does not explain or provide a method for examining the local context, motivations and events in the city leading up to the 1,100th anniversary celebrations in 1895. A similar position is taken by the Japanese historian, Kojita Yasunao, in his examination of the changing perceptions of the city held by Japanese society and the role of Kyoto during the Meiji period.[37] The analysis of the events of 1895 in this thesis, however, is undertaken fundamentally from the perspective of the local elite and examines how their intentions were moderated or modified by the Tokyo stake-holders, how their plans were implemented, and how the local people participated and reacted.

The second difference concerns the emphasis given to the official symbolism of Kyoto as the 'past'. The Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition is described within the anniversary context by Fujitani as a 'festival of progress within a city of history'.[38] Expositions in general, though considered a fascinating phenomenon in a footnote, are

---

[35] Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy*, pp. 9–18.

[36] Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy*, pp. 86–87.

[37] Kojita Yasunao, 'Kindai Nihon ni okeru koto Kyōto,' *Rekishi Hyōron* 533 (1994), pp. 39–42. Kojita divided the early Meiji period as follows: 1868–1875, denial of Kyoto; 1875–1884, preservation of tradition; and 1885–1895, construction of tradition.

[38] Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy*, p. 87.

placed outside the scope of Fujitani's study. This thesis contends that a vital aspect of the establishment of a modern nation-state in late nineteenth century Japan was the emergence of representations of traditions and history alongside representations of modernity and progress, and that the Kyoto anniversary embodied both of these aspects.[39] Furthermore, the shared mode of cultural activity explored in this thesis makes an examination of expositions in general, and the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition in particular, integral to an understanding of the nuances of regional and national identity evident in the anniversary.

Sources

There is an abundance of guidebooks, picture books and popular histories dealing with Kyoto. Nonetheless, there were few serious historical works dealing with the culture and history of the city, especially during the Meiji period, until the publication in 1970 of the multi-volume history of the city.[40] The supervising editor, Hayashiya Tatsusaburō, was also the author of numerous local popular histories and was the editor of the Kyoto volume of the *Rekishi chimei taikei.*[41] Hayashiya's history was accompanied by several volumes of pubished historical documents, and still another collection of documents published on the occasion of the centenary of the prefecture was accompanied by a multi-volume chronology.[42] However, there is still no comprehensive study of late nineteenth century civic celebrations in Japan, and until the recent compilation of the centenary history of the Heian Shrine, there have been only scattered articles dealing with its founding.[43] The 1,200th anniversary of Kyoto,

---

[39] This is, of course, made evident on a national scale in Fujitani by a combination of the symbolism of Tokyo and Kyoto.

[40] Hayashiya Tatsusaburō, ed., *Kyōto no rekishi*, 10 vols. (Tokyo: Gakugei Shorin, 1970-1976).

[41] For example, Hayashiya Tatsusaburō, *Kyōto* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1962); and Hayashiya Tatsusaburō et al., eds., *Kyōto-shi no chimei*, vol. 27, *Nihon rekishi chimei taikei* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1979).

[42] Kyōto-shi, ed., *Shiryō Kyōto no rekishi*, 16 vols. (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1984); Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan, ed., *Kyōto-fu hyakunen no shiryō*, 9 vols. (Kyoto: Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan, 1972); and Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan, ed., *Kyōto-fu hyakunen no nenpyō*, 15 vols. (Kyoto: Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan, 1971-1972).

[43] Heian Jingū Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Heian Jingū hyakunenshi*, 2 vols. (Kyoto: Heian Jingū, 1998). See also Tokoro Isao, 'Heian Jingū zōken zenshi,' *Shintōshi Kenkyū* 42, no. 4 (1994), pp. 56-87; and Akimoto

celebrated in 1994, prompted the publication of several volumes of collected works that dealt historically and in some detail for the first time with the 1895 events in Kyoto.[44] These works are welcome additions to the field, but do little to further a comprehensive understanding of civic celebration and public display within the period of nation formation at the end of the nineteenth century. Further, a large body of work in English deals with the nature and history of international expositions, but while there are a number of works treating Japanese expositions, surprisingly few engage the Western literature.[45] Expositions in Japan, and Japanese participation in international events, are the subject of only scattered articles and book sections. The nature of temporary public display outside the exposition and museum context has received even less scholarly attention.[46]

The main primary sources used in this thesis to supplement these secondary works are, first of all, lengthy reports compiled by the various anniversary organising committees.[47] These contain reproductions of primary documents and comprehensive reports essential to an understanding of many aspects of the administration and execution of the anniversary events. They also tabulate details of the finances and organisational structure of the anniversary and exposition, as well as incorporating

---

Nobuhide, 'Meiji jūrokunen no Heian Jingū sōken an,' *Kokugakuin Daigaku Nihon Bunka Kenkyūjo Kiyō* 38 (1976), pp. 53-121.

[44] For example, Ueda Masaaki, ed., *Heian-kyō kara Kyōto e* (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 1994), and Nihonshi Kenkyūkai Kyōto Minka Rekishi Bukai, ed., *Kyōto sennihyaku no sugao* (Tokyo: Azekura Shobō, 1995).

[45] Some I have used are: Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988); John Findling, *Chicago's Great World Fairs* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1994); and Robert Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1984). Kyōto Hakuran Kyōkai, ed., *Kyōto hakurankai enkakushi* (Kyoto: Kyōto Hakuran Kyōkai, 1901) is an early narrative account of Japanese expositions, and Yamamoto Mitsuo, *Nihon hakurankai shi* (Tokyo: Risōsha, 1973) is a case example. The exception is perhaps Yoshimi, *Hakurankai no seijigaku*.

[46] Some works of relevance are: Peter Kornicki, 'Public Display and Changing Values: Early Meiji Exhibitions and Their Precursors,' *Monumenta Nipponica* 49, no. 2 (1994); Judith Snodgrass, 'Japan Faces the West: The Representation of Japan at the Columbian Exposition, Chicago 1893,' in *Japanese Science, Technology and Economic Growth Down Under*, ed. Morris Low and Helen Marriott (Warnambool: Amazon Press, 1996); and Kentaro Tomio, 'Expositions and Museums in Meiji Japan,' in *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, ed. Helen Hardacre and Adam L. Kern (Leiden, New York and Koln: Brill, 1997), pp. 719-733.

[47] Wakamatsu, ed., *Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai kyōsanshi*, and Kyōto Sanjikai, ed., *Heian sento kinensai kiji*, vol. 1-2.

diagrammatic plans and details of the construction of the Heian Shrine. As with many official accounts, however, there are some details that can only be obtained or verified with the use of other sources, for example, local and national newspapers such as the *Hinode Shinbun* and the *Asahi Shinbun*.[48] During the year of the anniversary, and in the years leading up to it, the *Hinode* in particular devoted a large amount of space to the exposition and anniversary events. Guides to the various events and displays, lists of prizes and exhibits, serialised articles and general news of the anniversary were all an invaluable source of material for this study. Collections of national laws and edicts, such as the *Hōrei zensho* and several collections of religious laws, supplemented the previously mentioned collections of published sources dealing with Kyoto.[49] Other contemporary accounts, such as the history of the city commissioned for the anniversary, *Heian tsūshi*, also provided details and background for an understanding of the importance of the Heian period to the anniversary celebrations.[50] It also provided details of the personalities related both to the events of 1895 and to the history of the city.

Of particular note is the use of guidebooks to Kyoto which are found in the extensive collection of Meiji printed books held at the National Diet Library and published on microfilm by Maruzen.[51] These guidebooks, which are discussed more fully below, provide a point of comparison as to how cultural sites were represented from the Tokugawa through to the Meiji period. The fact that so many new guidebooks were published during the anniversary year illustrates their significance, and of the demand from tourists for such publications. The origins of the guidebooks were concurrent with increased pilgrimage to Kyoto and elsewhere in the pre-modern period. The improvements to national transport and communications by the 1890s enabled more

---

[48] Contained in the microfilm collection of the Kyoto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan.

[49] Ōkurashō Insatsukyoku, ed., *Hōrei zensho* (Tokyo: Ōkurashō Insatsukyoku, 1872-1895); Monbushō Shūkyō Kyoku, ed., *Shūkyō seido chōsa shiryō*, vol. 1-9 (Tokyo: Hara Shobō, 1977), and Yasumaru Yoshio et al., eds., *Shūkyō to kokka*, vol. 5, *Nihon Kindai shisō taikei* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1988).

[50] Kyōto-shi Sanjikai, ed., *Heian tsūshi*, Reprint of 1895 ed. (Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha, 1977).

[51] Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan, *Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan shōzō Meiji-ki kankō tosho maikuro-ban shūsei* (Tokyo: Maruzen Kabushiki Kaisha, 1992).

Japanese than ever before to make short-term tourist trips further afield. The guidebooks provide essential evidence for the nature of this transition from pilgrimage to modern tourism, and have been used here to highlight aspects of the modes of production evident in the displays of cultural heritage in the 1895 Kyoto anniversary.

Outline of chapters

The 1895 anniversary was a celebration of Kyoto as home to the imperial court for over a thousand years. The first chapter of this thesis establishes a historical context for the study by examining the importance of the emperor and imperial institution to the identity of the city, and introduces buildings from the Heian period Imperial Palace, which were reconstructed as the Heian Shrine in 1895. This is especially important because the 1895 celebrations focused on the founder of the city, Emperor Kanmu, the nature of his rule, and his connections with the region. The re-emergence of the emperor in state affairs in the Bakumatsu period, both in reality and as justification for ideological statements, thrust Kyoto back into the spotlight after centuries of warrior rule and neglect. An understanding of the various reactions and responses by its leaders and residents after the emperor's departure for Kyoto in the early years of Meiji is essential background for later events. For example, the celebrations for the revival of the city's economic fortunes, first at the opening of the Lake Biwa Canal *(Biwa-ko sosui)* in 1890 and later in the 1,100th anniversary, were showcases for the city, past and present, and helped frame its identity and that of its residents.

Chapter 2 examines the development of official preservation policies, especially relating to shrine and temple treasures and documents, and places these within the context of contemporary debates about identity and nationalism. Regional and national motivations and agencies are explored to reveal the emergence of mnemonic sites and the importance of Kyoto in a national program of preservation. In the 1880s there appeared a mounting official concern for preservation of imperial artefacts. The trends evident in this change in Kyoto directly influenced the mode of celebration in the anniversary in 1895, with the inclusion of displays of 'preserved' items, official funding

to restore temples and shrines, and private restoration efforts, such as the reconstruction of the Founders Hall at Higashi Honganji, to coincide with the anniversary celebration.

The initial planning and organisational bodies for the anniversary are examined in chapters 3 and 4. The former contains a study of the Anniversary Committee *(Kinensai iinkai)* and the Tokyo-based Cooperative Society *(Kinensai kyōsankai)*, as well as their alliances and the motivations of the influential members of these organisations, to reveal a complex tug-of-war between local and national proposals and interests. The results of this contest were often decided by compromise, or, as the late inclusion of the Heian Shrine and the Festival of the Ages in the anniversary clearly indicate, external factors often worked to bring about unplanned outcomes. Chapter 4 continues to examine the planning of the anniversary in the construction of the Heian Shrine. It suggests several reasons why the shrine was modelled on the Daigokuden from Kanmu's palace, and why it was modified from the original blueprint. These choices were in large part influenced by the underlying ideology of the palace structure, but were also influenced by the tensions between a desire for accuracy in the model, financial constraints, and technical limitations in the construction methods.

The lack of direct sources makes it difficult to gauge what the wider populace made of the anniversary, or how they responded to the various appeals to the past in the content of the celebrations. Many inferences throughout the thesis concern the motivations and intent of the various elite groups which organised the events. Chapter 5, however, seeks to consider the effects of this planning by exploring in detail the first public opportunity for participation in the Anniversary events. Two contrasting aspects of the Jichinsai (Land-calming Ritual) of the Heian Shrine held in 1893 are examined here: the formal ritual and the informal public celebration. The chapter seeks to understand the nature of the public response to the Jichinsai, and how this related to the statements of intent contained in the formal ritual and elsewhere. A contrast of the

Jichinsai celebrations with those held for the anniversary two years later reveals a turning point in social attitudes to public celebration and festivity.

The outcome of this planning, the anniversary celebrations of 1895, is the subject of chapter 6, in which identity is couched in terms of a desire to present Kyoto internationally as a city of heritage and elegance, and domestically as the leader of a regional alliance to take on the east (Tokyo). The underlying imperial symbolism of the anniversary celebrations, manifest in the Heian Shrine, was to have its fullest realisation with the attendance of the current emperor within the hallowed hall of the reconstructed Daigokuden. The last minute withdrawal of the emperor, however, and his ultimate non-attendance at the rescheduled celebrations later in the year, provided the opportunity for representations of the underlying imperial ideology without the emperor's bodily presence. Staging the anniversary also demanded striking a balancing act between improving the infrastructure and services in Kyoto, and providing a facade for a favourable experience for visitors to the city.

Symbols of the past, for Fujitani, and to a certain extent for Tanaka as introduced above, were placed within a celebration of modernity in Meiji Japan to provide frameworks to understand changing political, social and economic systems. Expositions in Kyoto, as elsewhere, were representative of efforts to modernise and industrialise. Chapter 7 explores the nature of these events in Kyoto, especially the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition in 1895, in order to reveal trends away from mass production and pre-fabrication. The displays of the exposition, especially those originating from Kyoto, were interpreted as the logical development of the traditional arts and crafts of the city. Kyoto's past was proudly displayed at temples, shrines and in the Display of the Ages, and preserved within the rubric of the anniversary activity. This past was more than a national symbol of imperial legitimacy, but complicit with a mode of cultural production that sought both to reposition its residents within an accepted national narrative, and to strengthen their ties to the region.

Chapter 8 examines the formation of this historical narrative of the city that emerged in the public display of cultural treasures, in the guidebooks of the city's famous sites published in the period leading up to 1895, and in the Festival of the Ages. It asks how these forms of cultural production contributed to a sense of common heritage, and how they related to the programs of preservation undertaken in the period leading up to the anniversary. While the displays were a static symbol of the past, and the guidebooks provided a historical context, the Festival of the Ages was a narrative performance that involved the local people as participants and spectators. An analysis of the content and process of organisation of these events seeks to reveal why public celebration in 1895 Kyoto was so different from traditional civic events such as festivals, or indeed from the Jichinsai of the Heian Shrine only two years previously.

Chapter 1. Kyoto: history, restoration and modernisation

In late 1869 several thousand angry residents of Kyoto carried out a noisy vigil outside the Iwayakushi Gate *(Iwayakushimon)* of the Imperial Palace. The demonstrators gathered under banners that indicated participation from almost all the administrative districts in the city.[52] Their aim was to protest, and if possible prevent, the departure of the empress to Tokyo. Emperor Meiji had 'travelled east' the previous year, following the declaration that Edo was to be renamed Tokyo. The progress of the empress signified to these residents the permanent removal of the imperial residence, and the abandonment of Kyoto by the imperial family. The passion generated locally by the transfer of the capital, and imperial family, to Tokyo in the early years of Meiji, and the responses by the city's residents and administrators in the subsequent years, reflects a sense at this time that the city and its people deeply linked their identity to the imperial institution.

Kyoto's prestige up to the beginning of Meiji, as these demonstrations affirmed, was tied to the physical presence of the emperor and imperial family. It was not associated with collective memory or popular consciousness of the emperor. In rural Japan, the emperor was either beyond the ken of most Japanese or a semi-mythical figure.[53] In Kyoto itself, however, the residents of the palace were a benevolent presence that provided economic stability in good times through imperial patronage. In poor times, this benevolence was reflected, for example, in the prayers and petitions directed to the imperial family from tens of thousands of Kyoto residents during the rice famine of 1787.[54] The very naming of the city reflects this relationship. Though officially known

---

[52] Hayashiya Tatsusaburō, ed., *Ishin no gekidō*, vol. 7, *Kyōto no rekishi* (Tokyo: Gakugei Shorin, 1974), pp. 492–493. The protest was not limited to ordinary people in the city. One court noble, Ōhara Shigetomi, travelled as far as Ōtsu station with the emperor when he left for the east the previous year to try and convince him to stay in Kyoto. Sidney DeVere Brown, 'Kido Takayoshi and the Young Emperor Meiji: A Subject as His Sovereign Pedagogue, 1868-1877,' *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan IV Series* 1 (1986), p. 10.

[53] Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy*, pp. 4–9.

[54] An account of this can be found in Igeta Ryōji, 'Kinsei to kindai no Kyōto,' in *Kyōto sennihyaku nen no sugao*, ed. Nihonshi Kenkyūkai (Tokyo: Azekura Shobō, 1995), pp. 38–41.

as Heian-kyō from its inception, the name Kyoto, which simply means 'Imperial Capital', was in common usage at least from the eleventh century.[55] After Edo was renamed Tokyo in September 1868, Kyoto began to be called Saikyō (Western Capital) though this was used disparagingly by Tokyo people. The reassertion of Kyoto as the name of the city corresponded to the period of revival and preservation of the city in the early 1880s.[56]

Kyoto's prestige through its long association with the imperial line was not evident in physical artefacts in the area. In Japan's long past, buildings were moved, shrines re-consecrated, and palaces and tombs abandoned and rebuilt in new locations when the capital changed. In this sense, the objects left behind were not revered, preserved, or treated as particularly special because of their imperial connections. For example, the imperial palace was often not immediately rebuilt after fire or earthquake, and the grounds were left overgrown and in ruin. At such times, the palace grounds were avoided by the residents of the city. This may reflect an element of 'pre-modern' psychological reverence for the palace while it was the home of the emperor—and this is precisely the point—but it does not indicate any understanding of 'cultural' artefacts in the modern sense. This is because such inherent significance had not been attributed to the ruins. The process of this signification and representation of physical culture began in Kyoto in the early 1870s, and was formalised in its peak during the 1880s. It was championed by the elder statesman Iwakura Tomomi (1825–1883) and will be described in more detail in a later chapter.[57]

A comprehensive account of the pre-modern relationship between the city and the emperor, or of the nature of the city itself, is beyond the scope of this thesis. Special

---

[55] The earliest documented use of the name is contained in *Chūyūki*, the diary of Fujiwara no Munetada, in an entry for 1098.

[56] Kyōto-shi, ed., *Seiji to gyōsei*, vol. 3, *Shiryō Kyōto no rekishi* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1979), p. 38.

[57] This process of signification became a lasting characteristic of Japanese tourism. Adolf Ehrentraut, 'Heritage Authenticity and Domestic Tourism in Japan,' *Annals of Tourism Research* 20, no. 2 (1993), p. 262, stated that a pronounced feature of the contempary tourist structure in Japan is 'its comprehensive marking of the cultural landscape' seen in the 'classification of landscape features'.

reference does need to be made, however, to the founding of the city, as this was the focus of the anniversary celebrations in 1895. An examination of the period leading up to, and immediately after, the restoration in 1868 is also essential, as this period was cathartic for the identity of the city. It is the moment of historical rupture, as the historian Fujitani correctly noted, that provides the focus for an examination of the emergence of new historical themes—ones that define the path of progress and imaginings of identity.[58]

Kyoto in ancient times: emperor, capital and palace

The 1895 anniversary celebrations focused on the founder of the city, Emperor Kanmu. His benevolence and virtue were exalted to explain the longevity of Kyoto as capital, and the prosperity of the city. The 'Statement of Purpose' *(shuisho)* for the anniversary (translated in appendix 3) considered that 'Kanmu embraced the noble spirit of his illustrious age and expanded the governance of the realm'.[59] The preface to the *Heian tsūshi*, a comprehensive history of Kyoto commissioned for the 1895 celebrations, stated that the anniversary would 'worship the August Spirit of Kanmu, praise his virtue, and make known his great works.'[60] Such rhetoric is repeated throughout texts from the planning and execution stages of the anniversary. Kanmu is held aloft as an exemplar of Japanese kingship, and representative of the foundation of the glory of the modern (1895) imperial nation-state.

What these sources do not mention, however, is more significant in terms of the ideological revisionism of mid-Meiji that formed the basis of contemporary identity. Kanmu's mother was descended from the imperial family of Paekche *(Kudara)*, a kingdom on the Korean peninsula.[61] Furthermore, a celebration of Kanmu as

---

[58] Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy*, p. 9.

[59] The Statement of Purpose was promulgated in October 1893. The text is reproduced in Wakamatsu, ed., *Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai kyōsanshi*, Sōryū-hen, pp. 1–3.

[60] Kyōto-shi Sanjikai, ed., *Heian tsūshi*, p. 20 (original edition, p. 29).

[61] This issue is discussed by Ueda Masaaki, 'Heian-kyō no tanjō,' in *Heian-kyō kara Kyōto e*, ed. Ueda Masaaki (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1994), pp. 23–27; and Nakao Hiroshi, *Kyōto no torai bunka* (Kyoto: Tankōsha,

representative of a long line of emperors descended in a single line back to the Sun Goddess fails under scrutiny when the facts of his reign are examined. Certainly, he was a forceful ruler intent on implementing his will, as his government policies would indicate.[62] However, his choice of site for the capital, the people he appointed to high positions within the court, and his internationalist policies, would indicate that he was influenced more by continental ideas than by native precedent and protocol. This is a point worth examining because the 1895 anniversary focused so heavily on Kanmu, and on the faithful representation of his court architecture in the model of the Daigokuden.

While the imperial family emerged as the dominant political faction during the Kofun period (AD 300–600) in Yamato, the basin in which Kyoto is situated had been occupied for thousands of years prior to this. Remains of pottery, crude implements, and bronze bells are testament to local habitation from the early Jōmon period (8000–300 BC). Several clusters of *kofun* tombs in present-day Mukōmachi, Uzumasa, Otokoyama and Kutsugawa, along with the associated discoveries of swords, bronze mirrors and bells dating from the Yayoi period (300 BC–AD 300), speak of the emergence of an agricultural society able to support a local nobility.

The Hata, Kamo, Izumo, Haji and Yasaka were prominent families that had accumulated significant land holdings around present-day Kyoto by the seventh century.[63] Their influence in the religious, artistic and cultural spheres is felt even today. The Hata were the most powerful family in the region and had their origins in Silla *(Shiragi)* in the southern Korean peninsula. The transmission of sericulture and loom technology to Japan by the Hata in the fourth century provided them with a

---

1990), pp. 244–247. For a discussion of Kanmu, see Saeki Arikiyo, 'Kanmu Tennō no kyōgai,' *Kodaigaku* 10, no. 2 (1961), pp. 235–245.

[62] See, for example, Katsuno Takanobu, 'Kanmu chō ni okeru shūkyō seisaku,' *Kodaigaku* 10, no. 2, (1961), pp. 330–342.

[63] This section draws on Akamatsu Toshihide et al., eds., *Kyōto-fu no rekishi* (Tokyo: Yamagawa Shuppansha, 1969) and Hayashiya Tatsusaburō, ed., *Heian no shinkyō*, vol. 1, *Kyōto no rekishi* (Tokyo: Gakugei Shorin, 1970).

strong economic base. After an offering of silk goods to Emperor Yūryaku in the fifth century, Hata no Sakegimi (?-?) was appointed head of the Weaving Guild and granted the name Uzumasa. In 603, Hata no Kawakatsu (?-?) was commissioned by his friend Shōtoku Taishi (574-622) to build Kōryuji, also called Uzumasadera, in the centre of Hata territory. The statue of Miroku currently on display in the temple is reputed to have been donated by Shōtoku himself. The significance of this statue in political and artistic terms can be gauged by its being numbered one in the register of Important Cultural Properties in 1905.[64]

Kanmu decided to leave Nara in 784 and establish a new capital in Nagaoka-kyō, south-west of present-day Kyoto. Various factors may have influenced this decision: to escape the clutches of the Nara Buddhist ecclesia; to counter a domineering faction within the Fujiwara; or to find a site that would allow for expansion and development beyond the overcrowded Nara.[65] Whatever the reason, however, the move resulted in the imperial institution being situated closer to the power base of the Hata family on the periphery of Yamato. In the second half of the eighth century, the Hata had significant marriage connections to the court: Fujiwara no Tanetsugu (737-785), considered a prime motivator for the move, had Hata as maternal grandparents; Fujiwara no Oguromaro (732-794), one of the proponents of the move to Heian-kyō, had Hata in-laws, and Wake no Kiyomaro (733-799), despite his reputation as a man of little ability, occupied high positions within Kanmu's court.[66]

The decision was made in 793 to move the capital once more. It is a testament to the strength of Kanmu's rule that a second move of the capital could be embraced within ten years.[67] No doubt Hata funds contributed significantly to enabling the construction

---

[64] For details of the image of Miroku, see, for example, Togashi Yuzuri, ed., *Miroku Bosatsu*, vol. 4, *Miwaku no butsuzō* (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1986).

[65] For a discussion of these issues, see Ronald Toby, 'Why Leave Nara? Kanmu and the Transfer of the Capital,' *Monumenta Nipponica* 40, no. 3 (1985), pp. 331-347.

[66] Exiled for his opposition to the monk Dōkyō's attempts to usurp the throne, Wake no Kiyomaro returned to the capital to play a prominent role in the court of Kanmu.

[67] Richard Mason et al., *A History of Japan* (Melbourne: Cassel, 1972), pp. 46-47.

of Kanmu's grand city in the heart of their territory. Indeed, the move was announced to their tutelary deity at Kamo soon after the decision. Ranks, titles and tax exemptions were also granted to Hata people, shrines and lands. [68] Furthermore, Kanmu encouraged participation at the court by families with connections to Silla, often at the expense of the influential branches of the Fujiwara.[69]

Continental influence in Kanmu's reign was not, of course, limited to style of government. Even the choice of site was influenced by Chinese notions of geomancy. It is often noted that the site of Kyoto is protected by, or considered appropriate for, the gods of the four directions. This is because Kyoto has geographical features that correspond to the characteristics of the deities: a watercourse *(sōryū:* blue dragon) to the east, a road *(byakko:* white tiger) to the west, a plain *(shujaku:* vermilion bird) to the south, and mountains *(genbu:* snake-headed turtle) to the north.[70] The *Nihongi* claims this as the most important factor in the choice of capitals for not only Heian-kyō, but for Heijō-kyō and Fujiwara-kyō. The capital of the Northern and Southern Dynasties, Jiankang, to take a Chinese example, was situated precisely this way.[71] Gates within Chinese imperial palaces were also named after the gods of the directions. In Heian-kyō, the main southern thoroughfare in the city, Suzaku Avenue, and the towers to the east and west of the Daigokuden, the Sōryū-rō and Byakko-rō respectively, were named accordingly.[72]

---

[68] Hayashiya Tatsusaburō, ed., *Nenpyō-jiten*, vol. 10, *Kyōto no rekishi* (Tokyo: Gakugei Shorin, 1976), pp. 16-17.

[69] The *Gosekke*, or five families that tended to monopolise high appointments within the court, comprising the Konoe, Kujō, Nijō, Ichijō, and Takatsukasa. Compared to other emperors of the time, the number of Fujiwara in high positions in the court was very low during Kanmu's reign. See Ueda Masaaki, 'Kanmu chōtei to Higashi Ajia,' in *Heian-kyō kara Kyōto e*, ed. Ueda Masaaki (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1994), pp. 222-224.

[70] An early popular representation of this idea can be seen in *Heike Monogatari*, 5. Takagi Ichinosuke et al., eds., *Heike monogatari*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1959), p. 334.

[71] Both quoted in Cao Yang, 'A Study in the Origins of Ancient Japan's Palace System: Focusing on the Original Court Style,' *Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan* 36 (1991), p. 56.

[72] There seems to have been no Genbu Gate within the palace or city to complete the set. The penultimate gate at the north of the greater palace compund was called Genki Gate, where the '*gen*' corresponds to the '*gen*' of the northern deity.

Extracts from imperial edicts delivered by Kanmu late in 794 give the only direct evidence for the choice of site of the new capital. The first, delivered on the 28th day of the 10th month, stated:

> The mountains and rivers of the great palace of Kadono are beautiful, and it is convenient for the peasants of all the provinces...[73]

The second edict, dated the 8th day of the 11th month, continued this sentiment:

> This province of Yamashiro is encircled by mountains and rivers *(sanka kintai)* and forms a natural castle...[74]

The language of these edicts is interesting as it is echoed over and again in Meiji period statements concerning the founding of the city. The anniversary celebrations in mid-Meiji incorporated references to an early awareness of the significance of beauty of the city. *Sanka kintai,* which literally means the 'mountains and rivers [are a] collar and belt', appears in a poem written in 800 by the T'ang poet Po Chu-i (772–846).[75] This raises interesting possibilities concerning the inclusion of the phrase in a Japanese edict of 794. It was either inserted in the text by late Heian editors, or both have a common Chinese source. The former is possible because Po Chu-i was very popular in Japan, and because the increasing number of private traders in the ninth century ensured a supply of recent texts from China.[76] An earlier source is also possible, as intimations of the phrase can be found in the early T'ang poet Wang Po (648–676). Furthermore, official receptions by the Japanese court for Chinese delegations often included poetry readings.[77] Since the most common contrast in the parallel couplet is between land and

---

[73] Entry for the 28th day 10th month Enryaku 13 (794), in Kuroita Masayoshi, ed., *Nihon kiryaku,* vol. 10, *Kokushi taikei* (Tokyo: Kokushi Taikei Kankōkai, 1929), p. 268. In this, and the following, I have followed the translations of Richard Ponsonby Fane, 'The Capital and Palace of Heian,' *Transactions of the Japan Society of London* 22 (1925), p. 117.

[74] Entry for 8th day 11th month Enryaku 13 (794) in Kuroita, ed., *Nihon kiryaku,* p. 268.

[75] Kamada Tadasu et al., eds., *Daikangorin* (Tokyo: Daishūkan Shoten, 1992), p. 422.

[76] There were only two official Japanese missions to China in the ninth century, in 801 and 838. See Robert Borgen, 'The Japanese Mission to China, 801-806,' *Monumenta Nipponica* 37, no. 1 (1982), and Edwin Reichauer, *Ennin's Travels in T'ang China* (New York: Ronald Press, 1955). Po Chu-i is generally considered to have became popular in Japan after the 838 mission when collections of his works were brought back. However, it is possible that some of his poems were contained in collections of Chinese poetry that appeared in Japan from at least the middle of the previous century. See W. G. Beasley, *The Japanese Experience: A Short History of Japan* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1999), p. 55.

[77] See, for example, the description of such a reception for a delegation from Po-hai Provence, entry for 16th day 1st month Enryaku 18 (799) in Kuroita, ed., *Nihon kiryaku,* p. 273.

water, and since Chinese poetry was well known at the Japanese court, Kanmu may have been influenced by such a line from a poem. In any case, the phrase was often used in the mid-Meiji period to justify the preservation of cultural sites in the city. As will be explored in more detail in following chapters, the awareness that the beauty of shrine and temple precincts in the city was enhanced by the natural wonder of mountains and rivers was exploited by the anniversary organisers, and linked to the founder of Kyoto.

Both the layout of the new capital and, to a certain extent, the design of the palace compound were modelled on the Chinese imperial capitals Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang.[78] The former was associated with the western half of Heian-kyō, which was also called the Right City (Ukyō), and the latter with the eastern, or Left City (Sakyō). The western half of the city never fully developed, with the city expanding east over the Kamo River into Higashiyama. This accounts for the adoption of colloquial names for the city such as Rakuto or Keiraku (or Kyōraku), used after the Japanese pronunciation of Lo-yang (Rakuyō).

The feature of the Palace compound of most interest to our purposes is the Chōdōin (also called the Hasshōin). Though originally it may have functioned as a residential section of the palace, by the Nara period it had become the public face of the emperor and the site of rituals and ceremonies of state that mirrored the power structures in the court.[79] The Heian palace Chōdōin was positioned centrally in line with Suzaku Avenue towards the southern end of the palace compound. The entire compound of

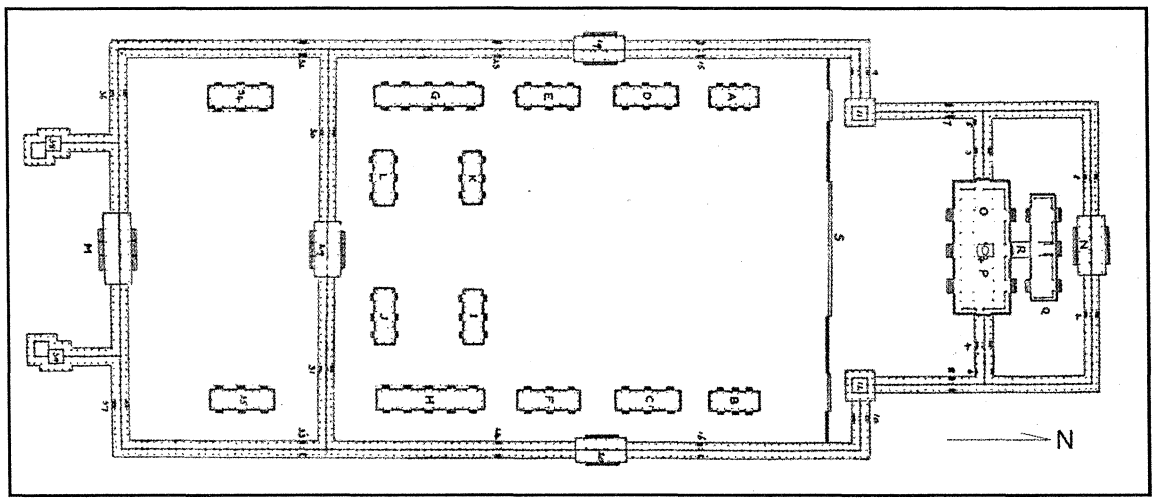
---

[78] See, for example, Yang, 'A Study in the Origins of Ancient Japan's Palace System,' and Ueda Masaaki, 'Heian-kyō no tanjō.'

[79] For an examination of the role of the Imperial Palace, especially at Heijō-kyō, see William Coaldrake, 'City Planning and Palace Architecture in the Creation of the Nara Political Order: the Accommodation of Place and Purpose at Heijō-kyō,' *East Asian History* 1 (1991), pp. 37-54. Theories concerning the origins and function of the palace buildings can be found in Yang, 'A Study in the Origins of Ancient Japan's Palace System,' pp. 43-57. For other details of the Heian Palace, see Ponsonby Fane, 'The Capital and Palace of Heian,' and Hayashiya, ed., *Heian no shinkyō*, pp. 243-299. These sources rely on the investigations published in the *Heian tsūshi*, the official report on the history of Kyoto commissioned for the 1895 anniversary.

the Chōdōin measured 450 metres north to south, and 185 metres east to west.[80] It was divided by corridors from the rest of the palace and comprised three main enclosures (see figure 1). The southern enclosure was entered through the Ōtenmon, a grand two story tiled gate at the south of the compound, flanked by two towers. These towers protruded south and were connected to the main compound by corridors. Inside this first enclosure were two buildings aligned north-south. These, and the twelve in the next enclosure, were built from the same model, but in differing scales and orientations. All were constructed on raised stone platforms, with tiled roofs and vermilion-red pillars.[81] These buildings were used to house members of the imperial family and the nobility during imperial rituals.

Figure 1: Heian Palace Chōdōin[82]



The northernmost enclosure within the Chōdōin was built on a raised platform called the Ryūbidan. This section was dominated by the Daigokuden. This impressive structure was also built on a 1.6 metre high stone platform that measured 60 by 22 metres. The hall, itself 53 by 16 metres, was oriented east-west and comprised 12 by 5

[80] This was 136 by 56 *jō*. One *jō* is equivalent to approximately 3.03 metres. All measurements are given in the modern equivalent.

[81] This can be contrasted with the current buildings within the Kyoto Imperial Palace, all reconstructed with plain, unpainted wood with a cypress bark shingled roof. Noma Seiroku, *The Arts of Japan, Ancient and Medieval*, trans. J Rosenfield (New York, Tokyo, San Fransico: Kodansha, 1978), p. 139.

[82] Diagram from Ponsonby Fane, 'The Capital and Palace of Heian,' p. 140.

pillars which formed 11 by 4 bays. All pillars were painted brilliant vermilion, with other surfaces white. The roof was made entirely of emerald-blue ceramic tiles in the T'ang style, with decorative finials on the ends. These finials were originally ceramic but later were made from gilded copper. Three steps at the south and two at the north led into the hall, which had no walls as such. In the centre was an imperial throne on a raised square platform surrounded by an octagonal canopy decorated with a golden phoenix *(ranchō)* at each of the four corners.

Behind the Daigokuden was a smaller building, the Shōanden, linked to the larger hall by a corridor. This building measured 43 by 8 metres, 8 metres being the width of all the lesser buildings within the Chōdōin compound. The Shōanden was used as a waiting room prior to the appearance of the emperor on the throne during ceremonies and ritual. Two towers at the junction of the corridors to the east and west of the Daigokuden, the Sōryū-rō (blue dragon tower) and the Byakko-rō (white tiger tower), measured 14 metres square at the base. The roof of each tower, also constructed with emerald-blue tiles, had a central tower and four smaller towers in the T'ang style giving an impressive facade.

The Daigokuden was the site of numerous imperial ceremonies and rituals, such as the Imperial Accession Ceremony *(Sokui shiki)* and the New Year Greeting *(Chōga)*. It also was the location of receptions for foreign emissaries, poetry readings and other entertainments. Numerous religious rituals also held at the Daigokuden reflected the complex mixture of Buddhism, Shinto, Chinese geomancy and folk beliefs that made up the Heian period religious landscape.[83] It must be stressed, however, that participation and attendance at these public ceremonies was limited to an elite group of imperial relatives, nobility and courtiers that were largely separate from the concerns of the common people. Participation in these civic affairs was strictly

---

[83] On Buddhist ceremonies in particular, see the survey of original documents in Fujiwara Sadanobu, 'Shimaji Mokurai to Heian Jingū zōken,' *Bukkyō Bunka Kenkyūjō Kiyō* 39 (2000), pp. 48–65. On Heian period religion and Kanmu, see the discussion in Katsuno, 'Kanmu chō ni okeru shūkyō seisaku,' pp. 330–342.

controlled through a complex system of ranking and protocol. The Daigokuden did not serve for most Heian period Japanese as a collective symbol of imperial will. This sentiment was reserved for the elite, all of whom resided in and around Kyoto.

Bakumatsu Kyoto and the emperor

By the mid-nineteenth century, a combination of internal and external pressures of a political, economic and social nature had brought forth activists and thinkers advocating governmental reform headed by an emperor with new dignity and authority. The famines and civil disorder that followed the disastrous harvests of the Tempō era (1830-1844), when combined with the fiscal difficulties suffered by the Bakufu, exaggerated the impact of the perceived threat of the encroaching West.[84] The arrival of the Russian warship commanded by Admiral Putyatin (1804–1883) in Osaka Bay in 1854 added to the sense of mounting crisis felt especially in the Kinki region around Kyoto. Numerous portents later that year—fire, eclipse and earthquake—prompted regional domains to send troops to guard the city against possible incursions by the foreign powers.[85]

This military action was indicative of the rise in prestige of the imperial line and heralded the re-emergence of Kyoto and the imperial court as serious players on the political stage. In 1854 the court issued directives for temples to surrender bronze bells, which were to be melted and used to build cannons.[86] During the treaty negotiations of 1857 and 1858, the court adopted a strong anti-foreign stance. The significance of this increasingly direct intervention in political affairs by the court was evident in the violent response of the newly appointed Bakufu great councillor *(tairō)*, Ii Naosuke (1815–1860), during the so-called 'Ansei purge' *(Ansei no taigoku)* that began late in 1858.

---

[84] Marius Jansen, 'The Meiji Restoration,' in *The Emergence of Meiji Japan*, ed. Marius Jansen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 144–145.

[85] Akamatsu et al., eds., *Kyōto-fu no rekishi*, p. 218.

[86] James Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 3–5. Jansen, 'The Meiji Restoration,' p. 151, notes that this was the first directive issued directly by the court during the entire Tokugawa period.

The political intervention of the court was also promoted through the increasingly loyalist ideology of Bakumatsu thinkers. Yoshida Shōin (1830–1859), in his *Modest Proposal Continued (Zokugūron)* of that same year, for example, advocated a reformed government situated in Kyoto with a modern, conscription army to protect the imperial line.[87]

Despite the Bakufu's persecution, however, the number of 'patriots' *(shishi)* present in the capital as wandering samurai, students or mercenaries increased after 1858. After the assassination of Ii in 1860, a more conciliatory Bakufu and conservative elements in the western domains sought to bring the court and Bakufu closer together *(kōbu gattai undō)*. This coincided with wider reforms in the Bakufu administration that, ironically, led to Kyoto becoming more central to national affairs. By the end of 1862 there were great hopes at the court that the assistance of Satsuma, Chōshu and Tosa would make 'Kyoto the centre of politics' and would enable the court to 'grasp real power from the Bakufu' and 'reform the ancient custom [of imperial rule]'.[88] To this end, the court had sent senior courtier Sanjō Sanetomi (1837–1891) to Edo with imperial demands to repel the foreign threat and to reform its military organisation at the domain level.[89] At the same time, the court issued a private commission to the western domains to 'strive only for the imperial cause'.[90]

The first political bloodshed in Kyoto during the failed uprising of anti-foreign patriots in 1862 heralded a period when authorities in Edo attempted to curb the increasing independence of Kyoto. Matsudaira Katamori (1835–1893) of Aizu Domain was appointed as Kyoto Constable *(Kyōto shugo)* to try and oversee more closely the activities of the court. He was assisted by various companies of mercenary samurai,

---

[87] Thomas Huber, *The Revolutionary Origins of Modern Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1981), pp. 48–68, p. 74.

[88] Entry for 7th day 12th month Bunkyū 2 (1862), Kunaichō Shoryōbu, ed., *Meiji Tennō ki*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1968), pp. 314–315.

[89] Entry for 27th day 11th month Bunkyū 2 (16 January 1863), Kunaichō Shoryōbu, ed., *Meiji Tennō ki*, pp. 311–312.

[90] Entry for 7th day 12th month Bunkyū 2 (26 January 1863), Kunaichō Shoryōbu, ed., *Meiji Tennō ki*, p. 314.

including the infamous Shinsengumi, which was later held responsible for the assassination of, among others, Sakamoto Ryōma (1835–1867) and Nakaoka Shintarō (1838–1867).[91] Despite these attempts to quell anti-Bakufu feeling in Kyoto, the emperor was encouraged to be more visible in the debate by personally attending local shrines to petition the deities to repel the foreign threat. Consequently, while the Shogun Tokugawa Iemochi (1846–1866) was in Kyoto in 1863, Emperor Kōmei (1831–1866) visited the Kamigamo and Shimogamo Shrines in April, and Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine in May. Iemochi was ordered to accompany the emperor on the second excursion but this was thwarted by the discovery of a plan by Nakayama Tadamitsu (1845–1864)—whose father Nakayama Tadayasu (1808–1888) was the maternal grandfather of the future Emperor Meiji—to ambush the train and assassinate the shogun. This prevented a further opportunity for the court to demonstrate its new found authority over the shogun.[92] It must be noted, however, that Emperor Kōmei and a faction in the court, though pressing for an increased prominence for the court in national affairs, was not anti-Bakufu: the emperor sought its reform, not its demise.

Bakufu influence in Kyoto was re-asserted after the overconfident Chōshū loyalist faction was driven from the city in 1863 by the *kōbu gattai* faction. This incident also forced numerous loyalists and anti-Bakufu courtiers either to flee to Chōshū or to resign their posts. The influential Iwakura had been in hiding since being forced to resign the previous year.[93] After 1864, with the relaxation of 'alternate-year residence' *(sankin kōtai)* obligations and the frequent presence of the shogun, the city became the centre of activities of more and more daimyo. During this period, domain houses were expanded and numerous temple grounds were used as camps for troops.[94] Kyoto, as nexus between Bakufu authority in the east and the powerful, reformist domains of the

---

[91] It was the belief of many at the time, for example Iwakura and Ōkubo, that the Shinsengumi was responsible, though no proof was forthcoming. See Hayashiya, ed., *Ishin no gekidō*, p. 386.

[92] Entry for 11th day 4th month Bunkyū 3 (1863), Kunaichō Shoryōbu, ed., *Meiji Tennō ki*, p. 330.

[93] Iwakura fell out of favour after the appointment of the new Regent, Konoe Tadahiro (1807–1898), in Ōkubo Toshiaki, *Iwakura Tomomi* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1973), pp. 106–113.

[94] Hayashiya, ed., *Ishin no gekidō*, pp. 265–272. The use of temples as camps for troops had been a standard practice during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Kyoto.

west, had become so important that the last shogun, Tokugawa Yoshinobu (1837–1913), spent his time in office entirely in the Kinki area. His predecessor, Iemochi, likewise had made six trips to the region and eventually died in Osaka.[95]

The death of the shogun Iemochi in September 1866 was followed in January by that of Emperor Kōmei. This provided an opportunity for the new shogun, Yoshinobu, to bring further reforms to the Bakufu, and for the re-emergence of anti-Bakufu courtiers to influence the young Emperor Meiji. The opportunity for reform after the death of Kōmei, not least the potential to influence a 15 year old sovereign, led to rumours that Kōmei had been poisoned by the imperial revival *(ōsei fukko)* faction.[96] Activities in the court during that year (1867) increased the sentiment that the government of the realm should be returned to the emperor. Iwakura explained in May that:

> There are not two suns in the sky, so there should be only one source of authority in the land. National policy should issue from only one place.[97]

These ideas were echoed in a Tosa–Satsuma agreement engineered by Sakamoto Ryōma, Gotō Shōjirō (1838–1897) (both of Tosa) Saigō Takamori (1827–1877), Ōkubo Toshimichi (1830–1878) and Komatsu Tatewaki (1835–1870) (of Satsuma) in July.[98] Secret court agreements, first with Satsuma and Tosa, and later with Chōshū, led to an inevitable resolve to push for formal abolition of the Bakufu and a return to court rule.

The effect of the political changes in Kyoto on the merchants of the city was substantial. The large influx of daimyo in the city after 1863, combined with devastating fires the following year, produced a severe commodity shortage in the area. Merchants were subsequently forced to rely on the patronage of one military group or other for survival, thus introducing strong links between the mercantile and political worlds.[99] These links were evident in the large amounts of support, in terms of capital and goods,

---

[95] Jansen, 'The Meiji Restoration,' pp. 167–168.

[96] Inoue Kiyoshi, 'Tennōsei no rekishi,' in *Tennōsei ronshū*, ed. Kuno Osamu and Kamishima Jirō (Tokyo: Sanji Shobō, 1974), p. 81.

[97] Entry for 26th day 4th month Keiō 3 (1863), Kunaichō Shoryōbu, ed., *Meiji Tennō ki*, p. 488.

[98] Entry for 22th day 6th month Keiō 3 (1863), Kunaichō Shoryōbu, ed., *Meiji Tennō ki*, pp. 501–502.

[99] Hayashiya, ed., *Ishin no gekidō*, pp. 264–287.

provided by Kyoto merchants for both the armies and the government of the restoration and Bakufu during the civil disturbances of 1868. This support continued for the new government for several years into the Meiji period, further strengthening the ties between business and government and providing opportunity in the future to take advantage of this alliance.

Restoration: hope and reality

The acceptance by Yoshinobu of the reform plan presented by Yamanouchi Toyoshige (1827–1872) in November 1867 confirmed Kyoto as the stage for the debut of the new government, and reasserted the importance of the emperor in the new state structure. This document was influenced by the *Eight Policies from On-board (Senchū hassoku)* of Sakamoto Ryōma and the *Three Principles of National Polity (Kokuze sanron)* proposed by Yokoi Shōnan (1809–1869), and allowed for some participation in a new council presided over by the shogun.[100] Opposition to this conciliatory document by the Satsuma–Chōshū alliance and members of the nobility, however, resulted in a coup d'état at the Imperial Palace in Kyoto on 3 January 1868 and a declaration from the court to return power to the position of the emperor. This document replaced the hereditary system of regents *(kanpaku)*, as well as Bakufu offices such as shogun, with an executive officer *(sōsai)*, councillors *(gijō)* and junior councillors *(san'yo)* comprised of senior members of the imperial family, court nobles and daimyo from the anti-Bakufu alliance. The importance in this process of the court, which in this context was synonymous with Kyoto, is evident in the choice of Prince Arisugawa Taruhito (1835–1895) as executive officer. It must be noted, however, that at this stage the authority of these new positions was regional and tenuous. Only after the defeat of the Bakufu army—in the battle of Toba–Fushimi south of the city in the early days of 1868, in the capture of Edo castle in May of that year, and ultimately in the defeat of pro-Bakufu

---

[100] Matsumoto Ken'ichi, *Nihon no kindai 1: Kaikoku–ishin, 1853–1871* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1998), pp. 264–266.

forces in Hakodate midway through 1869—could the new government claim to be in any sense national.

The early structure of the new government was reorganised several times during February, but its ideological basis was outlined when the Charter Oath *(Gokajō no goseimon)* was promulgated by Emperor Meiji in April 1868 in the Shishinden in the Imperial Palace at Kyoto. This document, and others issued in subsequent days, called for the revival of the Department of Shinto Affairs *(Jingikan)* and the Council of State *(Dajōkan)*, ancient government institutions that unified political, religious and doctrinal authority in the figure of the emperor. They were subsequently established in Nijō Castle *(Nijō-jō)* to oversee national affairs, thus further linking the fortunes of the new regime to Kyoto. The local organs of Bakufu control in the city, the Kyoto constable and the Kyoto magistrate *(Kyōto shoshidai)*, were replaced in March by the Kyoto Court *(Kyōto saibansho)*, which was in turn replaced in May by a prefectural governor and the corresponding administration.

The imperial line was an integral part of the ideology and legitimacy for the new government. Though post-war Japanese scholarship has tended to view the restoration of the imperial institution as a tactic by a select group of middle-ranking samurai to usurp centralised political power, the situation in Kyoto in the immediate post-restoration period is further evidence of the substance and sincerity of this ideology.[101] The basis for the reform plan, as enunciated in the January declaration and emphasised in the statement of unity of rites and rule *(saisei itchi)* of April 1868, was to restore a system of government as 'practised at the time of Emperor Jinmu's founding of the divine land'.[102] In other words, the emperor would be in a position of real power at the

---

[101] Jansen, 'The Meiji Restoration,' pp. 196–202, argues that the emphasis on the imperial institution in the post-restoration education system, centralization and mobilization policies demonstrates that it was much more than opportunistic.

[102] From the statement of *saisei itchi*, promulgation number 153, 13th day 3rd Month Meiji 1 (1868), in Hase Haruo, ed., *Jinja saishi kankei hōrei kitei ruisan* (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1986), p. 1, and translated in Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs*, p. 87.

head of the new government, and since the emperor resided in Kyoto, so Kyoto would again become central to national affairs.

This was, of course, not the first time the court had attempted to wrest control from the Bakufu, as the example of Emperor Go-Daigo (1288–1339) in the fourteenth century indicates. Indeed, Nakayama Tadayasu had originally proposed basing the Meiji reforms on Go-Daigo's so-called Kenmu restoration *(Kenmu chūkō)* of 1333.[103] Go-Daigo had attempted to return actual power to the position of the emperor by abolishing both the system of rule by cloistered emperors *(insei)* and the military rule by, at that time, the Hōjō regents acting for the Kamakura shoguns. The success of Go-Daigo's efforts, in a parallel to contemporary politics that would have appealed to Nakayama, would have returned Kyoto to both actual and symbolic power. The failure of the Kenmu Restoration, with the resultant strengthening of military rule in the city after the establishment of the Ashikaga Bakufu, and the split of the court into two opposing factions, was perhaps influential in the rejection of Nakayama's proposal. Furthermore, the very nature of the Bakumatsu revival movement *(fukko)* involved institutional reform and return to a system of direct rule before the influence of external ideas, whereas a medieval restoration *(chūkō)* is thought to have sought to restore moral order without institutional reform.[104]

The Meiji restoration did not rectify the hardship already suffered by the majority of residents of Kyoto. The ravages of civil war had taken a huge toll on a city still bearing the scars of previous conflict and conflagration. For example, there were the effects of reduced population and damage to infrastructure suffered in the fires that followed the thwarted coup d'état of 1864 by Chōshū troops *(kinmon no hen* or *hamaguri gomon no hen)*. Shortages of essential products and reliable transport routes—the latter a problem throughout the Tokugawa period—had continued to be of major concern to city

---

[103] Entry for 9th day 12th month Keiō 3 (3 January 1868), Kunaichō Shoryōbu, ed., *Meiji Tennō ki*, p. 560.
[104] Harry Harootunian, *Towards Restoration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), p. 11.

authorities during Bakumatsu and following the Toba-Fushimi battle.[105] Despite this, however, Kyoto residents contributed substantial monetary donations and various goods to both the new government and the new imperial army. Saigō Takamori noted that even though farmers in Fushimi had lost land and buildings to the fires of war, they still lined the streets offering thanks, food and drink to the victorious troops.[106]

This display of generosity in the face of hardship was paralleled by the spontaneous outburst of wild dancing and revelry in the streets that constituted the so-called *ee-ja-nai-ka* movements of late 1867 to early 1868. Reports that talismans from local shrines and temples had fallen from the sky in Kyoto, Ōmi, Mikawa and other locations in the Kinki region were accompanied by wild dancing and chanting *'ee-ja-nai-ka'*.[107] This phenomenon was related to the regular mass pilgrimages *(okagemairi)* to the Ise Shrine (present-day Mie prefecture) during the Edo period, the last of which occurred in 1830.[108]

The spontaneous energy released during *ee-ja-nai-ka* was channelled into frenzied dancing through the streets of Kyoto. This reportedly lasted in some instances until the 4th month of the following year. The departure from everyday routine, combined with religious euphoria and alcohol, resulted in a departure from traditional sexual customs and the bending of gender roles. Contemporary accounts record that 'drunken revellers would sleep in whatever house was open', and would 'bed another's wife or be embraced by another's husband'.[109] Lewd and debauched costumes and make-up—especially as it related to cross-dressing—featured as another source of concern for those who kept 'decent' values. People dressed in elegant and outrageous costumes would form small groups and parade through the city—all the while drinking, singing

---

[105] Hayashiya, ed., *Ishin no gekidō*, pp. 33–34.

[106] Hayashiya, ed., *Ishin no gekidō*, pp. 284–287. This may have been rhetoric from a victorious general legitimising his military advance, or indeed a sensible tactic by the farmers.

[107] This is translated as 'ain't it hunky-dory' by Winston Davis, *Japanese Religion and Society: Paradigms of Structure and Change* (Albany: State University of New York, 1992), p. 49.

[108] Davis, *Japanese Religion and Society*, pp. 45–80.

[109] Fujitani Toshio, *Shintō shinkō to minshū Tennōsei* (Tokyo: Hōritsu Bunka-sha, 1980), p. 167.

and dancing—into all hours of the night. A feature of the earlier pilgrimages was use of such disguises to take secret leave and embark anonymously on the often gruelling journey to Ise *(nukemairi)*, further adding to the disruption of society.

The *ee-ja-nai-ka* incidents do not seem to have been revolutionary in the sense of precipitating social and political change, unlike the world-renewal rebellions *(yonaoshi)* of the late Edo period. Neither were they particularly violent or destructive, unlike the instances of warehouse-breaking *(uchikowashi)*, and peasant rebellions *(ikki)* that dotted earlier decades. A complex mix of religious, political and commercial factors fanned the fires of disorder that swept through the city. No one group could claim to be its instigators or controllers, though elements of many groups within Bakumatsu society both took advantage of the situation and became embroiled in it.[110]

The unbridled joy and passion of the participants, however, probably speaks more of an escape from hardship and suffering than an expression of optimism in the future of the city, or of accolades for a victorious, liberating army. Despite the establishment in Kyoto of the infrastructure of the new regime, it soon became apparent that Kyoto's new-found position as centre of politics was fragile. Ōkubo Toshimichi proposed as early as February 1868 that the capital be moved away from Kyoto to Osaka. By June, resistance to the new loyalist army was limited to isolated regions north of Tokyo, and sweeping reforms carried out in the government resulted in both the application of the separation of powers and substantial re-distribution of appointments. This led to a concentration of power in the hands of several key western domains, and significantly reduced representation from members of the court nobility, who at the level of junior councillor and assistant minister were reduced from over forty to only three representatives.[111]

---

[110] Interpretation of *ee-ja-nai-ka* differs among scholars. Some, such as Fujitani, *Shintō shinkō to minshū Tennōsei*, pp. 159–172, stressed its political nature, while others, such as Davis, *Japanese Religion and Society*, pp. 45–80, recognised its character as different to *okagemairi*, but essentially stressed its religious, cyclic renewal and 'gentling' nature.

[111] W.G. Beasley, *The Modern History of Japan* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1963), p. 102.

Ōkubo's proposal to move the capital meant in effect that the emperor should move to Osaka in order to 'cleanse the court of old customs' and 'renew the ears and eyes of the realm'.[112] For Ōkubo, as for other supporters of the plan such as Iwakura and Kido Takayoshi (1833–1877), the question of where the new regime should be based was dependant on access to foreign trade, the presence of a strong army and navy, and a base of technology to build a rich country. Central to all these concerns, however was the location of the imperial institution. The emperor was to stand at the peak of a new national government structure, but the fear was that if the court was too closely connected to this structure, then the opportunity for real reform would be compromised.[113] The proposal was opposed by the executive of the new government, which at that time consisted of numerous influential courtiers and members of the imperial family. A compromise for the emperor to relocate temporarily to Osaka was approved, however, in February, though the move was delayed till after the announcement of the Charter Oath in April because of opposition in the court, the presence of numerous domain lords in Kyoto, and complications with the foreign powers after various violent incidents.[114]

After the fall of Edo castle, there remained the problem of how to extend the field of control of the new executive to the east. Ōkubo and Iwakura adjusted their position and advocated that the emperor should now move to the east to enable a consolidation of power with the victorious armies and to ally the new administration within the old Tokugawa heartlands. Yokohama, open to foreign trade since 1859, had captured over 80 per cent of imports and exports by 1868.[115] This provided a further economic incentive to move the administrative centre rather than to develop the newly opened

---

[112] The text of the proposal is in Tada Komon, ed., *Iwakura kō jikki*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Iwakura Kō Kyūseki Hozonkai, 1927), pp. 283–286: the quote is from p. 283.

[113] Shimoyama Saburō, 'Boshin sensō to ishin seiken,' in *Iwanami Kōza: Nihon no rekishi, Kindai 1*, ed. Asao Naohiro et al. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1973), p. 73.

[114] Shimoyama, 'Boshin sensō to ishin seiken,' pp. 74–80.

[115] Paul Akamatsu, *Meiji 1868: Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Japan* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1972), p. 242. Imports through Yokohama were 83 per cent of the national total, and exports 87 per cent.

Hyōgo Bay. The subsequent renaming of Edo as Tokyo (Eastern Capital) in September and the departure of the emperor to the east in November 1868 had far-reaching implications for the 'old capital'.[116] Both the central and prefectural governments attempted to alleviate the fears of the residents by providing spiritual solace through educational admonitions and financial recompense in the form of grants for the promotion of various commercial enterprises—not to mention the distribution of a barrel of sake for each ward in the city early in 1869.[117]

The transfer of the Council of State and other central government institutions to Tokyo in April (1869) had the effect in Kyoto of further intensifying a local sense of uncertainty about the future. The social and economic turmoil resulting from civil disturbances during the Bakumatsu period, compounded by large numbers of courtiers, merchants, government officials and nobles who followed the emperor to the east, resulted in a further significant depletion of the Kyoto population. It has been estimated that the early Meiji population, at around 244,000, was approximately one hundred thousand lower than that during its peak in the Edo period.[118]

It is against this background that one should view the above-mentioned demonstration by residents when the empress left for Tokyo late in 1869. This sense of uncertainty was compounded late in 1869 by rumours that the capital would *not* move to the east—rumours caused by the announcement of the decision to hold the Enthronement Ceremony *(Daijōsai)* in Kyoto in the new year. The hope was a false one, but it illustrates the instability of the new regime and its relationship to Tokyo. In fact, there was no official pronouncement that Tokyo had been designated as the 'imperial capital' *(teito)*. To some close to the emperor, this definitive step was not taken until the Imperial Palace in Tokyo was repaired and officially designated the permanent

---

[116] A common slogan for Kyoto after this period was 'let us not become like Nara!' *(Kyōto o daini no Nara tarashimenai)*. Horie Yasuzō, 'Meiji Ishin to Kyōto,' *Ritsumeikan Bungaku* 5, no. 2 (1938), p. 102.

[117] Hayashiya Tatusaburō, ed., *Dentō no teichaku*, vol. 6, *Kyōto no rekishi* (Tokyo: Gakugei Shorin, 1973), pp. 491-493.

[118] Hayashiya, ed., *Ishin no gekidō*, p. 36. This estimate is based on late Edo household numbers.

residence of the imperial family in 1889.[119] The relocation of the emperor to Tokyo, as Fujitani has argued, initially was not seen by the proponents of the move as permanent: there seemed to be no general articulation that Tokyo was more than a 'temporary court' *(anzaisho)*, despite its name change.

There were hopes of a possible return of the emperor to Kyoto among some circles for several years after the departure of the empress. The arrest of a certain Toyama Mitsusuke (?–?) in Tokyo in May 1871 is perhaps symbolic of the dying embers of this sentiment.[120] Bakumatsu Kyoto was a complex mix of ideologies, motives and strategies. One group that fared particularly badly in the restoration outcome was that which advocated, as had imperial edicts in the time of Emperor Kōmei, forcible expulsion of the foreign threat. Numerous nobles, priests, merchants and Shintoists continued to advocate anti-foreign sentiments, despite the danger of imprisonment. Toyama, being an heir to this sentiment, and hoping for contemporary ideological support from no less than the former regental Konoe family and Prince Arisugawa, formulated a plan to raise troops in both the Kinki and Kantō regions, overpower the imperial guard, and forcibly return the emperor to his rightful place in Kyoto. The failure of this plan, and the subsequent execution and imprisonment of the instigators, left no doubt as to the future home of the emperor.

Modernisation

It was the physical presence of the emperor that gave legitimacy to Kyoto as capital. The removal of the emperor from the cultural sphere of Kyoto consequently resulted in great anxiety and a recognition that new directions would need to be taken to avoid the fate of former capitals. By 1871, local authorities in Kyoto had put in place strategies to achieve this. These emphasised the adoption of foreign technology and expertise. Kyoto was to become a showpiece of modernity. For the remnants of

---

[119] Takashi Fujitani, 'Japan's Modern National Ceremonies: A Historical Ethnography, 1868–1912' (Phd Dissertation, University of California, 1986), pp. 33–46.
[120] Hayashiya, ed., *Ishin no gekidō*, pp. 494–495.

Bakumatsu 'revere the emperor and expel the barbarian' *(sonnō jōi)* thinking, there was no longer an emperor (in Kyoto) to revere, or any chance of repelling the foreign threat.

The success of these policies is unquestionable, both in Kyoto and nationwide. Kyoto, famous for its natural beauty throughout the Tokugawa period, had given itself a new dimension, as the following popular song from 1879 indicates. It is entitled 'Eight Sights of the Western Capital' *(Saikyō hakkei)*.

> Spring colour of the exposition,
> Evening lights of Shijō Bridge,
> Pure water of the paper factory,
> Migrating geese on electric wires.
>
> Harvest moon over the secondary school,
> Night rain on the war dead ritual,
> Morning snow in Yoshimizu hot springs,
> Trailing smoke of the railway station.[121]

All the modern elements portrayed in this poem had been established in Kyoto since the restoration, and quickly became incorporated into the landscape. In the poem, they were juxtaposed with old themes describing the beauty of the city—'spring colour', 'morning snow'—to highlight the changing face of Meiji Kyoto.

The construction of the infrastructure that forms a modern city, as alluded to in the poem, had been called for in Kyoto during the Toba-Fushimi battles by an ex-Aizu soldier, Yamamoto Kakuma (1828-1892). He had been imprisoned by the restoration army but was released after his treatise for reform, *My Humble Views (Kanken)*, had been brought to the attention of Saigō Takamori. Yamamoto called for the establishment of representative government, a public school system, railways, hospitals, foreign language instruction, for law and currency reforms, for the adoption of the solar calendar, and for changes in social habits such as food and dress.[122] He

---

[121] Hayashiya Tatsusaburō, ed., *Koto no kindai*, vol. 8, *Kyōto no rekishi* (Tokyo: Gakugei Shorin, 1975), p. 4. Yoshimizu Park was a hot springs health resort in Higashiyama behind the Yasaka Shrine. It was opened in early Meiji after Akashi Hiroakira (1839-1910) surveyed the springs of the region for their medicinal properities.

[122] Akamatsu et al., eds., *Kyōto-fu no rekishi*, p. 240.

went on to play a significant role in the reconstruction and administration of the city, overseeing the implementation of many aspects of his pre-restoration treatise as a government official. He went on to be the first president of the Kyoto Prefectural Assembly and served as the president of the Kyoto Chamber of Commerce *(Kyōto shōgyō kaigijo)*. It may seem somewhat incongruous that Yamamoto, and others from outside Kyoto, would be so concerned with Kyoto's welfare. There were great hopes at this time that Kyoto would become more central to national affairs, and while there was uncertainty as to its future after the emperor moved east, the years of focus on Kyoto were not to be abandoned lightly. Further, the vacuum left by the large train of courtiers and others who followed the emperor was later filled by an energetic, youthful group of entrepreneurs who had been schooled in the transition period from feudal to modern. It was they who saw great opportunity and potential for the city, and who later organised the anniversary ceremony.

An early example of the modernising policies adopted by the city was the creation of an education system. The city had been divided into small administrative districts since the Tokugawa period. By the end of 1869, each of these districts had established a primary school. Kyoto was the first city in Japan to introduce comprehensive education at any level but the school implementation was opposed by residents. The administrative districts, often known as school districts, were forced to borrow 10,000 *koku* of rice at high interest to use as a school maintenance fund. This added to the economic burden of the residents but was typical of the heavy-handed policies of the prefectural governor, Makimura Masanao (1834–1896), who felt that the people were generally stubborn and unwilling to change.[123] Reform in Kyoto, as in other centres in Japan at this time, was carried out quickly and with great depth. The Kyoto elites were motivated by a desire not to become a backwater and to this end pushed through policies that were often a burden on the local people in the short term.

---

[123] Sugita Hiroaki, ed., *Kindai Kyōto o ikita hitobito: Meiji jinbutsu shi* (Kyoto: Kyōto Shoin, 1987), pp. 414–432.

Makimura founded in 1871 the Office for the Promotion of Industry *(Kangyōjo)* with a grant provided by the imperial family as compensation for their departure to Tokyo; in this way the identity of Kyoto continued, albeit indirectly, to be linked to the imperial house. The Office for the Promotion of Industry was to become the backbone for progress in the region. An 1874 report listed either assistance to, or the establishment of, enterprises or institutions in the fields of physics, brewing, comestibles, medicine, cosmetics, pottery, unemployment, weaving, sheep and cattle grazing, women's education, forestry, machine production, leatherworks, shoe manufacture, paper production, expositions, administration of the manufacturing sector, coordination of Nishijin activities, tea production, women's handicraft education, reform assistance to prostitutes and women labourers, thread manufacture, and assistance for new businesses.[124]

There is no doubt that the departure of the emperor acted as a catalyst for change in Kyoto. Business incentives sponsored by the Office for the Promotion of Industry were made possible by leaders intent on securing a role for Kyoto in the modern industrial race. Akashi Hiroakira was another who worked tirelessly for reform in Kyoto through a broad range of business and other activities. He had studied western medicine and chemistry prior to the restoration, and besides treating the wounded of the Toba-Fushimi battles, he established research and commercial enterprises in the fields of physics, chemistry, health spa resorts, assistance to the poor, and activities related to many of the tasks of the Office for the Promotion of Industry. His main contribution was perhaps the establishment of hospitals, first in Osaka, and then in Kyoto. He also established a hospital for the mentally disturbed on land acquired from Nanzenji in Higashiyama, and a treatment centre for syphilis in Gion. Both were the first of their kind in Japan. Funding for the latter involved introducing a 5 per cent tax on the

---

[124] Akamatsu et al., eds., *Kyōto-fu no rekishi*, p. 246.

brothels and 'tea shops' of the city; in return brothel workers in the city were issued with a certificate of 'sound health protection' *(kenzen hogo)*.[125]

One of the key features of Kyoto in the first half of Meiji, as elsewhere in Japan, was the interchange with technical experts from America and various European countries. This took the form of both study trips abroad by Kyoto businessmen, artisans and technicians, and the employment of foreign experts by local governments and businesses. This exchange provided technology and expertise that was quickly incorporated into new enterprises and more traditional cottage-type industries through what the historian Tessa Morris-Suzuki described as a 'social network of innovation'.[126] The striking example is that of the Nishijin weaving industry. The local government sponsored a study trip in 1872 to Lyon in France by two Kyoto weavers, Inoue Ihei and Yoshida Tadashichi, and a prominent silk merchant, Sakura Tsuneshichi. Sakura and Inoue returned with first hand knowledge of current French weaving techniques, as well as with a Jacquard loom and other weaving equipment. This technology was quickly incorporated into Nishijin factories, promoting rapid advancement and competitiveness for the local industry, and compensating for the loss of patronage from the large number of courtiers who had left the city.[127] In addition to sponsoring such trips, the local government provided capital and industry associations to support not only the weaving industry but numerous other ventures.

Kyoto entered a second phase of post-restoration reconstruction after the appointment of Kitagaki Kunimichi (1835–1916), originally from Kōchi, as prefectural governor in 1881. Kitagaki continued the development policies instituted by Makimura, but surrounded himself with able colleagues and finally realised a project that would be

---

[125] For details of Akashi's life and works, see Tanaka Ryoko, *Meiji bunka to Akashi Hiroakira ō* (Kyoto: Akashi Hiroakira Ō Kenshōkai, 1942). For details on the hospitals and brothel tax in particular, see Hayashiya, ed., *Ishin no gekidō*, pp. 558–561.

[126] Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *The Technological Transformation of Japan: From the Seventeenth to the Twenty-first Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 104.

[127] An outline of the trip can be found in Hayashiya, ed., *Koto no kindai*, pp. 106–108, and Sugita, ed., *Kindai Kyōto*, pp. 218–240. Yoshida delayed his return, but tragically, the vessel he boarded in Hong Kong was lost in a storm within sight of Japan.

the centrepiece of his modernising policies: the Lake Biwa Canal.[128] Inadequate transport routes and water supply were two problems that city administrators had faced for several centuries in Kyoto. A plan to link Lake Biwa by canal to the Kamo River was proposed as early as 1616, and another plan to open a shipping route from the lake to the Japan sea was put forward just after the restoration in 1869.[129]

An 1883 proposal set before the Promotion of Industry Enquiry Commission *(Kangyō shimonkai)* clearly indicated that the canal project was essential to enable the growth of industry by providing a reliable transport route for produce and raw materials. It would also provide irrigation and water power for agriculture and industry, as well as solving problems in the city's water supply, drainage and clogged waterways.[130] The canal's chief engineer, Tanabe Sakurō (1831–1944), was influenced by the Aspen Dam project after a study trip to the United States in 1888 and incorporated Japan's first hydro-electric generator into the project. The first stage of the canal from Lake Biwa was completed in 1889, with the generator at Keage operational two years later. The electricity from the Keage plant powered Japan's first municipal railway in 1895, provided power for electric looms in Nishijin, and in short provided a great boost to the modernisation of industry in the city. However, the canal's role as a provider of transport was somewhat overshadowed by developments in national rail networks during the 1880s.[131] The canal was significantly expanded in the years after the completion of the first stage to include a tributary to the Imperial Palace (1890), a canal

---

[128] Harada Kumiko, 'Meiji jūyon nen no chihōgikai to inmin no dōkō: Kyōto-fu no baai,' *Nihonshi Kenkyū* 57 (1961), pp. 20–43, describes the process in the early 1880s whereby the Kyoto Prefectural Assembly was transformed from an anti-government position to a bastion of national government support, a result of national policies to limit the effect of the popular rights movement. This trend is partly evident in the subsequent implementation of the Biwa Canal, despite the popular protest from the local people.

[129] Hayashiya, ed., *Dentō no teichaku*, p. 20.

[130] Hayashiya, ed., *Koto no kindai*, p. 21.

[131] Hayashiya, ed., *Koto no kindai*, pp. 163–165. Costs of transport by the canal was initially generally cheaper than by rail or land. However, the focus for the development on the canal changed to hydro-electric power, and this saw a decrease in its function as a transport route. There was considerable contemporary consternation over the role played in this change by the Kyoto Electric Company, and the role of Governor Kitagaki and the executive of the Kōminkai. See Takaku Reinosuke, 'Chihōka suru Kyōto: kento senhyaku nen no koro,' in *Kyōto sennihyaku nen no sugao*, ed. Nihonshi Kenkyūkai Kyōto Minka Rekishibukai (Tokyo: Azekura Shobō, 1995), pp. 244–246.

linking with the Fushimi ferry terminal (1895), and a second canal from Lake Biwa driving a more powerful generator at Keage (1912).

The canal project was monumental in scale and vision. The construction cost was approximately 1.25 million yen. This was a figure equivalent to more than one sixth of the entire national budget, which was a remarkable achievement by a prefectural government. The money was raised from prefectural and national coffers, business investment, and municipal bonds. This was not sufficient, however, so the shortfall was supplemented by land, household and business levies in the city from 1888. These levies were particularly harsh and invited strong opposition from residents associations, which became more organised and vocal in the second year of their operation. Eventually, the levies were replaced in 1890 with an increased municipal bond system but, by then, they had raised over 230 thousand yen in three years.

The ceremony marking the completion of the canal was attended by the emperor and empress, as well as by imperial princes, local and national politicians and dignitaries. The school children of the prefecture were mobilised, complete with small national flags, to greet the official party as it toured Lake Biwa, the canal, and the incline. An official ceremony was held within the grounds of Shōgoin temple, situated just to the north of where the Heian Shrine would be completed some five years later. Several addresses concerning the virtues of the canal project were followed by 101 fireworks, which replaced the usual cannon salute. The celebration was accompanied by displays of treasures at various temples throughout the city, notably at Tenryūji, Nishi Honganji, Tōfukuji and Daitokuji, and coincided with the Kyoto Exposition, which for this year focused on art (see chapter 7 for details). This ceremony, however, did not seem to have captured the hearts of the local populace of the city quite like those surrounding the founding of the Heian Shrine and the celebration of the anniversary several years later. Perhaps the real hardships suffered by many because of the construction levies—hardships which provoked active protest against the canal project—damped public enthusiasm. The scale of the achievement for a newly modernising city, and the

breadth of the vision that gave it birth, should have been cause for greater public celebration.

The canal may have been the symbol for modernisation that the city needed, but the public recognition and celebration of this modernisation would not come until 1895 with the 1,100th anniversary of the founding of Kyoto. The anniversary, however, while celebrating the modern identity of the city, incorporated nationalistic elements into its vision, being nationally funded and much more closely connected to the imperial family. Furthermore, modernity was not sufficient in itself as a reason to celebrate the founding of Kyoto. The 1895 celebrations reasserted the importance to Japan of the culture of Kyoto by presenting displays of historic and artistic objects as part of the celebrations. It is ironic, however, that the original culture of Heian-kyō—a culture celebrated and presented during the Meiji period as the essence of Japan—was so heavily influenced by continental people and ideas.

Chapter 2. Nationalism and preservation of culture

To the modern eye, it is not remarkable in itself that an ancient city, particularly one formerly home to an imperial family, would preserve monuments, famous sites, treasures and buildings from its past. Yet the national and regional administration surrounding the classification and maintenance of these cultural artefacts—pointers to a common heritage—developed in Kyoto, as indeed elsewhere, out of a particular context and period in the development of the city.[132] Such images of the past often served to legitimise a present social order through shared memory.[133] To put it another way, 'men refer to aspects of the past as tradition in grounding their present actions in some legitimating principle'.[134] This chapter argues that while there had been a long tradition of classification of historic places in Japan, there emerged in the 1880s a new trend of preservation and representation of the past that was fundamentally different in nature. This was, indeed, the emergence of mnemonic sites in the sense explained by Fujitani and as introduced above. The wholesale realignments within political, social and economic circles, both nationally and regionally during the 1870s, were reflected in the official responses to escalating calls to halt the destruction of the past. By the early 1880s, these responses were increasingly related to the re-emergent imperial house as a dominant ideological framework for the state. Shrines and Shinto began to play a more central role as the foundation of this ideology. The regional response, in the case of Kyoto, was partly subsumed within the national agenda while simultaneously maintaining an independence that sought to counter the peripheralisation of the city.

There was a change of leadership in local politics in Kyoto in 1881. The corresponding realignment of regional policies occurred at a time when national political processes

---

[132] In Europe, these conservation movements emerged in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, largely led by international societies with a nostalgic concern over the encroachment of urbanisation and industrialisation. G.J. Ashworth et al., *The Tourist-Historic City* (London: Belhaven Press, 1990), pp. 8-11.

[133] Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 3.

[134] Marilyn Waldman, 'Tradition as a Modality of Change: Islamic Examples,' *History of Religions* 25, no. 4 (1986), p. 322, quotes Joseph Gusfield, 'Tradition and Modernity: Misplaced Polarities in the Study of Social Change,' *American Journal of Sociology* 72 (1967), p. 351.

underwent changes that heralded a fundamental strengthening of what Conroy termed a 'national consciousness'.[135] The political, financial, and social difficulties of the period since the restoration had fed an undercurrent of national self-doubt in the face of renewed Western interest in East Asia and Tokyo's failure to make progress on the task of treaty revision. Governor Makimura's period of autocratic style decision-making, which ended when he entered the Council of Elders *(Genrōin)* and the national political arena, had seen substantial change within the prefecture, not least of which was the construction of a modern infrastructure for the city. The eagerness of local government and business participation in this activity is evident in the characterisation of Makimura as pursuing policies to 'cleanse old customs' *(kyūhei issen)* during his time in office.[136] The modernising aims of the local government, however, did not ignore the local culture to the point of severing its associations with the past, but rather resulted in a reconfiguration of the past along modern lines. For example, the laws and edicts concerning religion issued in the first decade or so after the restoration resulted in 'a redefinition of religion and religious institutions within the social order'.[137] National efforts to construct a new Japan—more correctly to realign citizens' affiliations to a national centre—did not, as Linicome has noted, preclude efforts to maintain a regional culture and identity.[138]

This chapter will trace this trend through an examination of the development nationally, with special attention to Kyoto, of preservation and restoration of cultural artefacts. It will focus on efforts to classify and preserve shrine treasures and old documents, as well as shrine buildings themselves. The reason for this focus lies in the prominence of the display and representation of these items during the anniversary

---

[135] Hilary Conroy, 'Japanese Nationalism and Expansionism,' *The American Historical Review* 60, no. 4 (1955), 818–829.

[136] Hayashiya, ed., *Koto no kindai*, p. 153. See also Sugita, ed., *Kindai Kyōto*, pp. 413–432, for an overview of his policies and life in Kyoto.

[137] Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs*, p. 76.

[138] Mark Linicome, 'Local Citizens or Loyal Subjects? Enlightenment Discourse and Educational Reform,' in *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, ed. Helen Hardacre and Adam L. Kern (Leiden, New York, Koln: Brill, 1997), p. 455.

celebrations in Kyoto in 1895. The chapter will also cite the revival of various regional festivals and events during the period as evidence for the changing nature of these preservation movements during the 1880s. It will be argued that these changes sought also to mediate regional and national forces.

Attitudes to the past in Japanese nationalism

Article 4 of the Charter Oath promulgated in 1868 stated that 'evil customs of the past should be abolished and [actions be] based on the justice of heaven and earth'.[139] This gave justification for some members of society, including officials of the new regime after the restoration, to conduct wide ranging purges of societal elements they found objectionable. One prominent example was the thinly veiled persecution of Buddhism *(haibutsu kishaku)* that swept the country in the first four years of the Meiji era. The early Meiji religious landscape of Kyoto, and wider Japan, was fundamentally changed by this activity. The destruction and systematic removal of Buddhist texts, ritual implements, statues, buildings, and other items from Shinto shrines and shrine precincts included many works which would be highly valued today.

The Charter Oath provided an outline for the general ideological path followed by the new government. It encouraged participation and debate within all levels of society and sought the 'acquisition of knowledge from throughout the world' to 'strengthen the imperial foundation'. However, the adoption of this newly acquired foreign knowledge that permeated all levels of Japanese society was not wholeheartedly welcomed by all. The current of popular crazes for things Western, as well as the utilisation of Western technology, ideas and even morality, in constructing the infrastructure of a new Japan, was initially so strong as to sweep away opposition. The excess of this trend is demonstrated nowhere better than in the lavish Western-style

---

[139] Ōkubo Toshiaki, ed., *Kindaishi shiryō* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1965), p. 51.

Rokumeikan (Deer Cry Pavilion) completed in Tokyo in 1883, and the various western-style balls held to show foreign diplomats how 'civilised' the Japanese had become.[140]

On the national stage, Japan had seen the establishment of a conscript army, transport and communications networks, and other elements considered essential for a modern nation-state. The rapid nature of this change invited various opinions and oppositions. The so-called 'peoples' rights movement', particularly during the latter half of the 1870s, had given rise to a discourse of dissent that challenged the speed and direction in which the nation was being steered by the central government. The series of laws and decrees controlling the press and freedom of assembly which were issued in this period were aimed to quash this resistance. The peoples' rights movement temporarily floundered soon after the forced departure of Ōkuma Shigenobu (1838–1922) from the government in October 1881 and the concurrent imperial declaration of intent to establish a constitution and representative parliament by the end of the decade. Moreover, Ōkuma's replacement as the head of the Ministry of Finance *(Ōkurashō)*, Matsukata Masayoshi (1835–1924), was faced with a fiscal crisis caused by government debt incurred from waging the Seinan war in 1877 and by problems of inflation and inconvertibility of the currency. This was compounded by a new wave of rural dissent led in part by emerging middle-class landlords disgruntled with the land tax reforms carried out from 1874 to 1881. As the decade wore on, Matsukata's financial policies resulted in a 'modest boom' in light industry, but spelled ruin for many small agrarian operators who were forced off the land by falling prices.[141] The 'vitality' of the early Meiji village, according to the historian Irokawa, gave way to alienation from a sense of rootedness in the local area and a trend for young village intellectuals to drift to the larger cities.[142]

---

[140] George Sansom, *The Western World and Japan* (Rutland: Tuttle, 1950), p. 370.

[141] Peter Duus, *The Rise of Modern Japan* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1976), pp. 106–108.

[142] Irokawa Daikichi, *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, trans. Marius B Jansen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 196–199.

This anomie was reflected in a discourse on the nature of Japan's future carried out primarily by young intellectuals educated since the restoration.[143] According to Hill:

> By the mid-1880s Japanese ideology had begun to incorporate a discourse of continuity of the ancient origins of Meiji society. The contradiction between novelty and ancient origins comprised the historicity of the emerging social order...[144]

This discourse provides a clear example of the emergence of a cultural nationalism that sought in the 1880s to preserve the past, but specifically a representation of the past that provided an appropriate vehicle for progress.

The Imperial Rescript on Education *(Kyōiku chokugo)* issued in 1890, in a sharp turn around from the ideology of the 1868 Charter Oath, contained the following:

> The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places.[145]

This change in official position concerning the ways and customs of the past was influenced by the personality of Motoda Eifu (1818–1891), a traditionalist Confucian scholar close to the emperor. Motoda had lamented the lack of moral principle underlying the indiscriminate mimicking of the West. He complained in 1878 that 'efforts are being made to convert Japanese into facsimiles of Europeans and Americans.' He hoped to counter this by reinstating the Confucian principles of loyalty, filial piety and patriotism into the Japanese education system in the early 1880s.[146] However, the sentiment of the rescript more widely represented the groundswell of traditionalist sentiment that emerged in the popular consciousness by the time of the promulgation of the constitution in 1889 and the establishment of the parliament the

---

[143] For an examination of these intellectuals, see Kenneth Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan: Problems of Cultural Identity, 1885–1895* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969).

[144] Christopher Hill, 'Ideologies of Novelty and Agedness: Narrating the Origins of the Meiji Nation,' in *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, ed. Helen Hardacre and Adam L. Kern (Leiden, New York, Koln: Brill, 1997), p. 549.

[145] Imperial Rescript on Education, October 30 1890. Translated in Donald Shively, 'The Japanization of the Middle Meiji,' in *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture*, ed. Donald Shively (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), p. 77. Shively utilised the contrast of this rescript with the Charter Oath in his argument.

[146] Quoted in Duus, *Modern Japan*, p. 103.

following year. This sentiment, though not overtly Confucian in all its manifestations, emerged within popular and intellectual discourse, trends in literature and the arts, and in the fields of law, religion, and philosophy.[147] All had a common thread of reasserting the primacy of a native cultural tradition as the political and moral centre of modern Japan.[148]

This sentiment has variously been characterised in other studies as a 'reaction against Western ways and a reawakening of interest in Japanese patterns of thought and action', the 'Japanisation of middle Meiji', or the rise of 'traditionalist reactions' to the overt displays of foreign borrowing.[149] It is generally held that this sentiment did not mature until late in the decade.[150] According to Brown, for example, 'only by 1887 had sufficient social cohesion been created to permit a truly popular response to national danger.'[151] He argues that popular awareness of the failures in treaty revision negotiations, which had even resulted in the resignation of the cabinet, had acted as the catalyst for an intensification of traditionalist reactions. He also noted an emphasis on the 'sun-cult' in official proclamations from this period and the rise of anti-Western sentiment in popular magazines and journals.[152]

---

[147] Motoda, and others, maintained that the Confucian values as set out in the Imperial Rescript on Education, though not originally of Japanese origin, nevertheless were appropriate for the moral basis of the country because of a percieved 'golden age' in Japan whereby these principles were upheld. See Donald H. Shively, 'Nishimura Shigeki: A Confucian View of Modernization,' in *Changing Japanese Attitudes Towards Modernization*, ed. Marius Jansen (Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1982), p. 197. This idea originally developed in the Shinto revival movement of the Edo period, in Carmen Blacker, 'Two Shinto Myths: The Golden Age and the Chosen People,' in *Themes and Theories in Modern Japanese History: Essays in Memory of Richard Storry*, eds. S Henny and J-P Lehmann (New Jersey: Athalone Press, 1988), pp. 64-77.

[148] See the following for discussions of this trend: Pyle, *The New Generation*; Irokawa Daikichi, 'Meiji nijū nendai no bunkashiteki igi,' in *Iwanami kōza Nihon rekishi 17: Kindai 4*, ed. Ienaga Saburo et.al. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1962); and Shively, 'The Japanization of the Middle Meiji.'

[149] These quotes are from: Brown, *Nationalism in Japan*, p. 130; Shively, 'The Japanization of the Middle Meiji,' p. 77; and Sansom, *The Western World and Japan*, p. 366.

[150] Umegaki describes a 'vacillation' of identity that accepted Japanese things alongside Western things after the mid-1880s. Michio Umegaki, 'Epilogue: National Identity, National Past, National Isms,' in *The Ambivilance of Nationalism*, eds. James W White, Michio Umegaki, and Thomas Havens (Lanham: University Press of America, 1990), pp. 252-254.

[151] Brown, *Nationalism in Japan*, p. 130.

[152] Brown, *Nationalism in Japan*, pp. 112-113.

This discourse, as demonstrated by Pyle, was led by a group of young intellectuals educated in the schools of the new regime who were mobilised from the time of the 1885 publication of Tokutomi Sohō's (1863-1957) treatise outlining a radical Westernisation of Japan.[153] An active participant in this debate was Taguchi Ukichi (1855-1905), the publisher of *Keizai Zasshi*, who was later instrumental in setting in motion the anniversary celebrations in Kyoto (see chapter 3). Taguchi adhered to the view that the national government of Japan should be abolished, as should the 'foolish sentiment' of nationality which supported it. Ironically, it was in order to prove his theories that he undertook the first comprehensive studies in the modern period of the history of Japanese culture.[154] This view was perhaps an extreme example of the advocates of Westernisation, but carried within it a common attempt to abolish the sense of inferiority felt by the Japanese during this time. This is clearly seen in the public reactions to various failed attempts to revise the treaties with the foreign powers, and the eagerness to cast aside Japanese habits and customs for Western models regardless of their appropriateness in the Japanese context. The movement was championed by the Min'yūsha, a group centred around Tokutomi that included novelists and journalists, many of whom were Christian or had received a Christian education.

Official preservation efforts

Preservation of items can be carried out for various reasons. There are situations when the protection of a cultural heritage may be the least important of these. The example of attempts during Meiji at both national and regional levels to preserve documents and other items considered of value by bureaucrats provides a foil for understanding the development of the process of preservation of cultural objects.[155] Although Japan

---

153 Pyle, *The New Generation*, p. 4.

154 Pyle, *The New Generation*, pp. 87-91.

155 The distinction is initially drawn between the treatment of administrative archival material, and with other documents such as shrine myth, literature, religious treatise, sutras etc. The preservation of archival material is explored here because of the early date at which their preservation was undertaken, and because the processes of their preservation prefigured those of the other materials.

has a long history of both private and public archiving of administrative and other documentary material, it was not until 1971 that a national archive was instituted to regulate and manage official government documents.[156]

The newly formed local organs of government established in 1868 inherited archival material from the Bakufu administration. However, the administration of these records and the management of new records were conducted ad hoc. Instructions written in the margin of some documents held by the Kyoto Prefectural Archives dating to 1869, for example, are considered to be the first efforts at preservation of documents in the prefecture.[157] Nationally, there were efforts to centralise the keeping of regional records in November 1872, when a History Section *(Rekishika)* was established within offices of the Council of State.[158] Though nominally created to deal with history, the fact that its charter only concerned regional documents since 1868 indicates that its function was primarily concerned with the administration of records of the new regime.[159]

In April 1875, the Council of State ordered all prefectural offices to establish procedures to preserve documents. It also instituted a mechanism of annual submission to the Home Ministry *(Naimushō)* of reports of records held within prefectural control. The scope of this order was expanded in January 1880 to include smaller *chō* and *mura* official records.[160] The Kyoto prefectural offices responded by establishing an Archives Office *(Bosatsugakari)* in April 1880, and began issuing laws concerning preservation and management of official documents to its regional offices

---

[156] Even then, the National Archives was limited in jurisdiction and was considered primarily a repository of documents for the Prime Minister's Department, with other government offices reluctant to hand over safekeeping of their documentary records.

[157] Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan Rekishi Shiryōka, ed., *Monjo kaidai* (Kyoto: Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan, 1993), p. 58. Kyoto did not technically become a prefecture until the 7th month 1871.

[158] This was established within the *Seiin*, one of the three administrative organs created in the 1871 reorganisation of the central government.

[159] Ōkurashō Insatsukyoku, ed., *Hōrei zensho* 1872 (Tokyo: Ōkurashō Insatsukyoku, 1872), p. 509 *(Dajōkan tasshi*, 5 November 1872).

[160] Ōkurashō Insatsukyoku, ed., *Hōrei zensho* 1875 (Tokyo: Ōkurashō Insatsukyoku, 1875), p. 608 *(Dajōkan dai 68 gō*, 30 April 1875), and Ōkurashō Insatsukyoku, ed., *Hōrei zensho* 1880 (Tokyo: Ōkurashō Insatsukyoku, 1880), pp. 877-878 *(Dajōkan tasshi otsu dai 3 gō*, 1 September 1880).

in April the following year. However, inadequacies in the management of records saw the Archive Office replaced in May 1882 by a Survey Office *(Chōsagakari)*, which was subsequently renamed the General Affairs Office *(Shomugakari)* in September 1886.[161]

The inconsistent nature of the approach to the archiving and preservation of official material, despite centralised efforts, can be seen in the fragmentary and non-uniform nature of archival holdings from the period. Saitama prefecture, for example, has very few documents remaining from the period of the restoration until 1896 when rules for the preservation of documents were adopted. These rules classified documents into four types: those to be kept in perpetuity, and those to be destroyed after a period of 10 years, 5 years or 1 year. It was not until the establishment in 1880 of the Archives Office in Kyoto that it could be said that real efforts had been made to address the problems of preservation of regional documentary archives. Earlier efforts and instructions from the central government had proved either ineffectual or had simply not been acted upon.

Similarly, there had been early efforts to preserve items considered of historic value. However, as in the case of documents, these centrally issued regulations were not adequately enacted, or resulted merely in lists of items rather than comprehensive policies to ensure their preservation.[162] The Council of State on 10 July 1871 issued the 'Old Items Preservation Law' *(Koki kyūbutsu hozonhō)*.[163] The preamble to the law called for the preservation of items classified according to a list of set categories. Preservation of these items was considered necessary because of their utility when considering the 'conditions of the changing times' and the 'history of public customs'. There is a natural attrition of older items compared to new ones, the preamble continued, so

---

[161] Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan Rekishi Shiryōka, ed., *Monjo kaidai*, pp. 58–62.

[162] Christine Guth, *Art, Tea, and Industry: Masuda Takashi and the Mitsui Circle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 162, and William H Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), p. 248.

[163] Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan, ed., *Kyōto-fu hyakunen no shiryō: 6 shūkyō* (Kyoto: Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan, 1972), pp. 474–476.

items worthy of value need to be preserved to ensure they do not disappear along with undesirable elements of the past.

The classification schema of old items is presented in full below as it provides a fascinating indication of the contemporary worth of various items and hints at the ideological structure underlying the law's production. Regional government offices were instructed to submit a catalogue of items, as well as details of their location and owners. Items were classified according to the divisions in table 1.

Table 1: Old Items Preservation Law of 1871

Item	Description
Ritual items	shields, halberds etc. used in ritual
Old precious stones	*magatama, kudatama,* lapus lazuli, crystals
Stone bows, stone axes	stone bow, thunder axe, *hekirekichin, tengu no meshigai* etc.
Old mirrors and bells	
Bronze items	three legged kettles, three-legged cups
Old tiles	old items whether famous or not
Military items	swords, bow and arrows, flags, armour, cavalry items, halberds, large and small cannons, ammunition shells, military drums
Old writing and pictures	famous books, portraits, hanging scrolls, rolled scrolls, old writings
Old books and sutras	old documents and pictures, old printed works and manuscripts, even popular writing included if relatively old
Framed picture or text	name plate from shrines or temples, letters from famous families
Musical instruments	flutes, drums, *koto, wakon, biwa,* masks, costumes etc used in *sarugaku* and instruments used in Kabuki
Inscriptions	famous and not famous, as long as relatively old
Seals	
Stationery	writing tables, pens, ink, inkstones
Agricultural implements	used in ancient times
Carpentry / artisans tools	used in ancient times
Carriages	carriages, palanquins etc.
Household items	screens, room items, lanterns, eating utensils, plates, pipes
Cloth and silk	ancient gold brocade and cloth
Clothing	official court costume, everyday clothes, mountain folk clothes, women's clothing decorations, rain hats, rain wear, shoes etc.
Leather items	old leather and design items
Money	old coins, mulberry paper notes
Metal items	brass, bronze, copper, copper-gold, purple-gold, iron, tin etc.
Pottery	from various domains
Lacquerware	
Measurement items	ancient items to measure volume, area, distance, time, abacus
Tea, incense, vases	
Games and amusements	*go, shogi, suguroku* etc.
Dolls, children's festival decorations	'crawling child', 'heaven child', *hina matsuri* doll, boys festival dolls, wooden dolls, clay dolls, Nara *ningyo,* other children's toys
Old Buddhist images and implements	images, sutras, implements

Fossils	plants, animals, bones etc.

The first striking feature of this law is the diverse nature of the classification of items. The categories consist of a hotchpotch of folk elements of Japanese society that seem random in their inclusion. For example, there is no concern whatsoever in the law for the aesthetic quality of the item. The modern reader may expect to find reference to rare items, or those of exceptional beauty and elegance, or those exemplifying a particular style or technique. Indeed, one could say that there is an absence in the schema of classification of any notion of an item as 'art'.[164] There is more concern for the form and function of the items as evident in the descriptive examples given for the categories. For example, 'items *used* in ritual', or various costumes and instruments '*used* in *sarugaku* and Kabuki'. Another absence from the classification employed in the law is any concern for a periodisation of the items beyond a vague notion of 'old things' *(furuki shina)* or those used in 'ancient times' *(kodai)*. In a sense, the past exists not as a series of defined stages or periods receding temporally into some mythical origin, but as a veiled realm illuminated at random points by the light of arbitrary artefacts.

The second notable feature in the law is the criteria used for inclusion in the catalogue. The age of the item seems to be the primary concern for those who drafted the law. As noted above, aesthetic quality was ignored. Nor was there any value associated with famous figures or places. For example, roof tiles were to be included 'if they are old whether they are famous or not'. This did not exclude famous items, as the inclusion of letters from the nobility shows, but indicates that the motivation and ideology underlying the drafting of the law were not informed by a discourse of contestation between different groups in Japanese society. In short, the writers of the law did not use items associated with noble families or famous figures to enhance the prestige or authority of the particular government department issuing the law, or of the central

---

[164] This observation was also noted by Ogawa Nobukiho, 'Seido to shite no bunkasai: Meiji ki ni okeru "kokuhō" no tanjō to shūkyō bijutsu no mondai,' *Soshioroji* 35, no. 3 (1991), p. 111.

government in general. This much is reinforced by the complete absence in the law of references to items associated with the imperial line, and to the scant reference to Shinto which had emerged by this point as the dominant ideological framework of the state.

The law finished with a comment that 'old items range from the time of the Gods to the pre-modern era without concern as to whether they are Japanese or imported'. In other words, the preservation of items of historic significance identified in this document was not related to a program of national consciousness. Nor was there a sophisticated notion of what constituted either 'significance' or 'history' beyond the crude notion that, if it was old, then it was worthy of inclusion in the register. This is in stark contrast to the ideological underpinning of later laws concerning the preservation and reconstruction of temples and shrines examined further below.

A final comment on this document concerns its specific reference to the preservation of Buddhist artefacts. It will be recalled that the early Meiji period saw a national wave of anti-Buddhist sentiment fuelled by numerous laws concerning the removal and destruction of Buddhist elements from shrines. This activity continued in some regions until the mid-1870s and was interpreted by Buddhists as an attempt to eliminate Buddhism from the Japanese religious landscape.[165] However, correspondence from the government to religious leaders as early as September 1868 firmly refuted these charges, claiming renegade elements within the administrative organs responsible for overseeing religious affairs were behind the movement.[166] Further, Ōkuma Shigenobu, reminiscing on these events late in the Meiji period, recalled that the pressing business of other affairs of state meant that 'even the burning of temples and the destruction of Buddhist statues were, at least initially, considered to be of no particular political

---

[165] Higashi Honganji, for example, had received assurances from Saionji Kinmochi (1849–1940) and others that its service was satisfactory, but still considered that the government had given tacit approval for anti-Buddhist activities. See Akamatsu Toshihide et al., eds., *Shinshū-shi gaisetsu* (Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1963), pp. 425–433.

[166] Contained in a letter dated 12th day 6th month Meiji 1 (1868) to the heads of Nishi Honganji, Higashi Honganji and other temples, in Monbusho Shūkyō Kyoku, ed., *Shūkyō seido chōsa shiryō*, p. 13.

significance'.[167] It is with this in mind that the historian Takagi considered the preservation law of 1871 to be an attempt to appease the Buddhists.[168] At the very least, the insertion of a specific reference to Buddhist objects in the law was an opportunity for the government to state openly that it did not condone a systematic destruction of Buddhism.

In March 1872, one year after the law discussed above, a further survey of treasures and documents was conducted by the Ministry of Finance.[169] The Council of State had instructed prefectural governments to cooperate with officials who were personally to inspect prefectural archives, private storehouses, and treasures and documents held by shrines and temples. The personal dispatch of Ministry of Finance officials indicated either a lack of faith in regionally produced lists of items, or possibly an attempt to force compliance from regional officials engaged in more pressing affairs. The Ministry of Finance at this time had an agenda that transcended a concern for the 'changing times' or 'public customs', as is made clear in a notice from the Home Ministry in July 1874.[170] It was its intention, according to this notice, to use the survey as part of a strategy to determine national economic production and changes in population. The gathering of statistical data on regional production levels was to aid the ministry in formulating national strategies for regional assistance, development and aid in the analysis and promotion of exports. The involvement of the Home Ministry at this time, through a notice to regional governments concerning a Ministry of Finance survey, prefigured its involvement in the management of cultural properties which it undertook the following year. It also clearly indicates that the preservation of cultural

---

[167] Murakami Senshō et al., eds., *Meiji ishin shinbutsu bunri shiryō*, p. 275. The original appeared in the journal *Bukkyō shigaku* published in March 1912. The translation of this passage is from Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs*, p. 17. Ōkuma reiterates that it was certain Shintoists who were behind the movement to destroy Buddhism and that there was no anti-Buddhist sentiment in any government policies.

[168] Takagi Hiroshi, 'Kindai Tennōsei no bunkateki tōgō: rikken kokka keiseiki no bunkazai hogo gyōsei,' in *Kindai Tennōsei kokka no shakai tōgō*, ed. Umahara Tetsuo and Kakeya Tadahira (Kyoto: Bunrikaku, 1991), p. 98.

[169] Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan, ed., *Kyōto-fu hyakunen no shiryō: 6 shūkyō*, p. 476.

[170] Ōkurashō Insatsukyoku, ed., *Hōrei zensho* 1874 (Tokyo: Ōkurashō Insatsukyoku, 1874), p. 469 (*Naimushō futasu kō dai 18 gō*, 17 July 1874).

items was at this time part of a national policy to encourage industry rather than any direct part in the process of formulating a national identity.[171]

The course of the next few years saw several more national surveys, especially of treasures and other holdings by shrines and temples. It must be noted that several earlier surveys of shrine and temples had been carried out by various government departments. These, however, were restricted in scope to a survey of buildings and details of land holdings and income derived from them, and did not specifically concern either treasures or documents considered valuable in the possession of shrine and temples. They were conducted in 1869 by the Ministry of the People *(Minbushō)* and, in the following year, by the Council of State. The results of these surveys became the basis for the confiscation of shrine and temple lands *(jōchirei)* early in 1871.[172]

The Ministry of Doctrine *(Kyōbushō)* had assumed responsibility for the administration of religious affairs in March 1872 after the abolition of the Department of Shinto Affairs. In July 1873, it issued an admonition against the random destruction of shrine assets and implements.[173] This activity included the sale of items to second-hand dealers and was partly in response to the fiscal crisis felt by shrine management. The ministry had introduced the policy of placing the burden of priest's salaries on local associations of believers, which compounded the loss of income to shrines from land confiscations.[174] The ministry followed up this admonition by requesting higher ranked shrines in October that year to create and submit copies of a register of all 'old documents, treasures and implements *(jūki)*, etc.' to both the regional offices and the ministry.[175] A noteworthy postscript to the request called for a distinction to be made between 'important' and 'everyday' implements. The compilers of this law, unlike those of 1871,

---

[171] Takagi, 'Kindai Tennōsei,' p. 99.
[172] Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs*, p. 69.
[173] Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan, ed., *Kyōto-fu hyakunen no shiryō: 6 shūkyō*, p. 477.
[174] Contained in Yasumaru et al., eds., *Shūkyō to kokka*, p. 452, p. 456. This was enacted for district and village shrines on 22 February and for prefectural shrines on 31 July 1873.
[175] Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan, ed., *Kyōto-fu hyakunen no shiryō: 6 shūkyō*, p. 478.

had a nascent awareness of quality, rather than merely age, as a criterion for the differentiation of items.

The details and coverage of this survey were considered unsatisfactory by the Ministry of Doctrine. Consequently, it ordered government shrines in July 1875 once again to conduct a survey of their old documents, treasures and implements.[176] This time, however, the ministry was more specific in its request and provided a template for the compilation of the register. This could be considered an extract of items from the 1871 laws as they related to shrines, with one important exception: there is a clear concern for details of the provenance of the items. Over and above a vague concern for 'old' items, the 1875 register called for actual dates which could place them within a linear temporal framework. Further, it requested not only the dates of the creator of most items, but more significantly, the reason for each item's importance at the shrine. The template is described in table 2.

Table 2: Survey of old treasures, documents and implements, 1875

Item	Details required
record of *engi*	dates of origin, dates of author
documents	dates of origin, dates of author, reason for donation or transmission
plaques	dates of author, dimensions, reason for donation or transmission
tokens	date, names
mirrors	dimensions, design, reason for donation or transmission
bells	dimensions, design, reason for donation or transmission
swords	inscription, dimensions, blade, decoration type and description, reason for donation or transmission
old coins	weight, mint marks, reason for donation or transmission
old seals	text, type, reason for donation or transmission
armour	inscription, decoration, reason for donation or transmission
koto	inscription, reason for donation or transmission
flutes	inscription, reason for donation or transmission

It is noteworthy that this order, as with the survey of 1871, applied only to 'imperial shrines' *(kanpeisha)* and 'national shrines' *(kokuheisha)*. These rankings were established as part of the institutionalisation of Shinto in the early years of Meiji, and generally included large shrines with a history of official patronage by the imperial family or

[176] Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan, ed., *Kyōto-fu hyakunen no shiryō: 6 shūkyō*, p. 478.

government offices.[177] Government shrines, which consisted of imperial, national and special ranks *(bekkakusha)*, were supported in general by the government in Tokyo, while civic shrines were generally supported by believers' associations and local governments. This system underwent numerous changes as the central government attempted to balance the financial requirements of shrines with the national fiscal situation. For example, a May 1873 directive from the Council of State prohibited the use of public funds for the repair and maintenance of government shrines. This was overturned in December of the following year with the revision of laws concerning the administration of shrines. Further, government shrines had been somewhat protected from the large-scale confiscation of land carried out in 1871 (and again in 1875) due to the tax free status of much of their land holdings. An 1874 plan of the Ministry of Doctrine determined that the income derived from this land was to be phased out over the following ten years, and that 350 yen from their newly devised budget (which amounted to approximately 14 per cent of the total) would be allocated to repair of buildings.[178]

These measures indicate that in general the preservation of shrine—and temple—treasures and valuable documents, and the repair and maintenance of shrines themselves, were heavily influenced up to this point by economic and utilitarian concerns. The Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Doctrine jointly promulgated a call in September 1875 to preserve the details of ancient construction methods of government shrines, in order to ensure that such techniques would not be lost in case of future restoration and reconstruction.[179] The rationale for this preservation was based on practical concerns, as was the transfer to the Home Ministry that same year of the administration of all treasures and documents with an imperial seal held at Tōdaiji

---

[177] The following shrines were classified as government shrines in Kyoto when the initial rankings were decided in July 1871: Kamo no Mioya Shrine, Kamo Wakeikazuchi Shrine, Otokoyama Hachiman Shrine, Matsuo Shrine, Hirano Shrine, Fushimi Inari Shrine, Umenomiya Shrine, Kibune Shrine, Ōharano Shrine, Yoshida Shrine, Shiramine Shrine, Kitano Shrine, Yakasa Shrine, Izumo Shrine, Ko no Shrine.

[178] Contained in Yasumaru et al., eds., *Shūkyō to kokka*, pp. 463–465.

[179] Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan, ed., *Kyōto-fu hyakunen no shiryō: 6 shūkyō*, p. 480.

in Nara.[180] This transfer, concurrent with the first Nara exposition held within the grounds of Tōdaiji and organised from within the Home Ministry, was carried out to ensure their 'preservation for perpetuity'. The historian Takagi considered this evidence that the Home Ministry's administration of the protection of cultural items was consistent with its policies to encourage and promote industry and wealth.[181]

Emperor Meiji announced late in 1876 that he would travel to Kyoto and the Kinki area from January the following year. The main purpose of the trip was to carry out rites marking the 10th anniversary of the death of Emperor Kōmei, his father. While in the region, the emperor and empress visited many of the recent additions to the city such as schools, hospitals, factories and modern enterprises. Some of these had been established from funds granted from the imperial family as compensation for their move to Tokyo in the early years of Meiji. The occasion of an imperial visit was often accompanied by a grant from imperial coffers. The 1877 visit resulted in a gift of 3,000 yen to prefectural schools, 2,500 yen to hospitals, and 500 yen to the women's school and vocational training centre.[182] During January and February of that year, the imperial retinue visited not only numerous graves of imperial ancestors, but also many shrines and temples in Kyoto and the local region. As in the case of modern institutions, money was often bestowed on the institutions but, in these instances, it was usually earmarked for preservation. For example, the emperor on 1 February visited the Imperial Palace grounds and granted a total of 1,700 yen for the preservation of the Kami Gorei and Shimo Gorei Shrines, considered the tutelary shrines *(ubusunasha)* of the area.[183] This substantial amount was surpassed several days later by the donation of 4,000 yen for the preservation of grave markers and provision for memorial rites at

---

[180] Ōkurashō Insatsukyoku, ed., *Hōrei zensho* 1875, p. 827 *(Naimushō tasshi,* 10 March 1875), and p. 863 *(Kunaishō tasshi,* 25 August 1875).

[181] Takagi, 'Kindai Tennōsei,' p. 99.

[182] It was not unusual for the emperor to visit sites of modernity. The main purpose of the circuit by the emperor to the Tōhoku region the previous year was for precisely that. DeVere Brown, 'Kido Takayoshi and the Young Emperor Meiji,' pp. 13-17.

[183] Entry for 1 February 1877, in Kunaichō Shoryōbu, ed., *Meiji Tennō ki*, p. 32.

Kyoto Shōkonsha at Ryōzen in Higashiyama.[184] Up to the time of the founding of the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo in 1872, the Kyoto Shōkonsha had been the focus for the national system of shrines and memorials commemorating the souls of those who had fallen in service of the emperor.[185] The sizeable amount of the grant is testimony to the importance placed by the imperial family at that time on the ideological system of commemoration for 'martyrs' for the national cause.

These examples indicate that such preservation funds were aimed particularly at shrines with imperial links, which is not surprising considering the identity of the donor. However, the scope of this preservation was expanded that same month (February 1877) with an imperial declaration calling for the preservation of the entire Imperial Palace grounds.[186] According to this declaration, the emperor was deeply moved by the run-down condition of the palace. The grounds of the Imperial Palace were overgrown with weeds and wildflowers, the buildings either abandoned or used by various government departments, and any unused fixtures either thrown out, burnt or sold.[187] The declaration lamented that, 'although the Kyoto Imperial Palace had been the home of the imperial court for over one thousand years, it had fallen into a state of complete ruin in the eight or nine years since the emperor had left for the east.' Consequently, the declaration charged the Kyoto prefectural government with the task of establishing procedures to preserve the site *(hozon no hōhō)* and, to this end, provided it with the annual sum of 4,000 yen until fiscal 1888.

The practice of rebuilding the Imperial Palace was not new: the tendency for such large wooden structures to burn provided numerous occasions for the construction of a new home for the emperor. The last such occurrence had been after the devastating fire of 1788. It was by the order of the Bakufu chief councillor, Matsudaira Sadanobu (1758–

---

[184] Entry for 6 February 1877, in Kunaichō Shoryōbu, ed., *Meiji Tennō ki*, p. 48.

[185] For more on the Kyoto Shōkonsha, see Murakami Shigeyoshi, *Irei to shōkon* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1974), especially pp. 22–36.

[186] Entry for 6 February 1877, in Kunaichō Shoryōbu, ed., *Meiji Tennō ki*, p. 48. The text of this declaration is reproduced in Akimoto, 'Meiji jūrokunen no Heian Jingū sōken an,' p. 60.

[187] Akimoto, 'Meiji jūrokunen no Heian Jingū sōken an,' pp. 56–59.

1829), that the palace was completed in 1790. Sadanobu, a reformer of the Bakufu administration, ordered that the palace be rebuilt according to the model of the Heian period. The research for this reconstruction had been conducted by Uramatsu Mitsuyo (1736–1804) during his time in confinement for his role in the so-called 'Hōreki incident' *(Hōreki jiken)*, and was later used in the construction of the Heian Shrine.[188] It was ironic that the results of Uramatsu's research—conducted during punishment to a royalist for engaging in 'subversive' activities—were utilised by the Bakufu as part of their policies of reform, and ultimately for a symbol of imperial authority in Kyoto. The prefectural government undertook the obligation to preserve the Imperial Palace by buying private land in the vicinity. However, shortfalls of capital within the Imperial Household Ministry, and local policies more concerned with purchases of land than historical preservation, resulted in few effective measures aimed at maintaining the site.[189] Iwakura attempted the following year to establish within the Imperial Household Ministry an office charged with various affairs concerning the imperial house, including several concerning the role of Kyoto.

The Kyoto prefectural government, prompted in part by the Home Ministry, continued its preservation activities during 1879, though these took the familiar form of conducting two surveys of precious documents (including sutras, printed materials and pictures) and treasures held at shrines and temples.[190] The former survey was called for in a proclamation dated 30 May and required the submission of details of the location, volume and type of sutras and financial documents held in storehouses managed by various temples and shrines. It drew a distinction, in the case of sutras, between domestic and foreign-produced or transcribed material. This latter made the

---

[188] The Hōreki Incident *(hōreki jiken)* occurred in 1758 when the lectures of Takeuchi Shikibu (1712–1767) to members of the court nobility, and indirectly to the emperor, were adjudged to be harmful to court-Bakufu relations. Takeuchi and other nobles, Uramatsu included, were meted out various degrees of punishment by the authorities. The substance of the lectures was drawn from Confucian and Shintoist texts.

[189] Akimoto, 'Meiji jūrokunen no Heian Jingū sōken an,' pp. 60–66.

[190] Details of these can be found in Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan, ed., *Kyōto-fu hyakunen no nenpyō: 6 shūkyō hen* (Kyoto: Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan, 1970), p. 481 and p. 483. Both were dated 30 May 1879.

further distinction of material transcribed by Japanese or by foreigners. The survey of treasures, also dated 30 May, was requested by Governor Makimura and required submission of a register using categories similar to past surveys. For example, this categorisation was identical to the 1875 survey with the addition of hanging scrolls, transcriptions of sutras, and the further subdivision of the category of coins. The first two can be explained by the inclusion of temples in the scope of the 1879 survey, while the third may indicate a desire for a more refined and detailed survey. This is supported by more sophisticated criteria for inclusion in the register for some of the items, namely the setting of a limit of either 100 years old, or the association of an item with a famous figure. These local efforts at preservation were also evident in July that year when the prefectural offices repeated the Council of State prohibition of several years earlier concerning the use of these items as collateral for loans.[191]

The nature of efforts to preserve cultural items during the 1870s, particularly at shrines, occurred during a period generally regarded as one of wholesale cultural borrowing from the West. What was notable about these early efforts, however, was that they were underpinned by economic and practical concerns. There is little or no display of a type of cultural nationalism in either the rhetoric of the text of the laws, in the schema of categorisation and periodisation of objects, or in the criteria for inclusion as objects worthy of conservation. By the end of the 1870s, there had emerged a latent expression of nationalism, or perhaps regionalism, that emerged in local efforts to supplement the national agenda of preservation. Kyoto, with its proud imperial past, had begun to redirect its bureaucratic gaze beyond the preservation and reconstruction of objects with direct imperial links, and towards objects that in general reflected the glory of the city under imperial rule. More precisely, it was considered the civic duty of the residents to contribute to the future prosperity of the city by preserving and rebuilding the glory of the past. The past as a veil illuminated by discrete points of light, to

---

[191] Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan, ed., *Kyōto-fu hyakunen no nenpyō: 6 shūkyō hen*, p. 484.

continue the image from earlier, had become a rope extending from the past to the future with decorations of cultural items tied like sacred paper along its length.

Kyoto, the emperor, and preservation

On 7 December 1879, a letter from Governor Makimura concerning the preservation of old and famous shrines and temples appeared in the local Saikyō Newspaper.[192] Makimura called for a philanthropic attitude by those with 'spare funds' to direct them towards preservation in the region. He argued that shrines and temples were built in places of elegant, secluded beauty, and that these were a reflection of the glory of Kyoto as a whole. The preservation of these locations, which adorn the city as 'playgrounds of the citizens' *(jinmin yūraku no chi),* would not only provide a legacy for future generations, he argued, but was considered an essential element in the strategy to make the city prosperous. Makimura drew a parallel between preserving shrines and temples, and the notion of civic duty in paying taxes to provide for public services such as education and public health. The local government had received funds for the preservation of the Imperial Palace in the city, and funds had been set aside for preservation of buildings within higher ranked shrine complexes. Makimura called on the wealthier residents of the city to contribute to the public good by, for example, sponsoring the construction of small sub-shrines and pagodas within shrine and temple complexes or by patronising civic festivals.

Whether or not the call was directly heeded is unknown, but within two years the Home Ministry had issued several laws regulating the procedures for construction and restoration at temples and shrines founded more than 400 years earlier.[193] The regulations called for a submission of details of the buildings in question, including their name, age, former restoration, and whether or not that restoration activity was funded privately or by the government. It also required sketches of the buildings'

---

[192] Reproduced in Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan, ed., *Kyōto-fu hyakunen no shiryō: 6 shūkyō*, pp. 484–485.
[193] Ōkurashō Insatsukyoku, ed., *Hōrei zensho* 1882 (Tokyo: Ōkurashō Insatsukyoku, 1882), p. 363 *(Naimushō tasshi otsu dai 58 gō*, 7 November 1882.

current condition and a full two years notice for any future restoration works. The course of the next few years also saw the revival of numerous festivals and, as explored in more detail below, the restoration of several large temple structures within the city.

This latent cultural nationalism emerged within a national discourse as well as regionally by the end of the 1870s. One instance was a petition from the Finance Minister, Ōkuma Shigenobu, dated 25 December 1879. This was addressed to both the Home Minister, Itō Hirobumi (1841–1909), and the Minister of State, Sanjō Sanetomi. The petition called for an increase in prefectural funding for the preservation of old shrines and temples. Ōkuma's proposal, which resulted in the above-mentioned laws introduced by the Home Ministry the following year, made a direct appeal to the political expediency of preservation of shrines and temples. It says:

> The depth of the people's feeling for old and famous temples and shrines has significant political ramifications. Why shouldn't the preservation of these famous sites, historic monuments and ancient buildings be one part of maintaining our national culture? [194]

This is an example of a clear link between preservation and the (re)-construction of a unique cultural identity well before the mid to late 1880s. Another example of this type was outlined by none other than Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834–1901) in his 1882 treatise, *On the Imperial House (Teishitsuron)*.[195] Fukuzawa argued that the imperial house should be placed as a figurehead, the 'fountainhead of honour', in the hotly debated constitutional system. He recognised that the radical changes in Japanese society since the restoration had been followed by a shift in peoples loyalties and sympathies, and that the worst of these, like 'a match to tinder', had swept through the country. The only way to counter the hitherto wholesale destruction of Japanese indigenous civilisation was for the maintenance of an institution outside of politics to sponsor and support the gamut of folk crafts, customs and activities that were considered essential

---

[194] Quoted in Takagi Hiroshi, *Kindai Tennōsei no bunka shiteki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Azekura Shobō, 1997), pp. 272–273.

[195] Tomida Masafumi, ed., *Fukuzawa Yukichi shū*, vol. 8, *Meiji bungaku zenshū* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1966), pp. 77–91.

for Japanese culture. This institution, the imperial house, was to be a body worthy of respect and honour.

This debate over the nature of the Japanese polity had been fanned by the imperial edict of October 1881, which promised the establishment of a constitutional monarchy and the opening of a parliament by 1890. While this commitment was widely accepted, there was little agreement on what constitutional structures to adopt. Iwakura Tomomi favoured an absolutist system based on the Prussian model, while less conservative factions, including Fukuzawa, proposed a liberal English-style cabinet system. Under the Iwakura model, the authority for high government appointments, as well as for military and fiscal matters, was centrally located in the figure of the emperor.[196] Iwakura was keenly aware, however, that political authority vested in the emperor needed to be matched with a corresponding dignity. The historical backdrop of Kyoto, with its rich cultural heritage and long associations with the imperial line, was a vehicle to enhance imperial dignity and prestige. However, the present condition of imperial sites in Kyoto needed to match their historical significance. That is to say, the image that was required of the past needed to be carefully moulded, and then transmitted to, and assimilated by, the viewing public of the present.

Iwakura took tangible measures to enhance this dignity in January 1883 with his 'Proposal Concerning the Preservation of Kyoto' *(Kyōto hozon ni kansuru kengi)*.[197] The prefectural government had stalled in their efforts to restore the Imperial Palace grounds after the imperial request of 1877, as discussed above. The 1883 proposal resulted in a task force, with Iwakura appointed as its head, finally to translate the imperial will into organised activity. Iwakura considered that the natural beauty of the city was complemented both by its famous shrines and temples and by the frugal simplicity of the customs of its residents. He lamented the dishevelled condition of the

---

[196] Toriumi Yasushi, *Nihon kindai shi kōgi: Meiji rikkensei no keisei to sono rinen* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1988), pp. 164–184.

[197] The text of the proposal is contained in Ōtsuka Takematsu, ed., *Iwakura Tomomi kankei monjo*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Nihon Shiseki Kyōkai, 1927), pp. 482–490.

1000 year old capital and the unwelcoming palace grounds which had become the 'lair of rabbits and foxes'. Restoration of the major ceremonies of state, the temple complex of Enryakuji with its long associations with the imperial line, and the folk industries of the city would, in Iwakura's reckoning, enhance the dignity of the imperial house and invite praise from the foreign powers. His proposal included a fourteen step plan to achieve these results (this is detailed in table 3).

Table 3: Plan to restore the Imperial Palace, 1883

Revival of the three great ceremonies of state *(Daijōsai, Sokui, Rikkō)*
Construction of *Heian Jingū* to Emperor Kanmu
Construction of altar for rites to Ise and Emperor Jinmu
Revival of the Kamo Festival according to the ancient model
Revival of the Iwashimizu Festival according to the ancient model
Revival of court banquets *(aouma no sechie)*
Revival of the Great Purification Ritual *(Ōharae)*
Revival of the Three Great Festivals
Construction of a Western style hotel in grounds
Construction of a treasure house
Restoration of the buildings and gardens
Management of Nijō castle by the Imperial Household Ministry
Appointment of a caretaker to manage Imperial Palace grounds
Establishment of a shrine/temple management office[198]

The redesign of grand imperial ceremonies of state was a measure intended to enhance the dignity of the emperor to enable effective rule. 'Through ceremony', Iwakura wrote later, 'the [modern] monarch is able to carry out [the practicalities of rule]'.[199] Emperor Meiji, one year after his visit to Kyoto in 1877, is reported to have called for Kyoto to follow the example of Russia, where political authority and sacred ceremonial space were distinct in the cities of St Petersburg and Moscow.[200] This idea was popular with Iwakura who was also influenced by the Japanese ambassador to Russia, Yanagihara Zenkō (1850–1894), and his reports of the grand ceremonies surrounding the enthronement of Tsar Alexander III (1845–1894) that same year.[201] Though Iwakura in

---

[198] This proposal is dealt with in some detail in Fujitani, 'Japan's Modern National Ceremonies', pp. 63–68.
[199] Tokoro, 'Heian Jingū zōken zenshi,' p. 59.
[200] Entry for 16 October 1878 in Kunaichō Shoryōbu, ed., *Meiji Tennō ki*, vol. 4 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1968), p. 538.
[201] Takagi, *Kindai Tennōsei no bunka shiteki kenkyū*, pp. 87–111.

his proposal wanted to place Kyoto as the ceremonial centre of the Japanese state structure, Tokyo became more central to national ritual after 1889 with the ceremonies surrounding the promulgation of the constitution.[202]

Staging such great national ceremonies in Kyoto was complemented in Iwakura's proposal by the revival of local and regional festivals, banquets and ancient rituals. These were all linked to the imperial house but provided an opportunity for participation by the local residents. The Kamo Shrines and the Iwashimizu Shrine had long received imperial patronage, while many of the other items in the proposal involved the revival of events held by the court within the imperial palace grounds in ancient times. The modern versions of these were to be open to the public. Witnesses to these events were to participate in imperial rites of national significance, while simultaneously reaffirming regional associations with their past. The same opportunity was afforded by the founding of a shrine to Kanmu and the construction of altars to conduct rites for the Ise Shrine and for Emperor Jinmu. Though Ise was nominally the head of the newly created shrine hierarchy, and it was Jinmu's foundation of the Japanese state in which the declaration of the restoration was based, the connection between Kyoto and Kanmu made the founding of this shrine in the city a keystone of the proposal. Foreign visitors, and more importantly the image of Japan's past presented to the foreign powers, were accommodated in the proposal by the construction of a Western hotel. The treasure house, another opportunity to display the past to both domestic and international visitors, was to be open to the public on special occasions and to contain unspecified items—ones undoubtedly related to the imperial line.

The remaining items in the 1883 proposal concerned the establishment of several decentralised organs of the Imperial Household Ministry to oversee imperial affairs in the region. This meeting of centre and periphery was paralleled by the composition of

---

[202] Fujitani, 'Japan's Modern National Ceremonies,' pp. 120–128.

the committee charged with enacting the proposal. In addition to Iwakura, it consisted of the State Councillor, Inoue Kaoru, senior members of the Imperial Household Ministry and the Council of State, Governor Kitagaki, and other Kyoto prefectural officials.[203] As Fujitani has noted, the proposal represented more than a former courtier's hopes for the restoration of his birthplace: it was part of a program to link the imperial past with the present political system, and to give legitimacy to that system through public participation and representation in national and regional ceremonies and rites.

Government took a leading role in the preservation and restoration of the past, especially the imperial past, but as was seen in the former prefectural governor's call for philanthropy in 1879, it was considered the duty of well-to-do citizens to supplement this program with sponsorship of preservation programs. This notion was also alive in the mind of Iwakura while he was in Kyoto in 1883. During a recreational visit to Arashiyama in western Kyoto, Iwakura called for the founding of a private society to preserve the scenic beauty of the area.[204] During the Tokugawa period, Iwakura explained, the Bakufu undertook yearly plantings of maple and cherry trees to maintain the famous beauty of Arashiyama. Since the restoration, this activity had been neglected and the beauty of the site had deteriorated. Iwakura, Inoue and others contributed a thousand yen as starting capital and called for the establishment of a society to be formed among the patriots of Kyoto to revive and maintain one of its most beautiful sites. The program of official preservation outlined above could not at this time include preservation of sites with no direct links to the imperial line, regardless of their pedigree or innate worth. The ideology of official preservation was limited in scope to projects that would enhance the dignity of the imperial line, and was not informed by a general concern for the unbalanced representation of the past, or for the preservation of the natural environment per se. The preservation of other

---

[203] Tada, ed., *Iwakura kō jikki*, pp. 997–998.
[204] Tada, ed., *Iwakura kō jikki*, pp. 1000–1001.

famous sites in the city had to wait until 1886 when rules were drafted concerning the establishment of public parks, and the classification of famous areas within the city into three kinds of parkland.[205]

Fukuzawa once again expanded the ideological scope of this preservation in his 1888 treatise *On Revering the Emperor (Sonnōron).*[206] The treatise explored the political essence of reverence for the emperor, the history of respect for and sacredness of the imperial house, and means to maintain this inviolability. Central to Fukuzawa's thesis was the notion of an 'esteem for antiquity and nostalgia for the past' *(shōko kaikyū)* that resided, he believed, in the feelings of the common people. He postulated, for example, that a local village faced with a decision to cut down an old, sacred tree for its expensive timber and to improve the productivity of fields formerly in its shade would more often than not choose to preserve it. Fukuzawa stated that utilising this 'esteem for antiquity and nostalgia for the past' was an essential step in protecting the imperial line. He argued that people naturally respect old and famous things such as Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine, Kōyasan and Honganji temples. Unlike the examples of the Kamo Shrines and Imperial Palace, these have no direct link with the imperial line. However, he insisted, when people talk of the founding of Kōyasan in the reign of such-and-such emperor, or the deity summoned to Hachiman Shrine by such-and-such emperor, etc., then esteem toward the imperial line correspondingly increases. By such an argument, Fukuzawa attempted to provide a schema whereby fostering these feelings of nostalgia would serve the political ideology of formulating a national identity based on respect for the imperial line.

Fukuzawa's optimistic view of the common people was countered in 1891 by the publication of Shiga Shigetaka's (1863–1927) influential *On Japanese Landscape (Nihon*

---

[205] Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan, ed., *Kyōto-fu hyakunen no nenpyō: 6 shūkyō hen*, p. 116. Earlier, in 1873, the central government called for former temple and shrine lands in the major urban centres to be made public as recreation spots, in Shirahata Yōzaburō, 'Nihon bunka to shite no kōen no rekishi,' in *Nihon bunka to shite no kōen*, ed. Iinuma Jirō and Shirahata Yōzaburō (Tokyo: Yasaka Shobō, 1993), pp. 4–5.
[206] Tomida, ed., *Fukuzawa Yukichi shū*, pp. 92–103.

fūkei ron).[207] In chapter 7 of this long treatise, entitled 'Preserving Japanese landscape', Shigetaka pondered:

> The beauty of the [Japanese] landscape and the diversity of its flora is the motivating force that informs the past, present and future aesthetic sentiment of the people. Should this force be destroyed?

He continued with a lament concerning recent weak-willed complicity of the common people in widespread destruction of both the natural environment and historic sites and buildings for short term financial gain. This activity, he claimed, severed the people's historical associations with the past and jeopardised the future enlightenment of the country. Only by preserving the landscape—which to Shigetaka in this context meant the totality of natural environment and historic remains—could there arise a deep sense of harmony between beauty and utility which would avert future disaster.

Iwakura and the first Heian Shrine

Section two of Iwakura's plan, as already noted, outlined the establishment of a worship hall within the palace grounds, enshrining the spirit of Emperor Kanmu. This is of great interest because of the similarities with the Heian Shrine project completed in 1895. The proposal read in part:

> Emperor Kanmu diligently applied his unsurpassed talents to the task of government... His great achievements in governing Heian-kyō provided an everlasting foundation... Although the location of the imperial tomb at Fushimi Momoyama has recently been rediscovered through oral tradition and investigation of documents, the location of the imperial remains is still unknown... Consequently, the August Spirit should be enshrined on the site of the former Kashikodokoro, yearly rites should be conducted, and the people permitted to worship.[208]

The shrine was to be called *Heian Jingū*, bear the rank of Great Imperial Shrine, be constructed in part from abandoned buildings on the site, and enshrine an article of calligraphy in the style of Kanmu. The date of the traditional founding of Kyoto, the 22nd day of the 10th month, was proposed for the shrine's festival. An imperial envoy

---

[207] Shiga Shigetaka, 'Nihon fūkei ron,' in Matsumoto Sannosuke, ed., *Seikyōsha bungaku shū: Meiji bungaku zenshū*, vol. 37 (Tokyo: 1891), p. 88.
[208] Ōtsuka, ed., *Iwakura Tomomi kankei monjo*, p. 484–485.

was to be present, and the people of Kyoto were to be encouraged to present offerings of Noh, sumo, fireworks, horse racing, and so on. Unlike its later manifestation, the Heian Shrine under the 1883 proposal was to have been funded entirely by the government. In this regard it was similar in intent, if not in scope, to many other Meiji period projects that enshrined either imperial ancestors or patriots of the imperial cause. (Contemporary examples in Kyoto are listed in table 4).

Table 4: Shrines founded in Kyoto[209]

Shrine name	Date founded (or re-founded)	Deity enshrined
Toyokuni Shrine	8th month 1868 (re-founded)	Toyotomi Hideyoshi
Shiramine Shrine	8th month 1868	Emperors Sutoku and Junnin
Takeisao Shrine	1870	Oda Nobunaga and Oda Nobutada
Goō Shrine	December 1874 (relocated)	Wake no Kiyomaro and Wake no Hiromushi
Nashinoki Shrine	1885	Sanjō Sanetomi

By June 1883, detailed construction plans, budgets, personnel lists, and petitions concerning the rites to transfer the spirit of the emperor had been drafted. A July newspaper article even announced the forthcoming construction of an entirely state-funded 'Heian Shrine'.[210] However, construction of the shrine did not start. Undoubtedly a major factor was the sudden death of the man whose energy lay behind the proposal. Iwakura fell ill soon after arriving in Kyoto, and died, aged 59, after returning to Tokyo on 20 July, on the very day that the above newspaper article hit the street. Iwakura's prestige would surely have carried the project through despite the jurisdictional conflict from the Home Ministry, which at this time was responsible for the administration of shrines and temples. The historian Tokoro, however, in an investigation of imperial shrines founded after the restoration, concluded that even though approval and funds were eventually forthcoming from government finances, the strong support of either local groups or interested parties was essential for the

[209] Hayashiya, ed., *Koto no kindai*, pp. 228–229.
[210] Tokoro, 'Heian Jingū zōken zenshi,' p. 62.

project to materialise.[211] In the case of the 1883 *Heian Jingū* proposal, it was primarily the will of Iwakura alone that provided the impetus. After his death, the prerequisite of strong grass roots support—moral, not financial—was lacking and the shrine plan was left in abeyance. Interestingly, this support was forthcoming in the shrine project of 1895. The immense scale of the building required grass roots financial support, that is, from private citizens locally and nationally, as well as funds from the imperial family.

The preservation movements identified in this chapter were fundamentally manifestations of how certain elite groups imagined Japanese society, how they sought to reconstruct it, and how they represented this reconstruction both to the Japanese people and to the external world. Official efforts to manage specific objects of culture are indicative of the innate value the elite attributed to these objects. A desire to preserve and transmit such cultural objects for future generations tells us much about the implicit values held by the present generation. Furthermore, the attachment of these objects to a specific site strengthens the associations of that site with the collectivity.[212] An investigation of how this management was conducted, the criteria for selection of objects, and the professed ideology underlying these efforts, enlightens not only the process of the formulation of a system of 'national treasures' in Japan, but more compellingly, sheds light on the form and content of celebration in Kyoto in 1895. The reason for holding numerous displays of 'historic items' during the anniversary celebrations, for example, was, on the one hand, based in the entertainment value of exhibiting rare and beautiful items, but was also deeply related to the construction of a unique national identity and strengthening of the collectivity known as Japan.

---

[211] Tokoro, 'Heian Jingū zōken zenshi,' pp. 65-69.

[212] Anthony Smith, 'LSE Centennial Lecture: The Resurgence of Nationalism? Myth and Memory,' *The British Journal of Sociology* 47, no. 4 (1996), pp. 588-590.

Chapter 3. Conceiving the anniversary of the founding of Kyoto

In late 1891, a prominent Tokyo publisher and economist, Taguchi Ukichi, visited Kyoto to conduct research for a current project. Taguchi was the founder of the Tokyo *Keizai Zasshi* and a vocal supporter of free trade and a universalist humanism. His desire to see Japan on an equal footing with the West led to such radical proposals as the abolition of national boundaries and characteristics, and the wholesale adoption of technology and culture from the West.[213] Taguchi felt that in order to substantiate his theories, he needed to have detailed knowledge of Japan's past. He set about writing several works on the topic, including one of the first comprehensive histories of Japanese culture, *A Short History of the Development of Japanese Culture (Nihon kaika shōshi)*. He promoted independent historical research through his various publishing enterprises and also sponsored controversial articles by pro-Western intellectuals such as Kume Kunitake (1839–1931) and Tokutomi Sohō.[214]

Taguchi's visit to Kyoto in 1891 was to investigate the 794 transfer of the capital from Nagaoka-kyō to Heian-kyō. He was introduced to Nakamura Eisuke (1849–1938), who was at that time the acting president of the Kyoto Chamber of Commerce. Nakamura reported in his diary that it was during a trip to Nagaoka-kyō that Taguchi first planted the seed of the anniversary celebration in his mind.[215] Taguchi made the comment that many towns these days were holding civic festivals in which all residents participated, and asked if Kyoto had such a festival. When asked to elaborate, Taguchi noted that his present study had alerted him to the fact that 1894 was exactly

---

[213] For a recent overview of Taguchi, see Taguchi Chikashi, *Taguchi Ukichi* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2000).

[214] Kume in particular also published several articles dealing with the founding of Heian-kyō. Inoue Mitsuo, *Kenkyūshi: Heian-kyō* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1978), pp. 16–21.

[215] According to the diary of Nakamura Eisuke, Taguchi was in Kyoto in August and September of 1891. However, the first detailed proposal concerning the anniversary was delivered in May 1892 to an association of which Nakamura was a member. Consequently, it has been surmised that the date of this encounter would have been earlier in 1892 for Taguchi's comments to have made a direct influence on the idea to hold an anniversary. See Kōno Hitoaki, *Nakamura Eisuke to Meiji no Kyōto* (Kyoto: Kyōto Shinbunsha, 1999), pp. 153–156. This is corroborated by newspaper reports placing Taguchi in Kyoto in April 1892. See Takaku, 'Chihōka suru Kyōto: kento senhyaku nen no koro,' p. 257.

1,100 years since Kanmu had moved the capital from Nagaoka-kyō. Consequently, he wondered if any arrangements had been made to celebrate the anniversary.[216] Nakamura recorded in his diary that neither he nor his colleagues knew of any such plan, and consequently reported this to other members of the Chamber of Commerce.[217] The idea of the anniversary celebration germinated from this conversation between the unlikely pairing of a local Christian businessman and a modernist economist from Tokyo.

Nakamura's standing in the local business and political spheres well suited him to close involvement in the anniversary celebrations. As will be explored in this chapter, the anniversary was motivated by a complexity of factors, and through a variety of agents. A central group of local businessmen and politicians emerged from this complexity to take leadership of the anniversary. National forces, however, moderated the local agents with important fiscal and policy directives. This chapter will examine the motivations and make-up of the various anniversary organisations, and their members, to reveal the strong links that operated between the local and national political and business worlds. These links, in turn, impacted on the anniversary celebrations in significant ways.

Several regional and national organisations had influence over the management of the anniversary celebrations. The Kyoto Municipal Assembly *(Kyōto shikai)* had determined that the celebrations were to be a civic affair, which meant a certain level of local public funding and corresponding accountability.[218] The Anniversary Study Committee *(Kinensai chōsa iinkai)*, comprising members of the Assembly, was responsible for initial investigations and feasibility studies.[219] It was comprised entirely of municipal assemblymen. The Cooperative Society was formed in Tokyo in October 1892 and

---

216 Kōno, *Nakamura Eisuke to Meiji no Kyōto*, p. 153-154.

217 Kōno, *Nakamura Eisuke to Meiji no Kyōto*, p. 155.

218 This was first intimated on 24 May 1892, and formalised on 28 September; in Kyōto Sanjikai, ed., *Heian sento kinensai kiji*, vol. 1, p. 2 and p. 10.

219 The order to form the Anniversary Study Committee was delivered by the Kyoto Municipal Assembly on 28 May 1892. The text of the order is in Kyōto Sanjikai, ed., *Heian sento kinensai kiji*, vol. 1, p. 10.

included Kyoto expatriates, members of the nobility, and other prominent figures in Tokyo society.[220] Though ostensibly to raise funds and provide support, the Cooperative Society held increasing sway over some key decisions. In March 1893, the Anniversary Study Committee was reorganised by the Kyoto Municipal Assembly to include prefectural officials and local public figures.[221] The new organisation, renamed the Anniversary Committee, included fifteen members in six sub-committees. It was this body that undertook most of the day-to-day management of the anniversary and affiliated events.

A further complicating factor in the organisation of the anniversary resulted from the joint running of the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition. Though the Exposition Office of the Anniversary Committee handled local administration, the leading role in management was undertaken by a special committee set up within the national Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce *(Nōshōmushō)*.[222] Its president was Prince Akihito (1846–1903), with the Agriculture and Commerce Minister as vice-president. This inevitably led to some conflict over areas of responsibility and funding.

Personalities and proposals

Nakamura was a leading figure in the political and business spheres in mid-Meiji Kyoto. As he was to go on to play an important role in the administration of the anniversary celebrations, his circumstances are worth closer scrutiny.[223] He was born in 1849 as the son of an oil merchant and grew up in the turbulent Bakumatsu period in Kyoto. His family home and business were destroyed in the fires that devastated the city following the military uprising in 1864. A succession of personal tragedies in the

---

[220] For an overview of the formation of the Cooperative Society, see Wakamatsu, ed., *Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai kyōsanshi*, Byakko-hen, pp. 3–22. This also contains all the foundation members of the society listed by prefecture.

[221] This document detailed the members and responsibilities of the various parts of the committee, in Kyōto Sanjikai, ed., *Heian sento kinensai kiji*, vol. 1, pp. 10–15.

[222] For an overview of the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition, see Yamamoto, *Nihon hakurankai shi*, pp. 36–38.

[223] For biographical details of Nakamura, see Sugita, ed., *Kindai Kyōto*, pp. 433–454, and Kōno, *Nakamura Eisuke to Meiji no Kyōto*.

early 1870s heralded his entry into adulthood and thrust an unusual level of responsibility on the young man's shoulders: in the space of three years, Nakamura lost two brothers, his father, and his fiance to disease. His ability to expand the family business after this time was testament to his business acumen and personal drive.

He became increasingly interested in Christianity from 1875 when he first heard its teachings preached in Kobe. The following year he met Niijima Jō (1843–1890), a prominent Christian and Kyoto resident. This led to a lifelong friendship with Niijima and commitment to the Christian faith. Nakamura became a strong ally of Niijima, assisting him in various Christian projects, such as the establishment of Dōshisha University and the Kyoto YMCA, and publishing Bibles in Japanese. Nakamura received a Christian baptism from Reverend J. D. Davis (?–?) in 1883; Davis had been a frequent visitor to the fortnightly Christian meetings held in the Nakamura house since 1876. Nakamura developed an interest in politics and economics through Yamamoto Kakuma, the local politician who was Niijima's father-in-law. Yamamoto, the first president of the Kyoto Prefectural Assembly, encouraged Nakamura to enter politics.

Nakamura was elected to the Kyoto Municipal Assembly when it opened in 1879. He went on to serve as mayor under the revised municipal system instituted in 1889, and moved to the Kyoto Prefectural Assembly in 1894, where he was immediately elected president.[224] He also briefly entered national politics—in 1890 he was elected to the first House of Representatives *(Shūgiin)*, where he served till the house was dissolved by Prime Minister Matsukata the following year. He was active in business throughout this period, and had been a founding member of the Kyoto Chamber of Commerce. Numerous other official positions in local ventures, such as the Kansai Trade Cooperative Company *(Kansai bōeki gōshi kaisha)* and the Kyoto Electric Light Company

---

[224] Local governance in 1895 Kyoto operated under the municipal system *(shisei)* which was implemented in 1889. It consisted of a popularly elected assembly *(shikai)*, a council *(sanjikai)*, and a secretariat. The council, the executive body of the government, consisted of the prefectural governor (who was also mayor), a municipal secretary and councilors elected from the assembly. There was also a prefectural government separate from the municipal administration, which was formed in 1868 and revised in 1878. It comprised a prefectural assembly but had only limited autonomy.

(Kyōto dentō kaisha), kept Nakamura central to the local business world. He also found time for various social works, such as the founding of the Kyoto Nursing College *(Kyōto kangofu gakkō)* and the Dōshisha Hospital *(Dōshisha byōin)*, as well as a continuing interest in youth Christian associations.

On 13 May 1892, Usui Kosaburō (?-?) presented to the Kyoto Business Association *(Kyōto jitsugyō kyōkai)* a proposal to hold in 1894 a civic celebration for the 1,100th anniversary of the founding of Kyoto. Nakamura was also a member of this society and would have known Usui well. Nakamura himself was not afraid of undertaking new ventures as his varied business and other interests would indicate. The centenary history of the Heian Shrine makes no comment on why Usui was the author of the proposal. Perhaps he was involved in the failed bid for the Third Domestic Industrial Exposition and was the appropriate person to present a plan for an anniversary in conjunction with a bid for the next exposition. Another reason could be that Nakamura felt his position as president of the Prefectural Assembly might be construed as a conflict of interest when approval for the proposal was sought from the government.

Discussion by the association resulted in formal proposals dated 17 and 19 May being sent to the Kyoto Municipal Council *(Kyōto shisanjikai)* and the Kyoto prefectural governor, Kitagaki Kunimichi.[225] These proposals explained that Kyoto had been the location of the imperial capital as chosen by Emperor Kanmu in the 13th year of Enryaku (794). Over the course of the centuries, Kyoto had become a centre of learning, art, letters, crafts and cottage industries, and famous for its superior architecture, painting, sculpture, weaving, dying and ceramics. Since the turmoil of the Meiji restoration in 1868, the proposal stated, the status of capital was lost to Tokyo and the city had been in threat of decline. However, the desire of the people to rebuild the glory of the city had resulted in the preservation of the city's treasures, famous temples and shrines, and the reform of arts, crafts and industry to the degree that now (1892)

---

[225] The text of the proposal is contained in Kyōto Sanjikai, ed., *Heian sento kinensai kiji*, vol. 1, pp. 1-2.

they were applauded by people around the world. An anniversary celebration, it was proposed, would ensure the benefits of this revival would not be forgotten and, instead, would be passed on to later generations.

The Kyoto Municipal Assembly determined that such a celebration should be an official civic affair, that is, organised and managed by members of the assembly as part of their official duties. This also meant a certain level of local public funding and a corresponding accountability to the local electorate. One week after the proposal of 19 May was received, a seven member committee was appointed to investigate the anniversary's feasibility. The Anniversary Study Committee consisted of three councillors (Naiki Kansaburō (1848–?), Nishimura Jihei (1860–1910), Nishimura Shichisaburō (?–?)) and four assemblymen, (Amemori Kikutarō (?–?), Nakano Chūhachi (?–?), Higashie Kichibei (?–?), Usui Kosaburō).

Apart from being politicians, these officials were also prominent local businessmen and entrepreneurs. A few examples will serve to illustrate this. The chair of the committee was Naiki Kansaburō, a councillor and businessman instrumental in the establishment of the Kyoto Stock Exchange *(Kyōto kabushiki torihikijo)*, the Kyoto Commercial Bank *(Kyōto shōkō ginkō)*, the Kyoto Weaving Company *(Kyōto orimono kabushiki kaisha)*, and other business ventures during the 1880s and early 1890s. Naiki was also a foundation member of the Kyoto Chamber of Commerce which was established in 1883.

The president of the Kyoto Chamber of Commerce at the time of the Anniversary Study Committee was Hamaoka Mitsunori (1853–1936). Hamaoka as a youth was greatly influenced by Yamamoto Kakuma, who, it will be recalled, convinced a younger Nakamura Eisuke to enter politics. Hamaoka was elected to the prefectural assembly in 1881, and, while serving initially as vice-president of the Kyoto Chamber of Commerce, was instrumental in founding several local papers, including the *Hinode Shinbun*. His other business interests included weaving, ceramics, storage, trade societies, and railway companies.

Amemori Kikutarō was likewise a powerful figure in the political and business worlds of Kyoto. He had served the municipal government since the late 1870s, but was most active a decade later in organising opposition to the introduction of the municipal system in 1889. In February of that year he became a founding member of a society to study local administration and to raise support for the movement against the new local government legislation. In March he travelled to Tokyo to lobby the central government to this end. Hamaoka was also a foundation member of this society.

The close relationship between the organisation of the anniversary and the business community was highlighted in September 1892. At this time, the Kyoto Municipal Council determined that the office for the administration of the anniversary would be physically located within the Kyoto Chamber of Commerce. As will become increasingly evident, there was to be a enormous overlap of personnel between these local organisations. The Kyoto Chamber of Commerce began its life in 1883 as the Chamber of Commerce and Industry *(Kyōto shōkō kaigijo)*. It is no surprise to learn that among its foundation members were Amemori, Naiki, Hamaoka, Nakamura, and Tanaka Gentarō (1853–1922).

Tanaka was an integral member of this group of influential men. Born in Tanba, he went to Kyoto after the Meiji restoration to study.[226] He also became influenced by Yamamoto and Hamaoka. He served in various leadership positions in village and ward politics on his way to entering the Kyoto Prefectural Assembly in 1880, where he served as its president at the age of just 31. Like many other members of the assembly, he was deeply involved in other business ventures. He co-founded and served as a director of the Kyoto Stock Exchange in 1884, and was on the board of directors and was co-founder of the regional Kameoka Bank and Kyoto Commercial Bank. Along with Hamaoka, Nakamura and Naiki, Tanaka was instrumental in establishing the

[226] Tanba was mostly in present day Kyoto Prefecture and partly in Hyogo Prefecture.

Kansai Trade Company in 1879, and, in 1888, both the Kyoto Electric Light Company and the Kansai Railway Company *(Kansai tetsudō kaisha)*.

The formation of regional political parties provides another means by which to understand these complex connections of personalities and enterprises. Hamaoka, Tanaka, Naiki, Nakamura and Amemori formed the Kōminkai prior to the municipal elections of 1889 and won 31 of the assembly's 42 seats.[227] The party platform was essentially aristocratic, elitist, and materialist. Its founding statement outlined the party platform of 'institutionalising the political aspirations of the Kyoto people while opposing popular union movements'.[228] The party's executive was the same group that dominated the Kyoto Chamber of Commerce and later the Anniversary Study Committee. At its peak, the Kōminkai had almost 2,000 members from throughout the prefecture, though residents of Kamigyō and Shimogyō municipal districts of Kyoto city dominated the party. The fact that the municipal council executive contained seven Kōminkai members out of nine is testament to the party's dominance.[229]

These men were young—all were under 40 in 1883 at the time of the founding of the Kyoto Chamber of Commerce. None of them had played any significant part in the restoration, or had any strong links with the court, Bakufu, domain administrations or groups of patriots which had dominated Kyoto in the Bakumatsu period. Educated in the transitional period during the breakdown of the traditional domain-based political system, they were influenced by modern regional reformers such as Yamamoto Kakuma, and the first two governors of Kyoto, Makimura Masanao and Kitagaki Kunimichi. The vacuum created in the region when many of the former dominant groups followed the emperor to Tokyo provided the perfect opportunity for young, energetic entrepreneurs to realise their desire for power and business growth.[230] They

---

[227] See Hayashiya, ed., *Koto no kindai*, pp. 83-84.

[228] Takaku, 'Chihōka suru Kyōto: kento senhyaku nen no koro,' p. 241.

[229] Takaku, 'Chihōka suru Kyōto: kento senhyaku nen no koro,' p. 245.

[230] The transfer of the locale of power to Tokyo saw a transition of power from the Edo through Meiji periods from the military, to the court, to businessmen-bureaucrats. See Ōno Susumu, ed., *Higashi Nihon to nishi Nihon* (Tokyo: Nihon Editasukuru Shuppanbu, 1981), p. 160.

had witnessed severe economic depression in Kyoto in the 1870s, and set about promoting the local area through various business ventures in the decade of high growth following the foundation of the Kyoto Chamber of Commerce in 1883.

The prefectural governor during the 1880s, Kitagaki Kunimichi, surrounded himself with these motivated young men. This invited severe opposition from minority assembly political parties and rival business factions within the city, as the following examples illustrate. Three of the most prominent ventures involving these men were the foundation of the Kyoto Commercial Bank, the Kyoto Weaving Society, and the Kyoto Electric Light Company. All were closely connected with local government contracts, and all became embroiled in scandals that ultimately contributed to the dissolution of the Kōminkai in March 1892.

The Kyoto Commercial Bank was founded by Hamaoka, Tanaka and Naiki in 1886. The following year, it replaced the Mitsui Bank *(Mitsui ginkō)* and several other financial institutions as the official bankers for the prefectural government. This decision was reversed in 1890 after strong criticism of Kitagaki's involvement with the Kōminkai executive. The Kyoto Weaving Society was founded by the same men and was the largest of its kind in Kyoto. It also attracted criticism because of improper use of prefectural development funds which had been set aside by the previous governor for emerging industry ventures.

The most devastating of the scandals, however, involved the Lake Biwa Canal. As noted earlier, this was the symbol of Kyoto's modernisation during the mid-Meiji period. It was originally planned to provide transport links from the Japan Sea and to supplement the water flow of the Kamo River. However, the plan was adjusted during construction to incorporate Japan's first hydro-electric generator. This was to provide power for industry, electric lighting and transport in the city. It was a bold project filled with vision and some risk. This change to the original intent of the canal project came about after an inspection tour of the Aspen Dam in the United States by the canal's engineer, Tanabe Sakurō.

The scandal arose when the Kyoto Municipal Council, which it will be recalled consisted almost entirely of the Kōminkai executive, made a determination independent of the assembly that the hydro-electric scheme was to be privately operated by the newly formed Kyoto Electric Light Company—of which they were directors. This obvious conflict of interest caused a public outcry which resulted in a back-down the following year. The management of the scheme was subsequently returned to the public sector. It is also interesting to note that Nakamura, one of the directors of the company and a key member of the group, accompanied Tanabe to the United States on the inspection tour, ostensibly to investigate the establishment of a branch office in New York of another venture, the Kansai Trade Company. Tanabe himself was not beyond criticism for his connections in high places—his father-in-law was Governor Kitagaki.

Previous scandals of a similar nature had shaken other ventures of Tanaka, Hamaoka and others. Public outrage, fanned by papers other than the Kōminkai controlled *Hinode Shinbun*, and the election in 1890 of five key Kōminkai executives to the national House of Representatives (including Tanaka, Hamaoka and Nakamura), left the party with no option but to dissolve in March 1892. This led to a series of new factions which formed along local regional interest group lines. The main remnant of the Kōminkai formed a series of parties that promoted development in the eastern half of the city close to the Lake Biwa Canal, while other 'anti-Kōminkai' parties favoured projects in the lower and western sectors of the city.[231] Kitagaki remained in office until July when he left to take up the position in Tokyo of president of the Hokkaidō Bureau.

The Anniversary Study Committee formed in May 1892 was firmly in the hands of these local prominent figures. The anniversary was the opportunity for them to continue their influence in public affairs after the recent dissolution of the Kōminkai, though by now they were aligned according to regional development policies. The

---

[231] Takaku, 'Chihōka suru Kyōto: kento senhyaku nen no koro,' p. 247.

committee's recommendations spoke of the glory of the imperial line, and the renown of the city. For these men, the latter was manifest in economic and business success. Consequently, the committee's Nakano Chūhachi, also a member of the Kyoto Business Association, proposed to the assembly that the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition be incorporated into the anniversary celebrations in May 1892. This was quickly followed by letters of support for the idea to the Agriculture and Commerce Minister, Sano Tsunetami (1822–1902), written by Nakamura and Hamaoka in their capacities as leaders of local business organisations. Sano had first hand experience of international expositions as head of the Japanese delegation to Vienna in 1873. As will be discussed below, he was subsequently appointed vice-president of the Anniversary Cooperative Society.

These early proposals coincided with the revival of plans to extend the Lake Biwa Canal project. This plan, called the Kamo Canal, was to provide industry in the eastern half of the city with a gateway to the ferry terminal at Fushimi on the Yodo River. The project was initially backed by the Kōminkai, but postponed pending review after the fall of the party in March 1892. However, the anniversary and exposition proposals strategically incorporated the Kamo Canal with the promise of subsequent development of waterways in other parts of the city. This strategic move gained the support of factions who opposed development in the eastern part of the city at the expense of the south and west. It also ensured that the eastern Kamo faction remained in a position of strength and influence concerning the upcoming anniversary and exposition.

The Anniversary Study Committee reported to the Kyoto Municipal Assembly on 26 July 1892. It officially recommended that the anniversary celebrations be held in conjunction with the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition. Nakamura Eisuke, president of the Kyoto Municipal Assembly, and Hamaoka Mitsunori, president of the Kyoto Chamber of Commerce, had lobbied the Finance Minister, and the Agriculture and Commerce Minister since May, for the next exposition to be held in Kyoto.

Nakamura (his first ever trip to Tokyo was to visit the First Domestic Industrial Exposition), Hamaoka, and Kuse Michiaki were subsequently appointed to the Anniversary Study Committee in July.

A little over a week later, on 3 August 1892, the vice-minister for Agriculture and Commerce, Nishimura Sutezō (?–?), announced that the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition would be held in 1895. It was determined that the year originally planned for the exposition, 1894, was too close to the world's fair to be held in Chicago in 1893. Nishimura, who later would play a leading role in the administration and promotion of the anniversary celebrations, also unofficially announced that the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition would be held in Kyoto. The official decision was taken by the cabinet on 22 September after a meeting between Hamaoka and the prime minister, Itō Hirobumi, concerning the intent of the city's anniversary celebrations and bid for the exposition. Plans to execute both were set in motion by the Kyoto Municipal Assembly the following day. An office to oversee the administration of the anniversary was established within the Kyoto Chamber of Commerce, and a committee was appointed to investigate how best to celebrate the anniversary.

The members of the Anniversary Study Committee published in October a 'Statement of Purpose' for the anniversary celebrations. (This is translated in appendix 3.) This statement developed the themes of the original proposals and outlined the history of the city and its central position in Japanese culture since records began. The stability and glory of Heian-kyō was attributed to the virtue and benevolence of the founder of the city, Emperor Kanmu. The anniversary in 1895 was to showcase the unique combination of natural beauty, history and development of culture in Kyoto since the time of Kanmu. The statement declared that the anniversary would include displays of Kyoto art, culture and history, as well as rites and displays by local religious organisations, and conferences by various national organisations. The anniversary would be an event of national significance through the participation and contributions of people across Japan.

To this end, Hamaoka, Amemori and Higashie (members of the Anniversary Study Committee), travelled to Tokyo in October 1892, in order to arouse interest in the capital in the Kyoto events. They met with the Prime Minister, the Home Minister, the Foreign Minister, the Agriculture and Commerce Minister, and the Imperial Household Minister, as well as with members of the nobility who were ex-residents of Kyoto. An agreement was made to support the aims of the anniversary celebrations in Kyoto, and to form the Anniversary Cooperative Society (discussed in detail below).

Anniversary Committee

Proposal number 28, dated 6 March 1893, delivered to the Kyoto Municipal Assembly outlined a reorganisation of the administration of the anniversary to conform to the regulations of the municipal system. It stipulated the appointment of fifteen people to the committee, comprising three councillors, seven assemblymen, and five public figures. The committee was to be responsible for the overall management of the anniversary, and would plan activities as they related to the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition. They would also act as an advisory body to the Kyoto Municipal Council concerning budgets and any public questions concerning the anniversary and exposition. This element of public accountability was reflected in the requirement for the committee to keep various records concerning the management and administration of the events.[232]

The Anniversary Study Committee comprised only municipal assemblymen and councillors. The new committee also included residents who brought particular skills and experience to the administration of the anniversary. The membership of the committee is outlined in table 5.

Table 5: Anniversary Committee members

Councillors	Naiki Kansaburō, Nishimura Jihei, Nishimura Shichisaburō

[232] Kyōto Sanjikai, ed., *Heian sento kinensai kiji*, vol. 1, pp. 10-13.

Assemblymen	Amemori Kikutarō, Nakamura Eisuke, Higashie Kichibei, Hamaoka Mitsunori, Kuse Michiaki, Yamamoto Seisuke, Usui Kosaburō
Residents	Nishimura Yoshitami, Hori Gorōbei, Sadahiro Tarō, Murata Eijirō, Yano Chōbei

Six offices were established to oversee various aspects of the management and administration of the anniversary and exposition. Table 6 indicates the members allocated to the six offices. (An asterisk indicates membership of the original Anniversary Study Committee.)

Table 6: Anniversary Committee offices

Office head	*Naiki Kansaburō
Ceremonial and Publishing Office *(Shikiten oyobi hensanbu)*	*Kuse Michiaki, *Amemori Kikutarō, *Nishimura Shichisaburō, *Usui Kosaburō, Nishimura Yoshitami
Exposition Office *(Hakurankaibu)*	*Hamaoka Mitsunori, *Nishimura Jihei, *Nakamura Eisuke, *Higashie Kichibei, Yamamoto Seisuke
Public Works Office *(Dobokubu)*	Higashie Kichibei, *Nishimura Shichisaburō, Yano Chōbei, Hori Gorōbei, Murata Eijirō
Reception Office *(Settaibu)*	*Nakamura Eisuke, Yano Chōbei, Hori Gorōbei, Yamamoto Seisuke, Murata Eijirō
General Affairs Office *(Shomubu)*	*Amemori Kikutarō, *Hamaoka Mitsunori, Sadahiro Tarō, *Nishimura Jihei, Nishimura Yoshitami
Survey Office *(Chōsabu)*	*Kuse Michiaki, *Hamaoka Mitsunori, *Higashie Kichibei, *Nakamura Eisuke, *Amemori Kikutarō

As can be seen, members of the Anniversary Committee served in up to three offices. The members of the original Anniversary Study Committee were spread throughout the organisation, but dominated the Ceremonial and Publishing Office, the Exposition Office, and the Survey Office. There follows a description of the duties and responsibilities of the respective departments of the committee.

The Ceremonial and Publishing Office was initially charged with undertaking comprehensive surveys concerning anniversary ceremonies conducted in America, Europe, and in other parts of Japan. However, the extent to which it surveyed the overseas practice is unknown. There does not appear in the accounts of the anniversary, or in the budgets, any mention of overseas study tours expressly for the purpose of

investigating anniversary protocols. However, numerous modern elements with a Western influence were to appear in the celebrations, indicating some knowledge, if second-hand, of American or European anniversary celebrations. Rites and ceremonies at temples and shrines were also subjected to scrutiny by the office. Related to these investigations was a survey of the history of the city, its arts and crafts, and the relationship of Kanmu to Kyoto.

All these investigations were to ensure that the anniversary was conducted with reference to the precedents of other cities. This is perhaps surprising when we consider the position that Kyoto now holds in the popular imagination as the source of Japanese culture and the guardian of tradition. At this time, however, Kyoto was in the process of reformulating its position in Japanese society and the popular imagination. As will be seen later, many of the items used in the anniversary itself, musical instruments for example, were borrowed from the Imperial Palace in Tokyo. Kyoto in 1893 was still unsure of its position, and lacked the confidence to rely fully on its own heritage.

The Exposition Office provided advice to the Kyoto Municipal Council concerning the exposition site, finances and general administration. It was not responsible for the administration of the exposition as such, or involved in organising or judging the exhibits. These tasks were undertaken by the committee established within the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. The grounds for the site were purchased by the Kyoto government as part of the deal by which the city had won the right to hold the event. Preparation of the exposition site, which involved clearing and levelling plus the provision of water supply and drainage, was the responsibility of the Public Works Office. The main task of this office, however, was to improve the transport infrastructure of the city, especially in the area between Shichijō Railway Station and Okazaki. The site of the exposition was bounded on the south and west by the Lake Biwa Canal. Several bridges, both temporary and permanent, were constructed before the exposition to provide easy access to the site. The largest of these, the Keiryū Bridge *(Keiryū hashi)*, was situated south of the exposition, directly in line with the

Daigokuden and Ōtenmon gate. Electric lighting and some phone lines for the administration were established in the city by the Public Works Office, though they were once again limited to the corridor between the station and the Okazaki site. Though some of this infrastructure was permanent, much, such as the electric lighting, phones and some of the bridges, was removed after completion of the anniversary events.

The General Affairs Office oversaw the administrative and financial duties of the committee. It was also responsible for liaison with the Cooperative Society, and for the timely circulation of information among individuals and bodies related to the anniversary and exposition. The Survey Office was a body that coordinated submissions from all other offices. In addition to the Anniversary Committee members, approximately twenty-five prefectural government officials were appointed to various offices to assist in the administration of the anniversary. These included secretariat support, and others such as Yumoto Fumihiko (1843-1921), the compiler of the *Heian tsūshi*, and Mizuguchi Jirō (?-1906), the prefectural engineer. The *Heian tsūshi*, administered by the Ceremonial and Publishing Office, had a separate staff of seventeen administrators, editors, and researchers.

A reorganisation of the Anniversary Committee occurred in late 1894. The main structural change was the addition of a Public Health Office *(Eiseibu)*. As will be discussed in more detail in a later chapter, several outbreaks of infectious disease threatened the city and other areas in Japan during the course of the preparations and staging of the anniversary. The new office had a wide ranging brief that included: methods of prevention of infectious disease; health and hygiene controls over hotels, restaurants, bars and bath houses; cleaning of drains, sewers and the removal of garbage and night soil; renovation of city hospitals and the establishment of disinfection stations; and issues related to the general hygiene and cleanliness of the exposition grounds. The office comprised members taken from other duties which

resulted in a rearrangement of positions and the addition of several municipal assemblymen to the Anniversary Committee.

Table 7: Kyoto Municipal Assembly budget[233]

Item	1893	1894	1895	Total
Exposition costs (yen)	85,643	18,293		103,936
Anniversary administration (yen)	3,252	11,138	18,083	32,473
Anniversary costs (yen)	20,006	14,861	19,701	54,568
Total	**108,901**	**44,292**	**37,784**	**190,977**

Once the announcement was made that the exposition would be held in Kyoto and the anniversary celebrations were determined to be a civic affair, the Kyoto Municipal Assembly allocated funds over the following three fiscal years (detailed in table 7). The largest outlay in 1893 was for the purchase of the land in Okazaki for the exposition, the Heian Shrine, and for the anniversary ceremonies. The second year's funding was spent primarily on providing infrastructure, such as plumbing and transport upgrades, as well as a significant amount on advertising and preservation of local shrines and temples. The third year of the budget focused on publishing guidebooks and maps, and on meeting costs for the ritual for the anniversary.

Cooperative Society and funding

Lyn Spillman in her comparative study of national celebrations at the end of the nineteenth century in Australia and the United States utilised an analysis of cultural centres and peripheries to help identify agents and methods of involvement in the formation of national identity. She stated:

> In the centennials and bicentennials, specific but transient networks of diverse actors and organisations, some more connected to the state than others, but all composed of political and cultural elites, produced and elicited claims about national identity as they tried to make plausible celebrations. They were oriented to mobilising the rest of the country, and also, as Shils would suggest,

---

[233] Compiled from Heian Jingū Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Heian Jingū hyakunenshi*, p. 140. Details of this budget are found in appendix 5.

to the perceptions held by other societies about their 'nation'.[234]

Cultural centres, as used by Spillman, were not geographical constructs, but loose networks of institutions and individuals bound by a 'dominant cultural repertoire, which may include a variety of symbols, practices, beliefs, rhetorical tropes, and emblems'.[235]

The role of mobilising the rest of Japan during the Kyoto anniversary celebration preparations was taken by the Cooperative Society. This, as we will see, was comprised of former residents of Kyoto, politicians, prominent businessmen and members of the imperial family. As such, they must be considered part of the cultural centre who shared similar modes of cultural production, and who worked with the local Anniversary Committee to mobilise the nation in the celebrations. To be sure, this does not imply that they always agreed on the details of the festivities, since they often did not. Neither does it preclude the emergence of issues which may be correctly analysed on the basis of a more strictly geographical centre versus periphery, that is, Tokyo versus Kyoto. It is important to recognise, however, that for all the differences and conflicts between local and national organisers, there is an underlying common 'cultural repertoire' that ultimately influenced what was done in, what claims were made about, and who was responsible for the exposition, the anniversary, and the construction of the Heian Shrine.

The Kyoto-based Anniversary Committee realised that national support for the anniversary was required for several reasons. The first was economic. Their ambitious plans simply could not be realised without financial assistance over and above what the regional government, local businesses, and residents of the city could contribute. Organisers would also hope to minimise local opposition, such as that encountered

---

[234] Lyn Spillman, *Nation and Commemoration: Creating National Identities in the United States and Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 34.

[235] Spillman, *Nation and Commemoration*, p. 35. For the the development of the notion of centres and peripheries, see Edward Shils, *Center and Periphery: Essays in Macrosociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975).

during the Lake Biwa Canal project, by broadening the financial base. The second reason was that regional identity, which the anniversary celebrated, was intimately linked to national prosperity. This in turn was seen to have stemmed from the imperial line. Emperor Kanmu, the focus of the city's celebrations, was seen as the inheritor of the legacy of Emperor Jinmu, the founder of the imperial line, and a link in an unbroken chain leading to the current emperor. The anniversary could attain greatest significance only with the support of government and other agencies around the emperor. Lastly, the incorporation of the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition into the celebrations meant a level of control and interference from central government bodies. A broad base of support for the anniversary and shrine was required to ensure that they did not become just peripheral entertainment to the national exposition.

Consequently, the Kyoto Municipal Assembly selected three senior members of the Anniversary Committee to travel to Tokyo to canvass support. Hamaoka, Amemori, and Higashie, as described in the previous section, were all prominent politicians and businessmen in Kyoto and, as such, were in a position to access the top levels of government in Tokyo. In October 1892, they met senior national officials, members of the nobility, and others of Tokyo's elite and were successful in gaining an intent from them to cooperate with the aims of the Anniversary Committee. Among government members to give support were Prime Minister Itō Hirobumi, Home Minister Inoue Kaoru (1835–1915), Foreign Minister Mutsu Munemitsu (1844–1897), Agriculture and Commerce Minister Gotō Shōjirō (1838–1897), and Imperial Household Minister Hijikata Hisamoto (1833–1918). Members of the nobility whom they met included Prince Konoe Atsumaro (1863–1904), Count Saionji Kinmochi (1849–1940), Count Sano Tsunetami, and Count Itagaki Taisuke (1837–1919). Others included the Agriculture and Commerce vice-minister, Nishimura Sutezō, and former Kyoto prefectural governor, Kitagaki Kunimichi.

The mission was an overwhelming success in terms of gaining support from the Tokyo politicians and elite. On 31 October, a meeting held by Prince Konoe affirmed its

willingness to form a Cooperative Society and work towards the goals of the Kyoto anniversary. Many of the assembled dignitaries had strong connections with Kyoto. Some were former residents or administrators of the city, and all were aware of the strong imperial links to the city's past. The delegation returned to Kyoto and immediately began formalising arrangements for the society's foundation. The prefectural governor met with local men of influence prior to the inaugural meeting of the Kyoto Cooperative Society Foundation Committee at the Nakamura-rō in Gion on 17 November. The Kyoto residents discussed the administration of the society, its budget, and the level of support they could rely on from like-minded people in Tokyo. An interim committee of ten was selected from Kyoto assemblymen. None of these men was a member of the Anniversary Committee. However, the forty-two foundation members of the Cooperative Society present at the meeting included the usual characters from the Anniversary Committee: Hamaoka, Usui, Naiki, Amemori, and Nakamura.

Similar arrangements for the formation of the Cooperative Society began in Tokyo with many agreeing to act as foundation members from December 1892.[236] Among these fifty-eight foundation members of the Tokyo branch there were those who had engaged in discussions with the delegation of October plus influential politicians such as Ōkuma Shigenobu; the early Meiji period religious reformer, Fukuba Bisei (1831–1907); sons of restoration patriots, Iwakura Tomosada (1850–1910) and Saigō Tsugumichi (1843–1902); past and future Kyoto prefectural governors, Kitagaki Kunimichi, Senda Teikyō (?–?) and Nakai Hiroshi (?–?); plus other prominent members of Japanese society, such as the artist and administrator Kuki Ryūichi (1850–1931).

Prince Konoe was elected president of the Cooperative Society at the inaugural meeting of Tokyo foundation members on 19 April 1893. Konoe's lineage was deeply

---

[236] The formal structure of the Tokyo Cooperative Society was not determined until 19 April the following year. However, various proposals indicate that an informal structure was in place from the end of 1892. Heian Jingū Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Heian Jingū hyakunenshi*, p. 79.

intertwined with the imperial family and Kyoto. His was one of the five families of the Fujiwara who provided advisers to the throne in the court system which was abolished at the end of 1867.[237] Konoe, born in Kyoto, entered the House of Peers *(Kizokuin)* after returning from study in Austria and Germany. He was conservative and aristocratic, but often critical of government policy, especially as it concerned foreign expansion. His pedigree and political savvy were well suited to leadership of the Anniversary Cooperative Society.

Vice-president elect for the society was Sano Tsunetami. He was a doctor by trade, and later founded the Japanese Red Cross Society *(Nihon sekijūjisha)*. During the 1860s Sano had worked to modernise the Navy in his home domain of Saga after forming an interest in steam engines and communications during a period of training in Nagasaki. In 1867 he was dispatched by the domain to the international exposition in Paris. After the restoration, he worked to establish a modern national navy, and served also for periods as Finance Minister and Agriculture and Commerce Minister for the new government. While serving as ambassador to Austria in 1873, Sano was appointed head of the Japanese delegation to the Vienna International Exposition. He went on to play a leading role in the administration of the government's exposition policy, serving on the Domestic Industrial Exposition Society and in other key organisations. His appointment as vice-president of the Cooperative Society was a significant boost of experience and influence for the fledgling organisation. Sano realised that the anniversary was an opportunity, like an international exposition, to showcase the natural beauty of the city alongside its famous shrines and temples, while portraying the advances in technology adopted since the restoration.[238]

The draft 'Statement of Purpose' and rules of the society prepared by the Kyoto Cooperative Society were modified by the Tokyo office after discussions held on 19

---

[237] Konoe's grandfather, Tadahiro, was regent during the reign of Emperor Kōmei during 1862-1863.
[238] Heian Jingū Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Heian Jingū hyakunenshi nenpyō* (Kyoto: Heian Jingū, 1998), p. 5.

April 1893. The rules set out the establishment of Cooperative Society offices in Kyoto and Tokyo, with branch offices in all prefectures. The branch offices were to be administered by Kyoto, and headed locally by the respective prefectural governors. This indicates the prestige and influence of the society, and its determination to motivate nationwide interest in the Kyoto celebrations. Membership in the society was by the invitation of foundation members, or by donation of more than ten yen. Donors of two to nine yen were to be appointed associate members.

The anniversary, from the Cooperative Society's point of view, was largely organised over the subsequent two months. Imperial patronage was assured after the appointment of Prince Arisugawa Taruhito as director-general of the society. Numerous meetings were held, especially in Tokyo, and budgets, division of responsibility and duties were discussed and determined. The most important of these decisions came on 15 May 1893 and stated that the main tasks of the society should be collection of funds, and the construction of the model Daigokuden to be built adjacent to the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition site in Okazaki.

This decision ensured that national participation in the anniversary was limited in the planning stage to contributions of money. The benefit of contributing for members of the periphery, aside from travel discounts and special concessions at the celebrations themselves, were few. The voice of peripheral society members is largely absent from the anniversary records. Although a national network of society branches was established, the majority of funds were collected from Kyoto, Osaka and Tokyo. By the end of the celebrations, the society had collected 293,954 yen, with contributions from every prefecture in Japan. (Full details of the contributions are tabulated in appendix 4.)

Table 8: Contribution classification and medallions

Type	Contribution	Medallion			
		Material	Size (cm)	Ribbon band colour	Rim design
Anniversary medallion					
Type 1	over 1,000 yen	gold	3.0	purple	floral

Type 2	500–999 yen	gold	2.7	red	floral
Type 3	300–499 yen	silver	3.0	pale purple	floral
Type 4	100–299 yen	silver	3.0	pale red	floral
Type 5	50–99 yen	silver	2.7	pale indigo	floral
Type 6	30–49 yen	bronze	2.7	yellow	floral
Type 7	10–29 yen	bronze	2.6	green	floral
Worshiper medallion					
Type A	2–9 yen	bronze	2.4	indigo	round
Type B	less than 1 yen	bronze	2.4	white	round

The Cooperative Society had determined that contributors to the anniversary effort would be categorised according to the scheme in table 8. Initially, only contributions of ten yen or more would be accepted. However, in the hope of wider appeal, Types A–B were added later. All contributors received discount rail and ferry services for the duration of the anniversary and exposition, entry to special displays of shrines and temples in the city, a special anniversary medallion, and an imperial letter of thanks.

Anniversary medallions were to be presented to contributors according to their classification. The medallions themselves were of varying design to correspond with the category of donation. The obverse of all medallions was inscribed with two characters meaning 'anniversary' and struck with two sprays of cherry and mandarin orange blossoms. These corresponded to the trees in front of the Daigokuden in the Imperial Palace, and in front of the model Daigokuden in the Heian Shrine. The reverse of the medallions was inscribed with 'Meiji 28', and text translated as 'Heian 1,100th Foundation Cooperative Society'. Type 1–5 medals had the additional text 'presented by the Director-General, the Honourable Prince [Arisugawa] Taruhito'. .

More than forty-eight thousand people across Japan had been enticed to donate money by the time the anniversary was celebrated in Kyoto in 1895. The Cooperative Society appointed an executive committee of twelve members—six each from Kyoto and Tokyo—and distributed responsibility for general administration, shrine construction and funds collection. Nishimura Sutezō and Kumagai Naoyuki (?–?) were appointed to oversee the society's money-raising efforts. To this end, both men toured the country, speaking to groups of influential regional residents to convince them of the merit of the celebrations, and the benefits of becoming a contributor, hence a member of the society.

Prince Konoe and other senior Cooperative Society members accompanied Nishimura and Kumagai to various prefectures to support the collection activities.[239]

The first of these collection rallies was held on 19 May 1893 in Kyoto at the residence of Governor Senda Teikyo. Senda had invited fifty of the city's prominent businessmen to hear senior Cooperative Society members speak on the aims of the project. The night was so successful, with pledges of over 10,000 yen, that a further one hundred and seventy influential local businessmen were invited to the Nakamura-rō in Gion and the Yūrakukan over the following two nights to repeat the exercise. Such meetings, which generally were directed to businessmen and local elites and sometimes included banquets and entertainment, continued in the city over the following month, at the end of which, over 60,000 yen had been raised for the society. By August 1893, the meetings had spread into the surrounding districts of the prefecture. The governor, accompanied by senior Cooperative Society members, toured Yamashiro, Tanba, Otokuni, Kadono, and other regional centres into March the following year. Arrangements were made with regional banks to receive donations pledged at these meetings. By March 1895, officials in Kyoto prefecture with special powers to collect funds had increased to 374, and included the heads of school administrative districts, ward and village heads, and other local elites.

Collection activities in Tokyo began in earnest in June 1893. Delegated members of the Cooperative Society approached likely groups of contributors to seek their cooperation. Senior government politicians, such as Itō, Inoue and Gotō targeted aristocratic families, Konoe and Sano approached members of the nobility, and others such as Shibusawa Eiichi (1840–1931) worked on wealthy businessmen. In this way, it was hoped to use influence from men within the same social groups.

---

[239] Public speaking of this kind was relatively new in Japan. The boom in the late 1880s led in part to the suppression of the popular rights movement. See Robert James Branham, 'Debate and Dissent in Late Tokugawa and Meiji Japan,' *Argumentation and Advocacy* 30, no. 3 (1994), pp. 131–149.

Table 9: Major contibutors totalled by prefecture

By total contribution	
Prefecture	**Amount**
Kyoto	115,714
Tokyo	51,779
Osaka	20,735
Hyōgo	11,697
Okayama	10,803
Kanagawa	9,273
Kagawa	6,344
Hokkaidō	6,188
Niigata	5,277
Miyagi	3,986
Ishikawa	3,632
Mie	3,392
Shiga	3,023
Nagano	2,637
Saitama	2,405
Yamagata	2,402

By total donors	
Prefecture	**Donors**
Kyoto	9726
Kagawa	3840
Niigata	2687
Mie	2463
Hokkaidō	2375
Saga	1784
Miyagi	1704
Gifu	1297
Yamagata	1145
Kumamoto	1091
Nagano	1087
Fukushima	1003
Saitama	935
Shizuoka	926
Okayama	923
Osaka	911

By average per donor	
Prefecture	**Average**
Tokyo	86.3
Kanagawa	69.7
Osaka	22.8
Hyōgo	13.0
Kyoto	11.9
Okayama	11.7
Shiga	9.9
Toyama	6.7
Ishikawa	6.1
Aichi	4.5
Nagasaki	4.2
Foreigners	3.7
Hiroshima	3.7
Akita	3.2
Nara	3.0
Yamanashi	3.0

It is not surprising that the majority of funds—almost 65 per cent—was collected from the three main urban centres of Japan: Kyoto, Tokyo and Osaka. Of these, Kyoto, as one would expect, had the highest total contribution and the largest number of contributors (refer to table 9). Tokyo contributed about one half the total amount of Kyoto, but the number of contributors from Tokyo was less than 1 per cent of Kyoto's total. Further, the proportion of donors from Tokyo who gave significantly larger amounts, that is Type 1-3 contributions (over 300 yen), was much larger than Kyoto, whose main base was from Type 7 and A contributors (less than 30 yen). In other words, although the amount of monetary support for the anniversary was high in Tokyo, it was dominated by a proportionately small group of wealthy patrons. This is clearly seen in table 9 which indicates a high average contribution per donor in Tokyo, and also in Kanagawa. Kyoto's contribution, dominated by smaller amounts, indicates more of a ground-swell support for the anniversary. Osaka's contributions were proportionately high in the middle category of donations, which could represent a strong interest for the celebrations in the business community. Osaka, which had lost the battle to hold the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition, was keen to make a

presence in the combined events to ensure continued interest for the subsequent exposition planned to be held in four years time.

The home prefectures around Kyoto contributed generously but the surprise is the level of support from Hokkaidō, Kagawa and Okayama. In the case of Hokkaidō and Kagawa, the ratio of the population who contributed is only bettered by Kyoto (see appendix 4). Hokkaidō had two very powerful allies for the collection effort. The first was Nishimura, the executive responsible for collection, who, as president of the Colliery Railway *(Tankō tetsudō)* in Hokkaidō, had a special interest in the northern region. The other was the president of the Hokkaidō Bureau, Kitagaki Kunimichi, who had played a leading role in the revival of Kyoto during his period as prefectural governor. The high level of support in Kagawa was partly due to the efforts of people such as Nishimura who effectively linked the Kyoto anniversary celebrations to the rich history of Takamatsu.[240]

Nishimura had estimated in June 1893 that the society would need to collect 200,000 yen nationally in order to realise the anniversary as planned. Of this, 160,000 was budgeted for the construction of the model Daigokuden. Though considered too expensive at the time, this was close to the final figure spent on construction on the entire Heian Shrine construction project, including the Daigokuden, sanctuary, towers and gardens (see appendix 6 for details of the actual budget).

Table 10: Cooperative Society budget

Income	
Imperial donations	27,500
Kyoto municipal grant	20,000
Donations (see above)	296,453
Visitors' medallions revenue	36,228
Miscellaneous revenue	6,980
Total income	**387,163**
Expenses	
Establishment expenses	3,135

[240] *Hinode Shinbun*, 2 September 1893.

Collection expenses	36,562
Construction expenses	188,472
Administration office expenses	40,799
Ceremonial expenses	16,495
Gifts	46,504
Society member services	1,972
Reporting expenses	2,948
Total expenses	**326,897**
Balance	
Shrine maintenance fund	30,000
Hall preservation fund	20,000
Refund to Heian Society	10,272

Little comment will be made concerning the budget of the society except to point out that more than 25 per cent of its total was spent on collecting funds and administering the society. Further, although it was the members of the Tokyo branch who were most influential, for example in successfully including the construction of the Heian Shrine within the anniversary celebrations, it was the Kyoto branch that did the lion's share of collection activities. The amount spent by the latter on administration and collection was more than ten times that of its eastern counterpart. This reinforces the trend seen in collections that the anniversary was influenced by a relatively small number of elites in Tokyo, and carried out for the most part by Kyoto residents.

Inclusion of the Heian Shrine

The Heian Shrine formed the most visible and lasting legacy of the anniversary celebrations in 1895. However, the 'Statement of Purpose' issued by the Anniversary Study Committee in October 1892 contained no reference to the construction of either a shrine dedicated to Kanmu, or to a model of the Daigokuden from the Heian Imperial Palace compound. Iwakura's proposal in 1883 to build a similar shrine for Kanmu, it will be recalled, was never realised, partly because of his death later that same year. It seems strange that the members of the Anniversary Study Committee would not have resurrected the former courtier's proposal as part of their initial planning. In their own words, the 'August Spirit of Emperor Kanmu will be esteemed, his imperial virtue extolled, and his great deeds praised' in the anniversary. How better to achieve this than to construct a shrine dedicated to him? Most of the committee members were

active in public life in 1883—many had participated in the founding of the Kyoto Chamber of Commerce that year—so they would have been well aware of the proposal, given the fact that it was so close to commencing when Iwakura died.

The first reference to either a model Daigokuden or shrine was contained in a letter from Governor Senda to the Imperial Household Minister, Inoue Kaoru, on 11 March 1893.[241] Senda lamented that Kyoto, the home of Kanmu, did not contain a shrine dedicated to its founder. Further, it was more than one thousand years since the Daigokuden was destroyed by fire in the 18th year of the Jōgan era (876).[242] The prefectural governor's proposal stated:

> Now, we must purify the site, realise the model Chōdōin, that is the structure of the Daigokuden, build a worship hall, call it *Heian-gū*, and enshrine the August Spirit of Emperor Kanmu.[243]

The proposed shrine was to be located on the site of the Heian period Imperial Palace, which it will be recalled, is not the current *Gosho*, but further to the north-west at the centre of the original planned Heian-kyō.

Six days after this letter, on 17 March 1893, a meeting of the Ceremonial and Publishing Office of the Anniversary Committee decided that the prefectural governor's proposal should be incorporated into the celebrations, but that it should be managed and paid for by the Cooperative Society.[244] There is no indication that, by this, it was intended for the project to be dominated by the Tokyo branch of the society. Although assurances had been given late the previous year by key figures in Tokyo that they would cooperate with the Anniversary Committee, it was not until the following month, on 19 April, that the Tokyo Cooperative Society was formally established. The members of the Anniversary Committee, realising the limited amount of local funding

---

[241] The text of the letter is in Kyōto Sanjikai, ed., *Heian sento kinensai kiji*, vol. 1, pp. 33–35.

[242] The Daigokuden was rebuilt in 879, and again after the fire of 1058. It was razed again in 1177, and despite reconstruction starting immediately, and again in 1213 and 1336, it was never thereafter rebuilt. For an overview of the significance of the Daigokuden in the period immediately before the founding of Heian-kyō, see Coaldrake, 'City Planning and Palace Architecture,' pp. 37–54.

[243] Kyōto Sanjikai, ed., *Heian sento kinensai kiji*, vol. 1, pp. 34–35.

[244] Heian Jingū Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Heian Jingū hyakunenshi*, p. 295.

available for the celebrations, felt that the Cooperative Society was better equipped to realise the project. It is possible that Iwakura's son, Tomosada, could have been influential in bringing the shrine proposal back to life. He had been one of the first in Tokyo to embrace the anniversary ideas of the Kyoto delegation in October 1892, and was one of the Tokyo society's foundation members. According to the compilers of the centenary history of the shrine, Tomosada was also the one most responsible for motivating the highest levels of national government to support the Kyoto anniversary.[245]

Yumoto Fumihiko, a local historian and city official who later produced the *Heian tsūshi*, argued for a shrine in the form of a model Daigokuden, and for anniversary ceremonies to be located on the site of the Heian period palace. This view was expressed in his 'Opinions on the Heian Foundation Anniversary' *(Heian tentosai ni tsuite iken)* dated 13 April 1893.[246] This report was probably commissioned in the wake of the Anniversary Committee decision to construct the model Daigokuden. The former palace grounds were considered by Yumoto a suitable site because they consisted primarily of abandoned daimyo villas and fallow land. Yumoto envisaged the construction of a full scale replica of the Daigokuden as well as its compound and associated buildings, towers and gates: in short the complete Chōdōin. This had been the centre of Heian court government and included buildings which housed the twelve government departments.

These proposals had strong local support from the municipal government, the Anniversary Committee and Kyoto Cooperative Society. The latter, for example, voted unanimously for the adoption of the plan at a regular meeting on 15 April. Yumoto's proposal was supported later in the month by a detailed financial and architectural report by an engineer employed by the municipal government, Mizuguchi Jirō.

---

[245] Heian Jingū Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Heian Jingū hyakunenshi*, p. 79.

[246] The text of the proposal is contained in Kyōto Sanjikai, ed., *Heian sento kinensai kiji*, vol. 1, p. 36.

Mizuguchi went on to play a major role in overseeing construction of the shrine.[247] He was born into a family of carpenters that had served one of Kyoto's largest temples, Nishi Honganji, for sixteen generations.[248] He occupied a position with the temple, however, only for three years from 1869. Land tax reforms instituted by the new government at that time forced the abolition of the temple retainer system by which his family had hitherto been employed. He was subsequently employed by the prefectural government as a structural engineer. Mizuguchi warned that the proposals of the governor and Yumoto were perhaps too ambitious: an accurate reproduction of the Chōdōin may not be completed prior to the anniversary. He also determined that a full scale replica would be too expensive and require more land than was available in the area of the city where the old palace was located. Consequently, he proposed the construction of a replica of the Chōdōin at reduced scale with an overall budget of 89,000 yen. His plan included details of the scale, material, style and costings for all components in this reduced model.

Mizuguchi had proposed that the building be funded partly from local government funds and partly from national contributions. The Kyoto Municipal Assembly, however, could not agree on the funding arrangement, so a delegation was sent to Tokyo to discuss funding the Anniversary Hall project, which the model Daigokuden was called, entirely from Cooperative Society funds.[249] The delegation members, Amemori, Hamaoka and others, presented the proposed budget to the president of the Cooperative Society, Konoe Atsumaro, on 10 May. Konoe approached the prime minister and other senior cabinet ministers that same day, and again on 15 May. Present at these meetings, held at the residence of Prime Minister Itō, were Home Minister Inoue Kaoru, Agriculture and Commerce Minister Gotō Shōjirō, Imperial Household Minister Hijikata Hisamoto, Foreign Minister Mutsu Munemitsu, as well as

---

[247] Mizuguchi's report is in Kyōto Sanjikai, ed., *Heian sento kinensai kiji*, vol. 1, pp. 37–38.

[248] Brief biographical details of Mizuguchi can be found in Heian Jingū Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Heian Jingū hyakunenshi*, p. 310.

[249] Kyōto Sanjikai, ed., *Heian sento kinensai kiji*, vol. 1, pp. 41–43.

Konoe and other officials. The result of these discussions, probably directed by Konoe, was a reaffirmation that the Anniversary Hall project should be undertaken entirely by the Cooperative Society, not by the Kyoto local government committees. Further, the proposed budget was reduced to 50,000 yen, to be provided for wholly by national donations. The most crucial decision, however was that the shrine was to be situated in Okazaki alongside the site of the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition, and not at the site of original palace.[250] The reason for this was that the Anniversary Hall should be situated close to the exposition, with which it was intimately related, close to the Kamo River, and close to the symbol of Kyoto's modernity: the Lake Biwa Canal. If the shrine was to be funded from national contributions, then it needed to have national exposure from the start. Situating it alongside the national exposition ensured a steady stream of visitors, at least for the first few months of its life.

The determination by the Tokyo-based Cooperative Society to oversee construction of the Anniversary Hall was conveyed to the Kyoto prefectural governor with instructions to purchase land adjacent to the exposition site in Okazaki.[251] To this end, the Cooperative Society granted the prefecture 20,000 yen. This somewhat heavy-handed approach by the Cooperative Society gave rise to some friction over the next few months, in particular concerning the 20,000 yen for the purchase of the land. In November 1893, the Cooperative Society requested the return of the 20,000 to be used instead as a shrine maintenance fund. The Cooperative Society also required local funds to cover an amount of 10,000 yen for hospitality that it had transferred to the construction fund. These measures placed an extra financial burden on the local government. The situation was at an impasse until September 1894, when the Kyoto Municipal Council agreed to return the money only if the shrine was granted the rank of imperial shrine, and only if the city would inherit the shrine after the anniversary.

---

[250] Kyōto Sanjikai, ed., *Heian sento kinensai kiji*, vol. 1, pp. 41.
[251] Kyōto Sanjikai, ed., *Heian sento kinensai kiji*, vol. 1, pp. 41.

These conditions were eventually met, but the situation was indicative of tensions that arose periodically between local and national governments and committees.

The orientation, situation and size of the planned shrine changed over the course of the next few months. Originally facing east, the entrance to the compound was changed so that it could be accessed from the grounds of the exposition. The number of buildings was reduced until only two of the twelve ministry buildings from the original Chōdōin remained. The final amendment in August 1893 relocated the entire project to the north of the exposition site and included only the Daigokuden, two towers (Byakko-rō and Sōryū-rō) linked by a walkway, the Ryūbidan and the Ōtenmon entrance gate.

Planning during this period centred around enshrining the August Spirit of Kanmu in the model Daigokuden, or Anniversary Hall. This entire structure would subsequently be called the Heian Shrine *(Heian-gū)*. There had been a proposal in mid-April 1893 by the Tokyo Cooperative Society member, Kuki Ryūichi, for the model Daigokuden to house a permanent historical display, somewhat like a museum, that would showcase the history of the city over the course of the past 1,100 years.[252] Kuki, who would later be appointed chief judge for the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition, was also head of the Kyoto National Museum, which, in 1893, was a collection without a permanent home.[253]

Although Kuki's proposal was not adopted, another one was: one made by the head of funds collection within the Tokyo Cooperative Society. Nishimura Sutezō, at a meeting of the society on 17 June, made reference to a plan to 'construct a separate shrine sanctuary *(shaden)* behind the Daigokuden and call this the Heian Shrine'.[254] The plan, however, did not outline a means to fund the construction. Nishimura's former

---

[252] Heian Jingū Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Heian Jingū hyakunenshi*, pp. 297–298.

[253] A decision to establish the Kyoto Imperial Museum, along with similar institutions in Tokyo and Nara, was made in May 1889 by the Imperial Household Ministry. Construction on the main exhibition hall in Kyoto, designed by Imperial Architect Katayama Tōkuma, began in June 1892 and was completed in October 1895. The opening of the museum and its first exhibition did not occur until May 1897.

[254] Quoted in Fujiwara, 'Shimaji Mokurai to Heian Jingū zōken,' p. 59.

superior at the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, Sano Tsunetami, presented a further proposal on 7 September, which was fully funded, to enshrine the spirit of Kanmu in a separate sanctuary behind the Anniversary Hall.[255] Sano's argument in favour of a shrine for Kanmu was based on the 'beautiful custom of worshiping the spirit of those who had performed great deeds for the nation.' Sano considered it regrettable, in language similar to the prefectural governor's call for the construction of the Anniversary Hall, that Kanmu was here-to-fore excluded from such an honour. Furthermore, Sano expressed concern that the construction of a smaller replica of the Daigokuden would be insufficient to show respect to the legacy of Kanmu, especially within the context of, for example, the recent construction of the Kashihara Shrine dedicated to Emperor Jinmu in 1890.

To construct the new shrine building, Sano proposed the appropriation of 20,000 yen set aside for the reproduction of the throne within the Daigokuden. It was envisaged that Emperor Meiji would be present at the anniversary celebrations in 1895, so the throne was to play a major role in the symbolism of the Daigokuden project. However, Sano felt that a lasting symbol of imperial presence would serve the purposes of the anniversary better than a lavish, though empty for perpetuity, throne structure. Interestingly, permission for the construction of the throne was granted by the Imperial Household Ministry on 17 November, more than two months after Sano's proposal. By that stage, however, plans for the inclusion of the sanctuary had advanced, and funding was secured by an agreement to later sell the plot in Gogochi, to the east of the exposition, which had already been purchased prior to the move of the entire project to the north.

The late inclusion of the Heian Shrine in the planning, given that the anniversary itself was proposed first by someone from Tokyo, would indicate a somewhat ad hoc approach to organising the events of 1895. Later events would conspire against the

---

[255] The text of the proposal is contained in Wakamatsu, ed., *Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai kyōsanshi*, Byakko-hen, p. 16.

organisers, resulting in further changes to planning. This is not to imply that the organisers were not diligent: the national network of collection activities and detailed investigations of the local Anniversary Committee members is clear evidence of their purpose. Rather, this points to the fallacy of interpreting the anniversary events as an example of 'top-down reform', with a group of elites dictating the experience of celebration in 1895 Kyoto.[256] While it is true that a core group of men from Kyoto and Tokyo were responsible for the direction of the anniversary celebrations, there was no sense that one group was ultimately successful in dominating the outcome. The final proposal for the Heian Shrine, for example, was constrained by financial and geographical limitations, as well as by a lack of information about the true form of the original structure. Furthermore, it is fair to say that reactions and cooperation by local residents was an influencing factor that affected the overall staging of the events in 1895.

[256] In the wider context of the Meiji restoration, this notion of 'top-down reform' has been challenged during the last decade. See Fred Notehelfer, "Meiji in the Rear-view Mirror," *Monumenta Nipponica* 145, no. 1-4 (1990), pp. 209–228.

Chapter 4. Heian Shrine: Implementation

The creation of the Heian Shrine is filled with seeming contradictions. The anniversary project which gave birth to it originated from a discussion between a fervent Christian and an anti-traditionalist economist. The timing of its foundation and its location were determined because of its connections to a celebration of modernity, the industrial exposition. The sanctuary, a traditional shrine structure, is virtually hidden behind the worship hall which includes a replica of a Heian Imperial Palace building in an unprecedented context within a sacred shrine compound.[257] Yet, despite these incongruities, the Heian Shrine has become one of the most visited tourist destinations in present-day Kyoto. Its visitors regularly mistake it for a Heian period original rather than a late nineteenth century reproduction. The Shrine's main festival, the Festival of the Ages, is one of the three great festivals of Kyoto and one of the most famous in Japan. The vermilion of the shrine buildings, framed by cherry blossoms and silhouetted against an azure sky, makes a striking panorama sought after by many amateur photographers. However, these photographers are careful to avoid the rusting hulk of an electric train, a pointer to the Shrine's modern origins, which sits beneath the canopy of cherry trees within the shrine garden.

How did the shrine come to be constructed in such a manner? Why was a palace building, with no precedent as a worship hall, chosen for reproduction in 1895 Kyoto? Time and finance, as seen above, were key factors in determining the scope of the proposal to reconstruct part of the Imperial Palace. It was ultimately decided to build a simplified replica of the Chōdōin at a reduced scale. Neither the Anniversary Committee nor the Cooperative Society, however, ever considered reproducing another building, one that was, for example, smaller or possible to construct at full

---

[257] There were certainly precedents for the recycling of palace buildings within temple compounds. The Hondō of Kiyomizudera, part of the abandoned palace at Nagaoka-kyō, and the Kondō of Tōshōdaiji in Nara, originally the Higashi Chōshūden from the Heijō-kyō Chōdōin, are two examples. The latter will be discussed further below.

scale and in detail. The main reason for this was the political significance of the original Daigokuden, the central building in the historical Chōdōin compound, because it offered an ideal symbol for the ideology of the 1895 anniversary.

The most compelling aspect of this symbolism is the link between the edifice of the building and the underlying political system. In an examination of the earlier relationship between architecture and authority in the palace at Nara, the historian William Coaldrake concluded that the 'substance of authority, emperor and government were accommodated in a monumental city and palace where ritual and ceremony provided tangible evidence of the ideological assertion of that authority'.[258] There was a definite link between outward architectural form and the political power which was manifest in the Imperial Palace structures. These were made explicit in the rituals and ceremonies conducted within, or in front of, these buildings.

The Daigokuden was the public symbol of imperial authority and legitimacy within the city of Heian-kyō. It was here that the emperor's throne was located, and it was here that major court rituals were conducted. The Imperial Accession Ceremony and the New Year Greeting were rituals that symbolised the legitimacy and authority of the imperial government, and emphasised the position of the emperor as head of the political system of the Heian period. All the officials of the realm would gather in front of the Daigokuden at the New Year Greeting, for example, to pay their respects to the monarch. The emperor was concealed within the magnificence of the Daigokuden, the mystery of which served to strengthen the associations of its architecture with the dominant relations of power.

The construction of a model of the Daigokuden in mid-Meiji Kyoto, however out of context and reduced in scale it may have been, still conveyed powerful messages of political and imperial authority and legitimacy. The proposal to enshrine the founder of the city, Emperor Kanmu, within the building was a stroke of genius. The model

---

[258] Coaldrake, 'City Planning and Palace Architecture,' p. 54.

would not be merely an empty replica, but would be filled always with the mystery of the divine imperial presence. The 'public face of imperial will', as the Daigokuden was described by the prefectural governor in his proposal of March 1893, would be restored to a position central to the imagining of social and political order in Kyoto. The modern Daigokuden would not achieve this through court ceremony and ritual or by occupying the central or visible position within the imperial palace. It would achieve this through a more sophisticated dynamic of representation within the context of civic celebration, imperial Shinto ideology, and public identity with the modern nation. This chapter will reveal these underlying ideologies through an examination of the motivations and methods of the construction of the shrine.

The Shinto world

The historian Haga Shōji considered anniversaries and civic rituals, especially those involving shrines for historic figures who founded or restored a city, to be intrinsically linked to the construction of a new religious framework under the aegis of 'Shinto'.[259] This notion is fully realised in the construction of the Heian Shrine for the Kyoto anniversary. The Heian Shrine, however, expanded this ideology to encompass the imperial line, which gave national significance to its symbolism, and served as the prototype for the construction of the Meiji Shrine in Tokyo some twenty years later.[260] Numerous other shrines were dedicated during the Meiji period to past emperors and to figures with strong connections to the imperial line, or who had advanced the cause of imperial rule.[261] Notable among these was the Kashihara Shrine *(Kashihara Jingū)*

---

[259] Haga, *Meiji ishin to shūkyō*, p. 345.

[260] Helen Hardacre, *Shintō and the State: 1868–1988* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. 79, mistakenly made the claim that the Meiji Shrine was the first instance of a shrine being constructed from national donations and state support. She erroneously noted on pp. 105–106 that the Heian Shrine was 'considerably enlarged' for the occasion of the 1895 anniversary.

[261] Okada Yoneo, 'Jingū jinja sōkenshi,' in *Meiji ishin Shintō hyakunenshi*, ed. Shintō Bunka Kai (Tokyo: Shintō Bunka Kai, 1966-68), pp. 966–968.

dedicated to Emperor Jinmu, completed and granted the rank Great Imperial Shrine *(kanpei taisha)* in 1890.[262]

Construction of such shrines formed one component of this new religious framework. The Meiji regime endeavoured to establish Shinto as the state ideology, but in order to 'revive' the ancient ideals of 'Shinto', it was necessary to 'revive' a native, pure Shinto tradition with strong links to the imperial line. To direct this 'revived' Shinto, the ancient court office of the Department of Shinto Affairs, which was ranked above the Council of State and oversaw religious affairs in the realm, was re-established in Kyoto in the early years of Meiji, as mentioned above. Although it was abolished in 1872, the influence of its policies was immense. Allan Grapard has gone so far as to label the results of these reforms as Japan's 'ignored cultural revolution'.[263]

The so-called 'separation edicts' *(shinbutsu bunrirei)* of 1868 were comprehensive measures aimed to end a thousand year old Buddhist-Shinto syncretism. They were followed in quick succession by a series of measures to bring Shinto life firmly under state control. For the first time in its history, Shinto had a centralised bureaucracy, a shrine ranking system, a standardised ritual calendar, and uniform priestly ranks and qualifications.[264] The Ise Shrine, home to Amaterasu, the ancestral deity of the imperial line, was placed at the apex of a national shrine structure. Within this structure were two main groupings: government shrines, which received funding from the national government, and civic shrines, which received limited funding from local governments and parishioners' groups.[265] These and other measures transformed both the physical surroundings and the doctrinal and ritual landscape of shrines. For example, the

---

[262] For an outline of shrine rankings, see Hardacre, *Shintō and the State*, pp. 84-86. I have followed Hardacre's translations for *kanpeisha* and *kokuheisha* as 'Imperial Shrine' and 'National Shrine'..

[263] Allan Grapard, 'Japan's Ignored Cultural Revolution: The Separation of Shinto and Buddhist Divinities in Meiji *(shinbutsu bunri)* and a Case Study: Tōnomine,' *History of Religions* 23, no. 3 (1984), 240-265.

[264] For an examination of the key motivators for this policy, see John Breen, 'Shintoists in Restoration Japan (1868-1872): Towards a Reassessment,' *Modern Asian Studies* 24, no. 3 (1990), pp. 579-602.

[265] Funding arrangements for shrines changed throughout the Meiji period. Significant to this process was an 1887 instruction from the Home Ministry informing shrines that government funding would cease by 1902. This will be discussed further below.

hitherto familiar Buddhist stupas and pagodas vanished from within the Gion Shrine in eastern Kyoto.[266] The shrine itself was renamed Yasaka Shrine in 1868 in order to suppress the Buddhist associations of its former name.[267] Further, Buddhist statues, sutras, paintings and implements from Hie Shrine on the shores of Lake Biwa were removed and destroyed, and doctrinal practices at countless shrines in the city stressing the association of Shinto and Buddhism were abolished.[268]

The overall aim of these policies was to replace the special relationship between Buddhism and the state with one between the state and Shinto. It must be recalled that, until the restoration, temples functioned in many domains as the local arm of the Bakufu, collecting taxes, recording census information, holding family registers, and so on. By depriving Buddhism of its special standing, the state not only removed Buddhist institutions from the political arena, but provided for the establishment of a 'pure native' tradition, one more suited to providing the ideological base of the new state structure.[269] The severing of imperial links with Buddhist ritual and institutions in Kyoto, such as Sennyūji, the resting place till then of imperial funerary tablets, was part of this overall policy.[270] Shrine life, traditionally linked to the local agricultural community, was moulded and augmented with national and nationalistic tendencies. The strength of these traditional affiliations to the local shrine was utilised by the state and redirected toward a national agenda.[271]

---

[266] The Gion Festival was also purged of its Buddhist associations by the application of these orders. See Tomii Yasuo, 'Ishinki no Gion kai ni tuite,' in *Kyōto chiikishi no kenkyū*, ed. Akiyama Kunimi Tsuitō Kai (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankō Kai, 1979), pp. 281-203.

[267] The 'Jeta Grove monastry' *(Gion shōja;* Sanskrit, *Jetavanavihāra)* was built for the historic Buddha and his disciples in central India. Hisao Inagaki, *A Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms* (Kyoto: Nagata Bunshodo, 1984), p. 65.

[268] See, for example, Yasumaru Yoshio, *Kamigami no Meiji Ishin* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1979).

[269] Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs*, pp. 65-67.

[270] See, for example, Takagi, *Kindai Tennōsei no bunka shiteki kenkyū*, pp. 34-38, for a description of several syncretic court rituals that were abolished to be replaced by a calendar of rituals with the emperor as a 'living god' central. See also Haga, *Meiji ishin to shūkyō*, especially pp. 51-69.

[271] Local shrines underwent two periods of major reform, the early Meiji period and the late Meiji period. On the institutionalisation of these shrines in the former period see Morioka Kiyomi, *Kindai no shūraku jinja to kokka tōsei: Meiji makki to jinja seiri* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1987), pp. 243-265; and for the latter period, William Fridell, *Japanese Shrine Mergers: 1906-12: State Shinto Moves to the Grassroots* (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1973).

In order to make visible the links between the imperial line and this 'pure native' State Shinto tradition, a national calendar of ritual was instituted, though not fully implemented across the country.[272] Numerous shrines were constructed, renamed or changed in rank and status after the restoration in 1868. The formulation of a national Shinto framework, with the emperor as a living god at the apex, gave significance to the Heian Shrine as an embodiment of this ideal. Participation in the civic celebration of the 1,100th anniversary gave a sense of legitimacy and identification with the nationalist agenda. Identity for the citizens of Kyoto, as embodied in the anniversary, was linked to both the living god, represented as the legacy of Emperor Kanmu installed in the Heian Shrine, and to the modernising project, as evident in the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition.

Architecture

The initial proposal for construction of the Heian Shrine, as explained in the previous chapter, was accompanied by detailed estimates by the prefectural engineer, Mizuguchi Jirō. Although Mizuguchi had based his plans on his knowledge of traditional construction methods, he conceded that a faithful reconstruction of the Heian Imperial Palace buildings would require immediate detailed research into Heian period construction methods and materials. Despite the numerous fires, earthquakes and storms over the centuries which had left few examples of period architecture intact, the custom of periodically reconstructing shrines according to traditional methods, and the practice of using abandoned palace buildings as temple halls meant the Meiji engineers did have some examples to use as models for construction methods. One of these was the Hondō of Kiyomizudera, which had been constructed from abandoned buildings from the palace at Nagaoka-kyō and, despite several reconstructions over the years, was considered to be true to the original Heian style.

---

[272] Hardacre, *Shintō and the State*, pp. 100–113.

The most important extant structures used for study by the engineers, however, were the Kondō and Kōdō of Tōshōdaiji in Nara. The Kōdō was originally the Higashi Chōshūden from the Chōdōin compound of the Heijō-kyō palace.[273] It was one of two buildings immediately within the gates of the Chōdōin where courtiers and nobles would wait for entry into the main compound (see figure 1). The Kōdō of Tōshōdaiji was built in 747 and donated to the temple soon after the temple was founded in 759. Several alterations were made to the building in subsequent years to match its new function and to increase its strength. Further, many of the basic features of the architectural style of the Kōdō of the temple are true to its original Heian period design and it is considered representative of early Japanese imperial palace architecture.[274]

The main textual source for determining the architectural details of the Daigokuden and other structures was the detailed study carried out by Uramatsu Mitsuyo published in 1797 entitled *Thoughts on the Layout of the Imperial Palace Compound (Daidairi zukōshō).* [275] This study, as mentioned in a previous chapter, was commissioned by the Bakufu to restore the Daigokuden after the palace burned in 1788. Another text that contained some details of the Heian period Daigokuden was *Selected Gleanings (Shūgaishō)* written by Tōin Kinkata (1291–1360). Tōin, a courtier embroiled in the division of the northern and southern courts, published studies into the genealogy of the imperial line; he wrote *Selected Gleanings*, however, primarily as a guidebook to the city for the nobility. There is some detail of the Daigokuden and gates within the section devoted to the Imperial Palace.

The Tokyo-based Cooperative Society formed a Construction Office to administer the construction and to this appointed Nakamura Eisuke, Ogoshi Shigesuke (?–?), and one of the most influential businessmen of the day, Shibusawa Eiichi. Shibusawa was a wealthy patron with strong connections to the Tokyo business world. After a time with

---

[273] Coaldrake, 'City Planning and Palace Architecture,' pp. 48–50.

[274] Heian Jingū Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Heian Jingū hyakunenshi*, p. 323.

[275] For details of Uramatsu's work and other studies on Heian-kyō conducted up to and including the Meiji period, see Inoue, *Kenkyūshi: Heian-kyō*, pp. 1–32.

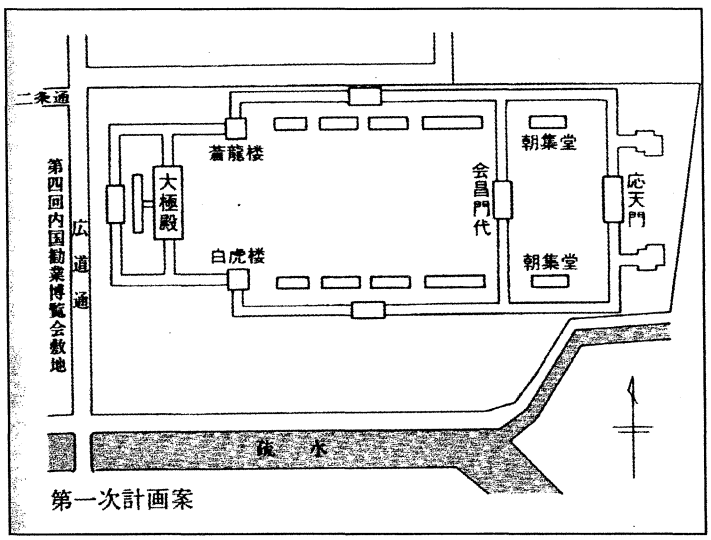
the Ministry of Finance in the post-restoration government, Shibusawa was successful in numerous enterprises such as banking, insurance, railways, and paper manufacture. He was to the Tokyo business world what Hamaoka, Nakamura and Tanaka were to Kyoto—a relatively young, energetic entrepreneur with a diverse range of investments and business interests. Ogoshi retired before the project was finished and was replaced by Naiki Kansaburō who, along with Nakamura, was one of the most influential of the Kyoto politician-businessmen heavily involved in the anniversary planning. This appointment of Kyoto committee members was perhaps a concession to, or recognition of, the investment Kyoto had made in the shrine—investment of more than a financial kind. This mixture of Tokyo and Kyoto personnel is further evidence for the complexity of motivations underlying the project to construct the Anniversary Hall.

Mizuguchi's knowledge of traditional temple construction methods and his already detailed proposals for the project were rewarded when he was transferred from the service of Kyoto prefecture to the Cooperative Society to assist with the shrine construction. The Cooperative Society subsequently appointed Kinoko Kiyoyoshi (1844–?) as chief engineer to oversee the construction project. Kinoko was born into a family of carpenters employed by the Imperial Household Ministry to undertake construction of palaces and residencies for the imperial family. Kinoko himself had moved to Tokyo with the emperor in 1868 to build, among other things, the repository for the imperial regalia. His duties prevented him from leaving Tokyo, so the day-to-day responsibility for construction of the Daigokuden fell on Mizuguchi and a brilliant young engineer, Itō Chūta (1867–1954), who had graduated only the previous year from the Imperial University Engineering Department. Itō caught the eye of Kinoko during his graduate year when he majored in the history of traditional Japanese architecture and wrote the first academic thesis on the architecture of Hōryūji in Nara.

Several surveys of the site and Anniversary Hall were conducted during June 1893. The Kyoto Municipal Assembly, which had approved purchase of the land from local funds, undertook a survey of the site. Kinoko and Itō conducted preliminary surveys

of construction of the Daigokuden and presented their findings to the Kyoto Anniversary Committee on 28 June. It will be recalled that Mizuguchi formulated plans and estimates for construction for the Kyoto committees in April. These were subsequently sent to the Tokyo Cooperative Society at the request of society member Wakamatsu Masatarō (?–?). Mizuguchi's plan was for a reproduction of the entire Chōdōin compound at reduced scale and was based on Uramatsu's eighteenth century study. The Tokyo Cooperative Society had determined in May that the site of the Anniversary Hall would be adjacent to the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition in Okazaki. Mizuguchi's plan, which was drawn up for the site of the original palace in the north of the city, was consequently adapted to meet the requirements of the new site with little change to its scope (see figure 2).[276] This plan incorporated the Daigokuden, Shōanden, both Byakko-rō and Sōryū-rō and associated corridors, the twelve halls within the original Chōdōin, the inner Kaishōmon, and the Ōtenmon with external towers.

Figure 2: First Daigokuden proposal[277]

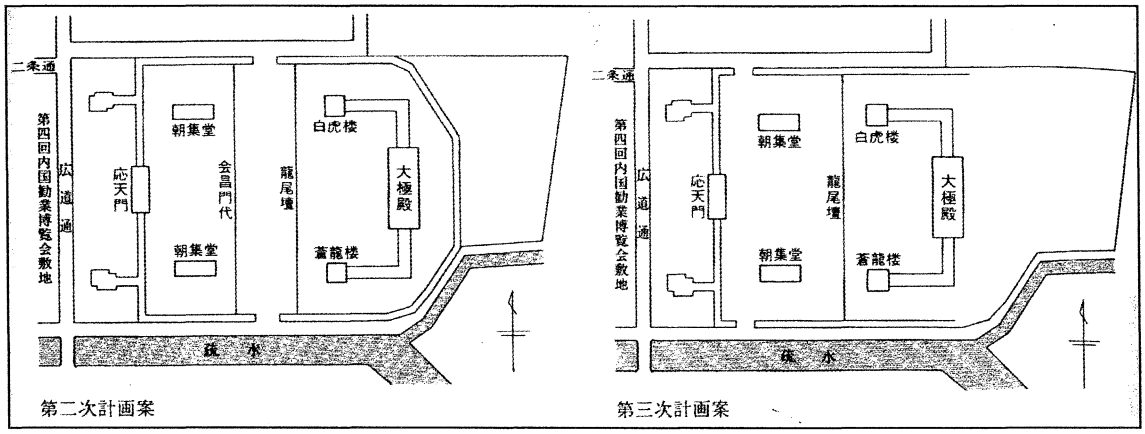


[276] This discussion of the major proposals for the Daigokuden project is based on a report written by the engineers, Kinoko and Itō, and cited in Heian Jingū Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Heian Jingū hyakunenshi*, pp. 298–301.

[277] These diagrams are reproduced from Heian Jingū Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Heian Jingū hyakunenshi*, pp. 298–299.

The project was abridged sometime prior to the above-mentioned survey by Kinoko and Itō in late June. The twelve halls and inner gate were removed, but the scale of the other buildings remained more-or-less the same. Reasonably detailed planning was undertaken at this stage, with pillar dimensions and construction estimates compiled. At 200,000 yen, however, this proposal was still twice the planned construction budget. Consequently, a third proposal in early August further reduced the scale of the reproduction. It included the same elements as the previous at reduced size, but still exceeded the budget by 20,000 yen (see figure 3).

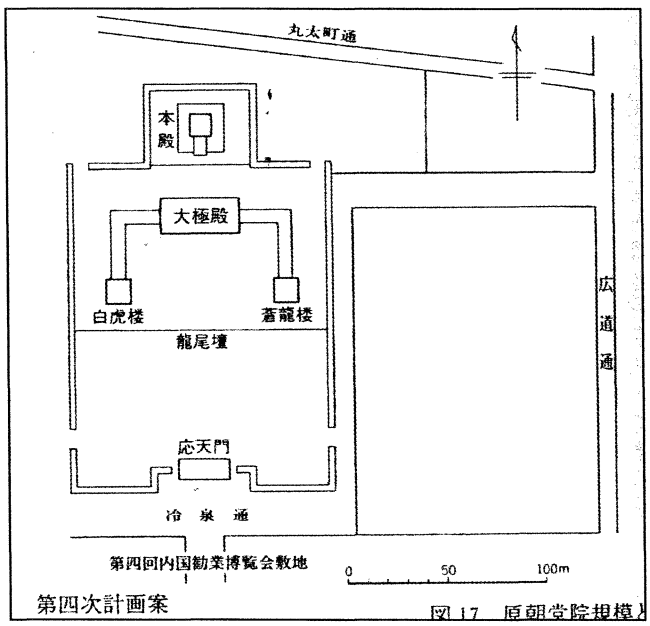
Figure 3: Second and third Daigokuden proposals



On 25 August 1893, the Kyoto Municipal Assembly was presented with a plan to move the site of the Daigokuden construction project to the north of the exposition site and to change its orientation to north-south. This plan, which was to be the final significant amendment to the proposal, further reduced the scope of the project by removing the towers outside of the Ōtenmon, the two Chōshūdō within the compound, and any semblance of an inner gate. The result was a compressed Chōdōin with virtually no resemblance to the layout of the Heian Imperial Palace compound. Entry to the original Heian period inner compound revealed a vista of six stately halls on either side of an elongated central space leading to the Ryūbidan and upwards to the Daigokuden. On days of ceremony, the twelve halls were filled with nobles, courtiers and members of the imperial family. The glazed tile roof of the Daigokuden, the

embodiment of the emperor hidden within, towered over the assembly. The east and west towers rose like two hands held aloft affirming the realm's veneration.

Figure 4: Fourth Daigokuden proposal



The layout of the Meiji period reproduction, though different in scale and some detail from its Heian period model, was never-the-less filled with symbolic intent. Gone were the twelve halls, replaced by an open space divided by the three stairs of the Ryūbidan. Whereas veneration of the original was limited to ranking courtiers and members of the imperial family, the new Daigokuden was to be revered by all. The emperor had 'come down from the clouds' and entered the popular imagination of all residents of the city. The strict ranking system symbolised by position within the twelve halls during imperial ritual had been replaced by a more general division that reflected the change in Japanese society. As can be seen in figure 10 below, entry to the space between the Ryūbidan and the Daigokuden on the day of the anniversary ceremony was limited to those immediately involved in the ritual. Later, members of the Cooperative Society were permitted to enter the Daigokuden itself and receive a commemorative plate and sake. Though the analogy cannot be taken too far, it is notable that it was financial stakeholders who were given access to the modern inner sanctum rather than courtiers close to the throne. Furthermore, politician-businessmen

now orchestrated the event rather than these courtiers. However, attempts by the Anniversary Committee to more closely include the emperor had failed. It is not too much to say that whereas the residents of the city were forced to protest outside the Imperial Palace gates even as late as 1869, they were, by 1895, allowed within the symbolic presence of the emperor to celebrate and be encircled by the wings of the phoenix.

Construction of the Daigokuden and associated structures

With plans for the project completed in August, the Construction Office of the Cooperative Society officially appointed Kinoko and Itō as engineers on 15 September 1893. Four construction companies were selected and asked to submit quotes for the project. The Cooperative Society had determined that the bidding process should be competitive and open, so detailed rules were drawn up to cover the bidding process. The bidding was undertaken at the Kyoto Hotel on 15 September, in the presence of the president of the Cooperative Society, Konoe, the project engineers, the members of the Construction Office and other society members. The bids included a detailed breakdown of costing for each element of the construction process.

Guidelines for contractors and estimators were issued to the four construction companies who were selected to bid for the project.[278] These indicate that the construction of the Daigokuden in mid-Meiji, though carried out by artisans of great skill and with a long tradition behind them, was still somewhat outside the scope of current projects and contemporary techniques. For example, the guidelines contained the condition that the quality of construction must be of the highest order and, further, research into construction methods or quality of materials was only to undertaken by those certified to do so. However, it made the concession that failing this, research may be conducted by an individual or organisation that had been contracted for similar work in the past. In other words, it was anticipated by the project managers that the

---

[278] Contained in Wakamatsu, ed., *Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai kyōsanshi*, Byakko-hen, pp. 1-13.

techniques and materials to be used in the project would not be familiar even to the best of contemporary tradesmen. This is confirmed by a further clause in the guidelines which states that construction must be carried out according to the plans provided by the engineers, but where the plans cannot be implemented by current methods, the engineers will decide on an appropriate method of construction.[279]

None of the four companies selected to bid for the project was based in Kyoto (see table 11). The Shimizu Group, which eventually won the contract with the cheapest bid, and the Ōkura Group were both based in Tokyo, with the remaining two companies from Osaka and Nagoya. This did not mean, however, that the artisans and tradesmen of Kyoto were excluded from the project. As will be seen in the case of the Shimizu Group, this actually meant a stimulation of the local industry due to the large number of sub-contracts awarded after the major contract was signed. The contract was drafted based on the estimate provided by the winning bidder and was signed on 19 September 1893.

The two top bidders in the process were the two largest construction companies in mid-Meiji Japan. The Ōkura Group was founded in 1873 by Ōkura Kihachiro (1837–1928) and grew to participate in the construction of, among other projects, the Shinbashi Railway Station, the Rokumeikan and the Tokyo Imperial Hotel.[280] The Shimizu family had a longer history in construction, which dated back to 1804 when Shimizu Kisuke (1783–1859) moved to Edo from Etchū province. In 1893, the fourth generation Mannosuke (1871–?) was the young head of a construction group with strong ties to the Tokyo business world, particularly with Shibusawa Eiichi, the member of the Cooperative Society Construction Office in charge of the project. Shibusawa had been a patron of the Shimizu family since he commissioned the second generation Kisuke (1815–1881) to build his residence in 1877.[281] It was Shibusawa's

---

[279] Wakamatsu, ed., *Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai kyōsanshi*, Byakko-hen, p. 3.

[280] The Ōkura Group grew into the Taisei Corporation, one of the largest construction companies in Japan.

[281] Ōboshi Noriaki et.al., ed., *Shimizu kensetsu hyakushichijūnen* (Tokyo: Tokiwa Shoin, 1977), p. 47. This building is now the official residence of the Finance Minister.

patronage over the years in many of his projects, including the building of the First National Bank *(Dai ichi kokuritsu ginkō)* and the Shibusawa group's head offices, that led to the expansion of the construction company. After the early death of the third generation Mannosuke (1853–1887), Shibusawa became patron to his young son and to Hara Rinnosuke (1850–?), the head of the company until Mannosuke came of age. In 1892, Shibusawa was instrumental in drafting the company's charter, and the following year assisted its expansion into the Kansai region through the Daigokuden construction project.

Table 11: Contractors who bid for construction[282]

Company	Construction (yen)	Earthworks and sewerage (yen)	Total (yen)
Budget amount	99,509	5,991	**105,504**
Shimizu Group	99,756	6,854	**106,000**
Ōkura Group	106,775	6,976	**110,900**
Osaka Construction Co.	113,049	6,587	**119,639**
Nagoya Alliance Construction Co.	132,598	6,104	**138,706**

The Shimizu Group in 1893 had an impressive list of buildings to its credit. Apart from those commissioned by Shibusawa, they included the Tokyo Imperial University Library and the Kanagawa prefectural governor's residence. All of them, however, were constructed using modern techniques and materials. There were 'traditional' embellishments to some of the buildings, however, as with the T'ang-style lion carvings on the balustrades in the Shibusawa residence. These, however, were commissioned from a famous artist, and were not part of a continual transmission of pre-Meiji techniques through the family business.

For this reason, Hara Rinnosuke, the head of the anniversary construction project, appointed Fujii Seiichiro (?–?) and Torii Kumaya (?–?) from the Shimizu Nagoya branch office as site managers to seek out local tradesmen with the appropriate experience to work on the project as sub-contractors. One of these, Ugai Gensaburō (?–?), who was appointed assistant site manager, was one of a group of local artisans who

---

[282] Wakamatsu, ed., *Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai kyōsanshi*, Byakko-hen, p. 13.

were awarded most of the sub-contracting for the project. The Kyoto Construction Industry Alliance *(Kyōto kenchiku jitsugyō kumiai)* was founded prior to the completion of plans or awarding of contracts, on 12 June 1893, by Ugai, Sannoue Kichibei (?-?), and other prominent Kyoto tradesmen. It included the city's best carpenters, plasterers, woodworkers, tile makers, stonemasons, etc. Its aim, which in the end was successfully achieved, was to ensure that most of the actual craftsmanship for the Daigokuden project was undertaken by Kyoto tradesmen. Unlike the Shimizu Group that won the overall contract, the curriculum vitae of members of this group included the construction of an impressive number of traditional buildings, such as the Tokyo Palace Kashikodokoro (1883), the sanctuary of the Nashinoki Shrine in Kyoto (1885), the sanctuary of the Kashihara Shrine (1889), the Kagura Hall of the Ise Kōtai Shrine (1892), and the repair of the Kōdō of Hōryūji (1893).[283]

The engineers of the project were faced with numerous dilemmas concerning construction of the model Daigokuden and associated buildings. The most pressing of these was the lack of precise models or blueprints for the particulars of the construction. Only so much detail missing from Uramatsu's eighteenth century plans could be checked and enhanced by reference to, for example, the Tōshōdaiji. In many cases, calculated guesses filled in the gaps. Underlying such problems, however, was a desire by the engineers to be as faithful as possible to the original Heian period structure. Kinoko and Itō wrote in 1894 that they 'endeavoured with all our ability to reproduce ancient methods'.[284] There was a clear concern that the legacy to the city from the anniversary celebrations, the model Daigokuden, had to be an accurate reproduction of the original. The construction needed to be accurate because it was an offering in respect of the glorious deeds performed by the imperial founder of the city.

It is not my intention either to detail the methods and techniques of the construction and materials, or to critically examine the accuracy of the Meiji period structures

---

[283] Heian Jingū Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Heian Jingū hyakunenshi*, pp. 311-316.
[284] Heian Jingū Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Heian Jingū hyakunenshi*, p. 23.

compared to their ancient models. Several examples will suffice to show that the engineer's ideals of a strictly accurate reproduction were often compromised by a lack of information regarding the originals, a lack of technique in implementing their plans, and limitations that stemmed from budgetary constraints. Some of these problems were revealed during the construction of a one-twentieth scale model of the entire project which was built from December 1893 to April 1894 to comply with construction regulations.[285]

The reproduction Daigokuden used for a worship hall in the Heian Shrine comprised a single-story structure with a terracotta tiled roof. The style of the building is known as *irimoya-zukuri*, which refers to a building with a hip-gable roof (see figure 5). The style of the roofing tiles is called *honbuki*, or *honkawarabuki*, which refers to the combination of flat and half-round tiles to produce a linear effect. This style, however, was not the choice recommended by the assistant engineer, Itō Chūta.[286] His investigations suggested that the *shichū-zukuri* style, also called *yosemune-zukuri*, was that used on Emperor Kanmu's Daigokuden in the early Heian period. *Shichū-zukuri* buildings have a central ridgeline that does not extend the entire width of the structure, and a tiled roof extending in four directions. This results in four simple non-gable walls, rather than the complex hip-gable that seems to extend through the roof. Both these styles were used in T'ang period palace and temple architecture. However, the *shichū-zukuri* style, also termed *shia* in reference to T'ang buildings, was reserved for buildings of the highest status. Next in ranking in the T'ang hierarchical architectural system was *irimoya-zukuri*.

The status of the *shichū-zukuri* style, combined with its use in the Kondō of the Tōshōdaiji, may have been suggestive enough to warrant a decision on the roof style of the Daigokuden. Furthermore, Uramatsu's *Daidairi zukōshō* clearly cites the *shia* style.

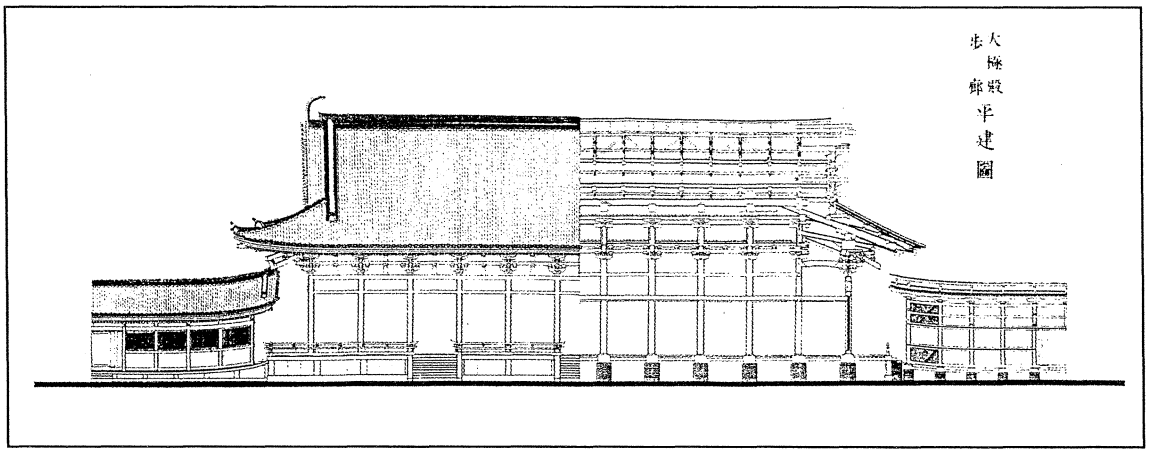
---

[285] Wakamatsu, ed., *Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai kyōsanshi*, Byakko-hen, p. 31.

[286] For a discussion of this issue, and the following, see Heian Jingū Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Heian Jingū hyakunenshi*, pp. 321–326.

Itō's proposal, however, received opposition from members of the Cooperative Society. Other evidence, including a plan of the Daigokuden in the *Picture Scroll of Yearly Festivals and Rituals (Nenjū gyōji emaki)*, suggests that the Daigokuden destroyed in the conflagration of 1058 was rebuilt using the *irimoya-zukuri*. There was consequently doubt over the form of the original Daigokuden as constructed by Kanmu. The faithful reproduction of the Meiji period was subsequently compromised, in a significant way, because of a lack of evidence proving conclusively which style was originally used. This type of problem surfaced repeatedly, though mostly in finer technical details rather than in larger structural issues.

Figure 5: Cross-section of the model Daigokuden[287]



Itō was thwarted again over the issue of the diameter of the main pillars for the Daigokuden reconstruction. According to his investigations, based on the proportions of the pillars in the Kōdō of Tōshōdaiji and various extant plans mentioned above, the diameter of main pillars used in the reconstruction should have been 0.48 metres. However, the pillars actually used were only 0.33 metres because of concerns over the high cost of the larger timber. Obtaining suitable timber became problematic for the contractor, and ultimately was the major contributing factor for the delay in the completion of the project. Most of the available timber supplies had been exhausted

[287] This diagram and subsequent diagrams of the construction of the Heian Shrine are contained in Wakamatsu, ed., *Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai kyōsanshi*, Byakko-hen, end plates.

due to rebuilding dwellings in the region after an unusually severe earthquake in 1891. Shimizu became aware of some fine timber that had been privately stockpiled in Wakayama Prefecture. The section of the Arita River which would be used to transport the timber to Kyoto, however, was in private hands and barges were prohibited. Fortunately, the local headman was a member of the Cooperative Society and he was able to negotiate special permission with the land-holder for transport of the Daigokuden lumber.[288]

This had further ramifications for the overall look of the building, and ultimately led to a major compromise to the accuracy of the structure. According to Uramatsu's plan, the width of the east-west bays on the original was slightly longer than the width of the north-south bays. It was feared, however, that the more slender beams of the reconstruction would give such proportions an unnatural feel, so it was decided that all bays would be of a uniform width. Considering that the number of pillars was maintained, this resulted in overall proportions that were different to the original. In real terms, the width of the reconstruction was 76.9 per cent of the original, while the length was reduced to 62.5 per cent of the original. This resulted in a less elongated, squatter structure brought about primarily because of financial limitations and difficulty in obtaining suitable raw materials.

A final example concerns the complex carpentry at the head of the pillars used to support the roof beams and trusses.[289] The Kondō of the Tōshōdaiji exhibits pillar capping different to that seen in some parts of the Daigokuden. The pillar capping in the latter appears to support the so-called 'rainbow beams' *(kōryō)*, semi-curved beams that form part of the cantilever bracket structure. In fact, however, the cantilever struts supporting the capping have been inserted into the pillars. Further, the capping on the central side pillars has been cosmetically fashioned to give the impression that it is

---

[288] Wakamatsu, ed., *Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai kyōsanshi*, Byakko-hen, p. 31.

[289] The development and style of these brackets, and T'ang architecture in general, is discussed in Andrew Boyd, *Chinese Architecture and Town Planning, 1500 BC–AD 1911* (London: Alec Tiranti, 1962), especially pp. 23–48.

mounted on the pillar. In other words, pre-modern carpentry techniques were applied to the Daigokuden to try and emulate ancient construction methods. However, the pillar capping structures realised the fears of engineers that contemporary methods may be insufficient. The solution adopted was to compromise the accuracy of the structure by applying a cosmetic make-over to give the impression of ancient techniques.

In all these examples, there was an underlying desire for the model Daigokuden to be as accurate and faithful to the original as was possible. Tension arose between the engineers and the Cooperative Society; this was especially the case with Itō, who was motivated by an academic, almost scientific, desire for accuracy, while the members of the society, as businessmen and politicians, were concerned with the balance sheets. The Anniversary Hall project was a reconstruction of a Heian period original, itself a reproduction of a Chinese original style. In both cases, however, the reproduction was subject to contemporary political, social, economic and technical considerations. These issues had to do with limitations rather than advances in technique. The exception was the use of concrete and brick underneath the traditional stone blocks in the foundation of all the structures. This modification to the original plan, like the pillar capping described above, was invisible to the visitors to the shrine and did not compromise the visual precision of the buildings.

The technical problems faced in the project indicate that finding tradesmen with skills suitable for the kind of construction required for the Daigokuden project had been problematic. Speaking of the restoration of the Daibutsuden of Tōdaiji in Nara which began in 1906, Coaldrake stated:

> The master carpenters of the end of the Meiji period were reaching back beyond their collective experience and as a consequence were found sadly lacking.[290]

---

[290] Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority*, p. 247.

He went on to say that there had been no 'large-scale traditional architectural project' during the Meiji period in which the techniques of monumental construction could be kept alive. This is a surprising statement, given that one of the assistant directors of the bureau in charge of the Daibutsuden construction was Itō Chūta himself, the engineer of the Kyoto Daigokuden project. Coaldrake's statement also overlooks several other traditional construction projects, such as the reconstruction of the Founders Hall of Nishi Honganji in Kyoto, and the Kyoto Municipal Chambers *(Kyōto shigijidō)* built in a traditional style, both completed in 1895. There is no doubt that Meiji carpenters encountered problems due to insufficient technique and quality of timber available, but to dismiss as a 'failure' their efforts to reproduce traditional structures is to grossly understate their achievements and abilities.

Construction of the Heian Shrine sanctuary

Sano Tsunetami, the vice-president of the Cooperative Society, presented his influential proposal to incorporate a shrine sanctuary to the rear of the Daigokuden on 7 September 1893, just four days after the Jichinsai for the site was held. By the time official approval for the shrine project was granted five months later, earthworks for the site were well under way, and the concrete foundations for the Daigokuden, corridors and towers had been laid. The Cooperative Society had begun discussions and initial planning for the construction and funding of the shrine buildings almost immediately.

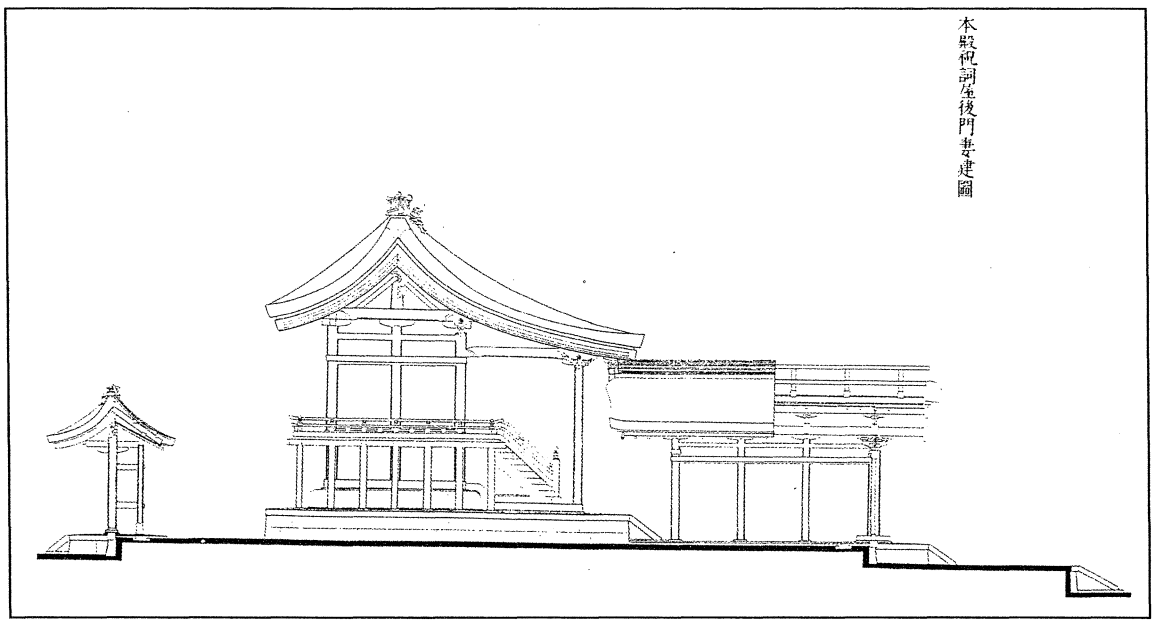
Plans were presented by 19 October 1893 that included two alternative proposals for the style of the shrine building.[291] The first was a replica of the Shōanden, the small building behind the original Daigokuden in which the emperor would wait prior to attendance at ceremony and ritual. It was, as described in chapter 1, of similar style to the other ancillary buildings within the Chōdōin compound, complete with vermilion pillars and a blue-green terracotta roof in the *honkawarabuki* style. This building was a

---

[291] Heian Jingū Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Heian Jingū hyakunenshi*, p. 302.

natural choice to accompany the Daigokuden, corridors and towers, but would, like the Daigokuden as worship hall, be a shrine building of unprecedented style. The second proposal, which was eventually adopted, was for a traditional plain wooden building with a cypress-bark thatched roof. It was modelled on the Kamo Mioya Shrine, commonly known as the Shimogamo Shrine.

Figure 6: Cross-section of the shrine sanctuary



Planning continued through December, even though an official letter requesting permission was not sent to the prefectural governor, Nakai Hiroshi, until 13 January 1894. This letter repeated much of the rhetoric of Sano's proposal, citing the appropriateness of constructing the shrine at the time of the anniversary, and the precedent of the Kashihara Shrine. Konoe Atsumaro, one of the signatories of the letter, signed firstly as representative of the shrine foundation proposers, then as president of the Cooperative Society, and finally as a member of the Kyoto nobility. Hamaoka and Naiki were both members of the local Anniversary Committee, and thus not officially related to the Cooperative Society business of constructing the Daigokuden and shrine. Consequently, they signed the letter as a member of the gentry and as a commoner, respectively, giving the impression that the proposal emerged from a cross-section of Kyoto society.

Blueprints for the plan were actually completed on 7 February 1894, even though the prefectural governor did not give formal permission until three days later. During January, Hamaoka led a delegation on a tour of the city's shrines, including the Kamo Shrines. At this stage, the plans for the construction of the sanctuary would have been almost complete. If anything, this tour would preview the future shrine and perhaps give them a last opportunity to make suggestions concerning the decoration or detail of the construction. This process of examination of local shrines continued, for example, with research in May into the decoration of the Shimogamo Shrine.

Unlike the case of the Daigokuden, there was no public process in the awarding of the construction contract for the shrine buildings. Shimizu Mannosuke was awarded the contract by 'special appointment' on 20 February. The reasons for this were quite simple. Further delays in commencing the project would have placed serious pressure on the organisers as the time for the anniversary approached. Shimizu was already on site and busy with the construction of the Daigokuden, so it was easier to expand the operation than to complicate it by the inclusion of another contractor. Besides, the Cooperative Society had already suffered a breach of contract in December by the Osaka company initially awarded the task of preparing the site. The earthworks were consequently carried out by the Shimizu Group.

Table 12: Costing of the Heian Shrine construction[292]

Item	Budget (yen)	Shimizu contract (yen)	Actual cost (yen)
Shrine sanctuary	9,150	5,896	6,900
Norito Hall	1,000	1,398	1,928
Storeroom	360	-	989
Ritual items store	480	-	1,185
Shrine office	1,510	-	2,866
Restroom	240	-	-
Wall	2,700	2,287	2,574
Earthworks	2,000	1,565	1,859
Rear gate	-	410	-
Total	**18,030**	**9,993**	**18,300**

[292] Wakamatsu, ed., *Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai kyōsanshi*, Byakko-hen, pp. 18-19.

The scope of the plan for the shrine was reduced from the time the budget was formulated in January to the awarding of the contract in March. As can be seen in table 12, the amount allocated for the construction of the sanctuary was significantly reduced in the contract. The actual cost of most items ended up exceeding the contracted amount, which is similar to the case of the construction of the Daigokuden and associated buildings. Even so, it is interesting to note that, despite the complications of construction techniques and materials in the building of the Daigokuden, the cost of the sanctuary of the shrine was approximately 25 per cent more per square metre (see table 13). As a point of reference, the cost of the Japanese-style municipal chambers completed in March 1895 was only 90 yen per square metre.[293] Further, labour costs for the Daigokuden amounted to only 12 per cent of the total, while for the sanctuary they comprised 20 per cent of the total. What this means is that the labour costs for the sanctuary were proportionately twice that of the Daigokuden. Although some of the techniques may have been unfamiliar in the Daigokuden construction, the traditional and familiar techniques of the sanctuary construction were more labour intensive, and materials proportionately more expensive. The sanctuary construction was bound by conventions and techniques which had been passed down through the ages, preserved due to frequent rebuilding of relatively inexpensive shrine buildings. The construction of the Daigokuden, however, was free from these constraints, but bound by financial and technical concerns.

Table 13: Comparative costs for Daigokuden and shrine sanctuary

	Materials per m² (yen)	Labour per m² (yen)	Total cost per m² (yen)
Daigokuden	90.3	12.4	103
Shrine sanctuary	102.4	25.6	128

The style ultimately chosen for construction of the sanctuary is called *kirizuma-nagare*, with a cypress-bark thatch roof (see figure 6). This style comprises a simple ridged roof

[293] *Hinode Shinbun*, 25 March 1895. The total cost of the massive hall, with a surface area of 990 square metres, was 27,018 yen.

with the front portion extended further than the rear. It is found in many shrines but is particularly associated with the Kamo Shrines in Kyoto. It measured 11 by 6 metres and was constructed using traditional methods familiar to contemporary tradesmen.[294] The custom of frequently rebuilding shrines, as well as the necessity of repair after fire and earthquake, kept alive the techniques and methods of shrine architecture, unlike monumental palace architecture. The only major exception to traditional methods was the use of concrete and brick in the foundations, which were laid from 24 March 1894.

The president of the Cooperative Society, Konoe, wrote to the prefectural governor on 31 May 1893 to request a name and rank for the shrine. Most of the proposals and documents concerning the founding of the shrine refer to it by the generic *jinja*. The name it was granted by Home Ministry proclamation on 2 July was *Heian Jingū*, a name usually reserved for the highest rank of imperial shrines.[295] The rank granted was Great Imperial Shrine, placing it in Kyoto alongside Kamigamo Shrine, Shimogamo Shrine, Otokoyama Hachiman Shrine, Matsuo Shrine, Hirano Shrine and Fushimi Inari Shrine.

Annual costs for the shrine were to be taken out of the interest on the 20,000 yen preservation fund. The total expenditure of 1,200 yen, based on an interest rate of 6 per cent, provided for staff wages, ritual costs, repair and miscellaneous expenses. This was not unprecedented, but it was a somewhat uncommon way to fund a shrine, although the Kashihara Shrine, too, was funded this way. The amount of capital, however, was considered insufficient and was increased in 1897 to 30,000 yen. Funds were supplemented by the Imperial Household Ministry for three rituals that formed part of the national cycle of imperial ritual instituted during the Meiji period. These were the Annual Festival *(Reisai)*, First Fruits Festival *(Kannamesai)*, and the Yearly Harvest Festival *(Toshigoi no matsuri)*.

---

[294] Heian Jingū Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Heian Jingū hyakunenshi*, p. 302. This building was replaced when the August Spirit of Emperor Kōmei was incorporated into the sanctuary in 1940.

[295] Okada, 'Jingū Jinja sōkenshi,' p. 5. An exception to this convention is the naming of Tenmangū and Hachimangū shrines and sub-shrines.

The first chief priest *(gūji)* of the Heian Shrine, Mibu Motonaga (1835-1906), was appointed on 16 February 1895. Knowledge of his appointment trickled into the media after three days with the line in the *Hinode Shinbun* 'as the rumours have suggested...' His candidature was only announced by the same newspaper on 5 February. Mibu may, however, have been second choice, as Kunishige Masafumi (?-?) was proposed for the position in November the previous year.[296] Kunishige had been a prefectural official for many years, having acted as secretary for the influential prefectural governor, Makimura Masanao. Neither of these men were career priests. Mibu was a courtier who was aligned with the anti-foreign Chōshū faction that was forced to flee from Kyoto after the *kōbu gattai* faction gained the ascendancy in 1863 (see chapter 1).[297] He went on to serve in the new government and was later a member of the House of Peers. The appointment of chief priest of the Heian Shrine came down to a choice between a local official with years of service to the city, but without a national profile, and a former courtier with a high profile and influence in the Tokyo-based national government. Mibu's appointment over the local man is not surprising given the make-up of the Cooperative Society in charge of the project. It is indicative that the published record of the society does not mention the earlier candidate, as is the fact that no public fanfare concerning the eventual appointment was made in the Kyoto newspapers. The day-to-day running of the shrine was carried out by a senior priest *(negi)*, Mizuguki Banshō (?-?), a former priest at the Hirano Shrine in Kyoto. Mizuguki had been appointed to the Anniversary Committee to oversee the ritual for the anniversary celebrations. He was joined by two other junior priests *(shuten)*, and several man-servants and cleaners.[298]

---

[296] Heian Jingū Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Heian Jingū hyakunenshi nenpyō*, p. 15.

[297] Mibu, along with the later Home Minister and Prime Minister Sanjō Sanetomi, was counted among the loyalist courtiers who fled to the south. They were later known as the 'seven departed noblemen' *(shichikyō-ochi)*.

[298] The total number of staff at the shrine had increased to twelve by 1904. See Heian Jingū Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Heian Jingū hyakunenshi*, p. 156.

A Pillar-raising Ceremony *(Ritchūshiki)* was held on 1 July 1894 by the contractor of the construction, Shimizu Mannosuke. Although it was decided to make the ceremony low-key due to escalating tensions on the Korean Peninsula—war was declared on 1 August—the 274 invited participants to the ceremony were watched by a crowd of over 20,000 who were later treated to displays of sumo and ancient music. There was great expectation in the crowd, who were mere spectators in this event, unlike the Jichinsai some months earlier. After that, construction continued throughout the year. The contract stipulated a completion date of 25 December 1894 but, in fact, the works were not completed until 25 February the following year, just weeks before the transfer of the August Spirit in March.

Heian Shrine: no room for Buddhism?

The August Spirit of Emperor Kanmu to be enshrined in the Heian Shrine was ritually divided from the Kōreiden in the Tokyo Imperial Palace and escorted to Kyoto by imperial envoy Takeya and several other members of the Imperial Household Ministry.[299] They arrived by train at Shichijō Station in the early morning of 11 March 1895. The box containing the spirit and sacred paper was lodged at the Shudenryō, an office of the Imperial Household Ministry within the grounds of the Imperial Palace in Kyoto. It was handed over to local officials from the Heian Shrine and Kyoto Municipal Council at the shrine on the morning of the ceremony. It was originally proposed that the chest which contained the August Spirit first travel to Hiroshima for personal inspection by the emperor at his military headquarters. This was quashed by the Imperial Household Ministry who had received a formal request for the ceremony from the prefectural governor during February.

Curiously, Governor Watanabe requested that the ceremony be conducted in the same manner as that for the Kashihara Shrine, in as much as the August Spirit was

---

[299] All the spirits of the imperial ancestors had been enshrined in the Kōreiden within the Tokyo Imperial Palace since November 1871. John Breen, 'Emperor, State and Religion in Restoration Japan 1868-1877' (Phd, St John:s College, Cambridge University, 1992), pp. 68-69.

accompanied by an imperial envoy. However, in order for the ceremony to be carried out according to precedent and ancient forms, a committee was established to investigate. The committee comprised the chief priests of Inari and Shimogamo Shrines, Kondō Yoshitake (?-?) and Izumoji Kōtsū (?-?), and Usui Kosaburō from the Ceremonial Office of the Kyoto Anniversary Committee. As will be explored further in the following chapter, the requirement for wide-ranging investigation into various aspects of the Shinto rituals surrounding the founding of the shrine, and the detailed instructions provided to the participants, points to a lack of familiarity with basic ritual both by high-standing members of society and commoners alike. It also reminds us that the joining of a civic ceremony with the founding of a shrine to an emperor, the latter itself not a common practice, is fraught with complications, a certain amount of inventiveness, and a desire on the part of the organisers for ancient precedent and imperial support.

Several rituals were carried out in the days leading up to the Enshrinement Ceremony *(Chinzashiki)* to purify and consecrate the shrine buildings in preparation for the arrival of the August Spirit. The most important was the New Hall Purification *(Shindensai)* held on 14 March. The ritual comprised two parts: a purification conducted by the senior priest of the Heian Shrine, Mizuguki, and the main ritual performed by the chief priest of Shimogamo Shrine, Izumoji. The choice of the latter over the shrine's own chief priest was to be found in the precedent of purification rites conducted at the Heian period Daigokuden by priests from the Inbe family.[300] Izumoji, as descendant of the Inbe lineage, was deemed a suitable candidate for the ritual. The actual ritual included offerings and ritual words *(norito)* to the imperial ancestors and to the myriad deities of heaven and earth. Rice, sacred paper and sake were scattered to the four corners of the Daigokuden as part of the consecration.

---

[300] Wakamatsu, ed., *Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai kyōsanshi*, Sōryū-hen, p. 29.

On the following day, 15 March, a procession of over 2,500 people followed the carriage containing the casket and imperial envoy from the Imperial Palace gates to the Ōtenmon at the shrine. The procession was accompanied by four mounted guards and included the major local stakeholders in the anniversary: high-ranking local politicians, local members of the anniversary committees, local businessmen, residents representatives, officials from the city's shrines, and public servants.[301] Notable by their absence in the procession were people not from Kyoto. The exception seems to be members of exposition promotion committees from various prefectures. Though based in Kyoto to promote and coordinate regional activities in the upcoming exposition, these members illustrate the importance of the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition to the execution of the anniversary. The other notable omission in the procession was representatives from other religious traditions, especially Buddhism.

The Heian Shrine was situated within the Meiji Shinto world. Considerable importance was placed on obtaining a suitable rank and name for the shrine, thus ensuring its place in a religious framework that had undergone significant change during the first half of the Meiji period. The Enshrinement Ceremony was a Shinto ritual, and was performed whenever a shrine was founded and a kami asked to reside within. The ritual designated the Heian Shrine a sacred Shinto site and brought to completion the dreams of the organisers who had proposed the project two years before. Not everyone, however, was asked to participate in the consecration of a Shinto shrine as symbol of Kyoto's heritage. A proposal in October 1893 by two prominent Kyoto Buddhist monks sought permission to conduct Buddhist rituals within the reconstructed Daigokuden.[302] The character of the Heian Shrine can be seen in the failure of this proposal, and is reinforced by the Shinto character of the Enshrinement Ceremony, and Jichinsai (described in detail in the following chapter).

---

[301] *Hinode Shinbun*, 16 March 1895.

[302] I am indebted to Professor Fujiwara Masanobu of Ryūkoku University for pointing out the existence of this proposal and for providing a copy of his paper. Fujiwara, 'Shimaji Mokurai to Heian Jingū zōken,' pp. 48–65.

The proposal was written by Shimaji Mokurai (1838–1911), the executor of Nishi Honganji, and his counterpart at Higashi Honganji, Atsumi Keien (1839–1906). It called for the revival of Buddhist rituals that had been held at the Daigokuden at least since the time of Emperor Kanmu in the eighth century.[303] The proposal contained extensive extracts from a wide range of sources which cited these Buddhist rituals and included the *Procedures of the Engi Era (Engi shiki)*, the *Picture Scroll of Yearly Festivals and Rituals*, and the national histories. These rituals were, according to the authors, classified into yearly and extraordinary national and court rituals. All, however, concerned prayers to protect the realm, pray for agricultural success, and to ward off natural disasters and calamity. The most important of these cited in the proposal were the Purificatory Offering Ritual *(Gosaie)* and the Benevolent Kings Ritual *(Ninnōe)*. The Purificatory Offering Ritual was held in front of the emperor in the Daigokuden for seven days from the 8th day 1st month each year.[304] It comprised a formal debate between monks from various sects concerning the Golden Splendour Sutra *(Konkōmyō-kyō)*. The Benevolent Kings Ritual was held in Autumn and Spring, and additionally once per reign, and consisted of readings from the Benevolent Kings Sutra *(Ninnōhannya-kyō)*. Along with the Lotus Sutra *(Hoke-kyō)*, these formed what Saichō, the founder of Japanese Tendai Buddhism, called the 'three great nation-protecting sutras' *(gokoku sanbukyō)*. The revival of these rituals was considered by the authors of the proposal to be a suitable and desirable addition to the anniversary celebrations.

Shimaji and Atsumi had long been advocates of reform and renovation in Japanese Buddhism. They were contemporaries who played relatively similar roles in the development of the two Honganji sects during the first half of Meiji. Shimaji, reacting to the perceived threat to Buddhism immediately after the restoration, travelled to Kyoto from his home of Yamaguchi, and undertook substantial, but somewhat

---

[303] Though Kanmu was considered to have been strict with Nara sects of Buddhism, he favoured new sects with an emphasis on rituals to protect the state. Alicia Matsunaga, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation: The Historical Development of the Honji-Suijaku Theory* (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1969), p. 180 and pp. 187–190.

[304] In years of mourning, the ritual was held elsewhere in the Imperial Palace.

incomplete, reforms of the Nishi Honganji administrative structure. Atsumi, from Owari, undertook similar reforms at Higashi Honganji. Shimaji had successfully argued for the inclusion of Buddhists within the 'Great Promulgation Campaign' *(taikyō senpu undō)* of the early 1870s.[305] However, after he saw first hand the exalted position of Christianity in European society during a trip in 1872-73, and he determined that the 'great teaching' *(taikyō)* was no more than a state tool to inculcate belief in the *kokutai*, from this point, he vigorously campaigned for the separation of religion and the state and for freedom of religious expression.[306] He was successful in 1875 when the Shin sects and several others were granted permission to withdraw from inclusion in the campaign. This, and further campaigns by Atsumi and others, led to the later dissolution of the Great Teaching Institute *(Taikyōin)* and the distribution by the Ministry of Doctrine of the so-called 'Freedom of religion declaration' *(shinkō no jiyū no kudatsu)* of 1875.[307] This document, in terms reaffirmed by article 28 of the constitution of 1889, stated that 'the government guarantees the freedom of belief for various Shinto and Buddhist sects'.[308] This assertion also reaffirmed the earlier government statement that Shinto, as practised at shrines throughout the country, was not a religion but a rite of state, and led to the acknowledgment of several faith-based Shinto sects as independent religions.[309]

Shimaji and Atsumi worked tirelessly so that Buddhism could take a meaningful and respected position within modern Japanese society. In 1874 they both joined the Society for Mutual Coexistence *(Kyōson dōshū)*, a society formed with the aim of 'upholding

---

[305] See, for example, Hardacre, *Shintō and the State*, pp. 42-59.

[306] Akamatsu et al., eds., *Shinshū-shi gaisetsu*, pp. 448-451.

[307] Promulgated on 27 November 1875 by the Ministry of Doctrine, text in Monbusho Shūkyō Kyoku, ed., *Shūkyō seido chōsa shiryō*, pp. 199-200.

[308] Article 28 stated: 'Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief.' Komori Yoshimine, ed., *Nihon kenpō shiryō sen*, Enlarged ed. (Kyoto: Sagano Shoin, 1982), p. 122.

[309] This was the official origin of Sect Shinto as described earlier. For an outline of the transformation from the notion of Shinto as non-religious, to Shrines as non-religious, see Sasaki Kiyoshi, 'Shintō hishūkyō yori jinja hishūkyō e: shinkan kyōdōshoku no bunri o megutte,' *Nihon Daigaku Seishin Bunka Kenkyūjo- Kyōiku Seido Kenkyūjo Kiyō* 16 (1985), pp. 78-128.

human rights and advancing the country through embracing civilisation'.[310] They fostered the ideals of this society, which counted Taguchi Ukichi among its founders, from a Buddhist perspective. In 1884, Shimaji and Atsumi were among a group of primarily Honganji Buddhists who formed the Splendid Wisdom Society *(Reichikai)*. The role of Buddhists in forming such a society was described by Shimaji as follows: 'Monks are entrusted to lead society, and to advance enlightenment to its pinnacle'.[311] Buddhism, now independent from the proselytising of national doctrine, was not in Shimaji or Atsumi's mind unconcerned with nationalism, as this statement intimates. Greatly supportive of the war on the Korean Peninsula in 1894, both sects sent missionaries to aid and comfort Japanese troops.[312] The task of supporting the nation concerned all Buddhists, whether of the Shin sect or otherwise. According to Ketelaar:

> The Meiji Buddhists knew that their very survival was contingent upon their ability not merely to be conversant in the 'modern' discursive strategies of political and social efficacy; they also needed to be full participants in the articulation of these strategies on the popular level. A modern and cosmopolitan Buddhism would thus be not only an efficient institution noticeably contributive to society; it would also be a bastion of the true and unadulterated national spirit.[313]

The 1,100th anniversary in Kyoto functioned as an opportunity for such a 'discursive strategy'. The Honganji sects, as with many other Buddhist temples in the city, held special rituals and ceremonies to participate in the anniversary celebrations. These were, however, peripheral to the central symbol of the anniversary, the reconstruction of the Daigokuden and the Heian Shrine. To this end, and perhaps in part due to their connections with people like Taguchi, Shimaji and Atsumi joined the Cooperative Society Board of Trustees *(Kyōsankai hyōgikai)* in July 1893. Their proposal in October that year was to ensure that the voice of Buddhism was heard within the articulation of the national spirit embodied in the Daigokuden project. Evidence that the revival of the

---

[310] Akamatsu et al., eds., *Shinshū-shi gaisetsu*, p. 458.

[311] Akamatsu et al., eds., *Shinshū-shi gaisetsu*, p. 458.

[312] Stewart Lone, *Japan's First Modern War: Army and Society in the Conflict with China, 1894–95* (London: St Martin's Press, 1994), pp. 110–116. On this, and the role of Buddhists in general in the modernisation of Japan, see Winston Davis, 'Buddhism and the Modernisation of Japan,' *History of Religions* 28, no. 4 (1989), pp. 304–339.

[313] Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs*, p. 135.

rituals was more than an attempt by these two to favour their own sects lies in their proposal that monks from Enryakuji conduct these rituals because of the strong historical links between Hieizan and Kanmu's court.

The monks' submission came at a crucial time: after the proposal to build a separate sanctuary to house the August Spirit of the founder, but before the official adoption of this plan. It will be recalled, however, that detailed plans had been completed by October, though the style of the sanctuary had yet to be determined. Approval to construct a separate sanctuary, especially in an extant shrine style, meant great difficulties for Buddhist participation with 'great rituals that well illuminate Kanmu's beautiful ideas along with a thousand years of our imperial city'. Shimaji and Atsumi considered that Buddhist rites within the reconstructed Daigokuden were more appropriate to a celebration of Kanmu and the city than conducting rites to the 'deities of heaven and earth', for which they could find no precedent in the ancient texts. Such rites were, according to their research, conducted in other halls within the palace grounds, such as in the Chūwain and the Jingikanchō. Despite historical precedent, the monks' submission did not lead to Buddhist rituals within the Heian Shrine.

The Heian Shrine had become representative of a state-sponsored Shinto that regarded worship at shrines as a duty of all citizens. It was intended to be an accurate reproduction of the 'public face of imperial will' in Kanmu's time, but its structural form, ritual function, and organisation were ultimately compromised by mid-Meiji society. Buddhism, once a guardian and protector of the state, was relegated to the periphery. The scope of the 'public' had expanded to embrace not only all of Kyoto residents, but all Japanese. The ideologues at work were no longer courtiers and military families, but businessmen and politicians. The Heian Shrine, a distorted image of the past, had been repackaged by the Cooperative Society, Anniversary Committee and Kyoto Municipal Assembly and presented to a public who would, it was hoped,

'come from all over, and like visitors who kneel to worship at the Ise Shrine, shed silent tears of gratitude' for the founding emperor's benevolence.[314]

[314] *Hinode Shinbun*, 17 September 1893, quoted in Heian Jingū Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Heian Jingū hyakunenshi*, p. 118.

Chapter 5. Heian Shrine: rituals of preparation

The first public and formal declaration of intent of the anniversary occurred in early September 1893 at the Jichinsai of the Heian Shrine. Officially, it comprised a Shinto ritual in the morning attended by several thousand people, and a banquet at the grounds for select guests in the evening.[315] The florid speeches and symbolism of the ritual conveyed the motivations and tenor of the upcoming anniversary as intended by the organisers. Jichinsai, or 'Land-calming Ritual', are performed today prior to the commencement of virtually all new structures, be they of private, corporate, government or religious corporation ownership. The purpose of such rituals is to ensure a safe and timely completion of the building by announcing the project to the local deities which are pacified with *norito* and offerings.[316] The Jichinsai is the first of several Shinto rites carried out over the course of a building project. After the ground has been pacified, earthworks and foundations completed and construction is ready to begin, a Pillar-raising Ceremony is conducted. This is later followed by a Roof-raising Ceremony *(Jōtōsai)*. Only Jichinsai and the Pillar-raising Ceremony were held for the Heian Shrine though the forms of these rituals were different to those conducted in Japan today.

The Jichinsai of the Heian Shrine was, however, much more than a ritual observance. In the area around the grounds and in locations throughout the city were numerous decorations and entertainments which included performances of dance and other festival-like activities that were planned to continue for three days.[317] The Jichinsai and associated entertainments provided the first opportunity for general residents of Kyoto to participate in the forthcoming celebrations.[318] The extent and depth of the response

---

[315] The following discussion relies on reports in the *Hinode Shinbun*, 2–4 September 1893, and Wakamatsu, ed., *Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai kyōsanshi*, Sōryū-hen, pp. 24–28.

[316] Izumoji Michitarō, *Jingi to saishi* (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1942), pp. 237.

[317] *Hinode Shinbun*, 9 September 1893.

[318] Bodily practices are an essential element of how societies form shared memories. See Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, pp. 72–104.

by the city—some entertainments were only calming down after nine days—indicated willingness to participate in some way in the anniversary, but also raised some concerns over the nature of future public participation. This chapter will examine and contrast the formal ritual and the popular celebrations surrounding the Jichinsai; on the one hand is a formalised Shinto ritual accompanied by speeches and ceremony, while on the other is a public celebration of an eclectic nature that at times tended to anarchy.

The ritual of Jichinsai

It is considered essential to placate the deities who inhabit or own a local area when embarking on a construction project, especially when that project involves a shrine to house one or more kami. These local deities are often unnamed and the *norito* merely calls on the kami that 'owns' *(ushihakimasu)* the land. There may be specific reference to local tutelary deities *(ubusuna-no-kami)* and deities of the earth *(ōtoko-nushi-no-kami).*[319] The present form of the Jichinsai may also include pacification rites to five of the kami enshrined in the Imperial Palace (Ikui-no-kami, Sakui-no-kami, Tsunagai-no-kami, Haigi-no-kami and Asuha-no-kami), collectively known as Igasuri-no-kami, or to the earth creation deity, Ōkuni-nushi-no-kami.[320] The Shinto historian Izumoji explained that Igasuri-no-kami was identified in the *Kogoshūi* as Ōmiya-toko-no-kami, which is said to have been worshipped since ancient times at the site of the old Kashihara

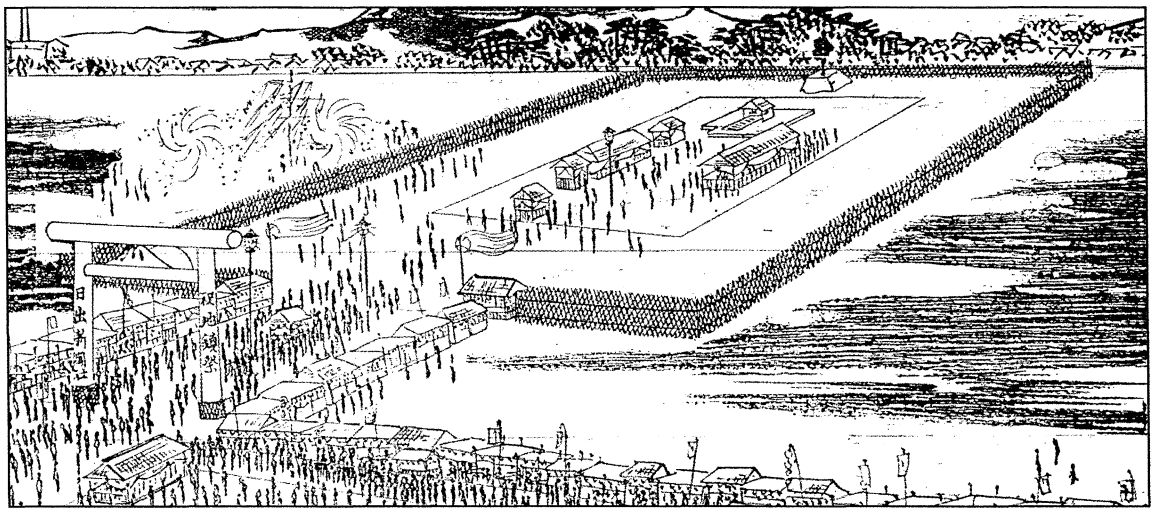
---

[319] Although this notion originally referred to tutelary kami of the area of a person's birth, it became conflated in the pre-modern period with *ujigami* and *chinjugami*. See Kokugakuin Daigaku Nihon Bunka Kenkyūjo, ed., *Shintō jiten* (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1994), pp. 83-84. In English, usage is problematic since 'clan god', 'tutelary deity' and 'protective deity' are used seemingly interchangeably for these terms. See for example: Hardacre, *Shintō and the State;* Davis, *Japanese Religion and Society;* and Royall Tyler, *The Miracles of the Kasuga Deity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990).

[320] This latter is given by John Nelson, 'Enduring Identities: The Guise of Shinto in Contemporary Japan' (PhD Thesis, University of California, 1993), p. 91, and the former by Kokugakuin Daigaku Nihon Bunka Kenkyūjo, ed., *Shintō jiten,* p. 293. Kato and Hoshino note the spurious connection of Ōkuni-nushi-no-kami with these local gods. Katō Genchi and Hoshino Hikoshirō, eds., *Kogoshūi: Gleanings from Ancient Sources* (Tokyo: Meiji Japan Society, 1926), p. 89. It is perhaps better suited for a separate study to investigate further the relationship between these deities and the reforms of the Department of Shinto Affairs in early Meiji. See Haga, *Meiji ishin to shūkyō,* pp. 29-152.

Palace.[321] Further, the identification of this deity in the *Procedures of the Engi Era* as Miya-toko-kami (Palace-earth-deity) makes a noteworthy connection between the role of local tutelary deities and that of the kami of the imperial house.[322]

Figure 7: Enclosure for the Heian Shrine Jichinsai[323]



The earliest reference to Jichinsai appears in the *Nihongi* and relates to the dispatch of envoys to the new palace at Fujiwara to perform services for the pacification of the site in 691 and 692. The *Shoku Nihongi* contains a similar entry in 708 for the pacification of the site of the Heijō-kyō Palace. It has been surmised that rites of this type were then common for imperial palaces, domestic dwellings and shrines. Those held for the regular rebuilding of the Ise Shrine are a particularly well-documented case of these rituals.[324] For the Heian Shrine, these connections reaffirmed the ideology of the project. The origins of the Jichinsai as ritual conducted at imperial palaces would only strengthen the illusion that the anniversary hall was representative of imperial authority in 1895 Kyoto.

---

[321] This is the present site of the Kashihara Shrine in Nara Prefecture, and according to the *Kojiki* was the site of the accession of Emperor Jinmu. Bock, however, locates the origin of Igasuri-no-kami at the palace of Emperor Nintoku in Settsu province. Felicia Gressitt Bock, *Engi-Shiki: Procedures of the Engi Era, books VI-X*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Sophia University Press, 1972), p. 68.

[322] Izumoji, *Jingi to saishi*, pp. 237–239.

[323] Detail from the *Hinode Shinbun*, 2 September 1893.

[324] Izumoji, *Jingi to saishi*, p. 237, and Anzu Motohiko, ed., *Shintō jiten* (Osaka: Hori Shoten, 1968), p. 358.

In the 1890s, the form of the Jichinsai was still being formulated, along with that of many other rituals, as part of the reconstruction and standardisation of the Meiji Shinto world. It was only with the commencement of work on the Meiji Shrine in 1924 that the modern form of the ceremony was established.[325] Furthermore, it would seem that Jichinsai w ere not conducted as frequently during the Meiji period as they were later.[326] The Jichinsai conforms to the general model of a Shinto ritual, though its format may change due to regional and sectarian differences.[327] Plutschow has identified three sequences that characterise most Shinto rituals: *kami-oroshi,* (also *kōshin*) in which the deity is brought down or summoned; *kami-asobi,* in which the deity is placated and/or exorcised; and *kami-okuri,* (also *kami-age)* in which the deity is sent off or returned.[328] This sequence, while focusing on the presence of the kami as the defining feature of ritual, excludes the intrinsic elements of preparatory purification and feasting after the event. Ellwood's division of ritual into four stages (purification, presentation, petition, participation) has greater scope and focuses more on the activities that define the relationship of kami to those carrying out the ritual.[329]

The Jichinsai of the Heian Shrine was heralded by two blasts from a cannon that resounded in the pre-dawn hills of eastern Kyoto on 3 September 1893.[330] This day had been deemed auspicious through divination. The warning rounds were repeated an hour later, and by 5.00 a.m. the various dignitaries and participants had assembled near the grounds of the shrine. A twenty-one gun salute preceded the entry of

---

[325] Anzu Motohiko, ed., *Shintō jiten,* p. 358.

[326] For example, an encyclopedia originally published in Tokyo in 1894 lists only the Pillar-raising Ceremony in a section dealing with common Japanese ritual. Hakubunkan Henshūkyoku, ed., *Meiji setsuyō taizen,* Reprint ed. (Tokyo: Geiyū Senta, 1974), pp. 550–551.

[327] See: John Nelson, *A Year in the Life of a Shinto Shrine* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1996); Nelson, 'Enduring Identities: The Guise of Shinto in Contemporary Japan,' p. 160; and Herbert Plutschow, *Matsuri: The Festivals of Japan* (Richmond, Surrey: Japan Library, 1996) for detailed descriptions of contemporary festivals.

[328] Plutschow simplifies the previous categorizations by Origuchi Shinobu and Yanagita Kunio. Plutschow, *Matsuri: The Festivals of Japan,* pp. 41–58.

[329] Robert Ellwood, 'Harvest and Renewal at the Grand Shrine of Ise,' in *Readings on Religion from Inside and Outside,* ed. Robert S Ellwood (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1978), quoted in Nelson, 'Enduring Identities: The guise of Shinto in Contemporary Japan', p. 160.

[330] Here and following from *Hinode Shinbun,* 4 September 1893.

dignitaries into the enclosure where they took their seats according to the predefined order. Leading the two rows of the procession were Konoe Atsumaro, president of the Anniversary Cooperative Society, and Governor Senda Teikyō. Almost three thousand people were officially invited to attend the ceremony; these included related committee members, government officials, businessmen, and notary public figures from around Japan (see table 14). Notable are the high number of representatives form the city's school districts, which acted as the administrative arm of the local government.

Table 14: Jichinsai participants[331]

Group	Number
Kyoto regional court officials	7
Kyoto prefecture district headmen	18
Peerage Society vice-president	1
Local assembly and council Anniversary Committee members	83
Shichijō stationmaster	1
Ward headmen and secretaries	61
School district committee members	520
Kyoto city school principles	22
Kyoto city school administrators	159
Anniversary Committee members	41
Primary school teachers	60
Municipal administrators	13
Conscription Board	5
Tokyo invited dignitaries	87
Municipal Commerce and Industry Association heads	37
Guests from various associations	170
Commerce and Industry cooperative members	17
Contributors over 100 yen	147
Water Board officials	6
Contributors over 10 yen	977
School district fire chiefs	25
Bankers and businessmen	12
Anniversary Cooperative Society members	333
Journalists	4
Total	**2906**

The enclosure measured north by south 145 metres and east by west 164 metres and was marked off by a temporary woven bamboo fence, sacred rope *(shimenawa)* and sacred paper strips *(shide)*.[332] The ground inside the perimeter of the fence had been

[331] Wakamatsu, ed., *Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai kyōsanshi*, Sōryū-hen, p. 26.
[332] *Hinode Shinbun*, 3 September 1893.

scattered with sand, signifying a sacred space for the ritual to be held (see figure 7). A branch of *sakaki (Cleyera japonica)* had been set up in the centre at the northern end to house the kami for the duration of the rite. This 'seat of the deity' was protected by a temporary structure made from Japanese cedar *(Cryptomeria japonica;* J: *sugi),* thatched with fresh cedar leaves and surrounded by calico. This enclosure is reminiscent of proto-historical Shinto rituals prior to the use of permanent shrine structures. The *sakaki* branch, in this context called *himorogi,* was the receptacle in which the kami could reside and thereby be close to the invited guests. Seating for the dignitaries had been provided in temporary tents on either side and to the south of the altar. The main entrance to the enclosure to the south passed under an impressive temporary *torii* which towered some 13 metres above the shops and stalls that lined the entrance roadway (see figure 8). It had been donated by the *Hinode Shinbun* and had the company's name and 'celebrating the Jichinsai' inscribed on its uprights.[333] Perhaps the dearth of journalists invited to the ceremony was due to the fact they were all from the *Hinode.*

Table 15: Order of service for the Heian Shrine Jichinsai[334]

5 a.m., arrival of Master of Ceremonies, Inari Shrine chief priest, Kondō Yoshisuke
Arrival of other participants
Purification invocation rite *(haraedo kōshin),* Kitano Shrine chief priest, Yoshimi Sukenaga
Interim music *(sogagaki)*
Purification prayer *(haraekotoba),* Kitano Shrine chief priest, Yoshimi Sukenaga
Salt and water rite *(shiomizu),* Yasaka Shrine senior priest, Shimayama Shigenobu
Paper offerings *(ōriusa),* Kitano Shrine senior priest, Tanaka Naohisa
Cut paper and rice scattering rite *(uchimaki),* Inari junior priest, Kuwada Yukitsune
Purification ascension rite
Interim music *(sogagaki)*
Invocation rite
Interim music *(sogagaki)*
Offerings, Inari Shrine senior priest, Hagura Yoshitoyo
Interim music *(gagaku)*
Placement of sacred paper on altar and offerings, Nashinoki Shrine junior priest, Mikami Yoshiyuki and Kamo Omiya Shrine priest, Izumoji Kōtsū
Norito, Master of Ceremonies, Inari chief priest, Kondō Yoshisuke
Celebratory address, Anniversary Cooperative Society chairman, Naiki Kansaburō

[333] Wakamatsu, ed., *Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai kyōsanshi,* Sōryū-hen, p. 36.
[334] *Hinode Shinbun,* 2 September 1893.

Celebratory address, Governor Senda Teikyō
Celebratory address, president of the Kyoto Municipal Assembly, Nakamura Eisuke
Celebratory addresses, various association presidents
Respects paid by members of the imperial family
Respects paid by officiating priests
Respects paid by other participants
Removal of offerings
Interim music *(gagaku)*
Ascension rite
Interim music *(sogagaki)*
Withdrawal

None of the officiating priests was affiliated with Kyoto's highest ranking shrine, the Kamo Wake Ikazuchi Shrine, more commonly known as Kamigamo Shrine. Indeed, of the six shrines in Kyoto ranked Great Imperial Shrine, only Inari Shrine and Hirano Shrine priests played a significant role. Yasaka and Kitano Shrines, both with rank Middle Imperial Shrine, and Nashinoki and Gorei Shrines, with rank Special Imperial Shrine, supplied the other participants in the ritual. The Jichinsai officially began with a purification invocation rite *(haraedo kōshin)*. This was conducted by the chief priest of the Kitano Shrine, Yoshimi Sukenaga, and involved an invocation of the appropriate kami *(haraedo-no-kami)* and a purification *(harae)* by which the sanctuary and participants were ritually prepared for the ceremony. The kami was invited to 'descend' with an 'eerie cry' *(keihitsu)* from a participating priest.[335]

The purification is conducted at the start of all Shinto rituals and is performed for two reasons; purification and absolution. Both these elements have their origins in the myths of the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*. The first stems from the lustration performed by Izanagi after his visit to the netherworld to see his dead wife, Izanami. He was polluted by his contact with the putrescence of death, and so he purified himself on his return to this world in estuary waters, thus removing the impurity.[336] The second purpose of the purification is to cleanse impurities caused by improper acts or improper ritual and is

---

[335] The *Procedures of the Engi Era* identifies these four *haraedo-no-kami* as Seoritsuhime, Hayaakitsuhime, Ibukidonushi and Hayasasurahime. Kokugakuin Daigaku Nihon Bunka Kenkyūjo, ed., *Shintō jiten*, pp. 235-236.

[336] W G Aston, *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1956 (1896)), p. 26. The choice of estuary water, that is where salt and fresh water merge, is believed to be why salt plays such an important role in the ritual.

effected through the offering of certain articles which act as absolution. This has its origins in the forced offerings of Susanoo after his acts of violence and ritual defilement against his sister, the sun-goddess Amaterasu. Susanoo was forced to cut his hair and nails and made to offer them (among with other items) to Amaterasu as '[articles of] purification *(harae)*' after Amaterasu was enticed from her seclusion in the rock cave.[337]

The standard form of the purification involves the offering of sacred paper strips *(ōnusa)*, salt and/or salty water *(entō)* and the waving of a purification wand *(haraegushi)* over the altar, offerings, participants and to the four directions of the enclosure.[338] The purification wand usually consists of a branch of *sakaki* with sacred paper strips and/or hemp threads attached. Rice and paper squares were also scattered as part of the purification. The kami that are summoned at the beginning of the modern Jichinsai are present throughout the ritual. In the case of the Heian Shrine, however, the kami presiding over the purification were invited to depart prior to the arrival of the kami of the local area. Neither are specifically identified, though the latter are, as discussed above, summoned as the 'great-earth-kami' and the tutelary kami who 'owns' the local land.[339] This distinction may simply be an element that was omitted in the modern ritual, but may represent an attempt to distinguish the local deity from the general, thus providing a hierarchy that links the traditional affiliations with general, or national, deities.

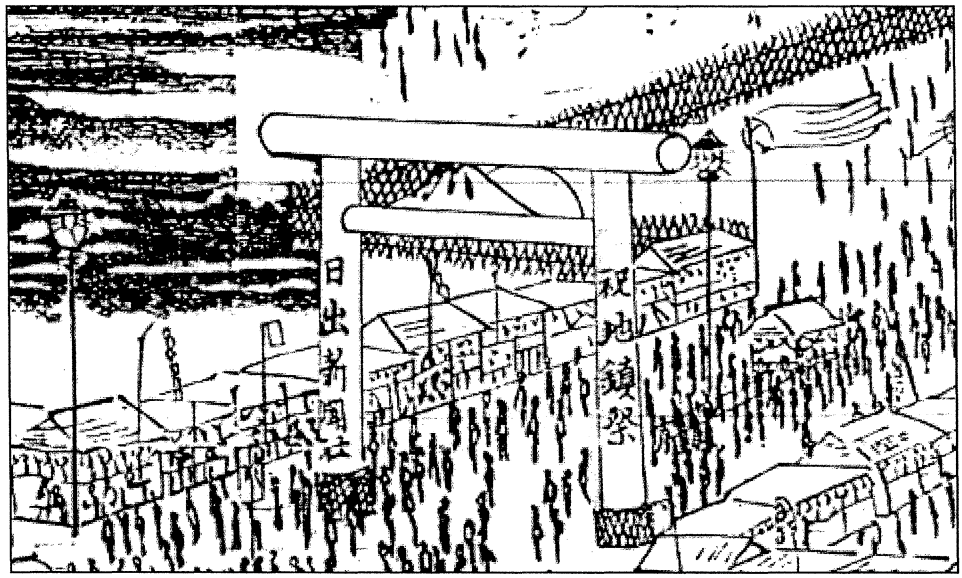
---

337 Aston, *Nihongi*, pp. 41–50.

338 Izumoji, *Jingi to saishi*, p.175.

339 *'Ōtoko-no-kami oyobi kono tokoro wo ushihakimasu ubusuna-no-kami'*, in Wakamatsu, ed., *Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai kyōsanshi*, Sōryū-hen, p. 24.

Figure 8: Entrance to the Heian Shrine Jichinsai enclosure[340]



Offerings, a meal to treat the kami, are a focal element of all Shinto rituals. They are considered an essential part of the interaction between the deity and worshippers who treat them. In 1875 the government carried out national reforms of ritual to 'at last renew the ancient rites which had fallen into decadence'—a process started with the revival of the Department of Shinto Affairs in the early years of Meiji.[341] This was an attempt to standardise all aspects of ritual, including offerings. Though the *Procedures of the Engi Era* lists an impressive array of offerings to be made at Jichinsai for both dwellings and palaces, the modern ceremony's offerings generally consist of seasonal vegetables and fruit, hulled rice, ceremonial sake *(omiki)*, and salt and water.[342] The Jichinsai for the Heian Shrine fell somewhere between the ancient and modern prescriptions, with offerings of several types of dyed and natural cloth *(tae)*, hulled and

[340] Detail from the illustration in *Hinode Shinbun*, 2 September 1893.

[341] Unnumbered Council of State directive dated 13 April 1875. Directives the previous year had stipulated exactly how much was to be spent on offerings for each rank of shrine. Yasumaru et al., eds., *Shūkyō to kokka*, pp. 463–466.

[342] Offerings for Jichinsai at dwellings: various types of silk and cloth, mattocks, rice, sake, various seafood, seaweed, dried meat, salt, jugs and saucers, gourds, oak branches, palanquins, and various mats. Offerings at a new palace: various precious metals, various types of silk and cloth, paper, coins, mattocks, sickles, deerskins, bark, rice, sake, various seafood, dried meat, seaweed, salt, bottles, saucers, gourds, oak branches, mats, various robes, headbands and five horses. Bock, *Engi-Shiki: Procedures of the Engi Era*, vol. 1, pp. 102–103. An example of modern offerings is described in Nelson, 'Enduring Identities: The Guise of Shinto in Contemporary Japan', p. 94; and Nelson, *A Year in the Life of a Shinto Shrine*, p. 192.

polished rice, white and black sake, dried fish, seaweed, vegetables, waterfowl and seasonal fruits.[343]

Three other rites, absent from the 1895 ceremony, form an essential part of the modern Jichinsai and symbolise the act of violating the earth in the process of building. The first two involve the cutting of several strands of grass (usually protruding from a conical mound of sand) with a ritual scythe *(imigama)* and the digging of a small hole with a ritual hoe *(imikuwa)*. The third is the burial of a 'pacifying-object' *(izumemono)* which could be a metal doll-like image, a mirror or a knife.

The various speeches delivered during the 1895 Jichinsai exhibit an ideology that evolved from a common understanding of the significance of founding the Heian Shrine at this time and place.[344] The justifications and precedents for celebrating the founding of the city are drawn from a thousand years of civic history, but are deeply coloured by modern sentiments and motivations. Further, they are given substance by drawing an intimate link between the city, the imperial line, and the nation as a whole. A *norito* was read by Kondō, the master of ceremonies and the chief priest of the Inari Shrine. This was followed by speeches from Konoe Atsumaro, president of the Anniversary Cooperative Society, Senda Teikyō, prefectural governor, Nakamura Eisuke, president of the Kyoto City Assembly, and then addresses by representatives of various local unions and associations. All three major speakers after Kondō repeated the sentiments of the *norito*, in particular the notion that the citizens of Kyoto were bound by gratitude to commemorate the great deeds of Kanmu and to respond by creating a legacy for future generations. It is no surprise that these sentiments were echoed in all the speeches, since each draws on the 'Statement of Purpose' issued in October 1892 by the Anniversary Cooperative Society.

---

[343] From the *norito* recited at the ceremony, the text of which is in Wakamatsu, ed., *Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai kyōsanshi*, Sōryū-hen, p. 24.

[344] The texts of the speeches were reprinted in *Hinode Shinbun*, 4 September 1893.

The language of *norito* is usually archaic, written with a mixture of Chinese characters used either semantically or phonetically. This was the case for the 'purification words' *(haraekotoba)* read by Yoshimi at the beginning of the ritual. Kondō began his speech with praise for Okazaki as a site of 'beauty and worthiness' and continued with a brief description of the ritual space established on the day. He then turned to the ancient texts *(Kojiki, Nihongi* etc.) and offered a paraphrase of the foundation myth of Japan concerning the descent of Ninigi-no-mikoto from heaven and the subsequent establishment of the imperial line by Emperor Jinmu. This is the only section that resembles the usual language of *norito,* though the sole kanji characters used phonetically are those rendering the names of kami. Indeed, the text of this *norito* was published in the *Hinode Shinbun* along with the other speeches, indicating its popular appeal and language, while the text of the *haraekotoba* was not published.[345] The ideological import of this cannot be overemphasised. It was the dissemination by newspaper of the key texts of the ritual that provided an opportunity for a common experience to those who were not physically invited. The *haraekotoba* was an obscure and technical formula for invoking the deity, while the *norito* by Kondō and the Cooperative Society president's speech were filled with statements justifying the anniversary and construction of the Heian Shrine.

The establishment of Kyoto by Emperor Kanmu, symbolised by the New Year Greeting held at the Daigokuden, was interpreted by the authors of the *norito* and celebratory speeches as an unprecedented development in Japanese history. Until Emperor Genmei (661–721) settled in Nara, the site of the Imperial Palace had been moved almost every reign since the construction of the Kashihara Palace in Yamato by Emperor Jinmu. This emphasis on the physical centre of the realm—that is the palace—as the defining feature of court rule is significant on two counts. Firstly, and most obviously, the Heian Shrine is modelled on the palace. Secondly, the power relation of the emperor to his people is reflected both spatially and ideologically in the stability of

---

[345] *Hinode Shinbun,* 4 September 1893.

the capital. Though the imperial line was settled in Heijō-kyō (Nara) for seven reigns, these were viewed as a transition to the permanence of Heian-kyō. Kanmu's choice of a site with the 'convenience of land and water' and a location like a 'natural castle' ensured that Kyoto would endure for ten thousand reigns.[346] But in addition to the geographical advantages of the Kyoto basin, the longevity of the capital was directly attributed in the speeches and 'Statement of Purpose' to the benevolence and virtue of Kanmu.

However, this hyperbole belies the fact that the actual fortunes of the city bore virtually no resemblance to the glorified imaginings of the Meiji ideologues. The *norito* and speeches made great claims for stability and longevity for the city as imperial capital for over a thousand years. While Kyoto was in fact the capital, it was for long periods removed from the site of actual political power. The *norito* recognised that although Kyoto had recently lost the status of capital to Tokyo, the emperor did not want Kyoto to waste away or become desolate. Consequently, the construction of a model of the Daigokuden would not only serve as a memorial to Kanmu and thus offer a sense of historical continuity for future generations, but would more importantly establish a platform for restoring past glories by entering into the hearts and minds of all Kyoto citizens, be they rich or poor, nobles or beggars.

The spirit of Heian Japan, a spirit that created such past glory, would be revived through the holding of the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition and the founding of the Heian Shrine in Okazaki. This is the essential point: the exposition and anniversary celebrations would present a tableau of past glories so that the citizens of Meiji Kyoto could re-capture the spirit of an earlier Japan and strive to emulate its achievements. This representation of cultural artefacts in the most general sense—not just physical remnants—transcends a simple modelling of the past. The model becomes an implement to shape and strengthen relations of power. The spirit of Heian Japan that is

---

[346] It will be recalled from chapter 1 that such rhetoric was used to originally justify the move to Kyoto. It was used in Kondo's *norito*, for example, to explain Kyoto's longevity. *Hinode Shinbun*, 4 September 1893.

sought after by the anniversary ideologues, however, is necessarily a modern construction. Its presentation to the citizens of Kyoto is consequently not an act without artifice, but an act imbued with ideological meaning.

The waving of the ritual wand by the priest petitioned the kami that no calamity should befall those involved in the construction. This was a primary aim of holding the ritual of the Jichinsai. Konoe developed the same sentiment in his speech when he called on Toko-nushi-no-kami to assist in the overall success of the anniversary.[347] But the priest's petition, like so much of the ceremony, expanded the ideological scope of the rite by calling on the local kami to protect and preserve the local area, the participants of the rite, and Kyoto in general. The language here was poetic and symbolic, with prayers for the waters of the Kamo to flow for a thousand years, for the pines of Okazaki to remain unchanged, and for Kyoto, like the branches of the (myriad?) mulberries, to prosper and flourish.[348] Significantly, Nakamura, as the person most responsible for the origins of the celebration, gave the petition its final and most lucid touch.

> My prayer is that the celebration is a success... Unlike Nara, the status of Kyoto as capital had lasted for over a thousand years. I pray that the kami will protect this area, aid the success of the construction and grant bumper harvests to the people so they will shout 'banzai' to the imperial line.[349]

Entertaining and decorating the city

It would have been impossible to be in Kyoto during the Jichinsai and not know that something extraordinary was going on. The various embellishments around the grounds of the shrine were only matched by the colourful decorations of the entire city. The scene portrayed by contemporary accounts and illustrations was of a city

---

[347] *Hinode Shinbun*, 4 September 1893.

[348] *Hassō*, literally 'eight mulberries'. The origin of this phrase is unknown, though it probably relates to the long association of silk production with the city.

[349] *Hinode Shinbun*, 4 September 1893. Nara had, however, made efforts in mid-Meiji to preserve its identity. See Takagi, *Kindai Tennōsei no bunka shiteki kenkyū*, pp. 264–283.

enveloped by gaiety.[350] Okazaki became an amusement area adorned with coloured paper lanterns, flags and banners, mobile stages, stalls and streamers—all surrounded by a bustling crowd that would become immersed in the spirit of festivity that engulfed the city.

The largest temporary structures erected for the Jichinsai were several Shinto gates, or *torii*, and the three most prominent were located at the southern entrance to the ceremonial site, at the corner of Nijō and Kawaramachi avenues in the Kamigyō district, and on Niōmon Avenue next to the canal in Okazaki.[351] *Torii* are typically found at the entrance to shrines or sacred Shinto sites and have become a symbol of the simple elegance of Japanese culture. Passage through a *torii* by a visitor or pilgrim signifies entry into a sacred space. It is common for a shrine to have several layers of concentric sacred spaces, each with a *torii* entrance, leading the visitor ever closer to the most sacred central, though usually hidden, place of residence of the kami. The basic form of the *torii* consists of two uprights with two horizontal beams lying parallel across the top. Variations in stylistic elements and form, however, typically signified a correspondence to a shrine building style or to a characteristic of the enshrined kami.

The largest *torii* constructed for the Jichinsai, standing over 13 metres tall, was located over the 'pilgrims' road' that led to the enclosure where the rite was conducted. Passing through it, however, did not give immediate access to the sacred enclosure, which was bounded by a temporary woven fence (see figure 7). The section of road between the *torii* and the entrance to the enclosure was lined with more of the amusement stalls and temporary vending structures that occupied much of the periphery of the open space between the enclosure and the canal to the south. The *torii* located on Nijō was over 9 metres tall and was adorned with a special plaque inscribed with 'Daigokuden'. This intersection was on the main route from the shrine to the city

---

[350] See, for example, the illustration published in *Hinode Shinbun*, 2 September 1893 (reproduced in figures 7-9), and the description of the events in *Hinode Shinbun*, 4 September 1893.

[351] *Hinode Shinbun*, 2 September 1893, and Wakamatsu, ed., *Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai kyōsanshi*, Sōryū-hen, p. 26.

and became not only the path for a side-branch of the city electric railway established two years later in 1895, but also was opposite the site of the municipal chambers and en route to the prefectural offices.[352] It also was on the path of the Festival of the Ages inaugurated at the opening of the shrine. The third *torii* at approximately 7.6 metres tall, shorter than the others, lay between the other two next to the Lake Biwa Canal on the same route.

This succession of *torii*, from the city to the shrine, is an appropriation of sacred symbolism and a further example of the uses of ideology and its application to power relations. Visitors to the shrine journeyed from the secular seat of power, the prefectural and municipal administrative offices, through a series of gates each of which signified a transition into a more sacred space, and finally arrived at a symbol of political legitimacy that was to enshrine the imperial founder of the city. Viewed in isolation, the significance of this journey could easily be overstated. *Torii* were not, however, the only religious symbols appropriated for such purposes.

Other religious items at the grounds in Okazaki and scattered around the city were sacred branches *(masakaki)*, sacred rope and to a lesser extent votary lanterns.[353] A *masakaki* generally consist of branches of *sakaki* decorated with five colours of silk, and usually a mirror, jewels and a sword.[354] It is modelled on the object used in mythology to entice the sun-goddess, Amaterasu, out of her self-imposed seclusion in the rock-cave.[355] *Masakaki* are commonly used to decorate shrines and festival grounds and became widespread from 1875 when they appeared in Council of State directives concerning rites at shrines.[356] The objects in the *masakaki*, namely the mirror, jewel and sword, are drawn from mythology and are the three imperial treasures—symbols of imperial legitimacy. Two *masakaki* had been donated by the local residents group and

---

[352] The Kyoto Municipal Chambers were only completed in 1895. However, the location of the site had been public since planning began in 1891.
[353] *Hinode Shinbun*, 2 September 1893.
[354] Anzu, ed., *Shintō jiten*, p. 561.
[355] *Nihongi I 37–48*, translated in Aston, *Nihongi*, pp. 40–50.
[356] Anzu, ed., *Shintō jiten*, p. 561.

erected at the side and to the front of the sacred enclosure. It is unclear, however, if these were adorned with any more than the five different colours of silk streamers reported in the *Hinode*, but the streamers towering and fluttering some 9 metres above the ground should have had a striking impact on the passing crowd.[357]

The sacred rope also had its origins in the myth of Amaterasu and her emergence from the rock-cave, and functioned at shrines and in festivals to indicate, like the *torii*, the demarcation of sacred and profane spaces. Consequently, large sacred ropes erected at the intersection of roads near the grounds furthered the impression that the visitor to the shrine was approaching a sacred space. This is perhaps not surprising, given that the ceremony was for the construction of a shrine. However, the scale and application of these religious symbols indicates that their intention was to aggrandise the event. The organisers of the Jichinsai entertainments and decorations used *torii*, sacred ropes and the like not as functional ritual objects to prepare visitors or to demarcate sacred and profane spaces, but used them to appropriate their underlying metaphysical meanings. A visitor to the grounds of the Jichinsai would not enter sacred space unless admitted to the official ritual and granted access to the temporary enclosure. However, the use of various religious symbols to decorate the area must have made strong associations with Shinto ritual and sacred space in the minds of the citizens of Kyoto. Indeed, there are references to *torii* in contemporary documents as 'imitation' *(mogi) torii*, indicating an awareness that they were being used symbolically and decoratively rather than functionally.[358]

Among the decorations were political symbols of a more direct nature: national flags. The largest of these, hoisted over 10 metres high, was located at the intersection of Sanjō and Kawaramachi avenues in the centre of the city and was illuminated at night by an electric light—quite a novelty in 1893 Kyoto.[359] There were also numerous flags

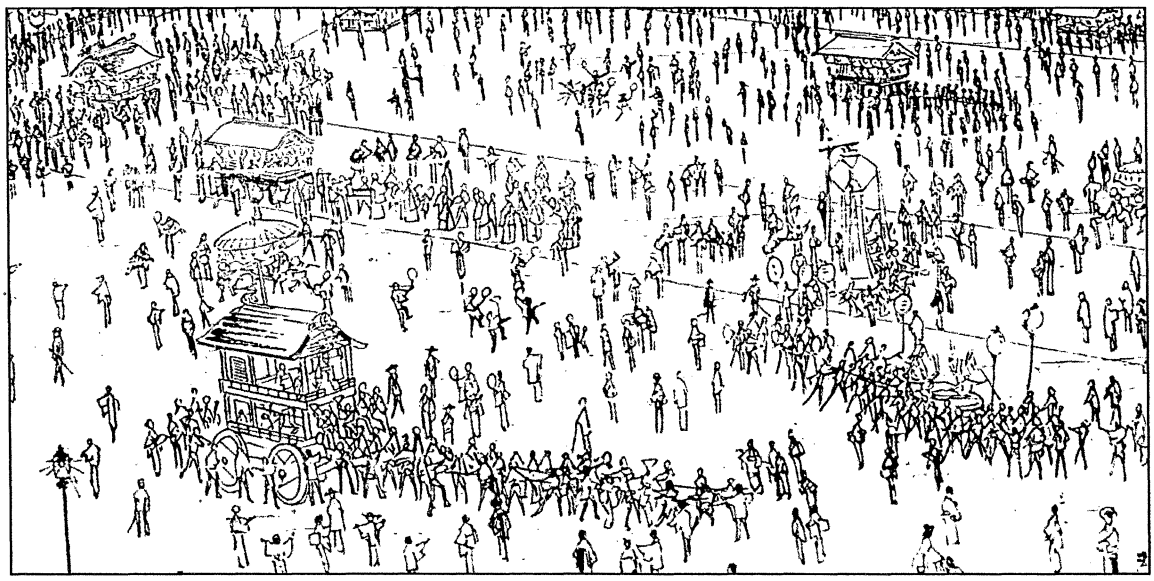
---

[357] *Hinode Shinbun*, 2 September 1893.
[358] See, for example, the description of the "*mogi torii*" in Wakamatsu, ed., *Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai kyōsanshi*, Sōryū-hen, p. 26.
[359] *Hinode Shinbun*, 2 September 1893.

around the site in Okazaki, notably on top of several tall structures covered in spherical paper lanterns. Flags were also used to decorate many of the floats *(yatai)* that formed a major part of the public celebrations.

These elaborate floats, organised by residents groups, businesses or commercial associations, were accompanied by musicians and dancers throughout the streets of Kyoto.[360] They were similar to those used in, for example, the modern Gion Festival *(Gion matsuri)* in Kyoto. All of the city's administrative divisions *(gumi),* which were based on school districts, seem to have constructed and paraded a float, indicating widespread support of the anniversary in terms of participation in the celebrations. For example, the 17th District from the upper section of the city constructed a boat-shaped float with twelve masts each with forty-four paper lanterns attached. The boat held thirty musicians and was followed by numerous dancers from the district who were dressed in specially printed yukata.

Figure 9: Floats used in the Jichinsai[361]



[360] The description of floats and dancers on this and following pages is taken from the descriptions in *Hinode Shinbun*, 3–4 September 1893, unless otherwise noted.

[361] Detail from the illustration in *Hinode Shinbun*, 2 September 1893.

Individual businesses also participated in the festivities by sponsoring floats. Their motivation was no doubt partly for commercial benefit. The *Hinode* estimated that over 50,000 yen was to be spent on the Jichinsai, not including food.[362] To give an indication of the contemporary value of this figure, the budget in 1894 set for the construction of the Heian Shrine was only 100,000 yen.[363] The newspaper also reported a huge increase in trade—while lamenting the corresponding increase in price—for garment makers, dyers, construction businesses, lantern makers, grocers, and lunch-box makers.[364] However, the scale of involvement by private enterprise indicates more than an opportunity for self-advertisement. The *Kami no uo* fish-shop, for example, boasted a 600 strong cast of dancers and performers who accompanied the float dressed in yukata adorned with the shop's emblem. There was a sense of public goodwill attached to their involvement, much like contemporary corporate sponsorship of public events.

Business associations and guilds, both traditional and newly formed, such as the Kyoto Tea Association *(Kyōto chagyō kumiai)* and the Kyoto Stock Exchange, also provided floats and accompanying dancers and musicians. Not all of the floats, however, were newly constructed. Several were those used in the Gion Festival and the Ōtsu Hie Festival *(Hie matsuri)* and were led by their traditional believers associations.

The themes portrayed in the construction and decoration of the floats were eclectic. In many festivals one particular event, person or theme dominates. The Gion Festival of Kyoto, however, is an example of where various historical ideas or images are combined in the one event. One type of float in the Jichinsai celebrations drew on themes related to the founding of the city and the ancient models for the Heian Shrine. Floats were shaped like Heian period structures, such as the Ōtenmon and Rajōmon gates. Prominent among them was a model of the Daigokuden constructed by an

---

362 *Hinode Shinbun*, 2 September 1893.

363 See the translation of the budget in appendix 6. The final amount spent on construction of the Anniversary Hall was 105,000 yen, with the total construction bill amounting to 188,000 yen.

364 *Hinode Shinbun*, 2 September 1893.

alliance of businesses from Sawaragi-chō in central Kyoto. Accompanied by over 600 dancers in yukata adorned with fish emblems, it was marched first to the Kitano Shrine and then on towards the site of the Jichinsai.

Many of the floats were decorated with flags depicting the gods of the four directions: the blue dragon *(sōryū)* in the east, the white tiger *(byakko)* in the west, the phoenix *(shujaku)* in the south, and the snake-headed turtle *(genbu)* in the north. These deities of Chinese origins, as noted earlier, are intimately linked with the founding of Kyoto and Japanese imperial ritual. One of the main justifications for choosing Kyoto as the site of the new capital in 795 was that it was protected by, or considered 'appropriate' for, the gods of the four directions. The east and west towers of the Heian Shrine were named after the deities of their respective directions. Many of the accompanying dancers wore yukata emblazoned with images of these deities, and flags depicting them adorned many of the floats. During imperial rituals in the Heian period similar flags were hoisted on several palace structures, namely in the garden of the Shishinden and on the face of court government, the Daigokuden.

Another group of floats broadened the scope of the parades by including displays of historical items, places and figures. This is certainly one of the precursors for the Festival of the Ages of 1895 (see below), considered at the time unprecedented in its presentation of a historical narrative through a public parade. A float by a group from Okazaki constructed a model of the burial mound of Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1436–1490) and included a display of copies of historical relics of Sakanoue Tamuramaro (758–811), the model Heian period warrior credited with the founding of Kiyomizudera.[365] Many floats were accompanied by dancers in ancient court costume, in one case 150 dancers dressed in period costume from the Genroku era (1688–1704). Historical stories were also portrayed—one float featured residents dressed as the forty-seven ronin from

---

[365] Ashikaga Yoshimasa moved his residence to Higashiyama and ruled over a period of foreign influence and sponsorship of the arts. Ginkakuji was completed during this period, which was later termed the Higashiyama period. Sakanoue Tamuramaro, a Heian period warrior, was appointed Shogun to pacify the Ezo in the north. He is said to have founded Kiyomizudera in Higashiyama in 798.

Chūshingura – and in performances focusing on such well-known characters as Minamoto Yoshitsune (1159–1185).

Stories from mythology were also featured on floats. A professional troupe from Gion performed a dance based on a myth from the *Nihongi* in which a large eight-headed serpent pursued the kami Inada-hime.[366] It is noteworthy that Inada-hime (or Kushinada-hime) and her spouse Susa-no-o are enshrined at Okazaki Shrine and are considered the tutelary deities of the area where the Heian Shrine was to be constructed. Another float drawing on myth featured colourful devils *(oni)* pursuing young ladies around a float decorated with a model of the Rajōmon. This gate was located due south of the Imperial Palace at the edge of the old city and legend held that it was inhabited by fierce devils.

Other floats added to the spectacle. Many were accompanied by several hundred dancers. The 27th District constructed a twenty-metre long blue dragon which pursued some 5–600 children dressed as green frogs. Popular raconteurs *(rakugo)* with suggestive names such as Baka Hachitōbei toured the city entertaining the spectators. The portrayal of folk culture—such as the display of 'country tea maidens' and a troupe of geisha dressed as Heian period entertainers—deepened the sense of participation by all classes of society.

In tandem with this outpouring of Kyoto culture and tradition was the use of modern technology in the design of floats and in the very landscape of the city. The novelty of electric lamp posts was found at both the grounds of the Jichinsai and in certain areas of the city where they were used to illuminate flags and other decorations. A float built by the 10th District consisted of a mechanical doll with a device which read sections of celebratory text.[367] The doll moved up and down as if it were dancing to the music of the accompanying band. Another large doll made from paper was set up along

---

[366] *Nihongi I 53–56*, translated in Aston, *Nihongi*, pp. 55–56.

[367] This device may have been a phonograph, invented by Thomas Edison (1847–1931) in 1877.

Niōmon Avenue and was animated using hydraulic power from the canal that ran along this section of the road. The *Hinode* noted that this device was so unusual that passers-by stopped dead in their tracks.[368] This infiltration of modernity was also evident in the design of some costumes and the patterns printed on some yukata: one group wore costumes made from cloth printed in imitation of newspaper.

The majority of participants in the entertainments were dancers. Local police reports compiled by the *Hinode Shinbun* indicate that over 77,000 dancers officially participated.[369] A more accurate figure, considering the spontaneous nature that the event adopted, would have been much higher: a substantial portion of a population of approximately 300,000. Some of the dancers were professional troupes from Gion performing specialised dances, but most were either residents from a particular district or employees of the company that sponsored the float. The range of dances performed was, like the themes of the floats, eclectic and had no discernible context. Folk dances *(bōnen-odori)*, dances from famous shrines *(Sumiyoshi-odori)*, seasonal dances *(setsubun-odori)*, dances from large festivals *(Ōtsu-e-odori)*, dances with Buddhist origins *(rokusai-odori)*, and dances with origins in the theatre *(suzume-odori)* are examples of the range of performances seen in the entertainments. Traditional dances had been removed from their context, and used to titillate the masses.

The costumes of the dancers were equally eclectic. As noted above, many of the designs used on yukata were related to the Heian Shrine: gods of the four directions, images of the Daigokuden or Ōtenmon etc. Many advertised their benefactors or employers with business logos or decorations. Many were so unusual that the *Hinode* suggested they be donated to a museum for posterity.[370] Running throughout such newspaper reports was a keen awareness of the irony of preserving an item, for example, the yukata, that was newly created to celebrate the founding of a structure

---

[368] *Hinode Shinbun*, 2 and 4 September 1893.
[369] *Hinode Shinbun*, 12 September 1893.
[370] *Hinode Shinbun*, 9 September 1893.

that was newly created to celebrate the past. Likewise, the aforementioned country maidens and geisha were aware of their appeal as traditional cultural icons and used this to enhance their appeal in a very modern spectacle.

Social order and disorder

The maintenance of social order during the Jichinsai was the responsibility of the local police. They were assisted by the Anniversary Cooperative Society and by ward headmen who submitted daily reports concerning activities in their district. The Chief of Police allocated three extra squads to the Jichinsai, each with seven officers, and had them undergo special training in preparation for the event. Patrols in both Okazaki and throughout the city were increased in anticipation of trouble, but only minor disturbances were reported during the first three days of the celebrations: minor injuries, lost and stolen goods, numerous quarrels and fights, and reports of people falling into rivers and streams. Police issued warnings for parents to keep track of their children while about in the city, though all of the some tens of children reported missing were ultimately returned to their families. The most trouble seems to have been caused by a storm that swept the city in the early morning hours of 4 September, the second day of the festivities.[371] Numerous temporary shops, stalls and decorations were blown over—even the 13 metre high *torii* was toppled—yet all of these were quickly repaired and ready for use later that same day.

Statistics reported in the *Hinode* on 5 September, though somewhat tongue-in-cheek, give an indication of the widespread participation in the Jichinsai entertainments and the nature of the revelry by Kyoto residents.

Statistics after the second day:

- 35,800 people drunk for two days
- 103,909 people exhausted from dancing
- 845 lost cigarette cases
- 2,333 people with ripped coats
- 83,303 people with hoarse voices

---

[371] The damage was described in *Hinode Shinbun*, 5 September 1893.

- 837 who fell over and grazed their knees
- 325 young ladies who broke free of their fetters
- 9,600 angry fathers
- 1,200 office bosses who ended up dancing
- 2,035 who were sick of feasting
- 759 who forgot where they lived.[372]

The laws issued in the early years of Meiji, primarily from the Council of State, concerning religious celebrations and festivities sought to standardise behaviour at these events and bring people's mode of participation within what was considered by law-makers to be acceptable for Japanese society, or more precisely, in reference to the law-makers' anxieties as to how they would be perceived by the West. Consequently, behaviour that was considered 'anti-social' such as nudity and cross-dressing was outlawed by local authorities.[373] However, there were concessions made if certain activities were bounded within, for example, a certain group of people such as actors, or a physical location such as the grounds of the Jichinsai. The use of make-up and costume wigs is an example of such a concession by the authorities during the Jichinsai. Police issued strong admonitions concerning groups of entertainers who attended the celebrations. People wearing wigs and costumes when they were not participating or attending to their float were ordered to gather under flags and not stray from their group—a format that is echoed in the modern tourist practice of groups travelling closely under the flag of the tour guide. Dressing up in this way—something normally prohibited—was given approval *only* if conducted within the context of the festivities and within the bounds of the group.

This sense of carnival as operating outside of society was most clearly seen in the reversal of roles and the blurring of standard social boundaries evident in some entertainments. One float dressed up several 70–80 year olds as brides and grooms and marched them to the site of the shrine on a cart carrying thirty-five pieces of luggage

---

[372] *Hinode Shinbun*, 5 September 1893.
[373] Takayanagi Shinzō, *Nihon hōseishi 2: Meiji igō* (Tokyo: Yuhikyaku, 1965), p. 119.

filled with sand. Upon arrival they scattered the sand around the grounds.[374] Some of the floats were accompanied by cross-dressing men and women, while another included over sixty geisha dressed in replicas of Heian period entertainers' costumes, singing songs praising the emperor.

The celebrations for the Jichinsai were scheduled to wind down after three days. On the last day, 6 September, an anniversary celebrating thirty years since the first service for the war dead *(shōkonsai)* was held at Ryōzen in Higashiyama.[375] *Shōkonsai* had by 1895 become an integral part of a national system of shrines and ritual established after the restoration to soothe the souls of the war dead.[376] The Yasukuni Shrine had since 1872 become the focus for this national network of *shōkonsha.* The Kyoto Shōkonsha located at Ryōzen, however, held significance as the site of the first such ceremony in 1863. The anniversary, like the Jichinsai, consisted of a religious ritual followed by entertainments, though its tone was different to that of the Jichinsai. It was presided over by the chief priest of Hōkoku Shrine (also called Toyokuni Shrine), Shibazaki Senkō. He was a suitable choice to act as an officiating priest since the shrine had military associations: its deity was Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–1598).

In attendance were many of the dignitaries seen at the Jichinsai three days earlier and members of the nobility and royal family who arrived in Kyoto just for this celebration. Members of the armed forces, politicians, notary public figures, and representatives from various veterans groups were also in attendance. The grandson of Fukuba Bisei, an initiator of the 1863 ceremony and architect of much of the early Meiji period

---

[374] This mimicked a ritual known as 'sand hauling' *(sunamochi)* which involved carrying sand from a shrine or temple by believers or parishioners. It had its origins in the removal of rubble from construction sites and was meant to transfer, in the case of a shrine or temple, the spiritual efficacy to the carrier. This float not only reversed the role of the participants but also the direction of the *sunamochi.*

[375] The first *shōkonsai* was held on the 24th day of the 12th month in Bunkyū 2, which corresponded to 12 February 1863. Though the year was correct due to the adoption of the solar calendar in 1872, the date of the anniversary was chosen for expediency.

[376] There is an interesting parallel between pacification of the land and pacification of the spirits of the war dead. On the role of pacification in the latter, see, for example, Klaus Antoni, 'Yasukuni Jinja and Folk Relgion: The Problem of Vengeful Spirits,' in *Religion and Society in Modern Japan: Selected Readings,* ed. Mark Mullins, Shimazono Susumu, and Paul Swanson (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1993), pp. 121–132.

religious reform, read a celebratory speech, as did Prince Yamashina Akira (1815–1898). The ritual was followed by entertainments which consisted of a banquet featuring 'ice-cold Asahi beer', fireworks, a demonstration of swordsmanship by local students, and a display of military relics.[377]

The anniversary ceremony at Ryōzen would have been an appropriate end point for the Jichinsai. It was a symbol of the ultimate sacrifice that could be offered by a citizen of Japan: death for the emperor. The ceremony was, to paraphrase Shiba Ryōtarō, the means by which allegiance of the warrior had been transferred from the local lord under a feudal system to the emperor under a national modern system.[378] In a broader sense, it represented one of the mechanisms by which the Japanese could engender unity and commonality under the symbol of an imperial institution, just as the Heian Shrine would later function in Kyoto. Tokyo had usurped the status of capital from Kyoto, and had in 1872 elevated the status of the Yasukuni Shrine over the Kyoto Shōkonsha. However, the Heian Shrine celebrated Kyoto's status as cultural centre and bastion of Japan's heritage, and this was something that Tokyo could not usurp.

Some events in the entertainments for the Jichinsai were scheduled to continue for up to a week after the ritual on 3 September. However, the popularity of the event resulted in a steady increase in participation after 6 September. In a trend that worried the local police, the tone of the increasingly spontaneous celebrations took an unfavourable turn. It was not that revellers had become violent or caused damage to property—though this did seem to have occurred in isolated instances—but that there were fears of a breakdown of public morality *(fūzoku no kairan)* in the celebrations.[379] The *Hinode* reported that:

> People with inappropriate clothing are breaking into small groups and are marching crazily through the city from the grounds of the Jichinsai. The most

---

[377] *Hinode Shinbun*, 6 September 1893.

[378] Shiba Ryōtarō, *Kono kuni no katachi*, vol. 4 (Tokyo: Bungei Shunshu, 1994), pp. 65–71.

[379] Traditional festivals in Japan, with the combination of music and sake, were, in the words of Schnell, 'particularly conducive to the expression of rebellious tendencies'. Scott Schnell, 'Ritual as an Instrument of Political Resistance in Rural Japan,' *Journal of Anthropological Research* 51, no. 4 (1995), p. 314.

> detestable and loathsome of these are men dressed up as women. If Kyoto, a city without shame, ignores this behaviour that can only be described as a debauched procession of devils, then traces of an unspeakable evil custom will be our legacy for future residents of the city. This is the lament of decent people in Kyoto.[380]

In addition to lewd costumes, there were accounts of drunken revelry and inappropriate sexual activity into the early hours of the morning. Kyoto's self-image, as promoted through the anniversary celebrations, was intended to be expressed in a more formalised fashion. The activities in the city after the Jichinsai resembled the wild abandon seen in popular Shinto festivals. The shrine was intended, as the Jichinsai speeches indicated, to leave an altogether different legacy and to promote an image of Kyoto deemed by the organisers in keeping with Japan as an emerging modern society.

Police had given tacit approval for dancing and celebrating deep into the night at the grounds of the Jichinsai during the first few days. However, the scale and nature of this participation brought subsequent intervention. Police were initially instructed only to warn those participants whose activities were considered to harm the common good. By the end of the week these admonitions numbered over 24,000. The warnings were obviously not effective so police began to take more direct action. Officers were dispatched to the homes of residents suspected of engaging in anti-social behaviour and tried to prevent their floats from departing. In one instance an elaborate and painstakingly decorated float being pulled by women was ordered to be destroyed due to fears of a 'breakdown in morality': police feared the heady combination of sake, dance and scantily clad, sweaty women. Other revellers were ordered to dance only between the two ropes hauling their floats until they arrived at the grounds in Okazaki. This was a further measure to try and ensure that revellers remained within the larger group as they passed through the city.

A curious article that appeared in the *Hinode* prohibited revellers from applying colours to their entire bodies using make-up. The exception was—with the

---

[380] *Hinode Shinbun*, 6 September 1893.

characteristic irony seen in the regular column entitled 'Scattered notes' – if they were dressed as 'American Indians' or 'black Africans'.[381] The measures taken by police evident in this and other prohibitions were not new or unique and recalled the similar response to conditions in Kyoto during the *ee-ja-nai-ka* disturbances of late 1867. It will be recalled that *ee-ja-nai-ka* were accompanied by drunken revelry into the night, a departure from traditional sexual activity, and the wearing of lewd and debauched costumes. Police in 1893 feared a repeat of this kind of disintegration of social order. The regulation against applying make-up to the entire body, as seen above, is a measure to prevent the recurrence of secret pilgrimage. That the celebrations after the Jichinsai did not degenerate into total chaos was due less to the efficacy of the mid-Meiji police force, than to the nature of mid-Meiji society, changed as this society now was.

The changes across the spectrum in Japanese society in the first twenty years between the two events were remarkable. By 1893, the political, economic, religious and social spheres of Japanese society had undergone a fundamental transformation. The 'civilisation and enlightenment' policies of the Meiji government are indicative of attempts to subdue the level of spontaneous expression and popular release of energy during times of public celebration. Folk elements of pre-Meiji Shinto, such as fortune-telling and shamanism, had been purged by a decree of the central Tokyo government. Shrines were increasingly subsumed into a national ideology that redirected, or completely replaced, the unbridled renewal aspect of local ritual and festival. A similarly subdued response was evident in the minimal participation of the *okagemairi* of 1890, even though this year corresponded to the sixty year cycle of Ise pilgrimages.[382]

---

[381] *Hinode Shinbun*, 8 September 1893. Native Americans were referred to literally as Indians *(Amerika Indojin)*.

[382] Davis, *Japanese Religion and Society*, p. 79. The shrine was, however, anticipating an increased pilgrimage and held special performances of Kagura. Most pilgrims, however, came by train or steamship.

Participants and spectators at the crossroads

The mode of celebration adopted by the residents of the city for the opening of the Heian Shrine in 1895, the Festival of the Ages, reveals a sharply contrasting, structured, institutionalised version of the spontaneous, sexually uninhibited parades of costume and dance evident in the Jichinsai celebrations. The ecstasy and freedom in losing oneself to the spirit of celebration, such as in traditional festivals and in the *ee-ja-nai-ka* of early Meiji, though evident in part in the entertainments after the Jichinsai, were excluded from the 1895 celebrations of the Heian Shrine. The Festival of the Ages clearly distinguished the participants from the spectators, with the themes and costumes of the festival carefully researched and constructed. The Festival of the Ages was a ritual performance, staged by residents groups within the city. The narrative of the city portrayed in the Festival of the Ages reveals an emerging national consciousness that manifested itself in a representation of self as an object.

In an interesting parallel, it is precisely this period—the mid to late 1890s—that the literary historian Karatani identifies a clear delineation of 'subject' and an external 'object' in literature, language and art. This emerged, according to Karatani, through what he called the 'discovery of landscape'. He stated:

> Once a landscape has been established, its origins are repressed from memory. It takes on the appearance of an 'object' which has been there, outside us, from the start. An 'object', however, can only be constituted within a landscape. The same can be said of 'subject' or self. The philosophical standpoint which distinguishes between subject and object came into existence within what I refer to as 'landscape'. Rather than existing prior to landscape, subject and object emerge from within it.[383]

Rather than participation by the self, as in traditional festival activities, spectators of the Festival of the Ages watched as a representative panorama of their collective past paraded before them. The Festival of the Ages, the anniversary of Kyoto and the celebration of the imperial founder of the city, placed this representation within an

---

[383] Karatani Kōjin, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, ed. trans. Brett DeBary (Durham: Duke University Press, 1988), especially pp. 11–44 (quote from p. 34).

imperial, a national, and a modern context. This 'landscape' of the celebrations was an emerging historical narrative.[384]

The Jichinsai celebration of September 1893 was the first opportunity for the organisers to state publicly the aims and intent of the anniversary and construction of the Heian Shrine. It was intended to present these aims to the public through formalised public ceremony. The response of the public, though encouraging in terms of numbers, was a warning that attempts to dictate modern civic celebration could degenerate into chaotic pre-modern revelry. The situation was exacerbated by the appropriation of ritual Shinto symbols erected throughout the city. By 1895, the organisers of the celebration for the founding of Kyoto worked to ensure that the bounds were set by them, and that any 'anti-social' behaviour was kept to a minimum or eliminated. The image of Kyoto as promoted by the Anniversary Committee and local elite was to be dignified and fitting for the centre of Japanese culture. Furthermore, the mode of this presentation was, as explored in subsequent chapters, not through participation in festival-like activities, but through visual display of objects representative of national heritage.

---

[384] Brett DeBary, 'Karatani Kojin's *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*,' in *Postmodernism and Japan*, ed. M Miyoshi and Harry Harootunian (Durham: Duke University Press, 1989), pp. 242–246, links Karatani's 'discovery of landscape' with modernisation and representation.

Chapter 6. Celebrating Kyoto

In an analysis of centenary celebrations in the United States and Australia at the end of the nineteenth century, the cultural historian, Lyn Spillman, noted that:

> Such organised public festivals have long been seen as important representations and affirmations of collective identity, and they became important instruments for the constitution of national identities during the nineteenth century.[385]

The anniversary of the founding of the city held in Kyoto in 1895 centred on celebrations of identity, and culminated in a civic festival that ran from 22 October to 15 November. The formal ceremony marking the anniversary consisted of daily rituals for special guests conducted from 22 to 24 October, and another on 8 November specifically for the elderly residents of the city.[386] These rituals were conducted by Shinto priests and were attended by local and national dignitaries, representatives from the imperial family, residents of the city, and other select guests from around Japan and abroad. The earlier rituals were followed on 25 October by the inaugural Festival of the Ages, a historical pageant organised and presented by representatives of administrative districts within the city. Throughout the anniversary festival there were displays of historical documents, art and treasures from the storehouses of the city's shrines and temples. There were also displays of contemporary art within several of the pavilions of the recently closed Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition. The city had been decorated with lanterns, flags and banners, and various entertainments were arranged throughout Kyoto for the duration of the festival.

Closer scrutiny of the circumstances surrounding the anniversary leads to a number of questions. Why, for example, was the physical presence of the emperor initially considered essential, but later a representative deemed sufficient? The anniversary was for the founding of Kyoto, but the Heian Shrine and other aspects of the festival were

---

[385] Spillman, *Nation and Commemoration*, p. 6.

[386] For a wider examination of the ritual role of ceremony in social memory, see Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, expecially pp. 41–71.

partly funded by national contributions. There was a determined effort by organisers to ensure national and international attendance at the event through widespread advertising and transport discounts. This chapter explores the motivations for this national participation as a means of expressing and celebrating the identity of the city, as well as local moves to revitalise civic services, and efforts to preserve and present works of art and treasures throughout the city. Special efforts were made to preserve and restore the city's famous temples and shrines, with a local government scheme established precisely for that purpose. Kyoto went to great lengths to show its best face to its residents and visitors. This chapter explores the anniversary and associated events to shed light on the nature of the festival, with special regard as to whether the event was motivated by national or regional concerns, and to gauge the levels both of participation and of spectatorship evident in the forms of the anniversary celebrations.

Figure 10: Within the Heian Shrine during the anniversary ceremony[387]



[387] Wakamatsu, ed., *Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai kyōsanshi*, front plates.

Anniversary ceremony

The scope and nature of the anniversary celebrations were decided on by a small group of people at a relatively late date. Yumoto Fumihiko was a member of the Ceremonial and Publishing Office of the Anniversary Committee. He presented a draft proposal, dated 16 February 1894, concerning ceremonial aspects of the anniversary celebrations. The proposal contained recommendations for the timing and finances of the ceremony, and provided a blueprint for future discussions concerning the administration of the anniversary. A brief examination of Yumoto himself is useful in order to understand his proposal.

Yumoto was born in Tottori prefecture, where he was educated and briefly taught at the domain school before it was abolished in 1871 as part of the central government's regional reforms. He took a position as an assistant priest at the Ube Shrine, the highest ranked shrine in Inaba Domain (present-day Tottori Prefecture Iwami-gun). Ube Shrine housed the spirit of the legendary imperial adviser, Takeuchi no Sukune, reputed to have served five successive emperors up to the court of Emperor Nintoku in the fifth century. During his seven years at the shrine, Yumoto undertook the study of historical artefacts and their preservation after he became fascinated by various treasures uncovered at a nearby *kofun* tomb. After a period as an historical researcher with the local government and teacher at prefectural schools in Tottori, he was appointed in 1889 to the service of the Kyoto prefectural government. It is not known why his family moved to Kyoto, but his duties concerned the administration of old shrines, temples and famous historical sites. It was through this work that Yumoto became involved in the anniversary administration. Though he had never attended university or undergone formal training, his practical knowledge and experience over twenty years of study and investigation into historical artefacts and sites, along with

his eye for detail, made him an obvious person both to assist in the organisation of the anniversary, and later to compile the *Heian tsūshi*.[388]

Yumoto's proposal of February 1894 identified what he saw as five key elements of the anniversary ceremony. They were: the date of the ceremony, the form of ceremony, its offerings, public entertainment, and the hospitality afforded to the guests. He had discovered from textual sources that the construction of Heian-kyō had begun in Enryaku 12 (793). The entry in the *Nihon kiryaku* for the 12th day of the 3rd month in that year contains an order from Kanmu for the construction of the city to commence.[389] Yumoto suggested that a date in April which corresponded to the old calendar should be chosen for the ceremony. The choice of this date, however, was dependent on when the emperor was available to attend. A request for a decision on the date of the ceremony was subsequently submitted to the head of ceremonials in the Imperial Household Ministry.

The head of ceremonials referred the matter to the Tokyo Astronomical Observatory for a determination based on the movements of the planets. The observatory had been founded in 1888 to administer standards concerning dates, times and calendars based on newly imported Western techniques. The study of movements of heavenly bodies in Japan had been influenced until the mid-Tokugawa period by Chinese notions of divination. The date of 30 April was recommended for the anniversary and subsequently approved by the Kyoto Municipal Assembly on 12 July 1894. This referral to the observatory for a decision on the date of the anniversary of the founding of the old imperial capital is clear evidence of the intrusion of modernity in the celebrations: it was considered essential to match lunar and solar dates through modern methods. Furthermore, the timing of the celebration of Kyoto's identity required imperial approval—approval which was granted through the Tokyo-based

---

[388] For a favourable evaluation of the accuracy of the *Heian tsūshi*, see Inoue, *Kenkyūshi: Heian-kyō*, pp. 21–25.

[389] Kuroita, ed., *Nihon kiryaku*, pp. 266–267.

Imperial Household Ministry. Kyoto was not entirely in control of the celebration of its own identity.

Yumoto proposed that the anniversary ceremony be held over three days, and should consist of daily rituals at the Heian Shrine followed by various offerings of music and dance. While the range of proposed activities for the anniversary reflects Yumoto's personal interest in history, it also suggests a desire to legitimise them by grounding them in the ancient past of the city. These included *kagura*, a mixture of Heian period court dance and recitation that had been handed down in various forms by old shrines in the region, as well as other forms of archaic dance and musical performance. Among these, Yumoto suggested a performance of *tōka*. Originally a folk dance popular in the Sui and T'ang Dynasties of China, it became associated with New Year festivities within the Heian period Japanese court.

Yumoto also proposed regional dance forms such as *Ezo-odori* and *Okinawa-odori*. He considered these regions to have been incorporated by Kanmu into the ancient Japanese state. Consequently, the presentation to the court in Kyoto of these folk forms as tribute was recognition of the authority of the imperial court over a region that corresponded in breadth to Yumoto's conception of the modern Japanese state and Kyoto's continuing importance to that state, despite the fact that the court had moved away from the city. However, while Kanmu had dispatched troops to quell the 'northern barbarians' (Ezo), it is difficult to argue that this resulted in any significant control over the lands to the north of the modern Japanese archipelago where the Ezo lived.

The proposal also included performances of Noh, and recitations of the *biwa* and *koto*. These artistic displays were to be accompanied by demonstrations of military prowess and swordsmanship, as well as other performances spread over the three days of the anniversary festival. A three man committee was subsequently appointed by the Anniversary Committee to carry out further investigations into the anniversary and the historical details of these performing arts. In this, Yumoto was joined by Mizuguki

Banshō and Nakarai Shinchō (?-?). Mizuguki was a shrine priest from the Hirano Shrine who, in March 1895, was to be appointed senior priest at the Heian Shrine. He took responsibility among the committee members for the details of the rituals marking the anniversary, while Yumoto and Nakarai conducted investigations into the performances.

To this end, Yumoto and Amemori, a senior official in the Ceremonial and Publishing Office of the Anniversary Committee, visited Tokyo in April 1894 to conduct investigations into ancient music and instruments. They met with numerous officials and musicians within the Imperial Household Ministry and arranged to borrow instruments for the ceremonies. Yumoto's concern for detail and accuracy, evident later in the *Heian tsūshi*, came to the fore in preparing for historically accurate performances. It is ironic, however, that the cultural jewel of Japan, Kyoto, needed to borrow part of its heritage from the capital. This was a direct result of the removal of the presence of the emperor from the former court nobility in Kyoto and the placing of him under the 'protection' of the Imperial Household Ministry in Tokyo. The local impact of the anniversary celebrations was again tempered by the requirement to seek some form of legitimacy or approval from Tokyo.

The historical accuracy of dance and music was essential to Yumoto because he considered these performances to be offerings to the spirit of Kanmu contained in the Heian Shrine. They were not embellishments to the ceremony, nor mere entertainment for the gathered crowds. Although there was popular entertainment, this was differentiated from the performances offered to Kanmu. This was made clear by Yumoto in his proposal of February when he stated:

> Entertainments are different to offerings, and though related to the anniversary ceremony, must be investigated beforehand to ensure they are not rustic and base.[390]

---

[390] Kyōto Sanjikai, ed., *Heian sento kinensai kiji*, vol. 1, p. 66.

Elsewhere in the proposal, he stated that the entertainment needed to be 'refined and noble'. This is no doubt because Yumoto felt the dignity and solemnity of the shrine and anniversary demanded such decorum. The official offerings of performance were to be conducted with great dignity and elegance, so the public entertainment also needed to be sophisticated and appropriate. It must be recalled, however, that this proposal was made in February 1894, only some six months after the Jichinsai of the shrine. The wild spontaneity of the entertainments after the Jichinsai would have been fresh in Yumoto's mind. The 'breakdown of public morality' feared by the local authorities at the time was far from an expression of the refined and noble with which they wanted Kyoto to be identified. It was precisely this base and rustic activity that Yumoto sought to exclude from the anniversary ceremony.

The attention to historic detail applied doubly to the decorations applied to the Daigokuden during the celebrations. These consisted of various covered stages, flags and banners arranged around the grounds. Yumoto felt that these decorations needed to be as close as possible to the original decorations of the Heian period Daigokuden during special functions. His penchant for research led Yumoto to investigate documentary evidence for the form and size of these decorations in Kyoto and Tokyo, as well as depictions of the Heian Imperial Palace in collections of famous shrines and temples. Two of his main sources, for example, were a fifteenth century record of an Imperial Accession Ceremony by Fujiwara Mitsutada (?–?), and various depictions of decorations on treasures held in the Shōsōin treasure house of Tōdaiji in Nara.[391]

Postponement and reorganisation

Concern by the Anniversary Committee for historical accuracy and correct timing was ultimately overtaken by events at the national level. Japan had been at war with China since August 1894. Dispute over policies of expansion into the Korean peninsula had engaged public debate in Japan since the restoration. In the early 1890s, an overseas

---

[391] Kyōto Sanjikai, ed., *Heian sento kinensai kiji*, vol. 1, p. 68.

war was increasingly seen by many parties as a vehicle to strengthen the domestic economy, foster national pride, and force revision of the foreign treaties.[392] After all, Japan had witnessed the success of such policies by the Western powers, and feared being left behind in the international race to grab overseas territory. In April 1895, the emperor was at Imperial Headquarters in Hiroshima finalising negotiations for the treaty concluding the war. Japan's terms required independence for Korea, China's cession of the Liaotung peninsula and Taiwan, payment of a huge indemnity to Japan, and favourable trading concessions in China.[393] The expectation was that the triumphant emperor would stop over in Kyoto en route to Tokyo to attend the anniversary celebrations. Intervention by the foreign powers on 23 April, however, had ramifications for Kyoto more immediately disturbing than the affront to Japan's standing within the international community. The so-called 'triple intervention' *(sangoku kanshō)* engaged the emperor in heavy diplomatic negotiations leading up to the ratification of the Treaty of Shimonoseki on 8 May, making attendance at the Kyoto celebrations problematic, even though his military headquarters had been moved to Kyoto on 27 April in preparation for his attendance.[394]

The Anniversary Committee was advised by the Imperial Household Ministry on 28 April, just two days prior to the planned opening of the ceremony, that the emperor would not be able to attend. The official reason was that the emperor had fallen ill and could not travel, but the reason was more likely due to the triple intervention.[395] This is supported by discussions on 27 April between the president of the Cooperative Society

---

[392] Akira Iriye, 'Japan's Drive to Great-power Status,' in *The Emergence of Modern Japan*, ed. Marius Jansen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 306-312.

[393] For details of the war and the settlement, see Nakatsuka Akira, 'Nisshin sensō,' in *Iwanami kōza Nihon rekishi: Kindai 4*, ed. Ienaga Saburō et.al. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1962), pp. 119-165; and Lone, *Japan's First Modern War*.

[394] The 'triple intervention' is the term used to describe the diplomatic maneuvers of Russia, France and Germany which were aimed at reducing Japan's gains from the Sino-Japanese war. For details of the negotiations, see the contemporary account by Mutsu Munemitsu, Japan's Foreign Minister during this period, in Gordon Mark Berger, ed., *Kenkenroku: A Diplomatic Record of the Sino-Japanese War, 1894-95* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982).

[395] A *Mainichi Shinbun* article of 26 October 1895 summarising the anniversary came to the same conclusion.

and the Finance Minister concerning 'recent secret affairs'.[396] A further complication arose from fears for the emperor's health after a recent outbreak of cholera in Kyoto and elsewhere.[397] The *Hinode Shinbun* hastily issued a special edition on 28 April explaining the situation and advising that the entire anniversary ceremony and associated events, such as banquets and displays of dance and traditional music, had been cancelled. Telegrams were sent nationally to prefectural offices to inform those intending to travel to Kyoto of the postponement. Foreign embassies were also informed by telegram, but some who were attending from overseas were already en route to Kyoto and could not turn back. A small ceremony on 30 April attended by the Cooperative Society and Anniversary Committee executive marked the 'official' anniversary, though this was not given great public fanfare, and not considered to be a replacement for the main ceremony. It was followed that evening by a small banquet for those guests who had not received timely notice of the postponement.

The decision by a joint meeting of the Cooperative Society and Anniversary Committee executives to postpone the ceremony was not taken lightly. The 5,000 yen compensation subsequently awarded by the Imperial Household Ministry did little to offset the costs and loss of revenue brought about by the emperor's absence. This is an important point. The physical attendance of the emperor was central to the celebrations as conceived by the Anniversary Committee members. The Heian Shrine was a reconstruction of the public edifice of imperial authority and enshrined the spirit of the imperial founder of the city. However, the presence of the current emperor, the descendant of Kanmu in a direct line, was to legitimise the 'model' Daigokuden and cement the link between the represented past and current political power structures. The anniversary, legitimised by the presence of the emperor, was to be public recognition of the return of Kyoto to prominence within the nation's symbolic system.

---

[396] Entry for 27 April in the diary of Konoe Atsumaro. Konoe Atsumaro Nikki Kankōkai, ed., *Konoe Atsumaro nikki*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Kashima Kenkyūjo Shuppankai, 1968), p. 28.

[397] Ono Yoshio, 'Hakurankai to eisei,' in *Bankoku hakurankai no kenkyū*, ed. Yoshida Mitsukuni (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1986), pp. 267–285. This issue will be discussed further below.

This understanding by the organisers of the importance of the emperor to the ceremony of 30 April meant that it could not properly be undertaken in his absence.

Two proposals emerged by mid-May for a new date for the ceremony. Studies of the national histories revealed that the 22nd day of the 10th month of Enryaku 13 (794) and the 8th day of the 11th month of the same year were both suitable anniversaries.[398] The first corresponded to the date when Emperor Kanmu moved to the new city, and the latter when the city was officially named by imperial decree. The imperial residence was one of the few buildings completed in the 10th month of 794. The Daigokuden, it will be recalled, was not completed until late the following year, just in time for the New Year Greeting ceremony which was first held in Heian-kyō in 796. These dates, when converted to the solar calendar, were 18 November and 4 December respectively. Like the original date for the anniversary, one of these could have been adopted, or replaced by a suitable alternative as advised by the Imperial Household Ministry and the Tokyo Observatory. However, both dates were late in the year and well into the Kyoto winter. Consequently, concerns over the effect of the weather on crowd numbers for whichever one was chosen led to the transfer of the old dates directly to the modern calendar, that is, either 22 October or 8 November. The Kyoto Municipal Assembly initially decided to adopt the latter, as the naming of the city was considered a more suitable date to hold the anniversary. However, it was decided several days later to refer the matter to Yumoto who recommended the earlier date, that of the emperor's move to the capital. The physical presence of Emperor Kanmu in the new city then made it truly the capital. Yumoto's attention to detail and accuracy led him to understand the significance of this anniversary. The day of the ceremony would thus mark the symbolic entry of the imperial presence into Kyoto, both through the significance of the date, and the fact that the ceremony would take place in front of the August Spirit of the founder of the city. Besides, this was the date proposed by

---

[398] The text of the proposal to the Kyoto Municipal Assembly concerning these dates is in Kyōto Sanjikai, ed., *Heian sento kinensai kiji*, vol. 1, p. 56. However, it erroneously cites that these dates are in Enryaku 12. This must be a misprint, as in other places the correct date of Enryaku 13 is cited.

Iwakura in 1883 for the festival of the Heian Shrine. For practical reasons, the Cooperative Society executive determined that the October ceremony would proceed with or without the emperor. As it transpired, the emperor did not attend the anniversary ceremony held on 22 October, but instead sent Prince Yamashina as his representative. This was a shift in the thinking of the organisers which resulted in the incorporation of the Festival of the Ages and other events celebrating the anniversary.

The formal proceedings which marked the opening of celebrations on 22 October 1895 comprised a Shinto ritual *(kinensai)* and a civic ceremony *(kinenshiki)*. Both were held within the grounds of the Heian Shrine and both were attended by various public and private officials and guests. The ritual, which began at 5 a.m., was conducted by the chief priest of the Heian Shrine, Mibu Motonaga. Purification, offerings and *norito* were followed by a ritual waving of a ritual wand *(tamagushi)* by the select guests. These comprised prefectural and municipal politicians, and high ranking members of the Cooperative Society and Anniversary Committee. The only other participants were priests from the city's shrines, who were also invited to wave the *tamagushi*. The *kinensai* was a Shinto ritual intended to console the spirit of Emperor Kanmu with offerings of ritual items, sacred words and music. It was conducted by the elite mix of Kyoto and Tokyo politicians and businessmen who had been the driving force behind the anniversary organisations. Although great efforts were made for widespread participation in the anniversary in general, it was this elite that retained the right to conduct the central ritual action and had direct contact with the spirit of the founder. It was they alone who, through Shinto ritual in concert with the city's shrine priests, were able to entertain the August Spirit *(kami-asobi)* who had descended *(kami-oroshi)* to be among them.

The ritual was repeated on each of the following two days, underpinning other anniversary celebrations. It reinforced to the residents of the city the idea that ritual directed to the founder, in thanks for his 'great and noble' deeds, was at the heart of the festivities. The *kinensai* was followed at 10 a.m. on 22 October by the *kinenshiki*, a

formal civic ceremony held within the Heian Shrine and attended by a wider group of guests. The participants of the ritual conducted earlier in the day were assembled in the eastern corridor of the shrine, with foreign guests, members of the Cooperative Society executive and Board of Trustees in the western corridor. Honoured guests were stationed in the Daigokuden itself: members of the imperial family in the east, foreign ambassadors in the west, and the representative of the emperor, Prince Yamashina, in the centre. The inclusion of foreign dignitaries in this ceremony, especially in so prominent a position, next to the imperial envoy and within the symbol of imperial authority, the Daigokuden, is a clear sign of the importance placed on Kyoto's standing in the international community. In other words, Kyoto's identity, as expressed through the manner of cultural production evident in the anniversary and elsewhere, was intrinsically tied to notions of how others, especially foreigners, viewed the city. It was considered more important to show off the city to the foreign emissaries than to directly incorporate, for example, more residents of the city in the formal celebrations.

Although the vast majority of Kyoto residents were excluded from attending both the *kinensai* and the *kinenshiki*, there was a concerted effort on the part of the organisers to include residents in other events in and around the city. The text of speeches given at the various rituals and ceremonies and particulars of events were published in great detail in the local newspaper, the *Hinode Shinbun*. Simultaneity and commonality of experience were consequently afforded by the medium of print—in this case the 'one day best seller' of Anderson.[399] While this was common in the *Hinode*, a paper sympathetic to the local organiser's aims, the Tokyo-based *Mainichi Shinbun* reported somewhat cynically in March 1895 that: 'without knowing how many people actually were thinking about the anniversary of the founding of the city, it has...been made one of the so-called 'three great issues' of the residents of Kyoto over the past few years.'[400]

---

[399] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp. 33–36.
[400] *Mainichi Shinbun*, 21 March 1895.

The implication is that participation, at least earlier in the year, was not as enthusiastic as was reported in the Kyoto press.

Many groups were solicited to be included in this commonality through participation in other events during the anniversary period. Buddhist and Shinto priests had been spoken to on numerous occasions and requested to conduct services, displays, specials openings and worship during the anniversary period. Regional temples conducted anniversary and memorial services for Emperor Kanmu, the first of which was held in January 1895. Tōji, for example, held rituals for Kanmu early in April. Nichiren sect Buddhist temples throughout Japan held rituals for Kanmu in combination with rituals commemorating the 550th anniversary of the transfer of the main temple, Honkokuji, to Kyoto from Matsubara in Sagami Domain (present-day Kanagawa Prefecture). These rituals were combined with displays of treasures from the collections of the temples.

Numerous national conferences were organised to be held during the anniversary and exposition. These were conducted by existing national associations of businessmen, educators, members of the stock exchange, and from other manufacturing and cultural groups. Similar congresses and conferences had been held in conjunction with international expositions such as the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. The incorporation of these meetings into the 1895 Kyoto celebrations played a function similar to that of displaying treasures: it was a means to show the breadth and depth of Japanese business and cultural activities. Of course, it was also an opportunity for discussion concerning fundamental issues facing individual associations. The Japanese Foreign Trade Association *(Nihon bōeki kyōkai)*, for example, met and discussed means to increase business, including the establishment of offices in embassies of foreign countries and a proposal to hold an international exposition in Japan. The latter was

deemed suitable because of Japan's increased international prominence due to its recent defeat of China.[401]

Participation: centre and periphery

Kyoto's identity was historically centred on the physical presence of the emperor. His move to Tokyo after the restoration led to a reformulation of this idea with the result that the imperial presence was now signified by the preservation and display of mnemonic sites and cultural artefacts. By the 1890s, the scope of this preservation had been enlarged to include sites of natural beauty, the city's temples and shrines, arts and crafts of aesthetic and technical worth—regardless of whether they had a direct imperial connection or not. The quality and quantity of such cultural treasures in Kyoto, at least in the minds of its politicians and residents, returned Kyoto to its 'rightful' position as repository of national culture and a source of national pride. The identity of the city in 1895 was presented to its residents, to the rest of the country, and to the rest of the world, through the celebrations of its founding.

Nishimura Sutezō, a prominent member of the Cooperative Society, believed that it would be 'regrettable if the anniversary and exposition were simply limited to installations in Kyoto'.[402] It was for this reason, after all, that the Cooperative Society had been formed to raise national interest. However, it was considered especially important that the regions around Kyoto were involved and active in the events. The anniversary was accompanied by the first domestic industrial exposition that had been held away from Tokyo. Both anniversary and exposition needed to be a success, not just for economic reasons, but to show that Kyoto, as leader of a perceived periphery, could match, and even surpass, Tokyo in terms of culture and industry.

---

401 *Hinode Shinbun*, 13 April 1895.

402 Contained in a speech in Kyoto on 4 April 1893. Text in Heian Jingū Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Heian Jingū hyakunenshi*, p. 136.

Subsequently, five hundred local Kyoto residents met at the Kyōrakukan on Kawaramachi Avenue in early April 1893. The prefectural governor called together members of the Kyoto Municipal Assembly, Kyoto Municipal Council, Kyoto Chamber of Commerce, Anniversary Committee, and other important residents of the city to lecture on the importance both to the exposition and to the anniversary of regional cooperation. Nishimura spoke at this inaugural meeting after the governor. He outlined the importance of Kanmu's achievements in constructing a capital city and palace that were to become the permanent home of the imperial family. Okazaki, which had recently been announced as the location of the exposition, was praised as a site with long imperial connections and a pedigree of fine temple architecture.[403] Nishimura expanded the scope of this rhetoric to include famous and scenic spots within the region—from the castle at Nagoya in the east, praised as one of the finest in Japan, to Miyajima at Hiroshima in the west, acclaimed as one of the three great scenic spots in the country.

Nishimura described this regional alliance in terms of a giant phoenix *(hōō)* with its wings spread over Nagoya and Hiroshima, its tail over Osaka, and its head over Kyoto.[404] In Chinese and Japanese mythology, the appearance of a phoenix is associated with a virtuous ruler. Consequently, images of the phoenix appear on imperial palanquins, on the top of the throne within the (original) Daigokuden, and representationally on the finial of the roof of important imperial palace structures.[405] The image of the phoenix over the region, delivered at a speech to Kyoto stakeholders,

---

[403] This was one of the few occasions where issue was made of the imperial history of Okazaki-chō.

[404] The *hōō* is a mythical vermilion bird of Chinese origin whose appearance is indicative of a virtuous ruler or sage. For example, a third century Chinese ode states:

> Fiery glowing—the red crow
> It is the germ of the sun
> Vermilion feathers on a cinnabar body;
> It is born in exceptional epochs

Quoted in Edward Schafer, *The Vermilion Bird: T'ang Images of the South* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), p. 261. The English word 'phoenix' has connotations of revival and rebirth that are missing from Japanese and Chinese mythology. These differences were alluded to in a speech by the Japanese commissioner to the World's Columbian Exposition, Tejima Seiichi, who made reference to the rebirth of Chicago after the disastrous fire of 1871. In Snodgrass, 'Japan Faces the West,' pp. 19-20.

[405] The *ranchō*, a type of small fowl-like phoenix, is especially used for imperial thrones and palanquins.

sought to unify the alliance under a banner of imperial heritage. But more than this, it aimed to broaden the scope of this heritage to include regional sites of beauty, old temples and shrines, and creative arts and crafts. In short, the alliance was to expand the scope of Kyoto's appeal by incorporating the attractions of a wider region into a celebration of the city. This was not to produce regional competition for visitors to Kyoto, but to raise the prestige of Kyoto, and its foundation celebrations, by placing it firmly at the head of an alliance of regional cultural centres.

In the following few weeks, after the official declaration on 4 April of Kyoto as host for the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition, representatives of Kyoto toured the surrounding region advocating broader involvement in the Kyoto celebrations. Speeches were delivered and discussions held in Osaka, Kobe, Nagoya, Hiroshima, Sakai, Okayama, Gifu, Nara, Ōtsu, Fushimi and elsewhere. Nishimura himself, in the month after the first meeting, had spoken at all the regional centres to be included in the alliance. On 21 April, a meeting was called in Kyoto to discuss the response to the initial circuit of speeches.[406] A resolution was made at this meeting, which comprised Kyoto stakeholders as well as regional representatives, to hold events and celebrations, similar to those in Kyoto, in all the participating centres. These included Shinto rituals and Buddhist services, displays of historical treasures, special openings of temples and shrines, and tours of regional famous and scenic spots. These events were to be low key and held with limited outlays of funding, but promoted and supported by the Kyoto committees. The alliance was officially known as the Two City Eight Prefecture Alliance. In reality, however, it comprised an alliance of ten cities and localities within those regions, rather than an alliance of municipalities or prefectures per se.

A major factor for Nishimura in determining inclusion in the alliance was the presence of an efficient transport infrastructure. In his speech on 4 April, he stated that the train and steamship links from Nagoya and Ise in the east to Hiroshima in the west could be

---

[406] Wakamatsu, ed., *Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai kyōsanshi*, Genbu-hen, p. 32.

considered the lynchpin of the country.[407] This was, in effect, a modern tourist promotion of the region based on train and ferry links to move large numbers of people quickly and reliably, give them a taste of the attractions of an area, and then move them on or back home. In pre-modern times, travel in Japan was regulated, time-consuming and arduous. The development of a national train system, which in 1895 extended from Hokkaidō in the north to Hiroshima in the south, made possible the type of national participation envisaged by Nishimura and members of the Cooperative Society. Nishimura continued in his speech to the Kyoto stakeholders:

> Kyoto has had one rule for a thousand years. If we promote it as the region of greatest honour and glory in this country, then one hundred visiting foreigners will become two hundred, and one thousand Japanese visitors will become two thousand. Lets go for three thousand![408]

Consequently, by December that year (1893), the president of the Cooperative Society, Prince Konoe, had approached various private railway and steamboat companies requesting a discount for members of the Cooperative Society travelling to Kyoto for the anniversary and exposition. It was his hope that such discounts would encourage personal attendance in the Kyoto events by members throughout Japan. Furthermore, discounts were available among the regional alliance centres, making possible short-term trips for sightseeing along the lines proposed by Nishimura.

Prince Konoe wrote on 23 May 1894 to Count Kuroda Kiyotaka (1840–1900), the Communications Minister, requesting that the government rail system be included in the transport discounts.[409] At this time, responsibility for public transport lay with an office within Kuroda's ministry.[410] Prince Konoe remarked that the national level of unity between all levels of society, as evidenced in the amount of money collected for

---

[407] Nishimura used the term *'menuki'* to describe the region. A *menuki* is the often decorative pin that secures the handle to the blade in a samurai sword. Wakamatsu, ed., *Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai kyōsanshi*, Genbu-hen, p. 28.

[408] Wakamatsu, ed., *Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai kyōsanshi*, Genbu-hen, p. 30.

[409] This and subsequent texts dealing with approval for the train and steamboat discount system can be found in Wakamatsu, ed., *Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai kyōsanshi*, Genbu-hen, pp. 1–27.

[410] An Office of Railways was established within the Home Ministry in 1908. It was not until 1920 that a separate Railways Ministry was established.

the project thus far, and the responses of private transport companies, was unprecedented in Japanese history. Consequently, every opportunity should be given to worship in person at the Heian Shrine, the symbol of the anniversary, for those who had made a sacrifice in donating funds. The proposal in this letter to discount rail and ferry tickets applied only to members of the Cooperative Society. Count Kuroda, however, agreed to give permission only if the discounts on national lines were available for all people, not just for Society members—a restriction that did not apply for the other private transport companies who limited the discounts to Cooperative Society members.

Over thirty transport companies nationwide agreed to offer discounts of 20-50 per cent for the period 25 March to 5 August—a period encompassing the staging of the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition. However, the postponement of the anniversary to October resulted in an extension of train and ferry discounts. Companies chose either to continue the scheme right through to 15 November, or to hold a second discount period from 15 October for one month. In total, over 340,000 discount tickets were used during both periods (see appendix 7 for details). Almost 90 per cent of passengers travelling to Kyoto with discount tickets came during the period of the exposition. This highlights the great lost opportunity for national exposure for the anniversary due to its postponement. Discounts were offered to national Cooperative Society members and donors to the anniversary cause. One of the few tangible benefits for donation, transport discounts, however, were used by the majority of those eligible for travel to Kyoto for the exposition. What was meant to be a part of the combined celebration of the city, the exposition, became the main reason for visitors coming to Kyoto.

For example, two areas outside the Kinki and Kantō regions that donated strongly were Hokkaidō and Kagawa (see table 16). The Colliery Railway Company provided the initial service for travellers to Kyoto from Hokkaidō. Participation in the north was promoted heavily by Nishimura Sutezō, who, as explained earlier, was the owner of the local railway, and by the former prefectural governor, Makimura Masanao, who

was head of Hokkaidō Bureau. During the period of the exposition, over 95 per cent of contributors in Hokkaidō, as an average of total numbers, utilised the train discounts. This figure, however, dropped to 15 per cent for the second discount period during the rescheduled anniversary. In the case of Kagawa, the number of passengers in the first period was several times more than the total number of donors for the region. The reason for this is that some contributors may have travelled to Kyoto more than once in the period, and that many from other areas travelled to Kagawa to participate in regional alliance events and displays. The number of passengers in the rescheduled period, as with the case of Hokkaidō, fell to 22 per cent. Even though Kagawa is much closer to Kyoto, the separation of exposition and anniversary had a dramatic effect on regional and national participation. For most, the anniversary year experience was limited to attendance at the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition.

Table 16: Hokkaidō and Kagawa anniversary activities

Region	Number of contributors	Passengers Mar–Aug	Passengers Oct–Nov
Hokkaidō	2,375	2,273	343
Kagawa	3,840	14,428	878

With a modern-style tourism promotion under way nationally, it remained for the organisers to ensure that the visitors to the city and the region were presented with sights that matched the rhetoric. A handbook containing a map of rail and ferry networks was published in December 1894, and was subsequently distributed with the discount ticket vouchers.[411] This handbook contained a copy of several key texts relating to the anniversary. These included the anniversary 'Statement of Purpose', the Cooperative Society 'Statement of Purpose' and rules, and various official texts concerning the construction and naming of the Heian Shrine. From the booklet, visitors would be well aware of the claims made by the organisers concerning the historical glory and contemporary worth of the city. This was reinforced by each member also

[411] Heian Sento Kinensai Kyōsankai, ed., *Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai sanpai hikkei zu* (Kyoto: Heian Sento Kinensai Kyōsankai, 1894). Guidebooks will be discussed in more detail in a subsequent chapter.

receiving a copy of a specially published guidebook to the city's famous sites, *A Guide to the Famous Sites of Kyoto (Kyōto meisho annai ki)*.[412] This guidebook incorporated a special section for Cooperative Society contributors which outlined the displays of treasures at the city's shrines and temples, and provided guidance for tourist destinations within the prefectures in the Regional Alliance. The displays at the former, as will be discussed further in a following chapter, were initially open to holders of anniversary medals and then to the general public. Travel to see the latter was supplemented through the discount rail and ferry system in operation during the anniversary and exposition.

Preservation

In an April 1893 interview with the *Hinode Shinbun*, Cooperative Society vice-president, Sano Tsunetami, made a surprising remark:

> The most vital concern for us at the moment is preservation of natural beauty. Although Kyoto residents normally do not neglect this, it is essential for the anniversary that this issue is foremost in their minds. That which makes visitors never forget Kyoto is its natural beauty...The next most important issue is the preservation of the city's shrines and temples.[413]

For Sano, the most important legacy that the anniversary and exposition could leave was not the model Daigokuden, nor the various benefits to the city's industry and economy, but a desire in its visitors to return to a city they could never forget. Consequently, the most pressing task facing the organisers, in his view, was to prepare the city to ensure that its beautiful features were presented in the best light during the anniversary and exposition. For many years, the provenance of funds for the maintenance of the city's famous sites, especially for temples and shrines, had been problematic. As described earlier, the religious policies of the early Meiji government successfully separated Buddhist institutions from state control and support. During the

---

[412] This guide, Kinmori Naojirō, *Kyōto meisho annai ki* (Kyoto: Iida Shinbundō, 1895), contained only a handful of noteworthy items for each of the locations within the regional alliance.

[413] *Hinode Shinbun*, 27 April 1893, quoted in Heian Jingū Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Heian Jingū hyakunenshi*, pp. 147-148.

1870s, state financial support for lower-ranked shrines was abolished, leaving limited, but insufficient, levels of support for imperial, national and special shrines. Increasingly, preservation and repair were funded either by local believers associations, regional governments, or were simply ignored. This was, of course, even more of a problem for prefectural, village and ward shrines which had no central financial support, and no land from which to derive extra income.

The Home Ministry in March 1887 instituted a law to provide imperial and national shrines with guaranteed amounts of public funding for preservation for a period of twenty years.[414] The 'Imperial and National Shrine Preservation Fund' *(Kankokuheisha hozonkin)* stipulated annual amounts of between 1,100 and 1,700 yen to be distributed according to a Home Ministry allocation for individual shrines within Kyoto and elsewhere. This was certainly an improvement on existing arrangements, but it led to a series of measures that placed an extra financial and administrative burden on regional governments. From that time, only chief priests at imperial national shrines would be funded by the Home Ministry. Further, all submissions were to be directed to regional rather than central government. Although the Home Ministry retained overall control and authority for shrine administration, the actual burden of responsibility was shifted to regional centres. Consequently, when revised priestly duties issued in July 1891 contained a directive to 'make efforts to maintain and preserve wooded mountains within shrine precincts' it was prefectural governments, such as Kyoto, that were left to enforce it.[415]

This was not the first time, of course, that the national government had directed Kyoto to engage in preservation efforts. Chapter 2 outlined a litany of requests for registers and surveys of shrine treasures with the aim of preserving them for posterity. There were increasing calls in the 1890s for preservation not only of imperial and national

---

[414] Home Ministry *kunrei* no.15, 17 March 1887. Contained in Yasumaru et al., eds., *Shūkyō to kokka*, pp. 483–484.

[415] Contained in Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan, ed., *Kyōto-fu hyakunen no shiryō: 6 shūkyō*, p. 436.

shrines, but of lower ranked shrines and temples. A proposal from within the Prime Minister's Department in 1891, for example, called for previously confiscated land to be returned to small shrines and temples to enable them to conduct repairs and manage themselves independently.[416] Similar calls were later made locally. An article in the *Hinode Shinbun* reasoned that the preservation of sites of natural beauty, temples and shrines was an essential component of national growth, was crucial for the development of Japanese arts and crafts, and would draw great praise from other countries.[417] Such efforts ultimately led to the June 1897 promulgation of the 'Old Shrine and Temple Preservation Law' *(Koshaji hozonhō)*, an important step in the recognition and legal protection of national cultural treasures.[418]

In 1893, a scheme was introduced to provide financial assistance in the form of grants for the preservation and repair of the city's temples and shrines.[419] Just over thirty projects were supported in total, with the prefectural government dispensing 10,200 yen during the year (see table 17). That this scheme was managed from within the Public Works Office of the Kyoto Anniversary Committee shows that it was directly linked to the anniversary project. Furthermore, the criteria for inclusion in the scheme, besides there being an obvious need due to great damage, was that buildings or sites needed a strong historical connection to Kanmu; needed to be old and famous; or were old sites with connections to the city. The amount of each grant was quite small, and was intended only to supplement existing repairs and preservation efforts funded by believers groups or patriotic societies. In fact, grants were not awarded until details of the work were submitted, work had begun, and Anniversary Committee members were convinced that the preservation work was valid under their rules.

---

[416] Contained in Yasumaru et al., eds., *Shūkyō to kokka*, p. 487.
[417] *Hinode Shinbun*, 17 January 1895.
[418] Details of this law can be found in Takagi, *Kindai Tennōsei no bunka shiteki kenkyū*, pp. 297–300.
[419] Details of the grant are contained in Kyōto Sanjikai, ed., *Heian sento kinensai kiji*, vol. 1, pp. 108–121.

Table 17: Preservation funded temples, shrines and sites[420]

Name	Location	Repair	Amount
Kumamoto Shrine	Sakyō ward	Worship hall etc.	200
Konchiin (Nanzenji)	Sakyō ward	Hōjō	800
Kōdaiji	Higashiyama ward	Hōdō sacred hall	300
Byōdōin	Uji city	Decorations in Hōōdō	300
Eizan road	From Otago to Kurotani	Road	150
Daihōonji	Kamigyō ward	Kondō interior	50
Jingoji	Ukyō ward	Taishidō	50
Shōrenin	Higashiyama ward	Shinden rebuilding	500
Myōhōin	Higashiyama ward	Shrine fence	500
Konzōji	Saikyō ward	All	50
Ujigami Shrine	Uji city	Main shrine worship hall	100
Daigoji	Fushimi ward	Kondō and Sanjitsuin residence	300
Shinsenen	Nakagyō ward	Dredge garden pond	50
Fujiwara Momokawa's grave	Sōraku ward	Grave repair	200
Kenninji	Higashiyama ward	Hōjō	200
Nanzenji	Sakyō ward	Hōjō	500
Nyakuōji Shrine	Sakyō ward	Main shrine and fence	400
Jishōji (Ginkakuji)	Sakyō ward	Ginkaku hall	600
Kōryūji	Ukyō ward	Taishidō	800
Tōfukuji	Higashiyama ward	Temple mountain gate	1,500
Tamura Shōgun grave	Uji ward	Grave repair	200
Shōjiji	Saikyō ward	Hondō etc	100
Manpukuji	Uji city	Hōdō, Sanmon etc.	1,500
Nagaoka Tenmangū	Otokuni ward	Main shrine worship hall	50
Saiji	Minami ward	Reconstruction	50
Nagaoka-kyō monument	Otokuni ward	Construction and preservation	200
Kuramadera	Kuramayama	Entire preservation	50
Jōrengein	Higashiyama ward	Mieidō etc.	30
Takayamadera	Sakyō ward	Ishimizuin	300
Ninnaji	Sakyō ward		150
Hōkongōin	Ukyō ward		20
Total			**10,200**

The largest grant amount was 1,500 yen given both to Tōfukuji in Higashiyama and to Manpukuji in Uji. Neither had immediate connections to Kanmu, having been founded in the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively. However, Tōfukuji, one of the five great Zen centres in Kyoto, did have long imperial associations. The restoration of its gate had been commenced in 1885 by a group of monks within the temple.[421] The

---

[420] Kyōto Sanjikai, ed., *Heian sento kinensai kiji*, vol. 1, pp. 109–110.

[421] *Hinode Shinbun*, 20 May 1885, quoted in Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan, ed., *Kyōto-fu hyakunen no nenpyō: 6 shūkyō hen*, p. 485.

repairs to the grave of Fujiwara no Momokawa (732–779), however, needed little proof of its relevance to an anniversary to Kanmu. References to him appeared in numerous contexts within the anniversary—on floats during the Jichinsai, for example. Yet the actual location of his grave was a different matter. Extensive investigations carried out by Yumoto revealed no documentary or physical evidence confirming its location. An executive decision was taken by the Anniversary Committee to certify the location most widely believed to be the correct site. If judgement was delayed to await further investigations, it was felt that the chance to repair the site would be lost. Once again, as in the case of many details in the construction of the Heian Shrine, accuracy in representing historical fact during the anniversary was compromised by a lack of information and a need for expediency.

As the scheme indicates, by the mid-1890s, restoration and preservation of the city's old and famous temples and shrines was largely carried out by private groups. This was not a new phenomenon; the founding of the Hoshōkai in 1881 by Iwakura Tomomi had been to preserve, among other things, the mountain at Arashiyama. The Hoshōkai continued into the 1890s; it was granted 2,000 yen in July 1890 to continue its work.[422] This type of work was, however, now becoming more common. The Byōdōji Preservation Society was founded in 1890, with a similar association founded at Myōhōin the following year. Membership in the latter was through a yearly pledge of one yen for five years.[423] In September 1894, a group of monks organised the Ginkakukai to preserve one of Kyoto's most famous temples. Another prominent example was the founding of the Ōhara Hoshōkai (Ōhara Preservation Society) in February 1895.[424] Centred in the small village of Ōhara to the north of Kyoto city, its aims were to 'preserve for perpetuity the famous sites *(meisho)* of Ōhara' and to 'expand on the glory of the country as displayed by the continued victories of the

---

[422] Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan, ed., *Kyōto-fu hyakunen no nenpyō: 6 shūkyō hen*, p. 128.
[423] Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan, ed., *Kyōto-fu hyakunen no nenpyō: 6 shūkyō hen*, p. 130. Members were granted permission to visit Myōhōin, Sanjūsangendō and Kōhōji.
[424] *Hinode Shinbun*, 19 February 1895.

Imperial Army in China'. Its president was Governor Watanabe, with an initial membership of over one hundred patrons contributing funds.

By 1895, the calls for public preservation efforts had become more desperate, despite the somewhat limited efforts of the prefecture and private societies. The *Hinode Shinbun* on 6 March stated: 'How many times have we preached the urgency of preservation of national treasures? ...How many times have we screamed the necessity of preserving old shrines and temples?' A call in January by the city's Shinto priests for public preservation of lower ranked shrines was followed by a proposal in the national Lower House for the return of confiscated land to temples and shrines to fund their preservation. [425] The prefectural governor responded to this increasingly vocal movement by inviting the heads of the city's temples and shrines to his residence on 20 April, just prior to the planned start of the anniversary celebrations.[426] He indicated an awareness of the importance of the temples and shrines to the culture of the city, and outlined the positive measures taken by the local government in recent years. These included the maintenance of registers of shrine and temple treasures—a legacy of the numerous surveys conducted by the city—as well as several tens of thousands of yen worth of grants.

In addition, the prefectural governor made a commitment to establish an office within the prefectural administration, with specialised staff and close liaison with the city's institutions, to administer shrines and temples and support the work of private preservation societies. Such efforts are indicative of national and regional trends that ultimately led to the formation in 1897 of the above mentioned 'Old Shrine and Temple Preservation Law'.[427]

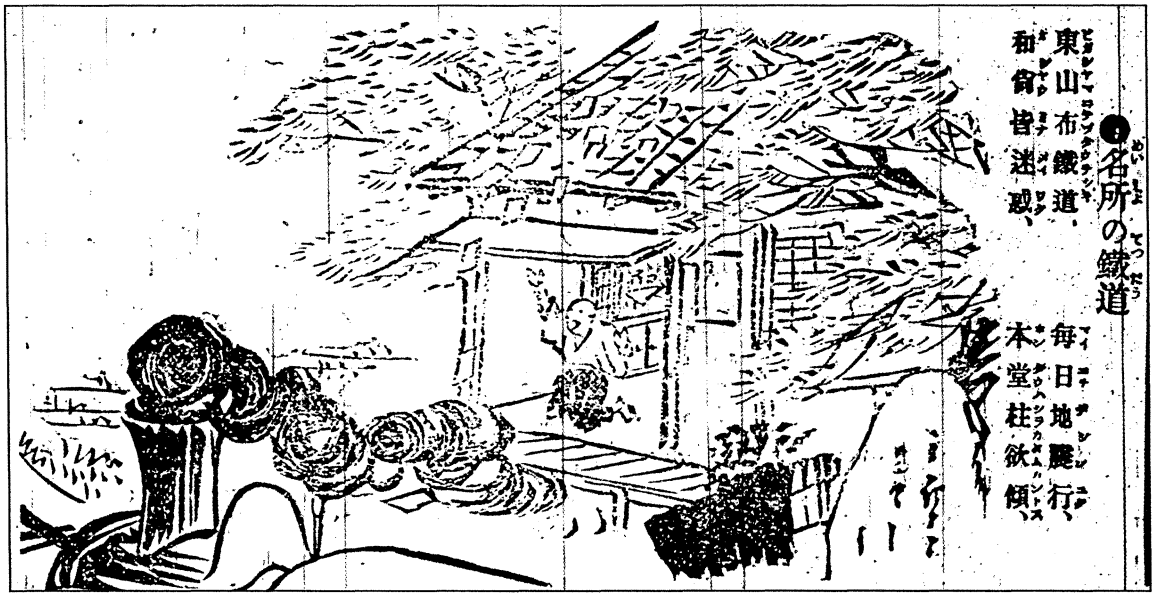
---

[425] *Hinode Shinbun*, 16 and 17 January 1895.

[426] *Hinode Shinbun*, 20 April 1895.

[427] Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority*, p. 249, in a discussion of the reconstruction of the Nara Daibutsuden, states: '...the national government laws for preservation of temples and shrines evolved only in response to the financial and architectural crisis posed by the actual condition of the Daibutsuden.' He continues to imply that it was a debate between the Abbot of Tōdaiji and the government concerning the preservation of the temple that was the only motivating factor in the formulation of national preservation laws. This is, to say the least, an exageration of the role played by the Daibutsuden and

Figure 11: Cartoon from the *Hinode Shinbun*[428]



These promises, however, could not allay fears that progress in the city was often made at the expense of heritage. A cartoon in the *Hinode Shinbun* depicted this conflict within the context of proposals to construct train lines through the culturally rich Higashiyama area in the east of the city. The poem next to the cartoon, entitled 'Famous Sites Railroad', reads:

> Train tracks through Higashiyama
> The priests are all perplexed
> Everyday the earthquake comes
> Shrine pillars begin to tilt

During the 1880s, the re-evaluation of 'old customs' led to preservation and presentation of imperial mnemonic sites in the Kansai area. Kyoto saw itself as the head of this regional movement, but the Nara prefectural government was also active in this area. From 1880 to 1887, for example, the Nara authorities distributed over 13,000 yen in small grants to assist twenty-nine temple and shrine preservation projects.[429] The natural beauty of Kyoto had, by the 1890s, been incorporated into the

totally ignores the development of an awareness of preservation in general, and in shrines and temples in particular, as described in this and previous chapters.

[428] *Hinode Shinbun*, 3 November 1895.

[429] Takagi, *Kindai Tennōsei no bunka shiteki kenkyū*, p. 273.

imagining of the city as representative of Japanese culture. Presentation and display of the region's beautiful and famous sites was conflated with ideas of imperial and national glory and honour. Visitors to the city, especially from other countries, would leave with impressions of Kyoto as not only a centre of Japanese heritage, but worthy of international status as a cultural centre.[430]

Tourist city

The occasion of the anniversary and exposition in Kyoto in 1895 resulted in large numbers of visitors to the city. Although transport discounts provided an incentive for Cooperative Society members to attend the celebrations in the city, many others visited on the strength of the attractions, especially the exposition. In order to make the events of the city widely known, and to ensure that services for visitors were satisfactory, the Anniversary Committee undertook a national advertising campaign and took measures through the local government to improve visitor services within the city.

The Kyoto Anniversary Committee had decided as early as April 1893 that it would promote the 1895 events through the publication of Japanese and English language guidebooks and advertisements.[431] There would also be posters and noticeboards placed in Kyoto and in major centres around Japan. For example, noticeboards were erected in seven locations in Kyoto, six locations in Osaka, five in Tokyo, and approximately seventy more in other regional centres from Hokkaidō to Kyūshū.[432] Posters contained text advertising the anniversary, exposition and associated events, and depicted images of Heian period courtiers, the Anniversary Hall, and the

---

[430] The ultimate success of these efforts is open for interpretation. Compare the efforts of Henry Stimson during the Second World War to exempt Kyoto from the Allied bombing program, with recent laments from Alex Kerr concerning the destruction of the culture of Kyoto. Otis Cary, *Mr. Stimson's 'Pet City': The Sparing of Kyōto, 1945* (Kyoto: Amherst House, Doshisha University, 1987); Alex Kerr, *Dogs and Demons: Tales from the Dark Side of Japan* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001), pp. 161-189.

[431] The English reporter with the Yokohama Mail Newspaper, Captain Francis Brinkley (1841-1912), was commissioned to write the Englsh guidebook. It was 120 pages of description of Kyoto's history, famous sites, arts and crafts. Francis Brinkley, 'The Kyoto Industrial Exposition of 1895,' *Arts and Trades Pamphlet*, vol.42 (1895).

[432] *Hinode Shinbun*, 2 February 1895.

exposition grounds. They were distributed to government offices, transport companies, hotels, and restaurants for display around Japan.

The Anniversary Committee also desired the attendance of foreign nationals at the Kyoto events. Consequently, advertising materials were distributed to embassies and consulates in Japan. Further, the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893 was seen as a great opportunity to advertise the Kyoto anniversary in America. Two local artisans were commissioned to produce a silk banner, measuring 1.8 by 2.7 metres, to hang within the grounds of the Chicago exposition. The banner depicted the Daigokuden on one side and numerous famous sites from locations within the Prefectural Alliance on the other side. The Anniversary Committee also produced smaller banners and sent them to the Japanese Embassy in Washington for display in American trains and boats.[433]

Noticeboards and banners erected within Kyoto leading up to and during the anniversary provided information for visitors as well as enticing them to attend various events. For example, the local police erected noticeboards in March 1895 warning visitors to Kyoto of unscrupulous rickshaw operators. Visitors were to notify police if drivers charged too much, went to locations other than the requested destination, or generally 'caused confusion' to passengers. Local authorities attempted to minimise profiteering by the city's hospitality industry through admonitions and regulations directed to hotels and restaurants. The large number of visitors to the city during the celebrations ideally would, in the minds of the organisers, leave Kyoto without feeling they had been exploited.

The various preservation movements in Kyoto leading up to 1895 indicate that it was not only the government or anniversary organisers that were concerned with the appearance of the city. Residents, through membership of various societies, worked with officials to ensure that visitors to Kyoto were greeted with sights worthy of a city

---

[433] Kyōto Sanjikai, ed., *Heian sento kinensai kiji*, vol. 2, p. 4.

of international heritage. The elegant tenor of the entertainments and ceremonies during the anniversary was intended to enhance this sentiment. Authenticity of restoration and display was also considered important, especially for the Heian Shrine and the offerings of dance and music, precisely because they were considered sacred offerings to the spirit of Emperor Kanmu. The plans of the Anniversary Committee were compromised by circumstances beyond their control, most significantly by the absence of the current emperor in the celebrations, and by financial limitations. Regardless of this, the event was widely supported by regional urban centres, strengthening Kyoto's claim to be central to the culture of Japan.

Chapter 7. The exposition of culture

The nature of international expositions, according to Greenhalgh, was shaped by four things: mass-production, pre-fabrication, mass-communication, and urbanisation.[434] Emerging out of the industrial revolution in Britain, they expanded across the globe in the nineteenth century until they became responsible for the movement of people on a scale hitherto unknown for any comparable event. The great international expositions displayed prototypes and innovations in technology on a colossal scale as a means to spread markets internationally and to impress on the watching world the prestige and power of the displaying country. These goods were meant to be representative, that is, they were samples and models for large scale production and consumption by an increasingly expanding market; what may have been the first truly global market. In order to recoup the immense sums of money expended in the quest for the biggest, most elaborate, and sometimes most outlandish displays, international expositions soon became designed to entice more visitors and sponsors. This popularisation resulted in the incorporation and legitimisation of hitherto excluded entertainments, which ranged from the amusement park and fairgrounds of the Paris expositions of the 1880s to the quasi-ethnographic displays of 'native villages' in the Midway Plaisance of Chicago in 1893.

Underlying this trend was the industrial-capitalist notion of progress that international expositions symbolised. Technology and commerce were seen as the cure for the ills of modern society. The display of goods, in as opulent a context as possible, was both a means of education for public improvement and a form of entertainment to escape the often harsh realities of modern industrial life. It is for this reason that large conferences and congresses became common by the 1880s within the context of expositions.[435] The order of the world was debated and discussed in an intellectual tableau of many fields

---

[434] Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, p. 142.
[435] Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, p. 21.

that mirrored the visual displays of progress. Japan itself had participated, for example, in the Congress of Worlds Religions in Chicago in 1893, a meeting of representatives of the world's great religious traditions to seek 'brotherhood and peace' but framed by a Christian agenda keen to reassert its own ideological dominance.[436] In short, expositions were as much a display of ideologies as of objects.

For our purposes, however, the most important aspect of expositions is their modus operandi. The objectifying, classifying and presentation of objects for public consumption is a cultural act deeply related to the historical circumstances in which expositions flourished. The process of narrativisation and its relation to the modernising project, as examined in the introduction in the international context, dictated frameworks of understanding in which the consumer of expositions came to understand the visual world. In Japan, this understanding was not based entirely on a foreign template but incorporated elements that since their introduction came to be considered part of a unique, native cultural heritage. Japanese expositions, as in America and Europe, were not only displays of technology and innovation but displays also of history and cultural heritage which provided a coherent and visible narrative context for modernisation.[437] The act of 'gazing' on these displays was designed to engender a collective sense of identity and community, and served to legitimise the particular narrative presented. For the international exposition, this narrative was embedded within a nationalist agenda and became a competition to show the benefits of progress while displaying national pride.

The leading Meiji period statesman, Ōkubo Toshimichi, commented in 1875 on the economic and social role of expositions in Japan:

---

[436] See, for example, the reaction of the Japanese Buddhist representatives in Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs*, pp. 136–173.

[437] The roots of the term 'enlightenment' make evident this link between modernisation and visual display.

> The old adage tells us that seeing is worth a hundred explanations: the only quick and easy way to enhance human knowledge and promote the industrial arts is to teach people by showing them.[438]

Expositions sought to educate the people by exposing them to the latest technologies in various fields. This would increase the general level of understanding among the people and urge some to adopt and modify existing techniques for growth and financial gain. In this sense, expositions in Japan inherited characteristics of their international cousins, but also held much in common with several types of display common in Japan during the pre-modern period. For example, trade shows *(bussankai)* originated in Edo in the mid-eighteenth century and quickly spread to other major urban centres, while freak shows *(misemono)* provided popular entertainment for the masses.[439]

What needs to be stressed in the present context is the importance of the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition to the Kyoto anniversary celebrations—a value already obvious in the discussion concerning the timing of the anniversary. Here the focus will be on the ways in which the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition augmented and amplified the themes of the anniversary celebrations, and the role of the exposition in urbanising and upgrading the infrastructure of the city. The discussion will also take up the nature of cultural and artistic display within the context of an industrial exposition, given the history of expositions in Kyoto and the international trend towards mass-produced consumerism.

Expositions and Kyoto

Japanese official participation in the world of international display began at the Exposition Universelle at Paris in 1867, though this was limited to the dispatch of a mission from the Bakufu to observe the event. It was the publication of Fukuzawa's *Conditions in the West (Seiyō jijō)* the previous year, however, that made the concept of

---

[438] Quoted in Morris-Suzuki, *The Technological Transformation of Japan*, p. 82.
[439] Kornicki, 'Public Display and Changing Values,' p. 174.

expositions widely known in Japan. Fukuzawa had attended the 1862 London exhibition and seen the display of Japanese items from the private collection of Rutherford Alcock (1809–1897), the first British diplomatic representative in Japan.[440] The commercial aspect of expositions was clearly not lost on Fukuzawa:

> As the intent of expositions is to teach and learn mutually, one takes the merit of the others and turns it into one's own profit. To use a metaphor, this is like conducting a trade of ideas and inventions.[441]

This interpretation of the exposition as seen in the West was to be adopted by the Japanese government in the early 1870s. Though there were similarities in Japan between expositions and their precursors, it was the official propagation of the exposition ideal that was a major factor in their increasing frequency and popularity with the public through the 1870s.

The Council of State, the executive administrative body of the new Meiji government, attempted to stimulate interest in participation at international expositions as part of this official policy. Letters were distributed in regional centres in the 6th month of 1870, for example, calling for contributors to the London exposition in 1871. The Kyoto prefectural government was one of the few who responded through a call for local expressions of interest to be submitted by the 15th day of the 7th month. However, the short time frame resulted in neither a regional nor a national response.[442] Similar calls for expressions of interest were made for the 1871 Manufacturing Exposition in San Francisco and the 1873 International Exposition in Vienna. In the case of the San Francisco exposition, a delegation from Kyoto with over 450 items of cloth, ceramics and lacquerware left for Yokohama to board a ship bound for America. However, once again the tight schedule conspired against Kyoto participation, since the delegation

---

[440] Kornicki, 'Public Display and Changing Values,' p. 169.

[441] Quoted in Tomio, 'Expositions and Museums in Meiji Japan,' p. 723.

[442] Maruyama Hiroshi, 'Meiji shoki no Kyōto hakurankai,' in *Bankoku hakurankai no kenkyū*, ed. Mitsukuni Yoshida (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1986), pp. 223–224.

was delayed and missed the ship; this left only the Tokyo prefectural group to represent Japan.[443]

Into this context came the first exposition in Kyoto. One of the earliest in Japan, it was held in the grounds of the Buddhist Shin sect head temple Nishi Honganji in the 10th month of 1871.[444] It was open for one month and attracted a modest 11,000 visitors. There was a total of 336 exhibits, classified into three categories: Japan, the West, and China, with 166, 131 and 39 items respectively. The exposition was advertised on public notice boards in Osaka, Yokohama, Kobe, and in visible locations throughout Kyoto. The text of these notices was as follows:

> Various countries of the West hold expositions to spread knowledge among the people by displaying new inventions and ancient items. Methods to profit by the construction and sale of new machines will be imitated and spread by this opportunity. The government has been petitioned and so a display of old and rare items in the Shōin will be open for all to see.[445]

This text is interesting because the display comprised very few modern items of technology for comparison and to be used as a basis for industrial growth. Unlike later events, the first exposition in Kyoto contained mainly old items and had the 'feeling of a display of curios'.[446] Half of the exhibits in the Western category were owned by Japanese, and the rest by Leon Dury (1822–1891) and Rudolf Lehmann (1842–1914). These men were part of the small band of foreigners granted permission to live and work in Kyoto; both were foreign language teachers in the employment of the local government.[447] Their exhibits included a model steam train, a pistol, some art supplies and a French history book, none of which were practical models for enhancing and developing business opportunities.

---

[443] Maruyama, 'Meiji shoki no Kyōto hakurankai,' p. 224.

[444] The earliest modern exposition in Japan is considered to have been held at the Kudan Shōkonsha (later Yasukuni Shrine) in Tokyo in the 5th month of that same year, 1871.

[445] Text in Maruyama, 'Meiji shoki no Kyōto hakurankai,' p. 228.

[446] Kyōto Hakuran Kyōkai, ed., *Kyōto hakurankai enkakushi*, p. 2.

[447] The first English language guidebook to Kyoto was published on the occasion of this exposition for foreign workers and visitors granted special permission to enter the city. Nakao, *Kyōto no torai bunka*, p. 238.

More important, however, was the general enthusiasm for exhibitions in Kyoto, both of the local and international variety, that followed this first event. In the 12th month of 1871, the Kyoto Exposition Company *(Kyōto hakuran kaisha)* was founded by the prefectural government to organise, and hopefully profit from, the holding of an annual exhibition staged in specially modified grounds within the Imperial Palace. The intent of these expositions was explicitly stated in a Kyoto prefectural notice dated the 12th month 1871. This demonstrated a more complex understanding of expositions, stating in part:

> Various overseas countries hold events called expositions. Their purpose is to open the path of knowledge for people. They do this by placing on display all manner of natural products in heaven and earth (grass, trees, metals, gems, birds, animals, insects, fish), man-made items (woven cloth, varnished items, carved, dyed, thread, gold-works, pottery) and other rare and strange things. All these are placed in line and their principles examined, and by this the benefit and scholarship of enterprises is advanced.[448]

Membership in the Exposition Company was initially through the payment of a 100 yen bond, limiting involvement to the wealthier families and businesses in the city. The appointment by the prefectural government of fifteen municipal councillors to a government Exhibition Office *(Kyōto hakurankai goyōgakari)* in the 2nd month 1872, however, resulted in wider duties and a mix of public and private responsibilities. Henceforth, exhibitions were to be held in spring each year for a duration of 100 days.[449] The initial event in 1872 was called the First Kyoto Exhibition because it was the first organised by the Exposition Company. (Details of these events are reproduced in table 18.) The staging of the earliest expositions within the Imperial Palace and in temples and shrines is significant on two counts. Firstly, it shows a lingering connection between this kind of modern commercial display and the Tokugawa period special displays of sacred objects *(kaichō)* and trade displays. Secondly, there were few open spaces in the Kyoto urban environment capable of staging a large event in a location central to the city. The confiscation of temple and shrine land by the Meiji

---

[448] Kyōto Hakuran Kyōkai, ed., *Kyōto hakurankai enkakushi*, p. 7.

[449] All were held for 100 days except for the first and second which were held for 80 and 90 days respectively.

period government and the partial abandonment of the Imperial Palace provided land for the construction of, for example, schools and hospitals, but also left space for the staging of the exhibition.

Table 18: Expositions in Kyoto in the first half of Meiji[450]

Year	Exposition / display name	Days	Number of visitors	Number of overseas visitors	Number of exhibitors	Total number of exhibits
1871	Kyoto Exposition	33	11,455	–	–	–
1872	First Kyoto Exposition	80	39,403	770	1,023	2,485
1873	Second Kyoto Exposition	90	406,457	634	1,512	2,563
1874	Third Kyoto Exposition	100	187,888	517	1,831	2,602
1875	Fourth Kyoto Exposition	100	234,346	405	3,415	84,545
1876	Fifth Kyoto Exposition	100	241,764	107	3,782	162,987
1877	Sixth Kyoto Exposition	105	63,782	198	4,523	170,398
1878	Seventh Kyoto Exposition	100	109,933	318	5,937	306,143
1879	Eighth Kyoto Exposition	100	111,281	290	3,994	427,415
1880	Ninth Kyoto Exposition	100	176,938	310	2,970	474,781
1881	Tenth Kyoto Exposition	100	188,584	352	1902	484,075
1882	Eleventh Kyoto Exposition	100	135,723	–	1257	453,455
1883	Twelfth Kyoto Exposition	100	117,039	–	919	279,527
1884	Thirteenth Kyoto Exposition	100	91,515	215	795	225,255
1885	Fourteenth Kyoto Exposition	100	54,946	–	1,311	187,571
1886	Kyoto Dying and Textiles Competition	35	–	–	–	–
1887	Display of Contemporary and Ancient Art	15	48,398	528	637	2,990
1888	Exhibition of Contemporary and Old Manufacturing	30	49,395	314	367	55,531
1889	Contemporary and Old Goods Exhibition	51	53,696	298	454	50,718
1890	Kyoto Art Exposition	60	63,846	347	609	83,072
1891	Kyoto Municipal Manufacturing Exhibit	50	59,585	434	704	152,874
1892	Kyoto Municipal Arts and Crafts Display	50	61,576	518	1,315	30,844
1893	Kyoto Municipal Contemporary and Old Handicrafts Display	70	78,659	595	589	3,677
1894	Kyoto Municipal Handicrafts Display	60	70,935	428	569	5,729
1895	Display of the Ages	115	120,129	357	455	3,485

[450] Compiled from Hayashiya, ed., *Koto no kindai*, p. 138, and Kyōto Hakuran Kyōkai, ed., *Kyōto hakurankai enkakushi*.

1895	Japan Youth Art Competition	37	8,620	439	493	695

Great effort was made to ensure the success of the 1872 exposition. This ranged from the introduction of regulations concerning pricing and quality of accommodation and food in the city's *ryokan*, to the appointment of special guards and rules to oversee the 770 foreigners granted special permission to visit the city. Foreigners were generally not allowed in 1872 to travel to Kyoto without such permission because it was the traditional home of the emperor.[451] These visitors were required to carry a ticket from their consulate stamped with their country of origin, had to produce this ticket to the relevant authorities, could not travel outside the prefecture (except on the special Lake Biwa tours), and most certainly could not engage in hunting trips.[452] In terms of the 'invention of tradition', it is worth noting that this exposition gave birth to the now-famous *Miyako-odori*, as well as other 'traditional' dances such as the *Higashiyama-odori* which are performed annually today with such pomp and fanfare. This inaugural event was blessed with a visit by the emperor who inspected, among other exhibits, a new rice husking and polishing machine, cloth from Nishijin, and a western umbrella. This mixture of technological and cultural displays at expositions in Kyoto, and indeed elsewhere, was indicative of a desire both to show the development of various fields of industry and the persistence of pre-industrial crafts.

A little over 39,000 visitors savoured the delights of this first effort by the Exposition Company. There is no doubt, however, that news of its success spread. The Second Exposition in 1873 attracted a record 406,457 visitors, a figure that must have surpassed the expectations of the most optimistic of the organisers. Throughout the 1870s, the number of exhibitors gradually increased, as did the total number of items exhibited. There was a marked increase in items on display from 1875, peaking at the Tenth

---

[451] In 1875, for example, the Foreign Affairs Ministry issued laws concerning special permission for foreigners to attend the exposition in Kyoto during the 100 days it was open. They were also given permission for a special sight-seeing tour of Lake Biwa during this period. Contained in Ōkurashō Insatsukyoku, ed., *Hōrei zensho* 1875, p. 431.

[452] Kyōto Hakuran Kyōkai, ed., *Kyōto hakurankai enkakushi*, p. 11.

Exposition in 1881 at over 484,000 exhibits. However, this can be explained because of the increase in items for sale at the exposition. It was rapidly becoming an important market for goods of any kind, not just a forum for displaying recent invention alongside old and rare curios. In 1878, for example, 77 per cent of exhibits were for sale. By 1888, this had risen to a staggering 97 per cent. This was provoked by the downturn in economic fortunes in the city from the end of the Seinan War in 1877 to about 1885. The exposition provided many merchants with a useful market for their wares.

This is perhaps the major reason for the decline in visitor numbers into the 1880s. The novelty of the exposition and its displays of innovation had become less appealing to those who could not afford luxury items, such as fine cloth from Nishijin and Kiyomizu pottery. Fukuzawa had stressed in *Conditions in the West* that one of the main characteristics of expositions was accessibility. They were open to all for a modest entry fee.[453] The Kyoto exposition in 1886 finally abandoned this principle by becoming an even more exclusive and specialised event. From this year until the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition in 1895, the Kyoto Exposition Company took responsibility not for an annual exposition, but for an annual event focusing on one theme, such as textiles, manufacturing, or arts and crafts. These events were smaller, held for a shorter period, and attracted far fewer visitors.

Significantly, it was the formation of the Kyoto Chamber of Commerce and Industry in 1883 that precipitated these changes. This kind of body, as explained earlier, was founded in numerous urban centres around Japan at this time to direct the economic reforms considered necessary to guide Japan out of a decade of financial uncertainty. In Kyoto, a list of the most influential men involved in the formation of the chamber includes Naiki, Hamaoka, Tanaka, and Nakamura, all leaders of the anniversary organisation some ten years later. This trend of replacing the yearly exposition with a specialised trade fair was considered the most effective means to guide Kyoto's small

---

[453] The entry fee for the Kyoto expositions ranged from 2–5 *sen* during the period up to 1895.

and medium businesses out of hardship. It resulted, however, in reduced relevance for the idea of the exposition for many residents of the city.

This trend towards a specialised trade display was interrupted in 1887 and 1890 with the staging at the exposition grounds in Kyoto of displays of paintings, sculpture and other items of art. The former was the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the accession of Emperor Meiji and was patronised by an imperial visit by the emperor and empress. The displays were not limited to old items, however. There were exhibits of new goods, though the percentage of items for sale was much lower than at the events of other years, which had had a stronger focus on manufacturing.[454] The event in 1890 included an art display to correspond with the Third Domestic Exposition in Tokyo. It was felt that Kyoto needed to provide a counter-display to show that Kyoto, not Tokyo, was the centre of fine arts in Japan.[455] The impetus for this was the failed attempt by the Kyoto prefectural government to wrest the domestic exposition away from Tokyo.

These art displays heralded a further trend away from a manufacturing focused exposition in Kyoto after 1891, and towards a display of handicrafts. Kyoto's traditional strength of industry was in small cottage-type businesses with an emphasis on individual craftsmanship and quality. The 1892 exposition in Kyoto focused on these traditional arts and craft industries of Kyoto, such as weaving, dying, thread making, pottery, and lacquerware, but also included ink painting and sculpture.[456] The following two years continued this trend and added old items alongside the new works to act as a benchmark to show the depth and continued quality of Kyoto's craftsmanship. In the 1894 display, for example, 325 old items under the heading 'reference works' were included. These comprised all the traditional crafts of the city: paintings, sculpture, calligraphy, weaving, pottery, lacquerware, and silk. In this sense,

---

[454] The percentage of items for sale at these two events was 28 per cent and 8 per cent respectively.
[455] Kyōto Hakuran Kyōkai, ed., *Kyōto hakurankai enkakushi*, p. 259.
[456] Details of these displays can be found in Kyōto Hakuran Kyōkai, ed., *Kyōto hakurankai enkakushi*, pp. 283–303.

the rejection of mass production and pre-fabrication evident in the Kyoto events suggests a clear move away from the ideals of the modern exposition, and in both cases, these events were called not 'expositions' *(hakurankai)* but 'displays' *(tenrankai)*. This also indicates a shift away from the technological towards the artistic. In both cases also, the events were influenced by the favourable reception of Japanese artistic displays internationally, especially leading up to, and during, the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893.

Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition

The Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition was an order of magnitude larger than any ever held in Kyoto and, up to that point, the biggest exposition staged in Japan. The success of regional expositions in Japan and the increased prominence of international events, such as the 1873 Vienna exposition, prompted the Meiji government to hold regular, large-scale national expositions to foster Japanese industry and manufacturing. The first three domestic industrial expositions were held in Ueno Park in Tokyo under the auspices of the Home Ministry and the Ministry of Finance, with support from the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. They were intended to be staged every five years, with notice of the location to be made known on each occasion three years in advance. Clearly, Tokyo was not necessarily to be the setting for all events of this kind.

The immediate purpose of the domestic industrial expositions was to gather all kinds of commercial and agricultural products from around Japan for display to other producers, manufacturers and the public. This would make various techniques widely known and provide a forum whereby existing methods of production could be evaluated and improved. This openness had not always been seen in Japan, as is evident in the secrecy of the Tokugawa period guild system. However, the notion of sharing technology for the common good began to spread in the late Tokugawa period, with an increasing openness to innovation, particularly concerning technology

imported from the West.[457] Details of the expositions of this type actually held are given in table 19.

Table 19: Domestic industrial expositions[458]

Name	Date	Location	No. visitors	Number of exhibits	Items per exhibitor
First	21 Aug–30 Nov 1877	Tokyo	454,186	84,353	5.2
Second	1 Mar–30 Jun 1881	Tokyo	823,095	331,166	10.6
Third	1 Apr–31 Jul 1890	Tokyo	1,023,693	167,066	2.2
Fourth	1 Apr–31 Jul 1895	Kyoto	1,136,695	169,098	2.3
Fifth	1 Mar–31 Jul 1903	Osaka	4,350,693	276,719	2.1

Several industrial expositions were to be held after 1903 but these were not under the auspices of a national organising body. Notable among them are the three held in Tokyo in 1907, 1914 and 1922. The last was called the Tokyo Peace Memorial Exposition *(Heiwa kinen Tōkyō hakurankai)* and attracted a record 11 million visitors. A national exposition had been planned for 1907 but the financial drain on the economy that resulted from the Russo-Japanese war caused its postponement and ultimate cancellation. Preparations were under way for an unprecedented level of international participation in this event but the Tokyo exposition in 1907 was held as a smaller-scale alternative.[459]

The local government and business community in Kyoto had a long standing interest in the modern expositions and made unsuccessful bids to hold the Second and Third Domestic Industrial Expositions.[460] The first bid was made by Governor Makimura in 1878 after the first Tokyo exposition attracted over six times more visitors than the annual exposition held in Kyoto that same year.[461] Undeterred by these early failures, members of the Kyoto Business Association petitioned the prefectural government for

---

457 See Morris-Suzuki, *The Technological Transformation of Japan*, especially chapter 2, 'Society and Technology in Tokugawa Japan,' pp. 13–54.

458 Data for this table from Yamamoto, *Nihon hakurankai shi*, pp. 30–44.

459 Yamamoto, *Nihon hakurankai shi*, pp. 41–42.

460 Kyōto Sanjikai, ed., *Heian sento kinensai kiji*, vol. 2, p. 19.

461 Maruyama, 'Meiji shoki no Kyōto hakurankai,' pp. 245–246. Makimura hoped for financial support to rebuild part of the Imperial Palace as a permanent exhibition ground.

official support to bid again for the Fourth Exposition, initially planned for 1894.[462] Among the thirty-five signatories to this document, dated 19 May 1892, were the key organisers and men behind the push for the anniversary celebrations the same year. This should be no surprise as it will be recalled that the first proposal to hold the anniversary came from this same association. In fact, the anniversary proposal was put to the Kyoto Municipal Assembly by the same thirty-five signatories in a petition dated the very same day as the exposition proposal: 19 May 1892. At the very outset, therefore, the anniversary and exposition were conceived simultaneously by the same core group of local businessmen and politicians. Clearly, these two events were intended to reinforce each other and collectively to provide a common framework to promote the city, both nationally and internationally.

Five members of the association were selected to act as an executive to oversee the exposition bid. They were Nakano Chūhachi, Hamaoka Mitsunori, Naiki Kansaburō, Nakamura Eisuke and Tomoda Hanbei (?–?). There was little danger of support being withheld by the local government as these men were also members of the executive body of the Kyoto Municipal Assembly. It was Nakamura, in his capacity as president of the assembly, who petitioned the Agriculture and Commerce Minister, Sano Tsunetami, for the event to be held in Kyoto. In his petition dated 29 May, Nakamura argued that regional development was an essential motivation for the holding of domestic industrial expositions, and that the event was in danger of being monopolised by Tokyo.[463] If a regional centre were to be chosen, then Kyoto should be considered the most appropriate. It must be noted, however, that Osaka was also petitioning the central government to hold the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition; in addition, Tokyo was bidding to keep it in Ueno Park. It was the combination of a major historical anniversary with the exposition that finally turned the bid in Kyoto's

---

[462] Kyōto Sanjikai, ed., *Heian sento kinensai kiji*, vol. 2, p. 68.

[463] The text of these petitions is contained in Kyōto Sanjikai, ed., *Heian sento kinensai kiji*, vol. 2, pp. 18–20.

favour. The failure for Osaka was sweetened by an agreement to hold the subsequent exposition there.

Hamaoka, as president of the Kyoto Chamber of Commerce, also lobbied the Agriculture and Commerce Minister and the Finance Minister in a petition dated 31 May 1892. In this, the argument for Kyoto was pitched in terms of the national interest, but with a style that only Kyoto could deliver. The Kansai region, the petition claimed, was centrally located and easily accessible from the major transport routes. In this, the argument is made in terms of the region, rather than the city itself. Precisely the opposite argument had been used the previous decade in proposals for the construction of the Lake Biwa Canal. At that time, it was claimed that Kyoto had become bypassed in major commercial routes due to the increase in maritime trade out of Yokohama and Osaka; the canal would rectify this by providing a major route from the Japan Sea. In practice, however, the canal focused on water supply and hydro-electric power and played a limited role in transport due to the spread of the railways. In his 1892 petition, Hamaoka also argued that Kansai producers in previous domestic expositions had made up the majority of exhibitors. Consequently, it was reasonable from a logistical stance alone to hold it in the region.

In Hamaoka's proposal, a distinction was made between Kyoto and the surrounding region. Kyoto was emphasised as the source of Japanese art and crafts, with over a thousand years of development and refinement of techniques. These arts had resulted in superior craftsmanship and an abundance of examples of products and architecture in Kyoto. The number of prize winners by Kyoto artisans at recent expositions was testament to the continuation of this trend. Kyoto, with its wealth of famous and beautiful spots, was also more likely to attract large numbers of visitors than would Tokyo. The promotion of Kyoto as a tourist destination for the exposition would bring visitors to the anniversary as well, serving to enhance the reputation of the city, of the region, and of Japan.

The anniversary, however, did not feature strongly in these initial proposals for the exposition. This is not surprising given that the idea for a civic celebration was merely in its embryonic stage. It was later official delegations, sent from Kyoto to Tokyo to lobby for the exposition, who thrust the anniversary into the minds of the central authorities. For example, the vice-minister of Agriculture and Commerce, Nishimura Sutezō, recalled how representatives from the city fervently lobbied for the exposition on the grounds that it would coincide with the anniversary celebration.[464] Hamaoka himself travelled to Tokyo to meet with the prime minister to argue for the benefits of the joint celebration and exposition. In August 1892, several months after Hamaoka's petition, Nishimura Sutezō gave unofficial notice to the Kyoto bidders that the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition would indeed be held in Kyoto. This was formalised on 15 September when the cabinet announced the success of the Kyoto bid.

The location and acquisition of land for the exposition was finalised after some difficulties, and gave evidence of the oft-troubled relationship between the national government, local authorities, and the residents of the city. Several sites were proposed, including south of the Hirano Shrine, east of Daitokuji, and in Yoshida-chō in the north-east of the city. Okazaki in east Kyoto was eventually chosen because of its proximity to the Lake Biwa Canal. Practical logistical arguments were brought forward to justify the decision, but the two deciding factors were ideological and financial. Firstly, the canal was the symbol of Kyoto's modernity, an engineering and technical feat on a par with any in Japan at that time. More important than the actual mechanisms of the canal and associated hydro-power generator was the centrality of the canal project in the collective identity of the city.

Secondly, Okazaki itself offered to reduce the land costs of staging the exposition. The process of lobbying during the bidding stage was intense and representatives of the bids from Tokyo, Osaka and Kyoto sought any advantage they could get.

---

[464] In a text published in the *Hinode Shinbun*, 26 October 1895.

Consequently, one of the Kyoto representatives, Amemori Kikutarō, had sent an urgent telegram to the committee in Kyoto while lobbying in Tokyo in September 1892. Amemori felt that the bid would be secured for the city if the local authorities approved a plan to donate land for the site of the exposition. It will be recalled that Kyoto had been given inside information that it would get the bid in August. Amemori was concerned, however, that there was still the possibility of Kyoto losing the event. This fear resurfaced in October, a month after the official decision by the cabinet to hold the exposition in Kyoto. A strongly worded editorial in the *Hinode Shinbun*—a newspaper owned by Hamaoka—sought to reassure residents that current talk of Tokyo or Osaka 'stealing' the exposition was only sour grapes and not a real possibility.[465]

To guarantee Kyoto's position, Amemori's proposal was approved by the Kyoto Municipal Council, but this placed an extra burden on the city's finances at a time of great expense for the anniversary celebrations and the construction of the new municipal chambers, not to mention the huge outlay for the canal completed just two years previously. Suitable land needed to be procured at a reasonable cost and this required the cooperation of residents in the area of the city where the exposition was to be held. For Okazaki-chō, this cooperation was forthcoming in a letter of support from twenty-one notable residents of the district. This may have been the decisive factor in the choice of Okazaki. The site itself in the early 1890s was flat farmland surrounded by relatively sparse urban development. It was one of the few 'vacant' plots relatively close to the centre of the city and the railway station. Many expositions internationally were constructed in existing parkland; Hyde Park in London and Jackson Park in Chicago are two examples. Maruyama Park in Gion and parts of the Retired Emperor's

---

[465] *Hinode Shinbun*, 22 October 1892, cited in Heian Jingū Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Heian Jingū hyakunenshi nenpyō*, p. 3. The press in general during this period had become increasingly commercial, with an emphasis on profit for its owers rather than serving the ideals of society. See Albert Altman, 'The Press,' in *Japan in Transition: From Tokugawa to Meiji*, ed. M Jansen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 240-245.

Palace *(Sentō gosho)* in the north of the city had been designated public parks by the 1890s, but neither seem to have been seriously considered for the 1895 exposition.

Even with neighbourhood support, however, the acquisition of land in Okazaki was not without its problems. The local land-holders formed an action group which presented a list of demands to the assembly during the negotiations for purchase of the land in May 1893. The site had been surveyed and marked out prior to the start of purchase procedures; something which may have been rather unsettling for the land-holders. Their demands included extra fees for the repositioning of several buildings and for the relocation of over 300 pine trees on the site. It is not certain if the trees were actually moved; it is more likely that this was a form of compensation, or indeed opportunism, on the part of the owners. Ironically, the prefectural government had earlier spent approximately 1,000 yen contracting for the supply of over 400 semi-mature trees for the site.[466] The figure finally agreed on for the sale of land was 80,000 yen, which was precisely the figure budgeted in an assembly meeting in March of that year. This negotiation points to a conciliatory position taken by the assembly with regards to the residents of Okazaki-chō. There was a determination by the Kyoto Municipal Council to call on the city's land acquisition laws if negotiations were stalled, but this was not required in the end. There were also proposals from within the Anniversary Committee during May, the period of intense negotiation, for the entire project to be relocated to Maruyama Park. Both of these may have been designed as scare tactics to pressure the land-holders. In either case, the local government acquired the land they wanted for the price they wanted to pay without serious consideration of other sites.

---

[466] Even this number of trees was insufficient. Pines and willows from various parts of the city were ultimately transplanted to add greenery to the site.

Kyoto as an international city of culture

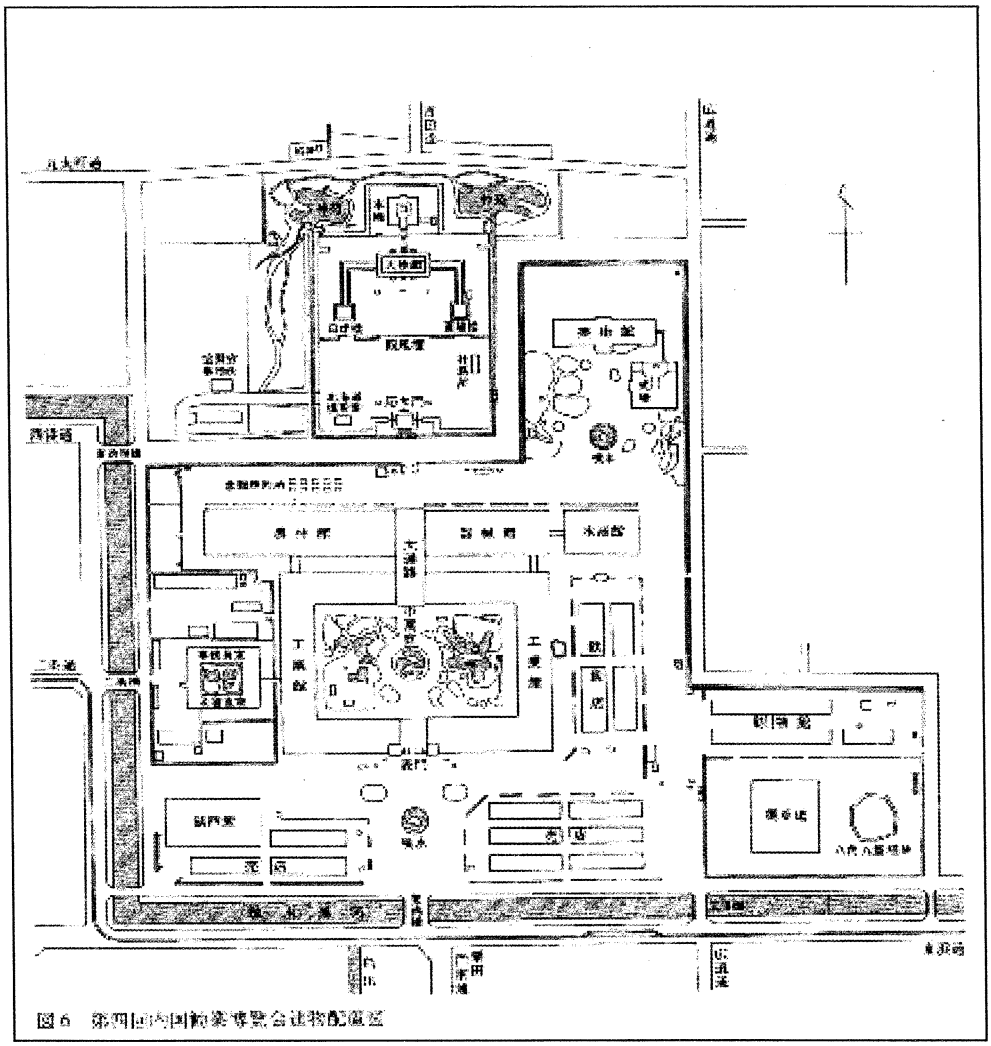
Japanese involvement with international expositions had shown that the visual impression of the site and its architecture were intrinsic aspects of the overall experience and ideology of technological and cultural display. The buildings of the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893, for example, were perhaps the most impressive feature of the event. The vistas of the White City and the Court of Honor were intended to raise the profile of Chicago on the one hand, and to outshine the recent Paris exposition on the other.[467] The Kyoto exposition buildings, though impressive in their own right, were much smaller in scale and symbolised ingenuity of adaptation and a desire for equality on an international stage rather than a celebration of a native tradition of architecture; this latter was achieved, after all, by the construction of the Heian Shrine. The construction of the Phoenix Pavilion (Hōōden)—modelled on the Byōdōin in Uji—at the Chicago exposition functioned in the same way for Japan.[468] The Kyoto exposition buildings did, however, work to increase the profile of Kyoto, though not to the same extent as the architecture of its international predecessors. The Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition also promoted the development of the city's modern transport and infrastructure.

---

[467] Findling, *Chicago's Great World Fairs*, p. 12.

[468] For details of this display see, for example, Snodgrass, 'Japan Faces the West,' pp. 5–26.

Figure 12: Layout of the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition site[469]



The exposition site was bounded to the south and west by the Lake Biwa Canal, and to the north by the Heian Shrine (see figure 12). Entry to the site was provided by four gates with the main entrance to the south. This entrance opened onto a plaza which for the duration of the exposition was filled with temporary shops and stalls. These vendors were distributed by prefecture with locations allocated by lots drawn previously. A fountain situated in front of the main entrance gates, which was flanked by two small groves of pine trees, depicted a youth blowing a conch shell with two children playing under the streams of water issuing from the top. The fountain, designed by the sculptor Ōkuma Ujihiro (1856–1934), was constructed from plaster

[469] Illustration from Heian Jingū Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Heian Jingū hyakunenshi*, p. 100.

using a technique that copied the model of the Eiffel Tower erected during the Chicago World's Fair.[470] The water used for the fountain originated from Lake Biwa, arriving in Okazaki via the canal and a system of pipes specially laid to supply water and for fire prevention measures. The plaza, the scene of entertainments after the Jichinsai of the Heian Shrine, was decorated with banners, lanterns and streamers. Boat tours took visitors along the canal adjacent to the grounds, adding to the festive atmosphere.

The main bridge over the canal to the south led onto the path of the newly installed *chinchin densha,* Japan's first urban electric train network. Development of this train system was encouraged by the inclusion of the Keage hydro-electric plant in the Lake Biwa Canal project but was also in response to light-rail systems at previous domestic and international expositions. A small electric rail system had been constructed as a display in Ueno Park in Tokyo, though the length of its track was limited. Light rail systems had also been constructed for the Paris and Chicago expositions of 1890 and 1893 respectively, the latter having been inspired specifically by the light rail included in the Paris event. The *chinchin densha* ran for about seven kilometres from the ferry terminal at Fushimi, past Shichijō Station in the south of the city, in front of the exposition grounds, and terminated in front of Nanzenji. It could only carry 28 passengers per trip, so it was more of a symbol than a satisfactory solution for transporting the average 6,000 daily visitors to and from the site. Most visitors would have travelled from their homes, lodgings, or from Shichijō Station by rickshaw. Special ticket offices were established at the station and exposition grounds to cater for the increased demand and to ensure that rickshaw transport was conducted without exploitation.

The facade of the exposition site was the south side of the largest of the halls, the Manufacturing Pavilion *(Kōgyōkan).* This rectangular building formed a large

---

[470] An earlier plan for the fountain to depict a contemporary military figure with water issuing from a Buddhist statuette held in his hand was dismissed as inappropriate. *Hinode Shinbun,* 5 March 1895. In 1893, Ōkuma completed a large bronze statue of the Naval figure Ōmura Masujirō that now stands in the avenue in front of the Yasukuni Shrine.

quadrangle in the centre of which was situated a Chinese-style water feature garden designed by Utsumi Gennosuke (?–?). The multi-volume history of the city refers to this garden as Japanese style, despite its contemporary reference as *Chūgokutei ike.*[471] The Agriculture and Forestries Pavilion *(Nōrinkan)*, the Machinery Pavilion *(Kikaikan)*, and the Fisheries Pavilion *(Suisankan)* were situated immediately to the north of this garden. A bonsai display area was constructed to the north of these pavilions, past which was the northern, or rear, entrance. The precincts of the Heian Shrine were distinct from the exposition site and accessible through the rear gate, or directly by the road that ran along the rear of the exposition site and in front of the shrine. Visitors to the exposition were required physically to leave its grounds through the rear gate in order to visit the shrine, as well as the gardens and display of military items adjacent to the shrine entrance. Though conceived and planned as a single event, and sharing a common mode of cultural production, the shrine and exposition were still separated physically. This was to ensure that only paying visitors could enter the exposition, and that worshippers to the shrine could enter without paying.

The costs for the construction of the pavilions, with the exception of the Art Gallery *(Bijutsukan)* (located in the north-eastern corner adjacent to the Heian Shrine) were met by the national exhibition committee. This situation is in contrast to the funding of international expositions, which were generally paid for by a mixture of private and public money. The budget of the 1893 Chicago exposition, for example, comprised 5.3 million dollars from the federal government, 5 million dollars from Chicago city, and 10 million dollars from private sponsorship. The 1890 Paris exposition had similar arrangements and supplemented its income with a lottery scheme associated with entry tickets.[472] This is perhaps one reason why the scale of construction in Kyoto was relatively small compared to international expositions. The amount of funding was relatively low, and although international expositions had come to rely on the

---

[471] Hayashiya, ed., *Koto no kindai*, p. 137.
[472] Yamamoto, *Nihon hakurankai shi*, pp. 205–212.

grandeur and scale of their architectural buildings to increase participation and visitor numbers, the domestic events in Japan did not supplement government money with large outlays of private investment. Besides, the site at Okazaki was simply not large enough for panoramic views of the pavilions that would justify large edifices. The total area of the Okazaki site was 16.5 hectares compared with, for example, the 284 hectares of Jackson Park in Chicago. Consequently, the only two structures accorded monumental treatment in Kyoto were the Manufacturing Pavilion (even then only the south side facing the main entry plaza resembled an ornate edifice) and the Art Gallery, a two-story Western style building containing a garden and fountain that provided a pleasant vista for visitors approaching from the rest of the grounds.

All the exhibition structures, with the exception of the fountains and central garden, were designed by Ueda Morimune (?–?). Construction was carried out by a number of firms including that of Shimizu Mannosuke, the builder of the Heian Shrine. The most expensive of the pavilions, costing 68,000 yen, was the Manufacturing Pavilion. Its southern entrance archway was flanked by two domed towers topped with Japanese flags. These towers provided an excellent view of the city for visitors admitted to its balcony. The total construction cost for the grounds, including the six main pavilions, other display areas, administration buildings, recreation and service buildings, and roadworks, was approximately 178,000 yen. This amounted to less than half the entire exposition budget of 443,000 yen. The total area of the exposition buildings was relatively large for the outlay but the manner and speed of construction was only suitable for temporary structures. The overall construction cost of the exposition was less than the cost of the Heian Shrine. The pavilions were constructed with plaster over a timber structure, a technique that provided speed and potential for design, but without long-term durability.

Visitors to the exposition were given every opportunity to become familiar with the layout of the site. The *Hinode* had published a daily series of 'guides to the exposition' in the month leading up to the opening on 30 April. They were written to generate

interest in the exposition and were accompanied by an artist's impression of a scene at the site: the fountain, a crowd at the entrance to a pavilion, or a group of visitors waiting to use the telephone at the Machinery Pavilion. Maps and diagrams of the site were published in local newspapers as well as on noticeboards in the city during the exposition. Instructions to visitors were also widely published, including the times of opening and closing, cost of tickets, and rules for acceptable behaviour. These notices were intended to avoid logistical problems with so many visiting the site but also indicate attempts to control the visitor's experience. The cost of entry tickets was 15 *sen* on Sunday, 5 *sen* on Saturday, and 3 *sen* for the rest of the week. The reason for this disparity was to encourage a different class of visitor on different days—wealthy gentlemen and their ladies on Sunday, businessmen on Saturday, and the rest during the week—and to thereby attempt to control the mood of each day's crowd.[473]

Inside the grounds there was no strict route to be followed, apart from a general admonition to move so as not to obstruct the passage of others. Even so, the *Hinode* and several guidebooks with special exposition sections, such as the *Guide to Famous Sites of Kyoto (Kyōto meisho annai)*, written by Aoki Kansaburō and published on 25 April 1895, clearly indicated a route that could be followed by visitors. Interestingly, the route outlined by Aoki was different to that published in the *Hinode* on 1 April. The earlier route in the *Hinode* recommended that visitors who entered by the rear gate should make their circuit of the grounds in the *opposite* direction to that outlined. This would surely have resulted in more congestion and was a suggestion not included in later guides. The route proposed by Aoki comprised a circuit of the grounds, starting with a tour of the Manufacturing Pavilion, through the garden to the Agriculture Pavilion, and then out to the bonsai displays. From here the visitor was directed to the Machinery Pavilion to see the various devices run by hydro-power from Keage, and then on to the Fisheries Pavilion and aquarium. After a respite at the numerous cafes and tea houses, the route went on to the Art Gallery for a display primarily of Japanese

---

[473] *Hinode Shinbun*, 1 April 1895.

arts and crafts. The visitor was then directed to the Animal Pavilion *(Dōbutsukan)* and racetrack in the south-east corner of the grounds. Finally, a visit to the many stalls and vendors outside the main gate was recommended, especially to the Cooperative Society Hall where the items on display could be purchased.

Displays within the Manufacturing Pavilion, which covered a total of 15,000 square metres, were arranged according to prefecture. Each locality had established an office in Kyoto to administer displays and exhibitors from its prefecture. These offices also controlled the facade of their sections within the pavilion, which were decorated with archways and curtains. Such regional displays mimicked the national displays at the Chicago exposition; a point made explicitly by the *Hinode* in its regular guide column.[474] Edifices portraying national architectural characteristics within the Chicago exposition were designed by individual countries and approved by the exposition company. In the case of Kyoto, it was the produce and reputation of the prefectures that was on show. The host city was consequently afforded the most prominent positions, including inside the Manufacturing Pavilion immediately adjacent to the arched southern entrance.

Almost all the items shown within this competitive display space were for sale. Visitors interested in purchasing an item agreed to a price with an official, and then were given a receipt of sale through the Cooperative Society sales office. The goods themselves were exchanged after the closing of the exposition at the end of July. In total, more than 44 per cent of items on display were sold, raising over 224,000 yen.[475] Osaka, Kyoto and Tokyo had the highest number of exhibits on display at the exposition but all had rates of sale below the average. Osaka had the largest number of exhibits with 18,415 items, compared to Kyoto's 14,881, but in total cost, the Kyoto items were more than double the value of the Osaka goods. Furthermore, the average sale price per item for Osaka displays was 2.4 yen compared to 9.3 yen for Kyoto. What

---

[474] *Hinode Shinbun*, 1 April 1895.

[475] Heian Jingū Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Heian Jingū hyakunenshi*, p. 105.

this indicates, as corroborated by higher sale rates for most other prefectures, is that the quality of displays from Kyoto was higher. Consequently there was a focus on higher value items rather than cheaper high-volume goods. This is further confirmed by Kyoto receiving the largest number of prizes for its exhibits; the largest in total and the largest as a percentage of the number of exhibits. Kyoto's pride was as stake, and its displays at the exposition showed that it was the leader in Japanese production of quality manufactured goods.

The intent of the national organisers of the domestic industrial expositions in Japan was to promote industry and manufacturing around the country, but especially in the main urban centres of Tokyo, Osaka and Kyoto. While international exhibitions were shaped by mass-production and pre-fabrication, there were strong trends in the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition, especially in the Kyoto exhibits, away from this view of the manufacturing industry. Trends in the late 1880s expositions in Kyoto towards displays that linked the traditional culture of the city to current commercial practices continued into the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition in 1895. This was compounded by Kyoto's attempts to portray itself as a city of culture that utilised the best of technology, rather than as an industrial centre. The promotion of the city, and the region, as a tourist destination and the preservation of sites of natural and cultural significance within the city worked toward the same end. Consequently, there was a clear emphasis on artisanship and craftsmanship in the industry of Kyoto. Technology was incorporated as a means to an end, rather than an outright symbol of progress and equality with the industrial might of the West. The Chicago exposition with its display of the advances of technology—the electric locomotive, long distance phone communication, and the Edison Cinescope—could not be imitated in Kyoto in 1895. The Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition, within the context of the 1,100th anniversary, focused on showing Kyoto as a city with a long and rich traditional culture that was enhanced and whose appeal was conveyed to the world through technology. The Lake Biwa Canal hydro-electric generator at Keage powered the

chinchin densha and electric looms in Nishijin, but also powered novelties within the exposition such as local (temporary) phone lines and an electric lemonade machine.

The display of Kyoto culture in the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition was in large part a response to the interest shown internationally in Japanese art, such as displayed within the Phoenix Pavilion in Chicago. The rising architect Frank Lloyd Wright (1867–1959), for example, was inspired to incorporate some elements of the Japanese building in his designs after a visit to the Midway in 1893. In 1895, Kuki Ryūichi, the head of judging at the Kyoto exposition, successfully incorporated for the first time an Art Gallery into the fold of the industrial exposition in Japan. According to the historian Kojita, Kuki attempted through the displays in the Art Gallery to show that Japanese art was finally to be considered the equal of Western art, and not merely a curiosity or a fad.[476]

The occasion of the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition provided more than an opportunity to showcase the products of Kyoto, or indeed the city itself. The capital works undertaken in the city for the exposition served a dual purpose. Firstly, they prettified the city to show the rest of Japan, and the world, the best face of Kyoto. But in a reciprocal sense, the visitors to the city brought about a change in the social infrastructure. Civic services were improved, regulated and modernised not merely to impress visitors, but to ensure that the city's guests did not impact on Kyoto in a manner unbefitting its status as the cultural jewel of Japan. There would be no repeat, for example, of the wild scenes that occurred after the Jichinsai of the Heian Shrine.

Numerous other capital works in the years leading up to the opening of the exposition served the purpose both of providing a modern infrastructure to the city and impressing visitors. One aspect of these works was the construction of several bridges

---

[476] Kojita Yasunao, 'Teikokushugi jidai no Kyōto,' in *Nihon shakai no shiteki kōzō: Kinsei, Kindai*, ed. Asao Naohiro Kyōju Taikan Kinenkai (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1995), p. 381. The overwhelming popularity of Kuroda Seika's depiction of a nude young lady painted in a Western style, however, indicates that Kuki's attempts were not entirely successful.

across the canal giving access to the site, and the repair and widening of bridges over the Kamo River. More than 23,000 yen were spent in the years up to 1895 on repairs to Sanjō, Gojō and Shichijō bridges over the Kamo, and on several smaller bridges over the Lake Biwa Canal. Similarly, over 90,000 were spent on improvements to roads in the city. It is worth noting that these funds were limited to roads providing access from the main railway station to the exposition site. In other words, the western and northern sections of the city did not receive the same benefits from the exposition as did their eastern counterparts.

The electric power generated at Keage provided the eastern part of the city with the opportunity to install electric lights, albeit solely for the duration of the exposition.[477] Unlike improvements to roads and bridges, this modern touch was temporary and the lights were completely removed in November after completion of the anniversary celebrations. Similarly, phone lines were installed between the exposition grounds, the prefectural offices, and various police stations in the eastern part of the city close to the exposition. These were also removed after the anniversary celebrations, presumably because of the expense required to maintain them. A more lasting improvement to the city's infrastructure, though again one limited to the area in the city where the exposition was held, was improvement to water supply and sewerage services. The motivation for these works, besides the provision of clean water at the exposition for drinking and to serve the fountains on the site, was to prevent the spread of disease during the exposition. The years leading up to 1895 had seen several severe outbreaks of dysentery in the city, mainly the result of sewerage finding its way into the city's wells and rivers.

Cholera was regarded as a major threat and, indeed, there was a national outbreak in April, just after the opening of the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition. During the

---

[477] This was not a new phenomenon. Gas lights had been installed in key areas to illuminate the city for visitors to the 1872 Kyoto exposition. Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan, ed., *Kyōto-fu hyakunen no nenpyō: 1 seiji-gyōsei hen*, p. 54.

year of the anniversary, there were 1,842 recorded cases of cholera in Kyoto alone.[478] Of these, only 281 recovered, leaving a staggering 85 per cent mortality rate. With troops returning from the Sino-Japanese War, the Army established several quarantine stations around Japan to try and prevent the spread of the disease. In Kyoto, quarantine and treatment stations were established at the main entrances to the city at Shichijō Station and Keage. However, as admission to these hospitals was virtually a death sentence, many tried to hide symptoms or fled. This outbreak was, of course, not totally unexpected. The grounds of Tōfukuji had been converted to a quarantine station after the cholera outbreak at the end of the Seinan war in 1877. In other words, war and the mass-movement of troops was accompanied by serious health risks to the civilian population. The large number of visitors expected to attend major events such as the Kyoto exposition raised similar fears. Consequently, measures were taken in the years prior to the exposition to improve hygiene conditions in the city.

Several hygiene committees and medical stations were established in the city during the anniversary year. These sought to educate residents, hoteliers and restaurateurs in methods of disinfection and hygiene with public lectures and the distribution of pamphlets. Practical measures, such as the construction of public toilets and the cleaning of drains, were also undertaken. Although the city's sewerage and water supply problems were not adequately dealt with till after the completion of the second stage of the Lake Biwa Canal in 1912, it was the concerns of the local government during the 1895 anniversary that set in motion these improvements to Kyoto's health infrastructure.

These improvements were designed to protect residents as well as to safeguard the health of visitors to the city. It will be recalled that the emperor cancelled his visit to the city in late April. It is reasonable to expect that the outbreak of cholera was also a factor in this postponement. Indeed, the local authorities were fearful that another

---

[478] Ono, 'Hakurankai to eisei,' p. 268.

serious outbreak of cholera later in the year would prevent the emperor from attending the anniversary celebrations rescheduled for October. These fears were openly expressed in September by the prefectural governor when he addressed a group of prominent residents on the occasion of the inaugural meeting of the Heian Lecture Society *(Heian Kōsha)*, the believers association of the Heian Shrine.[479]

[479] Wakamatsu, ed., *Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai kyōsanshi*, Genbu-hen, p. 50.

Chapter 8. The narrative of public display

The anniversary of Kyoto in 1895 was a civic event which celebrated and took pride in the heritage of Kyoto. The city was celebrating for itself and showing to the world that its achievements over the past thousand or so years had been paralleled by its rebuilding and ongoing progress since the restoration. Public display provided the opportunity to express this belief at shrines, temples, galleries and on stages throughout the city. On show were rare and beautiful items ranging from military objects to pottery, plus arts and crafts both old and new, as well as displays of performance including dance and song. Visitors to the city, according to the plans of the Anniversary Committee, would look upon these displays and spread the fame of Kyoto to the four corners of the globe. But how did these displays contribute to a sense of common heritage? Were they objective arrangements of items or part of an ideological panorama complicit with modernity? And how did the display of these treasures relate to the process of their preservation as examined earlier?

Public display was certainly not a new phenomenon in Japan. Temples and shrines, for example, had periodically made public various sacred treasures and images since at least the Heian period. *Kaichō*, literally 'opening the door', was a popular and widespread practice at temples throughout the country by the Tokugawa period. This involved the display of sacred images normally hidden from the public eye. These were originally religious events designed to renew and purify the bond of karma between believers and the deity whom the image represented. However, in the Tokugawa period they became increasingly a means to raise necessary funds for temples, and were commonly accompanied by displays of other treasures, such as swords, armour, flags and mandala; items that were both historical and devotional.[480]

---

[480] See Kornicki, 'Public Display and Changing Values,' p. 181.

Kaichō was popular entertainment as well an opportunity for believers to donate money in return for talismans or prayers for worldly benefit.[481]

The popularity of *kaichō* in the Tokugawa period was accompanied by a corresponding rise in pilgrimage to sacred sites from the sixteenth century. There was great benefit attached to personal worship at Ise or at the head branch *(honzan)* of Buddhist sects with a particular emphasis on popular faith. Various head branches of temples in Kyoto became central to the increasingly popular pilgrimage routes developed in the period. The most famous of these involved a pilgrimage circuit to thirty-three temples in the Kyoto area (which included temples in Nara and Ōmi) dedicated to Kannon, the goddess of mercy. In the five year period from 1532, for example, pilgrims in Kyoto to visit *honzan* of twenty-one Nichiren Sect temples were so numerous that the city was reportedly struggling to cope with the extra numbers.[482]

Although this level of pilgrimage was unusual, there was an increasing trend in the number of visitors to the city by the late eighteenth century. In addition to pilgrimage and *kaichō*, more believers were coming to the city to attend memorial services, such as for the 1,000th anniversary of the founding of Kiyomizudera in 1753, and Buddhist lectures commemorating the 1,000th anniversary of the death of Emperor Kanmu in 1805.[483] These visitors were armed with guidebooks to the famous sites of the city, and guidebooks also grew in popularity thereafter both for Kyoto and for other regions around Japan.

Art displays also have a long history in Kyoto, but these were generally small gatherings of regional societies until the late eighteenth century. Several schools of art influenced by Yuan and Ming styles and based in sketches of everyday life developed in the region in opposition to ukiyo-e, increasingly popular in the east. Patronage of such painters as Itō Jakuchū (1716–1800), Maruyama Ōkyo (1733–1795) and

---

[481] Hiruma Hisashi, *Edo no kaichō* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1980), p. 23.
[482] Nakao Takashi, ed., *Furudera junrei jiten* (Tokyo: Tōkyodō Shuppan, 1973), pp. 90–91 and p. 269.
[483] Hayashiya, ed., *Dentō no teichaku*, p. 116.

Matsumura Gekkei (1752–1811) grew among the local population, especially among the city's merchants. In 1792, a national exhibition of artists was held in Higashiyama at various temple halls, including Kiyomizudera. Called the Higashiyama New Art Exhibit *(Higashiyama shin shoga tenkan)*, it was sponsored by local merchants and became a yearly event that was the predecessor of other art displays that ran until early Meiji. The depth of the local arts community is evident from the 1796 display: there were almost 100 artists from Kyoto, Tokyo and Osaka who exhibited works. It is unclear whether a good percentage of these artists was from Kyoto or whether Kyoto merely supported such a grand display.[484]

Traditional forms of display, such as *kaichō,* lost popularity to expositions during the Meiji period. While the latter generally focused on technology, as seen in the previous chapter, these were often accompanied by display of cultural and artistic items. During an imperial visit in 1887, for example, the emperor and empress attended the Sixteenth Kyoto Exposition, which for that year focused on artistic endeavours rather than technological innovation. The display of technology and modernity at the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition during the anniversary year was accompanied by displays of historical items in various settings within Kyoto. This chapter will examine these public displays in order to uncover the mechanism by which they worked to foster a sense of common heritage and identity. They sought to show that Kyoto's modernity was grounded in a long tradition of craftsmanship. The claims made about these displays by the organisers and contemporary commentators indicate an understanding of the importance of these events to the overall anniversary. The circumstances of the displays also inform us of the role of public presentation of old objects in the process of narrativisation of history and the formation of a civic identity based on a common heritage.

---

[484] Hayashiya, ed., *Dentō no teichaku*, pp. 182–183.

Public display during the anniversary

In Kyoto during 1895, the largest presentation of items outside of the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition was the Display of the Ages *(Jidaihin tenrankai)*. It was located in the specially constructed display halls within the Gyoen, the gardens of the Imperial Palace, which had been used for the annual Kyoto exposition since 1872.[485] Consequently, it was separated from the site of the 1895 exposition and the Heian Shrine. The display was open from 16 March to 22 July during which time more than 120,000 visitors passed through its gates. It was organised and run by the Kyoto Exposition Committee and replaced the yearly event. Admission tickets cost 5 *sen*, the same as entrance to the Kyoto exposition. Exhibits for the display originated from Kyoto and elsewhere around Japan and were on loan from the Imperial Household Ministry, temples and shrines, private collectors, and from the ministries of the Army and Navy. The number of exhibits totalled 3,485, so many that the displays were changed every week so that all could be seen.[486]

The idea for a display of this kind originated in a proposal in April 1893 by Tokyo Cooperative Society member Kuki Ryūichi, who suggested a permanent historical display within the model Daigokuden.[487] The plan for the Daigokuden to form the worship hall of the Heian Shrine had not been finalised at the time Kuki's proposal was presented to the Anniversary Cooperative Society. His proposal was consequently dropped because of insufficient funds. Kuki, it will be recalled, had been appointed in 1889 by the Imperial Household Minister as director of the Kyoto Imperial Museum. The April 1893 proposal was consistent with his efforts for the preservation and presentation of Japanese historical arts and crafts. He considered famous and beautiful

---

[485] The public use of formerly private or imperial gardens was an international trend evident from the mid-ninteenth century. See, for example, the study of imperial parks in Beijing by Mingzheng Shi, 'From Imperial Gardens to Public Parks: The Transformation of Urban Space in Early Twentieth-Century Beijing,' *Modern China* 24, no. 3 (1998), pp. 219–254.

[486] Details of the Display of the Ages can be found in: Kyōto Hakuran Kyōkai, ed., *Kyōto hakurankai enkakushi*, pp. 305–320; Kyōto Sanjikai, ed., *Heian sento kinensai kiji*, vol. 2, pp. 107–108; and in numerous articles in the local press.

[487] Kyōto Sanjikai, ed., *Heian sento kinensai kiji*, vol. 2, pp. 117–119.

items to be national treasures, regardless of the owner, and a legacy for future generations. The Display of the Ages Hall *(Jidaikan)*—the name to be given the model Daigokuden if the project went ahead—was to assist in preserving such treasures. An article by him in the *Hinode Shinbun* on 5 February 1895 outlined his continuing support for the principle of the preservation and display of cultural assets. Many of the temples and shrines in the region were at that time the custodians of these national treasures. Kuki estimated that it would cost 5 yen per item per year to preserve them. However, the temples and shrines concerned were less and less able to provide this funding because of financial hardship caused by government reforms. The transfer of treasures to the Kyoto and Nara museums, therefore, would ensure their preservation, while their display, in the Display of the Ages or in the museum, would ensure that the history of arts and crafts in Japan was widely known.

The Kyoto Municipal Assembly decided on 7 January 1895 that a display of treasures should indeed be held, but reiterated that a permanent display, as in Kuki's earlier proposal, was too expensive.[488] Rather, costs could be saved by locating the display in the existing exhibition grounds of the Imperial Palace gardens in Kyoto. The Kyoto Municipal Council allocated a grant of 1,476 yen to the Exposition Company to make up half of a projected shortfall in the proposed budget for the display based on an estimated attendance of 140,000. Exhibits were to be collected from the city's shrines and temples, from wealthy individual collectors, from the imperial family, and from the collection of the Imperial Museum. In line with Kuki's vision of 'national heritage', items were also sought from around Japan.

Governor Watanabe invited 160 residents of the city to a meeting at the Kyoto Arts and Crafts College *(Kyōto bijutsu kōgei gakkō)* on 10 February to discuss the display.[489] These residents were known to have collections of old and rare items, and they were asked to cooperate by allowing select items from their collections to be exhibited. Preservation

---

[488] *Hinode Shinbun*, 8 February 1895.

[489] Details of the meeting and a speech made by the governor are in *Hinode Shinbun*, 13 February 1895.

efforts in the city dating from the 1870s had provided the local government with numerous lists of private archives and treasure houses as well as lists of holdings at temples and shrines. As on earlier occasions of this kind, those who attended the meeting were asked to provide a catalogue of their collections, with an indication of the object's period. The deadline for providing this information was just fifteen days later, which would have been unreasonable unless such documentation had been prepared in the past.

Governor Watanabe continued by outlining why cooperation by the city's notable families was essential for the success of the exposition and for the future of Kyoto. He explained the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition as a display of modernity, novelty and technology. Scientific principles were the foundation of exhibits that aimed to enlighten and encourage businesses to seek new knowledge and new opportunities to expand. These ideas were in accord with national motivations to hold expositions, as discussed in the previous chapter. However, Watanabe claimed that the exposition would not succeed fully without the, as he put it, 'mutual necessity of old and new' *(shinko aimochi)*. Hence, the presentation of beautiful and old items in the Display of the Ages would, in Watanabe's mind, illustrate the historical development of arts and crafts in Japan. The items would be appreciated not only for their innate beauty, but also as representative of a history of technical excellence and craftsmanship. Display of a large number of items constructed over the centuries would create a narrative of the historical development of these techniques and provide a link to present-day Kyoto.

This concept of the 'mutual necessity of old and new' is one that reappears in various forms in claims made by organisers and commentators during the anniversary year. However, although items from around Japan were chosen for the Display of the Ages, it is clear that Kyoto saw itself very much as the guardian and centre of Japanese artistic and creative energies. Kyoto was the essence of Japanese art, which the Display of the Ages, and other displays at the time, showed as a visual narrative. The following

extract from a series of articles in the *Hinode,* introducing the Display of the Ages exhibits, best illustrates this understanding.

> The ideal is that the investigation and periodisation of this history will clearly make known the changing techniques and the ebb and flow of the fortunes of art. It must be said that the opening of the Display of the Ages several days prior [to the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition] is suggestive of this ideal. Artists and craftsmen are overjoyed at this natural order in the display. Even general visitors who inspect the displays will realise the order of Japanese [artistic] production after they look on the quintessential examples of the period. The benefits are great in studying the ideals and techniques of today through seeing the exposition. The two displays are set against each other within the setting of the blossoms of Higashiyama, and also the treasures of the temples and shrines of the city. Ah, Kyoto is indeed a brocade of spring: endless joy, boundless pleasure.[490]

Thus, the visual narrative of the display is enhanced by its opening prior to the industrial exposition. The narrative is then placed within the context of the natural and artistic beauty of Kyoto.

The periodisation of the history of Japanese arts and crafts was an essential element of the 1895 display, both in its conception and implementation. Great efforts were made to ensure exhibits were correctly categorised according to when they were produced. Works of art without an inscription indicating the artist's name, for example, were subjected to rigorous scrutiny by a committee comprising experts from Kyoto and Tokyo.[491] The resolution made by the Kyoto Municipal Assembly on 7 January determined that exhibits were to be categorised according to six periods: Kōnin, Fujiwara, Kamakura, Ashikaga, Toyotomi, and Tokugawa. This periodisation was carefully orchestrated and presented a selection of objects from Japan's past to illuminate the present and the future paths of development.

Pains also were taken to ensure that the items exhibited in the Display of the Ages were only of the highest quality and craftsmanship. A sub-committee was established within the Kyoto Exposition Company to oversee the collection of exhibits. Several key

---

[490] *Hinode Shinbun,* 26 March 1895.
[491] *Hinode Shinbun,* 26 March 1895.

members of the Anniversary Committee appointed to this body included Naiki Kansaburō, Amemori Kikutarō, and Nishimura Jihei. The largest number of displays was taken from the collections of the city's own temples and shrines. Most of these rare items would be inaccessible to the public on normal occasions. Bringing together for display items of art which were seen as the 'archetypal models' of their genre had two significant effects, as noted by Tanaka in his exploration of the role of art in Meiji nationalism.[492] Firstly, it removed the local or regional contextual association of the works and replaced it with 'a national historical narrative of an essence that all possess'. Secondly, this narrative was presented to the viewers in such a way that it provided a framework that 'unified them as Japanese' by providing 'a synopsis of their history and essential cultural characteristics'.[493]

Nonetheless, although the rarest or most characteristic items may have been removed from local temples and shrines and exhibited in the Display of the Ages, many more were displayed within their original contexts. Priests from the city's shrines, for example, were summoned to a meeting in Gion on 10 January 1895. The meeting was organised by the Cooperative Society to urge participation in the anniversary celebrations by exhibiting treasures from shrine warehouses during the period of the festival. Uenakagawa Taketoshi from the Cooperative Society outlined the society's plan: each shrine was to display its treasures in a uniform way, and entry to the shrine was to be limited to those in possession of an anniversary medallion.[494] Though it is unclear from the article in what 'uniform way' the items would be exhibited, the idea indicates a desire on the part of the organisers to present a consistent narrative across the different displays. The opportunity to see items normally hidden from the public was pitched as a reward to those who had contributed to the anniversary effort. The meeting was attended by representatives of shrines of all ranking, that is imperial, national, prefectural, district and village shrines.

---

[492] Tanaka, 'Imaging History,' pp. 24–44.
[493] Tanaka, 'Imaging History,' p. 40.
[494] *Hinode Shinbun*, 12 January 1895.

Similar meetings were held for representatives of the city's temples. In all, more than sixty shrines and temples from the city and surrounding regions ultimately displayed over ten thousands items from their collections. These displays were held during the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition from April to July, and again in October following the earlier postponement of the anniversary. The original proposal for displays at temples and shrines limited entry to Cooperative Society members who had been issued a free ticket. The number of such visitors, recorded by the Cooperative Society, seems to indicate a rather poor turnout for most of the displays. Nanzenji, for example, was close to the exposition grounds but received only 982 visitors for both periods of its display of almost 400 treasures. Although visitor numbers were not indicated for some locations, such as Kiyomizudera and both Honganji temples, the highest recorded attendance was at Fushimi Inari Shrine (3,450 visitors), followed by Myōshinji (2,615 visitors) and Kamigamo Shrine (1,302 visitors). There seems to have been no correspondence between the number of exhibits, or the location of the shrine, and the number of visitors in attendance. Perhaps the quality of the displays was surmised from the fame of the shrine or temple and from references in contemporary guides and regular newspaper articles. Myōshinji, for example, originally built as an imperial villa, was already well known for the quality and number of rare and beautiful treasures in its collection.[495] The overall low numbers elsewhere may be attributed to a feeling that the best items from the temples and shrines would be shown in the Display of the Ages. The organising committee had perhaps achieved greater participation in the displays of 1895 than public interest warranted.

The postponement of the anniversary ceremony meant that the Display of the Ages was completed before the rescheduled festival began. It had been possible to delay some events originally planned for the anniversary in April and May, or repeat them later in the year. The displays of treasures at temples and shrines, for example, were

---

[495] This type of description appears, for example, in Heian Sento Kinensai Kyōsankai, ed., *Kyōto meisho tebiki sō* (Kyoto: Heian Sento Kinensai Kyōsankai), p. 35.

reopened for the October ceremonies, and train and ferry discounts were offered again for the later period. In the case of the Display of the Ages, most of the items on display were returned prior to the rescheduled anniversary: storage of all the items from July to October would have been an impractical option for the organisers, so alternative displays of cultural heritage were proposed. The largest of these, the Festival of the Ages, a living pageant of Japanese history, will be discussed separately below.

A further display worthy of mention, however, is that of military items, the War Trophy Exhibition *(Senrihin chinretsu)*, staged at the anniversary grounds in Okazaki.[496] It was originally planned that a small display of military items be set up in the pavilion used for the official reception after the anniversary ceremony on 30 April. This was to be a modest affair, with only a 600 yen budget. The display was cancelled after the anniversary was postponed and an expanded display was proposed for later in the year. The War Trophy Exhibition was eventually opened on 20 July, two days before the close of the Display of the Ages, which also included approximately 40 military flags, uniforms, swords and other relics. Funds were again a concern so it relied on the cooperation of the Army and Navy for relics from the recent Sino-Japanese war, and from other private donors. Perhaps some of the exhibits from the Display of the Ages were also used in the new display.

An unusual aspect of the War Trophy Exhibition was that it was held within the precincts of the Heian Shrine, and that entry was limited to holders of Cooperative Society badges and worshipper's medallions, armed forces personnel, and school children. Entry for Cooperative Society members was by ticket which could only be received after they had worshipped at the Heian Shrine. Although this was a similar arrangement to the temple and shrine displays throughout the city, far more took the opportunity to visit the War Trophy Exhibition, in fact a little over 67,000 people. Perhaps this was due to the proximity of the display to the Heian Shrine, and the fact

---

[496] *Hinode Shinbun*, 11 October 1895.

that Cooperative Society members had to worship at the shrine to receive their anniversary gifts. It may also reflect the prominence of the war in the media of Kyoto in 1895. The display itself comprised numerous items of military technology, as well as uniforms, flags, and other relics from the recent conflict. One of the largest items on display was a four metre long Chinese torpedo recovered from the naval battle at Weihaiwei. The exhibits also included a range of Western weapons, such as an American-made gattling gun and Winchester infantry rifle, a German mountain artillery gun, and an English Armstrong siege gun.

The high rate of literacy in Japan in 1895 meant that distribution of news through the print media was an effective means of spreading information about the war. News and opinions from the front arrived in print very quickly: there were by one account 114 journalists, plus artists and photographers, covering the war for over sixty Japanese newspapers.[497] The *Hinode* was filled with daily reports of battles, as well as frequent lists of local soldiers honoured with decorations and names of city residents and businesses who donated support to the war effort.[498] After the successful completion of the war, public pride was made evident by the over 15,000 people who gathered in locations around the city on 25 May to publicly celebrate the return of the triumphant local troops in the presence of the emperor.[499] Victory in the war over China in 1895 was widely celebrated domestically as a turning point in Japan's international standing.[500]

The anniversary celebrations in Kyoto were not immune to the effects of the war. There had been fears initially that the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition would be postponed due to concerns over participation and funding in light of wartime

---

[497] Quoted in Lone, *Japan's First Modern War*, p. 99.

[498] An example of the former was published in the *Hinode Shinbun*, 18 April 1895, and the latter on 13 April 1895.

[499] A large victory arch had been set up in front of Shichijō station ready for the emperor's arrival in April. This was decorated with national flags, electric lights, the Kyoto city emblem, and a large decorative chyrsanthemum. The postponement of the emperor's attendance delayed the public victory celebration to the following month. *Hinode Shinbun*, 26 April 1895.

[500] For an examination of the effects of the war on Japanese society, see Lone, *Japan's First Modern War*.

mobilisation. This was countered, however, by the view that encouragement of industry would ultimately aid the war effort by strengthening the economy.[501] The popularity of the war, both during and immediately after the hostilities, was seen in the number of visitors to the War Trophy Exhibition at the Heian Shrine. This popularity also was instrumental in the formation of the Martial Arts Society *(Butokukai)* in the period leading up to the anniversary. The society was jointly founded by Governor Watanabe, who became its first president, and by the Heian Shrine chief priest, Mibu Motonaga, who was appointed vice-president. Its aims were to promote the military arts throughout Japan. The anniversary was seen as an ideal forum for the society's first national congress because of Emperor Kanmu's love of military arts and his great military achievements. The society held demonstrations of swordsmanship, archery, horsemanship and so on at the former Manufacturing Pavilion near the Heian Shrine. In other words, display of military relics and arts at the shrine, or within an organisation intimately linked to the shrine, furthered the aims of the exposition and anniversary. It was an opportunity for visitors to bathe in collective pride in the abstract idea of the nation. Victory in the war had made this idea more concrete and the anniversary military displays further linked national development with military strength. The *Hinode* predicted that 'as a result of the Sino-Japanese War, foreigners will not only be fearful of our army, but also of our future developments in manufacturing.'[502]

Festival of the Ages

The Festival of the Ages is considered today one of the great popular festivals of Japan. It is also counted, along with the Hollyhock Festival *(Aoi matsuri)* of the Kamo Shrines and the Gion Festival of the Yasaka Shrine, as one of the three great local festivals of Kyoto. The Hollyhock and Gion Festivals have long histories, tracing their origins to the sixth and ninth centuries respectively. The Festival of the Ages, despite popular

---

[501] Expressed, for example, in a article in the *Hinode Shinbun*, 11 April 1895.
[502] *Hinode Shinbun*, 5 November 1895.

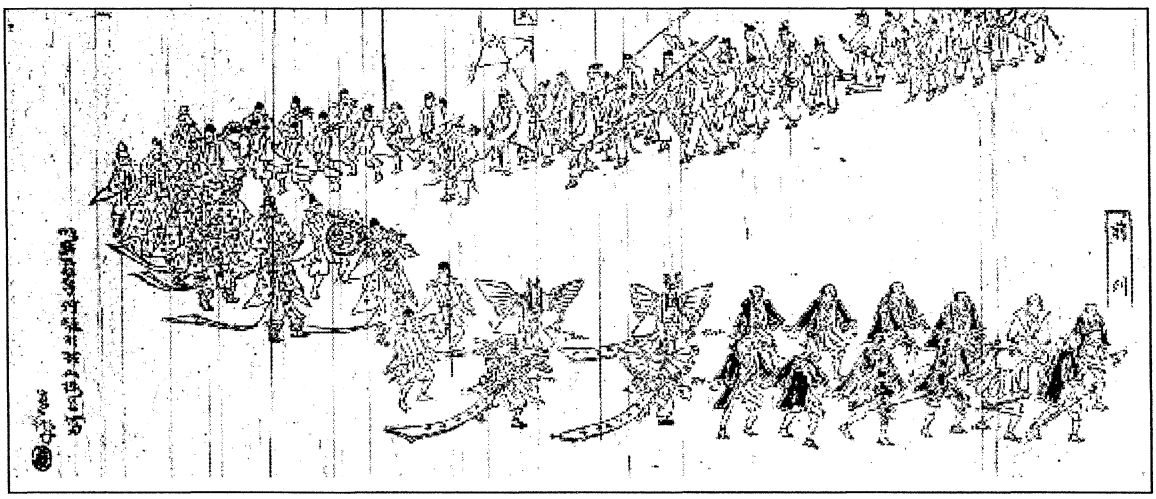
modern conceptions, is an invented tradition and was first held only in 1895 as part of the anniversary celebrations. The festival today consists of a historic pageant with the participation of over 3,000 residents of the city elegantly attired in authentic period costume from the Heian down to the Meiji eras. Typically, thousands of spectators line the route from the centre of the city to the Heian Shrine. The procession is led by the sacred spirits of emperors Kanmu and Kōmei.[503] The first Festival of the Ages, though similar in form and content, was certainly smaller and less extravagant than the current event. What is notable, however, is that the Festival of the Ages attempted to portray the past of Kyoto in a single parade ordered by historical period, that is, as a narrative.

That the Festival of the Ages was held at all in 1895 is remarkable given that the time from when it was first proposed to when it was held was just over four months. It was not included in the original planning for the anniversary that was to be held in April. In this regard, it was similar to the Heian Shrine, which was an addition to the original proposals for the anniversary. The similarities do not end there. The Festival of the Ages was a refinement of a mode of cultural activity central to the anniversary celebrations: the combination of public display, participation and history evinced in the parade is, like the founding of the Heian Shrine, a clear example of the construction and narrativisation of common heritage. An examination of the details of the planning and execution of the Festival of the Ages typifies the emergent roles of the participant and spectator in this cultural process, and exemplifies the use of public display to engender a common association between the local community and the wider community of the nation.

---

[503] The spirit of Emperor Kōmei was added to the Heian Shrine in a newly constructed sanctuary which was completed in 1940.

Figure 13: Detail of an artist's impression of the Festival of the Ages[504]



The postponement of the anniversary festival in April 1895 left the organising committees concerned about a possible repeat cancellation of the emperor's appearance in the coming October. The Kyoto Municipal Council had decided, however, that the new date of 22 October would not be changed, even if the emperor once again was unavailable.[505] Planning for the April ceremony had been centred on Emperor Meiji: the presence of the current emperor seated in front of the model Daigokuden at the April anniversary ceremony was to be the focal symbol representing this continuity. If the emperor was again placed centre stage for the October celebration, then a further cancellation by the Imperial Household Ministry would result in a debacle. In this way, events outside the control of Kyoto forced the elite of the Anniversary Committee to pursue an alternative solution that celebrated the imperial history of the city, and recognised the continuity of these links from the time of the city's founding down to the present day (1895), but did not rely on the emperor's bodily presence.

---

[504] Appeared in *Hinode Shinbun*, 22 October 1895.
[505] *Hinode Shinbun*, 18 May 1895.

Such a solution was proposed by Cooperative Society executive Nishimura Sutezō on 17 June 1895, just one month after the setting of the new anniversary date.[506] Nishimura was a former official at the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce who joined the Cooperative Society as an advocate for wider public participation in the anniversary. He was instrumental, as described earlier, in forming a regional alliance to support the Kyoto celebrations. On 17 June, he addressed a gathering of Kyoto city residents who were members of the Cooperative Society. He praised their great efforts in organising the exposition and anniversary, and claimed that the recent Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition was the most successful ever seen, in Japan or abroad. He introduced the idea of a parade celebrating Emperor Kanmu, though he conceded that the anniversary as already planned would probably be sufficient to honour the great deeds of the founder. It included, after all, displays of treasures throughout the city, decorations and entertainments, and religious rituals dedicated to Kanmu held at temples and shrines. However, Kyoto, Nishimura continued, was in a unique position to stage a new festival to celebrate Kanmu. This would be evident in a spectacular parade showing, as he put it, the 'changing cultural fashions' *(fūzoku no hensen)* throughout the ages from the Heian period down to the present.

The route and make-up of the parade were outlined in Nishimura's speech. Participants were to gather at Tōji in the south of the city. Tōji was chosen because of its position, along with the no longer extant Saiji, in guarding the main southern entrance to Heian-kyō. The parade was then to proceed north along Karasuma Avenue, turn east into Sanjō Avenue, cross the Keiryū Bridge, and enter the Heian Shrine through the Ōtenmon. The main procession was to comprise people dressed in period costume, though Nishimura did not specify if these people were to be residents of the city, members of the Cooperative Society, or professional actors. It was to be led by a group dressed as Enryaku period (782–806) civil officials. Next was to come military

---

[506] The text of Nishimura's speech is reproduced in Wakamatsu, ed., *Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai kyōsanshi*, Genbu-hen, pp. 48–49.

dress from the period of pacification of the northern regions by Sakanoue Tamuramaro. Court dress of Emperor Shirakawa (1053–1129) and military costume depicting Benkei (?–1189) were to be followed by the *yabusame* archers of Minamoto Yoshitsune. There were to follow costumes from the Muromachi (1392–1573) and Toyotomi (1573–1598) periods. Next was to come a procession of Tokugawa period (1600–1867) daimyo en route to fulfil their 'alternate-year residence' obligations, complete with gold crest boxes. Warriors in Yamaga and Echigo style dress were to lead and follow the main procession.

Nishimura then outlined his plan to finance the parade through a civic tax of one *ri* per household per day for three years. This was considered sufficient to stage the parade when combined with the interest on the maintenance fund of the Heian Shrine. It was hoped that the parade would continue annually so that future residents of Kyoto could also celebrate the anniversary of the founder of the city. It was Nishimura's intention that the funds from this tax would make this possible. However, this was a difficult time to introduce a new tax on the residents of the city. The Sino-Japanese war had placed heavy demands on many families, not to mention financial difficulties resulting from the corresponding rise in the cost of living or from the number of large scale projects undertaken by the local government in recent years.[507]

Nonetheless, preparations to carry out Nishimura's plan to create a new local tradition began with enthusiasm almost immediately. This may have been partly due to the eloquence of his speech. Such enthusiasm would, however, almost certainly have faded unless the proposal had found favour with the residents of the city, or more correctly, with those in the city responsible for the organisation of the anniversary. An investigation committee was appointed on 19 July, with the prominent head of a local stationery business and Cooperative Society member, Kumagai Naoyuki, appointed chairman. The other members of the committee were as follows: Usui Kosaburō,

---

[507] These included the Lake Biwa Canal, construction of the new municipal chambers, and, of course, the 1,100th anniversary celebrations.

Imaizumi Yūsaka, Kaneko Kinji, Kubota Beisen, Izumoji Kōtsū, and Yumoto Fumihiko. Yumoto and Usui had been heavily involved in the anniversary preparations up to this point. Perhaps as a result, Mizuguki Banshō, prior to September, replaced Yumoto on the committee, most probably because of Yumoto's commitment to the compilation of the *Heian tsūshi*. Mizuguki at this time was a senior priest at the Heian Shrine. The others were specialists in various fields brought in to provide expert advice concerning historical and artistic matters relating to the parade. Kubota, for example, was a local artist and long time advocate of government support for the arts. He was part of a successful petition in 1878 calling for the establishment of a local art school similar to that established in Tokyo by Okakura Tenshin. Another expert was Izumoji, who specialised in matters of ritual.[508]

The committee first met on 21 July, a little over a month after Nishimura's appeal in Gion. They refined the original proposal so that the parade would consist of six historical periods. The committee also discussed the incorporation of numerous dancers, musicians, and a parade of prominent contemporary figures from Kyoto to ensure the Meiji period was not omitted. The self-aggrandising nature of this inclusion was not lost on the local press, resulting in the following comment in the *Hinode* some days later.

> The parade of Meiji period gentlemen in the historical procession is most wondrous. Perhaps they should increase the size of their hats from the current height of one metre (3 *shaku*). Beards are mandatory.[509]

A key aspect of the preparations for the Festival of the Ages was the formation of the Heian Lecture Society. Its main function became the organisation of the Festival of the Ages, but its original purpose was somewhat different. The Heian Lecture Society was founded in July 1895 by the Anniversary Cooperative Society with the approval of the Kyoto Municipal Council. Its purpose was to 'mobilise believers' in order to 'ensure

---

[508] Heian Jingū Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Heian Jingū hyakunenshi*, p. 421.
[509] *Hinode Shinbun*, 24 July 1895.

the preservation of the Heian Shrine and gardens'.[510] This was to be achieved by the formation of regional societies of approximately 500 members, each of whom would pledge a donation to the shrine of at least one *ri* per day for a thousand days. In effect, the Lecture Society was the mechanism by which Nishimura's proposed tax was to be implemented. This indicates that a direct tax would have been unpopular, and in any case difficult to implement in the short time during which the parade was planned. The city and surrounding areas were grouped according to existing administrative districts. In return for their support, members of the society were to receive benefits at the shrine, including special treatment and gifts on shrine ritual occasions.

It is curious that the rules of the Lecture Society published in early July do not make any reference to the Festival of the Ages. However, the fact that the tax proposed to fund Nishimura's proposed parade was the same as the Lecture Society pledge indicates that it formed a crucial part of its planning. This became clear at the foundation meeting for the society, which was not held until September of that year, the month before the anniversary ceremony.[511] Heads of all administrative districts in the city, as well as local education committee members, assembled at the municipal chambers to hear Governor Watanabe and Cooperative Society executives discourse on the founding of the Lecture Society. They were told that the sixty administrative districts in the city would be divided into six groups, each of which was to be responsible for one section of the Festival of the Ages parade. Further, the results of the investigation committee were to be compiled, published and distributed to the six groups. This document, the *Festival of the Ages Parade Handbook (Heian Jingū jidai matsuri gyōretsu zufu)*, contained a brief outline of the deeds of Kanmu, the anniversary celebrations, and then detailed the results of the committee's historical investigation into the six sections of the parade.

---

[510] *Hinode Shinbun*, 11 July 1895.

[511] Wakamatsu, ed., *Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai kyōsanshi*, Genbu-hen, p. 50.

The original proposal announced by Nishimura (outlined in table 20 below) referred to more than six parade sections. These were popular historical themes that fulfilled Nishimura's wish to illustrate the 'changing cultural fashions' of Kyoto. However, it was difficult to see how some of these themes acted to commemorate the glorious deeds of the imperial founder of the city. The deeds of Yoshitsune, Benkei and Minamoto Yoritomo (1147-1199) were well known through popular stories and drama. Yoshitsune, for example, was the subject of a lavish float during the Jichinsai of the Heian Shrine in 1892. Some of the other themes might also have given the opportunity for extravagant costume and spectacle. However, the inclusion of Yoritomo and daimyo en route to Tokyo would have actually worked against the purpose of the anniversary by reinforcing the view of Kyoto as peripheral in the politics and culture of Tokugawa and Meiji Japan.

Table 20: Perodisation of the Festival of the Ages

Nishimura proposal	**21 July proposal**	***Parade Handbook***
Enryaku period costume	Enryaku period civil officials	Enryaku period civil officials
Sakanoue Tamuramaro military	Enryaku period military	Enryaku period military
Emperor Shirakawa court dress	Fujiwara period civil officials	Fujiwara period civil officials
Minamoto Yoshitsune and Benkei military	Kamakura period military	Jōnan *yabusame* archers
Minamoto Yoritomo at the battle of Fuji River	Kinsei period military	Oda Nobunaga's entry into Kyoto
Muromachi and Toyotomi period dress	Kyūhō period bumper harvest period dancers	Tokugawa envoy's entry into Kyoto
Edo period daimyo en route to Tokyo		
Yamaga and Echigo style warriors		

The proposal of 21 July made some progress towards rectifying this anomaly. It still included, however, costume from the military during the Kamakura period, a time when Kyoto had already become peripheral to affairs of state. The committee were unable to skip this period because the purpose of the parade, as with the Display of the Ages and other displays during the anniversary, was to portray a continuous narrative

linking the past with the present. In this sense, history could be inconvenient. The *Parade Handbook*, the report of the investigation committee, solved this problem with a detailed proposal for sections of the parade, each of which related to a specific historical event linked to Kyoto. There follows discussion of how each section of the parade acted to position Kyoto at the centre of national development, while often ignoring the actual conditions in the city. In other words, history as well as tradition was being invented in Kyoto in 1895.

The first section comprised a parade of Enryaku period civil officials dressed for the New Year Greeting in front of the Daigokuden in 796, the significance of which had been discussed previously. These included courtiers and warriors who had laboured to move the capital from Heijō-kyō, and then Nagaoka-kyō, to the newly constructed Heian-kyō. Among them were Fujiwara no Momokawa, Fujiwara no Oguromaro, Sugano Mamichi (741–814), Wake no Kiyomaro, Sakanoue Tamuramaro and others. All these figures were intimately related to the founding of the city, and were warriors and courtiers employed by Kanmu to construct and manage the realm of Japan in the eighth and ninth centuries.

The second section consisted of soldiers of Sakanoue Tamuramaro in camp in Kyoto in 801. Sakanoue had been appointed *Sei i tai shōgun* to quell the 'barbarians' *(emishi)* of the north, thus expanding the authority of Kanmu to the far reaches of the Japanese mainland. In practice, these distant areas were not fully incorporated under the authority of the Kyoto court during this period. The *Parade Handbook* conceded that more investigations needed to be conducted into the armour and weapons of these soldiers to ensure the parade was authentic. This was perhaps an unrealistic plea given the short preparation time, but is indicative of a desire for authenticity, at least on details. This is reminiscent of attempts, often frustrated, by the engineers of the Heian Shrine to make construction methods and materials as close as possible to the original design. Although the parade was a representation, or performance, it had to be accurate to ensure believability.

The third section of the parade comprised court dress of the Fujiwara family during their peak of influence at the court from the end of the ninth century to the rise of the Bakufu in the twelfth century. The parade was to depict Fujiwara courtiers in ceremonial dress such as would be worn, for example, by the regent visiting the Kamo Shrine. The parade would also show the changing style of dress as T'ang influences impacted on the existing styles of costume. The parade thus tacitly acknowledged continental influence on the culture of Kyoto. However, it removed specific reference to the imperial family from depictions in the parade: the original proposal for this period was costume from the court of Emperor Shirakawa, but this modification served to deflect attention away from the oft-troubled reality of the history of the imperial family towards the influence of resident advisers to the throne.

The 21 July proposal had included a display of Kamakura military dress as the next section in the parade. The investigation committee replaced this with an equivalent from the same period but better suited to a celebration of Kyoto—the *yabusame* archers of the Jōnan Shrine in Fushimi. *Yabusame* refers to a military art popular from the late Heian through Kamakura periods in which mounted archers fired arrows at a target from an upright position while at a gallop. In later times, the skill was reserved for displays at shrines, especially at the Jōnan Shrine located south of Kyoto. This theme was chosen for the Festival of the Ages due to the connection of the archers to the imperial court during the so-called Jōkyū Disturbance of 1221. At that time, retired Emperor Gotoba (1180–1239) in Kyoto attempted to break the power of the Hōjō family in Kamakura and raised an army against the Bakufu. The Jōnan Shrine was entrusted with raising troops under the banner of the *yabusame* and was able to recruit a force of over 1,700 from the surrounding domains. Despite this, the revolt failed and, ironically, led to a strengthening of the position of the Hōjō regents through the confiscation of much land formerly in possession of the court.

The fifth section in the final proposal replaced a general display of period costume with one again more specifically related to Kyoto. The event chosen was the entry into

Kyoto in 1568 of Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582). Kyoto had largely been destroyed in 1467 during the Ōnin War. The rise to prominence of Nobunaga and his presence in Kyoto resulted in the reconstruction of much of the city and a stability not seen for centuries. While the investigation committee focused on the role of Emperor Ōgimachi (1517–1593) in sending a secret commission to Nobunaga, the emperor was not personally named in the *Parade Handbook.* The entry of Nobunaga gave rise to a revival of the imperial house and was therefore considered by the committee worthy for future generations to commemorate. The failure to name Emperor Ōgimachi in the committee's report, however, is another attempt to deflect attention away from the specifics of the imperial family and more towards the city's role in an imagined continuation of imperial prosperity from the time of Kanmu down to the Meiji period. Only the ideal and continuity of the emperor within the narrative of the city was really important.

The last section in the investigation committee proposal was the entry into Kyoto of a Tokugawa envoy for the purpose of paying respects to the emperor. This section, like the previous two, allowed for a display of historic dress from periods when Kyoto was not central to national political affairs. Specifically, this section portrayed the entry of the shogunal parade into Kyoto to attend an Imperial Accession Ceremony. Furthermore, like previous sections, the display of ceremonial respect by the Tokugawa was presented without specific reference to the actual conditions or identity of the imperial personage.

The process of selection of these themes developed over several months of research by the investigation committee. There were certainly other events and themes that could have been chosen. For example, there was a proposal in July for the inclusion of 300 Ōtsu residents dressed in Heian period armour.[512] This armour had been preserved for use in the Ōtsu Festival, floats from which were used in the Jichinsai entertainments.

---

[512] *Hinode Shinbun,* 11 July 1895. This proposal came from the Ōtsu residents themselves.

Patriots from Ōtsu were to don this armour, travel to Shichijō Station by steam train, and then march en masse to the Heian Shrine with the Festival of the Ages parade. However, the final choice of themes for the Festival of the Ages was based on how well the event portrayed the ideal of a strong link with the emperor and governance in the realm from Kyoto. There needed to be a theme where a suitable spectacle of period dress was possible, but these themes were adjusted to focus on Kyoto. This bias may seem natural enough, but it developed in a process that involved reworking of the parade content over a period of several months.

As mentioned above, numerous dancers, musicians and men of note from the city were to accompany the parade. Two further additions are worthy of mention. These were both related to military units with connections to the area. The first was a group which traced its ancestry to the archers who fought with the late Heian period warrior Minamoto Yorimasa (1104–1180) in the Hōgen and Heiji Disturbances in the region. The second was the Sankoku Unit that fought in the Boshin War against the forces of the Bakufu. These sections of the parade consisted of several hundred people dressed in period costume. In the case of the Sankoku Unit, many were first generation descendants of veterans of the war. In isolation, these additions may be seen only as adding to the spectacle of the parade. In the light of the formation of the Martial Arts Society and display of war trophies held at the Heian Shrine, however, these inclusions must be seen as a further attempt to subsume public enthusiasm for the recent war and nationalist military fervour into the rhetoric of Kyoto's anniversary.

The route of the parade also reflected this selective representation of history. As we have seen it was originally proposed to start at Tōji and finish at the Heian Shrine. The final route taken, however, started from the Kyoto Municipal Chambers, construction of which had only been completed in March of that year.[513] The parade entered

---

[513] A ceremony marking the completion of construction was held on 25 March 1895 and attended by all the ranking local politicians. The project to build a new building was proposed by Nakamura Eisuke in September 1893 to coincide with the anniversary. Kyōto Sanjikai, ed., *Heian sento kinensai kiji*, vol. 2, p. 101.

Teramachi Avenue, turned west into Nijō Avenue, south down Karasuma, into Shijō and over Shijō Bridge, over the Keiryū Bridge over the canal and into the Heian Shrine. This route led the procession from the seat of current local power through the city to the newly constructed symbol of imperial authority, the Heian Shrine. The prestige and authority of the past were conflated with the present to grant legitimacy to the present holders of power. The means of this conflation was through historical narrative in the form of public display of select periods from the city's past. This is precisely the process discussed previously in regard to expositions. That the Festival of the Ages was accompanied by various explanatory texts to augment this process by providing context and narrative linking the past and present is no coincidence. Numerous guidebooks, the *Parade Handbook* itself, and newspaper articles appeared around the time of the parade to play the role similar to text panels at an exposition or museum.

The parade was scheduled to start at 9 a.m. on 25 October but, ironically, was delayed for several hours because there had been no time for rehearsals. Crowds had begun to gather at intersections and along the route from 6 a.m., and by 10 a.m. the square in front of the Kyoto Municipal Chambers, where the parade was meant to start, was packed with onlookers. Although marchers from different sections of the parade had mustered in local temple grounds, the delays were compounded by all simultaneously trying to attend a pre-march meal within the chambers. The sections of the parade were finally organised and set out for the Heian Shrine. Further chaos awaited at the shrine due to the plan for all marchers, in total over five hundred, to enter the Daigokuden to worship the spirit of Kanmu. It was after 7 p.m. when the parade was finally reorganised, returned to the municipal chambers, and dispersed.

This haphazard preparation was reflected in criticism of the parade that emerged in an editorial in the *Hinode* two days after the event.[514] Despite the large crowd, the most memorable aspect of the day was, according to the author of the article, how noisy and

---

[514] *Hinode Shinbun*, 27 October 1895.

disorderly it was. This is in stark contrast to the artistic depiction that appeared in the same newspaper on 22 October, several days prior to the parade (see figure 13). One of the reasons for the disorder in the parade, according to the article, was the small number of people from 'reputable families' who marched. They were replaced by 'day workers' without any connection to the section of the city responsible for the pageant, and whose costumes were criticised for being disorderly. Other costumes seemed to be improvised from *kyōgen*, and while some seemed new and resplendent, more were old and shabby. The author of the article granted that detailed investigations had been undertaken concerning the military equipment used in the parade. However, because the marchers were not used to bearing arms, the overall effect was disorderly.

Despite the delays and crowding, however, other reports of the parade were positive, emphasising the large crowd of onlookers as a measure of the success of the event. The following report best sums up this feeling.

> The portrayal of Japanese history in this parade, whereby the manners and customs of over 1,000 years were made known to the people in a single line, is an unprecedented spectacle since festivals began in this country.[515]

Furthermore, there were hopes that future parades, with more time to prepare, would correct the shortcomings in the inaugural event and more accurately reflect the elegance and beauty of Kyoto culture and fashion down the ages. It was presciently noted in the *Hinode* that future parades would attract large numbers of visitors from around Japan and other countries, and would portray Kyoto as a flourishing city of elegance. The *Hinode* also noted that 'history may be history, but it must not obliterate the flavour of festival'. The first Festival of the Ages had participants, but they were mostly uninterested hired workers, and certainly not revellers. It also was in part resplendent and pleasing to the eye, but for the most part lacked dignity and beauty. Finally, it may have presented the changing manners of Kyoto over one thousand years, but the large number of Tokugawa soldiers in the parade was a little too recent

---

[515] *Hinode Shinbun*, 27 October 1895.

for some residents who remembered only thirty years previously when the original warriors controlled, and often ran amok in, the streets of their Kyoto.

Guidebooks and representation of the past

The large number of visitors to Kyoto in 1895 took the opportunity to see more than the anniversary events and exposition. Kyoto, of course, had long been a popular destination for travellers and pilgrims. A visit to the Imperial Palace, the Sanjō Bridge, Kiyomizudera, and other 'famous sites' *(meisho)* in the city had become almost mandatory for visitors. The emergence of a 'canon' of *meisho* developed from the early Tokugawa period along with the rise in popularity of local guidebooks. Based on publishing figures, these books retained a modest popularity in the years after the restoration, with an average of just less than one new edition or publication of guidebooks in the years 1868–1894 (see table 21). The number of guides to the city's famous sites published in 1895, however, totalled an impressive twenty-six, not including guides to the exposition and anniversary themselves. The number of guides published in the years following returned to the pre-anniversary average.

Table 21: Guidebooks published in Meiji period Kyoto[516]

Year	Number of guidebooks	Year	Number of guidebooks	Year	Number of guidebooks
1868	0	1879	0	1890	1
1869	0	1880	1	1891	2
1870	1	1881	1	1892	2
1871	0	1882	0	1893	3
1872	0	1883	1	1894	4
1873	0	1884	1	1895	26
1874	0	1885	2	1896	1
1875	0	1886	1	1897	2
1876	0	1887	2	1898	2
1877	1	1888	0	1899	1
1878	0	1889	0	1900	2

[516] Compiled from Kyōto Shuppan Shi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Kyōto shuppan shi* (Kyoto: Nihon Shoseki Shuppan Kyōkai Kyōto Shibu, 1991), pp. 27–151.

The gradual rise of guides published in the 1880s coincided with the efforts in the city to preserve historic and cultural sites as described in an earlier chapter. Kyoto was beginning to reassert itself nationally and, after the end of the decade with the completion of the Lake Biwa Canal, the city was ready to promote itself more forcefully on the national stage both as a modern city and as the bastion of Japanese culture. The remarkable increase in 1895, however, cannot be adequately explained merely as opportunism on the part of the city's publishing houses. Certainly, it cannot be doubted that the exposition, and to a lesser extent the anniversary, were the motivation for the increase in volume of guides in that year. Further, it cannot be denied that quick profits resulting from the large influx of visitors was an attractive proposition. However, an examination of the style, content and publication details of these guides indicates that they served a function other than directing visitors to the best spots, to the cheapest hotels, or to the most popular restaurants.

Books describing famous sites in the city emerged in the second half of the seventeenth century in Kyoto. One of the earliest, and the first to carry *meisho* in the title, was Yamamoto Taijun's *Collection of Kyoto's Famous Sites (Rakuyō meisho shū)* published in 1659.[517] A series of similar publications followed. The appearance of these works was in response to the increasing number of visitors to the city at that time. They were, however, not guidebooks in the modern sense; instead, they consisted increasingly of a combination of literary text and ink drawings. Similar books had begun to appear in other locations with a focus on religious pilgrimage, hot springs or famous sights, and were a response to a general increase in mobility by the more well off in Tokugawa society.[518]

---

[517] Hayashiya, ed., *Dentō no teichaku*, p. 335.

[518] Haruno Tsuyoshi, 'Meiji jidai no kankō annnai: tetsudō ensen annaisho o chūshin to shite,' *Yasshiro Gakuin Daigaku Kiyō* 37-38 (1990), p. 37.

The most popular of all these *meisho* guides was published by the Kyoto merchant, Yoshinoya Tamehachi, in six volumes in 1780.[519] Yoshinoya commissioned the poet Akisato Nizaemon and the painter Takehara Nobushige to compile the work—a labour of love that took six years to complete—during which time Yoshinoya supported the author and illustrator of the book. Called the *Collected Famous Sites of Miyako (Miyako meisho zukai)*, the work initially did not sell. However, as one story has it, several copies were purchased by the lord of Wakasa Domain as souvenirs to be given to his family and friends in Edo. Acclaim for the books grew rapidly from this exposure and 4,000 copies were sold during the following year.

One of the innovations that ultimately made this work so popular was the combination of detailed bird's-eye view sketches with images of everyday life. The former would have been useful for finding one's way in the often sprawling precincts of the city's temples and shrines. The latter depicted special occasions, such as ritual and festival, as well as common scenes from the mundane: a peasant bundling faggots, a woman heating a bath, or an errand-boy holding aloft a tray of fish away from the reach of hungry street dogs. The text was often peripheral to the image and consisted of anecdotes about the site or poetic and literary allusions. Akisato's text was an aesthetic form in itself, written in elegant cursive characters that often blended into the image.

Tokugawa period *meisho* guides invariably opened with the Imperial Palace, its buildings, gardens and detached palaces. This is not surprising, since it was the dominant feature of the Kyoto landscape and not just in the physical sense, though that was impressive enough in the Kyoto vista. The prestige of the city, represented by the palace, was due to the physical presence of the emperor. The Imperial Palace's position in the guides reflected this prominence. The palace was not the only building easily visible among the generally low roofs of structures visible in Kyoto then. The Nijō Castle, symbolic of shogunal authority, and the Honganji temples in the lower part of

---

[519] This and following from Munemasa Isoo, ed., *Miyako meisho zukai o yomu* (Tokyo: Tōkyodō Shuppan, 1997), pp. i–iv.

the city all were prominent. These, too, were featured prominently in the guides, but it was the Imperial Palace that was given the place of honour, though the actual conditions of the emperor's authority or wealth were not always in accord with this prestige.

The Imperial Palace continued to appear at the head of early Meiji period guidebooks, despite the emperor having moved to Tokyo. It must be noted that only two guides were published in the Meiji period prior to 1880. The grounds of the Kyoto palace themselves, it will be recalled, had been abandoned and used for different purposes in the first ten years after the move to the east. In 1877, funds were made available to restore the palace and grounds, though the Kyoto Exposition and other displays continued to be held in the Gyoen. Guidebooks in this period, however, started to evidence the inclusion of a new canon of famous sites incorporating institutions and businesses newly created since the restoration. Several examples below will serve to illustrate the significance of this inclusion, but first, a few general comments on the content and format of the Meiji period guidebooks.

All the guides published between 1868-1894 were printed with handwritten characters. *Okurigana* was incorporated to assist in readings, as was the practice at the time for newspapers and other popular publications.[520] The guides were generally pocket-sized, averaging 10 by 15 centimetres, indicating that they were meant to be carried while touring the city. Most gave the address of the site, or a direction and distance from the previous entry, suggesting a recommended route for the visitor. Even so, it may have been difficult to locate some sites without assistance from locals or rickshaw operators. On this count, there was an almost complete lack of details in the early guides of services essential to visitors, such as accommodation, transport, food etc. The exception

---

[520] This stemmed from a desire to increase literacy in order to make the country stronger. Some advocates went as far as to suggest abolishment of the use of kanji altogether. See, for example, Janet Hunter, 'Language Reform in Meiji Japan: The Views of Maejima Hisoka,' in *Themes and Theories in Modern Japanese History: Essays in Memory of Richard Storry*, ed. Sue Henny and John-Pierre Lehmann (New Jersey: Athlone Press, 1988), pp. 101-120.

was published in 1877 by Fukui Genjirō.[521] This work contained details of train timetable and fares, postal rates, as well as lists of regional specialties and producers, locations of imperial mausolea, and other useful lists. The only images in this work, in line with its utilitarian focus, were a mixture of topographical and stylised maps of the prefecture and city detailing the location of the famous sites.

Most guides incorporated ink sketches of some or all sites. These tended to be stylistic depictions of sites or places of interest within a site—a *torii* at Fushimi Inari, the *Tsūtenkyō* (Bridge Over Heaven) at Tōfukuji, or the wooden stage of Kiyomizudera. Quality ranged from simple to more detailed images. There was, however, very little of the everyday scenes of the mundane so carefully depicted in the Tokugawa period *Collected Famous Sites of Miyako*. Indeed, people were generally drawn simply, represented without any trace of humanity. This was far from the playfulness and dynamic depictions in Takehara's earlier images.

None of the works surveyed contained photographic images of the sites. This was due to technological limitation in printing in the early Meiji guides, but later reflected the idea that these works were generally considered artistic rather than utilitarian.[522] It was not the purpose of an image to give a true depiction of a site, but to convey some sense or feeling of the ambience, or to engender some emotion in the viewer. The bird's-eye images common in the *Collected Famous Sites of Miyako* were less frequent in the Meiji guides, which were also devoid of the detailed labelling of individual structures within sites. Images were more compact and intimate rather than a grand overview. The exception was the inclusion of maps of the city at the beginning of some publications. However, these were generally stylised rather than cartographic. One guide printed a map of the city in the form of a mandala, with only the vaguest

---

[521] Ishida Akiyama, *Kyōto meisho annai zukai* (Kyoto: Fukui Genjirō, 1887), in Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan, *Meiji-ki maikuro*, ADC-2812.

[522] It should be noted that the first photograph to appear in the local *Hinode Shinbun*, for example, was in April 1905. See Kyōto Shinbunsha, ed., *Kyōto shinbun hyakujūnen shi* (Kyōto: Kyōto Shinbunsha, 1989), p. 201.

correspondence to geographical location.[523] Many others used the style common in depictions of the city on folded screens, though in monochrome ink rather than gold leaf.

Sites in the guidebooks were generally arranged geographically, though not in accordance with administrative divisions within the city. However, the most important sites were listed at the front of the guide before this geographical classification. These generally included the Imperial Palace and other palaces such as the Retired Emperor's Palace, Sanjō Bridge, Nijō Castle, the Shimo Goryō Shrine etc. This was similar to pre-Meiji guides but for the inclusion of new sites such as the Kyoto Municipal Chambers, schools, the Office for the Promotion of Industry, and the Kyoto Exposition grounds. The intrusion of modernity into the life of the city, reminiscent of the poem of eight sites in the city quoted in an earlier chapter, was incorporated into the genre of travel guides published in the period. While these books are referred to as 'guides', it is evident that they were not guides in the modern sense. Although meant to be carried by visitors to the city, they offered no help with the mechanics of the visit, but only augmented the understanding and appreciation of encounters with a set of sights one was meant to observe and interpret.

These trends in Meiji guidebooks reinforce the observation of the historian Tanaka. He suggested a tendency in 1880s Japanese art and history books away from an emphasis on local places towards 'artefacts as important moments in the historical evolution/progress of the nation and state of Japan'.[524] The intimate characters and detailed labelling of Tokugawa guides was replaced by stylised depictions of representative sites. The Meiji guides contained little practical information for travellers. Their purpose was to provide a context through an overview of the history of the site, and to create an ambience to enhance the experience of visiting. In short, the

---

[523] Endō Mohei, *Kyōto meisho annai zukai* (Kyoto: Fukui Genjirō, 1881), in Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan, *Meiji-ki maikuro*, ADC-2814.
[524] Tanaka, 'Imaging History,' p. 40.

guidebooks, especially during Kyoto's anniversary year, acted in the same way as text accompanying a display of historical items, or a catalogue providing the background and origins of exhibits of art. The purpose of these texts, as described previously, was to provide a narrative to link the imagined past to the objects and artefacts of the present. In this sense, the guidebooks were more than physical, or even cultural, guides to visitors: they provided a framework by which visitors could position themselves within a common narrative of the history of Japan. The city itself was a display, a representation, in the same sense as the exposition and the historical displays, including the human pageant of the Festival of the Ages.

A final comment on the nature of the Festival of the Ages contrasts it with the behaviour of the residents of the city during the Jichinsai of the Heian Shrine two years earlier. The scenes of wild abandon that were seen on the streets of the city in 1893 were absent from the anniversary celebrations. Participants in the Jichinsai had not been under the control of any coordinating body, though they came to the attention of the local police as their behaviour tended to excess.[525] Floats were decorated and paraded around the streets largely without temporal or spatial boundaries. Such was the nature of the pre-modern festival. It was, in terms popularised by the anthropologist Victor Turner, a moment of liminality and communitas.[526] Traditional social boundaries were transcended through ritual or festival, allowing a symbolic recognition of basic societal bonds. The sense of being lost in the moment, or being outside of the norms and rules of everyday society, such as were seen in cross-dressing and sexual deviancy activities after the Jichinsai, is an innate recognition of the nature of human relationships in traditional societies. By contrast, the Festival of the Ages clearly distinguished participants from non-participants; performers from spectators.

---

[525] While the Festival of the Ages displayed the controlling aspect of ritual explained by Schnell, there was a conscious removal of any 'ritual resistance' in the event. Schnell, 'Ritual as an Instrument of Political Resistance in Rural Japan,' pp. 301–328.

[526] See Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1969), especially chapter 3, 'Liminality and Communitas', pp. 94–130.

The traditional festival had only revellers who rebelled, within a specified ritual context, against the normal standards of behaviour.

There were no revellers in this sense during the 1,100th anniversary celebrations of Kyoto in 1895. The symbolic recognition of society in traditional festivals had been replaced by a formalised representation that favoured visual symbolism over bodily action. The object of this symbolism was not the immediate local social group, but a largely intangible conception of a nation based in modern political structures and headed by the person of the emperor. The emperor was symbolised within the context of the anniversary by the spirit of Kanmu within the Heian Shrine. The symbolic displays of a historical narrative during the anniversary provided a means by which the residents of Kyoto, and by extension of Japan, could safely affirm their membership of the modern nation of Japan.

Conclusion

This thesis has argued that the Kyoto elite during the 1895 anniversary sought to foster in the people of Kyoto a sense of common identity and a shared cultural heritage by engaging them in specific cultural activities. The underlying symbolism and representational forms of the celebrations of the anniversary, the founding of the Heian Shrine, the staging of the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition, and the other displays and events of 1895 worked to reposition the residents of Kyoto within newly emerging frameworks of understanding. Though the focus of these activities was directed towards Kyoto, national participation and imperial symbols also resulted in stronger associations with the wider abstract community of Japan. This conclusion will summarise the evidence presented in support of this argument, and briefly assess how the findings support or otherwise engage related scholarship.

This study has attempted to identify the agents at work in the anniversary activities and reveal their backgrounds, motivations and influences. The organisers of the anniversary have been found to comprise two main groups of elites in Japanese society. The first, centred in Tokyo around the Anniversary Cooperative Society, had great influence on many of the key financial and organisational decisions of the events of 1895 due to their connections to the central government and business world. The year of the anniversary, the choice of site for the Heian Shrine, and the selection of chief priest are examples where the Tokyo elite exercised considerable control over anniversary events.

The second included a core group of young entrepreneurs who were central to the political and business worlds of Kyoto. The bulk of the organisation and planning was carried out by these men through the local Anniversary Committee and associated offices. Nakamura Eisuke, a leader in the Kyoto government, a member of several business associations, and a business leader, is representative of these men's efforts to

ensure the success of the anniversary events while representing local interests and proposals in the face of demands and constraints from Tokyo.

Many recent regional studies, in particular those by Wigen, Lewis and Baxter discussed in the thesis, have shown the fallacy of interpreting the changes in the Meiji period as simply a process of top-down reform. The case of the Kyoto anniversary reinforces the understanding that regional compliance to central reforms and demands during Meiji was a complex process of contestation and conciliation whereby regional elites sought to moderate and diffuse national and local interests and issues. The composition of the local elite in Kyoto leading up to 1895, however, is in contrast to that of Kawasaki analysed by Lewis. He identified a level of continuity in the local leadership and economy that provided a buffer against central reform. The case of Kyoto evidenced an elite with few ties to the pre-Meiji city, and an economy that, though based in traditional fields, had made active efforts to change and adapt to modern methods after the significant shock to the region when the emperor left for Tokyo in 1869.

The local elite were motivated by a strong desire for regional prosperity. Many had suffered hardships during the 1870s, and had since strived through encouragement of industry, participation in expositions, and the formation of business societies, to rebuild the economy of the old capital. This is clearly evident in the focus placed on the exposition in the anniversary; indeed both were officially proposed out of the office of the Kyoto Business Association. For Fujitani, modernity was represented by Tokyo in the national symbolic topography. However, analysis of the 1895 anniversary has shown how regional cultural activities which incorporate traditional and modern forms, the 'mutual necessity' of old and new, reveal complex nuances of identification with the region and the nation. As is illustrated by the various scandals that rocked the powerful Kōminkai, many of whose members were later involved in the anniversary, personal business opportunities were also a powerful motivating factor. Local factional interests that saw, for example, the area to the east of the Kamo River around the Biwa

Canal favoured over the western and northern areas of the city were, like the intra-regional factions in the Ina Valley studied by Wigen, a complicating factor that influenced outcomes.

A range of anniversary events have been examined to identify common forms of cultural production. The Heian Shrine, the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition, the Display of the Ages and the Festival of the Ages were all anniversary events in which aspects of the history and culture of Kyoto were represented or displayed. As has been seen in the analysis of the development of policies in Kyoto to preserve items of cultural heritage, there was during the 1870s an increasing association of imperial artefacts—Fujitani's mnemonic sites—with the heritage of Kyoto. The changing nature of the preservation of cultural heritage in the 1870s and 1880s, for example, the increasing concern for provenance and position within a narrative framework, provides a useful indicator for the emergence of cultural nationalism. Unlike Brown and Gluck, who view political events such as treaty revision and the promulgation of the constitution as crucial in tracing the growth of a widespread national consciousness and associated ideologies, it has been shown in this thesis that these early trends in preservation and display, in the old capital at least, demonstrates the value of analysis of cultural activities in studies of the formation of a national identity.

Whereas Fujitani focused on how the symbolism of Kyoto as imperial past was manifest in national ceremony and ritual, the Kyoto anniversary illustrates the power of displays of cultural heritage in providing a common framework of understanding. The prime example is the Heian Shrine, in which an ancient symbol of imperial authority was recreated, albeit incompletely and somewhat imperfectly, to invoke the glory of the founder of the city. Such was the importance of the symbolism of linking the past and present that the entire anniversary celebrations were postponed when the emperor was unable to attend due to a cold and pressing affairs of state. The route of the Festival of the Ages, itself a late compromise when it was correctly surmised that the emperor may miss the rescheduled anniversary, makes even clearer this symbolic

link. Departing from the Prefectural Assembly, the seat of current local authority, the historical parade wound through the city, much like an imperial progress, to end at the Heian Shrine, symbol of the ancient imperial past, thus legitimising the current power structures and affording an opportunity for residents to gaze on the legacy bequeathed to the city by past emperors.

The means by which this link was made evident was through the emergence of a specific historic narrative. As noted throughout the thesis, the process of display, or exposition, involved the viewer of objects in the creation of narrative, and this narrative combined the objects of the past with the context of the present in a self-evident representational unity. The thesis has traced the emergence of a clear progression, or narrative, within the displays of Kyoto culture, art and industry, and shown that these have simultaneously promoted the importance of Kyoto to the national project and provided a basis for pride in the achievements of Japan. The novelty of the linear narrative structure of the Festival of the Ages, for example, was clearly evident to contemporary commentators. What is more telling is that the content of each narrative element of the parade was not immediately evident, but emerged, or was invented, over the course of the organisation of the event.

This narrative context was reinforced during the anniversary through the public consumption of various texts. The demand for large numbers of guidebooks to Kyoto, most of which provided little practical information for visitors, suggests that they functioned to provide a narrative context for visitors to the city. Numerous explanatory texts on displays and the exposition published in the local newspapers served a similar purpose. Kyoto in 1895 was a city on display, not just the backdrop for various events. This is reinforced by the beautification of the city's famous sites, temples and shrines, and by improvements to infrastructure, especially in the areas between the railway station and the exposition grounds. It is no surprise that many of these improvements were removed after the anniversary was concluded, just as the pavilions of the exposition were dismantled after its visitors had returned home.

This thesis has considered the unprecedented level of participation by people from Kyoto, and wider Japan, in the events of the anniversary year. The Heian Shrine is the first example of a shrine being constructed using significant levels of voluntary contributions from all areas of Japan. The national rail and communications networks constructed during the Meiji period also allowed large numbers of contributors from around Japan to attend the exposition and anniversary celebrations. The promotion of the region as a tourist attraction by linking travel concessions to the anniversary is certainly reminiscent of attempts in the Ina Valley to link transport improvements to pride in the region. A benefit of contributing to the anniversary, and one which appropriated the symbolism of the Heian Period Daigokuden, allowed for special opportunities to worship at the Heian Shrine. In Heian times, only members of the nobility and imperial family were afforded the privilege of such attendance on the emperor. In 1895 Kyoto, a city proud of its achievements to modernise since the restoration, it was significant that it was financial stakeholders who were allowed such access to the symbols of imperial authority at the Heian Shrine.

Monetary donations were obtained from around Japan, but ground-swell support in the form of contributions for the anniversary in general, and the Heian Shrine in particular, was understandably strongest in Kyoto. It was this support that had been lacking from Iwakura's attempt to construct a similar shrine in the 1880s. It is difficult to determine how this translates into support for the local elite, but their ideological claims for the events were accessible to a largely literate populace through the local press. Further, there was not the public outcry in Kyoto that accompanied the levies imposed in previous years for the construction of the Lake Biwa Canal, despite other demands on a limited regional budget. The large numbers of visitors to the city during the exposition, and the high gate figures for many of the events, is definitive evidence for the success and popular appeal of the anniversary.

Evidence for how the anniversary events fostered a sense of common heritage and collective identity has been located not simply in numbers of visitors, but in the types

of cultural activities these visitors and residents undertook during the anniversary year. There is no questioning the fact that large numbers of people were exposed to representations of Kyoto's history and culture in 1895, and that these were linked by narratives that acted to reinforce and legitimise structures of power, as well as to engender feelings of association with the abstract community. It is also evident that many participated in the construction of these representations or actively sought to preserve aspects of Kyoto's history and culture through official and private societies and organisations. What is less clear is how the anniversary events influenced the residents of the city in the longer term, or to what degree some residents may have dissented or protested. There is little in the documentary evidence to address these questions fully, though this is partly understandable given the main local newspaper was owned by a key member of the organising committee.

Further evidence has been uncovered through contrasting the public celebrations of the Jichinsai of the Heian Shrine in 1893 with the actual anniversary celebrations in 1895. The situation after the Jichinsai threatened to degenerate into chaos and disorder. Great efforts were taken to ensure that the celebrations of the anniversary were more elegant and 'civilised', and while this was partly achieved, there was little evidence of 'revelry' in 1895. The significance of this contrast is that the emergence of a more disciplined form of public celebration was coincident with the novelty of narrative representations of the history and culture of Kyoto, for example, in the Festival of the Ages. Despite some dissatisfaction with the parade, the mode of cultural production evident in the parade was shared across the Heian Shrine, the exposition, displays and preservation activities, and allowed residents and visitors alike to participate in an affirmation of emerging ideological discourses on the nation.

The 1,100th anniversary celebrated the revival of the city of Kyoto and aimed to bequeath hope and prosperity to future generations of residents. A century later in 1895, when the 1,200th anniversary was held, the Heian Shrine and Festival of the Ages were still focal points for a celebration of the city. But, the legacy of the events of 1895,

as examined in the thesis, was more significant and far reaching. Recent scholarship has demonstrated the complexities of the transition of Japan into a modern nation. This thesis similarly demonstrates that the cultural practices and ideologies of the anniversary reinforced a program of associations with the entire nation under an imperial family with deep ties to the Kyoto region. However, identity for late-nineteenth century Japanese, such as for the dignitaries and residents waiting for the August Spirit of Kanmu at Kyoto Station in early 1895, cannot be understood simply through concepts of nationalism linked to elites, bureaucracies, and centre-periphery paradigms. Rather, identity was multi-layered, complex and contextual, and apparent in cultural practices such as those evident in the founding of the Heian Shrine, in the staging of the Industrial Exposition, and in other activities related to the anniversary of the founding of Kyoto.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Glossary of Japanese terms

Reading	Term	Translation or explanation
Ansei no taigoku	安政の大獄	Ansei purge
anzaisho	行在所	temporary court
Aoi matsuri	葵祭	Hollyhock Festival
bekkakusha	別格社	special shrine
Bijutsukan	美術館	Art Gallery
Biwa-ko sosui	琵琶湖疎水	Lake Biwa Canal
Bosatsugakari	簿冊掛	Archives Office
bussankai	物産会	trade show
Butokukai	武徳会	Martial Arts Society
byakko	白虎	white tiger
Chinzashiki	鎮座式	Enshrinement Ceremony
Chōan	長安	Ch'ang-an
Chōdōin	朝堂院	Chōdōin
Chōga	朝賀	New Year Greeting
Chōsabu	調査部	Survey Office
Chōsagakari	調査掛	Survey Office (prefectural)
Daidairi	大内裏	Heian Imperial Palace
Daigokuden	大極殿	Daigokuden (Great Hall of State)
Daiichi kokuritsu ginkō	第一国立銀行	First National Bank
Daijōsai	大嘗祭	Enthronement Ceremony
Daiyonkai naikoku kangyō hakurankai	第四回内国勧業博覧会	Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition
Dajōkan	太政官	Council of State
Dobokubu	土木部	Public Works Office
Dōbutsukan	動物館	Animal Pavilion
Dōshisha byōin	同志社病院	Dōshisha Hospital
Eiseibu	衛生部	Public Health Office
fusha, kensha	府社、県社	prefectural shrine
fūzoku no hensen	風俗の変遷	changing cultural fashions
fūzoku no kairan	風俗の壊乱	breakdown of public morality
genbu	玄武	snake-headed turtle
Genrōin	元老院	Council of Elders
gijō	議定	councillor
Gokajō no goseimon	五ヵ条の御誓文	Charter Oath
gokoku sanbukyō	護国三部経	three great nation-protecting sutras
Gosaie	御斎会	Purificatory Offering Ritual
gōsha	郷社	district shrine
Gosho	御所	Imperial Palace
gūji	宮司	chief priest
haibutsu kishaku	廃仏毀釈	'destroy the Buddha and

		smash Buddhism'
Hakurankaibu	博覧会部	Exposition Office
haraegushi	祓串	purification wand
Hasshōin	八省院	Hasshōin
Heian Jingū	平安神宮	Heian Shrine
Heian kōsha	平安講社	Heian Lecture Society
Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai	平安遷都千百年記念祭	1,100th anniversary of the founding of Kyoto
Heian tsūshi	平安通誌	*Heian tsūshi*
Higashiyama shin shoga tenkan	東山新書画展観	Higashiyama New Art Exhibit
Hoke-kyō	法華経	Lotus Sutra
honkawarabuki	本瓦葺き	linear roof tiling
hōō	鳳凰	phoenix
ikki	一揆	peasant rebellion
insei	院政	rule by cloistered emperors
irimoya-zukuri	入母屋造	hip-gable roof construction
Iwayakushimon	石薬師門	Iwayakushi Gate
Jichinsai	地鎮祭	Jichinsai (Land-calming Ritual)
Jidai matsuri	時代祭	Festival of the Ages
Jidaihin tenrankai	時代品展覧会	Display of the Ages
Jingikan	神祇官	Department of Shinto Affairs
jiyū minken undō	自由民権運動	peoples' rights movement
jōchirei	上地令	confiscation of [shrine and temple] land
Jōtōsai	上棟祭	Roof-raising Ceremony
kaichō	開張	special display of sacred images
Kangyō shimonkai	勧業諮問会	Promotion of Industry Enquiry Commission
Kangyōjō	勧業場	Office for the Promotion of Industry
Kankokuheisha hozonkin	官国幣社保存金	Imperial and National Shrine Preservation Fund
Kanmu Tennō	桓武天皇	Emperor Kanmu
Kannamesai	神嘗祭	First Fruits Festival
kanpei taisha	官幣大社	great imperial shrine
kanpeisha	官幣社	imperial shrine
Kansai bōeki gōshi kaisha	関西貿易合資会社	Kansai Trade Cooperative Company
Kansai tetsudō kaisha	関西鉄道会社	Kansai Railway Company
Kashihara Jingū	橿原神宮	Kashihara Shrine
Keiryū hashi	慶流橋	Keiryū Bridge
Kenmu chūkō	建武中興	Kenmu restoration
kenzen hogo	健全保護	sound health protection
Kikaikan	機械館	Machinery Pavilion
kinensai	記念祭	Anniversary Ritual
Kinensai chōsa iinkai	記念祭調査委員会	Anniversary Study Committee
Kinensai iinkai	記念祭委員会	Anniversary Committee

Kinensai kyōsankai	記念祭協賛会	Anniversary Cooperative Society
kinenshiki	記念式	Anniversary Ceremony
kirizuma-nagare	切妻流れ	traditional shrine construction
Kizokuin	貴族院	House of Peers
kōbu gattai undō	公武合体運動	movement to unite court and military
Kōgyōkan	工業館	Manufacturing Pavilion
Koki kyūbutsu hozonhō	古器旧物保存法	Old Items Preservation Law
Kokka shintō	国家神道	State, or Shrine Shinto
kokuheisha	国幣社	national shrine
Kōminkai	公民会	Kōminkai
Konkōmyō-kyō	金光明経	Golden Splendour Sutra
kōryō	虹梁	rainbow beam
Koshaji hozonhō	古社寺保存法	Old Shrine and Temple Preservation Law
Kudara	百済	Paekche
Kunaishō	宮内省	Imperial Household Ministry
Kyōbushō	教部省	Ministry of Doctrine
Kyōha shintō	教派神道	Sect Shinto
Kyōiku chokugo	教育勅語	Imperial Rescript on Education
Kyōsankai hyōgikai	協賛会評議会	Cooperative Society Board of Trustees
Kyōson dōshū	共存同衆	Society for Mutual Coexistence
Kyōto bijutsu kōgei gakkō	京都美術工芸学校	Kyoto Arts and Crafts College
Kyōto chagyō kumiai	京都茶業組合	Kyoto Tea Association
Kyōto dentō kaisha	京都電灯会社	Kyoto Electric Light Company
Kyōto hakuran kaisha	京都博覧会社	Kyoto Exhibition Company
Kyōto hakurankai goyōgakari	京都博覧会御用掛	Kyoto Exhibition Office
Kyōto jitsugyō kyōkai	京都実業協会	Kyoto Business Association
Kyōto kabushiki torihikijo	京都株式取引所	Kyoto Stock Exchange
Kyōto kangofu gakkō	京都看護婦学校	Kyoto Nursing College
Kyōto kenchiku jitsugyō kumiai	京都建築実業組合	Kyoto Construction Industry Alliance
Kyōto orimono kabushiki kaisha	京都織物株式会社	Kyoto Weaving Company
Kyōto saibansho	京都裁判所	Kyoto Court
Kyōto shigijidō	京都市議事堂	Kyoto Municipal Chambers
Kyōto shikai	京都市会	Kyoto Municipal Assembly
Kyōto shikaigichō	京都市会議長	president of the Municipal Assembly
Kyōto shisanjikai	京都市参事会	Kyoto Municipal Council
Kyōto shōgyō kaigijo	京都商業会議所	Kyoto Chamber of Commerce
Kyōto shōkō kaigijo	京都商工会議所	Kyoto Chamber of Commerce and Industry
Kyōto shōkō ginkō	京都商工銀行	Kyoto Commercial Bank
Kyōto shoshidai	京都所司代	Kyoto Magistrate
Kyōto shugo	京都守護	Kyoto Constable

kyūhei issen	旧弊一洗	cleanse old customs
kyūkan	旧慣	old customs
masakaki	真榊	sacred branches
meisho	名勝	famous site
Min'yūsha	民有者	Min'yūsha
Minbushō	民部省	Ministry of the People
misemono	見せ物	freak show
Mitsui ginkō	三井銀行	Mitsui Bank
mukakusha	無格社	unranked shrine
Naimushō	内務省	Home Ministry
negi	禰宜	senior priest
Nihon bōeki kyōkai	日本貿易協会	Japanese Foreign Trade Association
Nihon sekijūjisha	日本赤十字社	Japanese Red Cross Society
Nijō-jō	二条城	Nijō Castle
Ninnōe	仁王会	Benevolent Kings Ritual
Ninnōhannya-kyō	仁王般若経	Benevolent Kings Sutra
Nōrinkan	農林館	Agriculture and Forestries Pavilion
Nōshōmushō	農商務省	Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce
nukemairi	抜け参り	secret pilgrimage
Ōharae	大祓	Great Purification Ritual
okagemairi	御陰参り	mass pilgrimage to Ise
Ōkurashō	大蔵省	Ministry of Finance
ōsei fukko	王政復古	imperial revival
Ōtenmon	大天門	Ōtenmon
Rakuyō	洛陽	Lo-yang
ranchō	鸞鳥	phoenix
Reichikai	令智会	Splendid Wisdom Society
Reisai	例祭	Annual Festival
Rekishika	歴史科	History Section
Rikkō	立后	Empress Investiture Ceremony
Ritchūshiki	立柱式	Pillar-raising Ceremony
Rokumeikan	鹿鳴館	Deer Cry Pavilion
Ryūbidan	竜尾壇	Ryūbidan
saisei itchi	祭政一致	unity of rites and rule
sakaki	榊	*Cleyera japonica*
san'yo	参与	junior councillor
sangoku kanshō	三国干渉	triple intervention
sanka kintai	山河襟帯	mountains and rivers [are a] collar and belt
sankin kōtai	参勤交代	alternate-year residence
Senrihin chinretsu	戦利品陳列	War Trophy Exhibition
Sentō gosho	仙洞御所	Retired Emperor's Palace
Settaibu	接待部	Reception Office
shaden	社殿	shrine sanctuary
shichū-zukuri	四注造	pyramidal roof construction

shide	四手	sacred paper strips
Shikiten oyobi hensanbu	式典及編纂部	Ceremonial and Publishing Office
shimenawa	注連縄	sacred rope
shinbutsu bunrirei	神仏分離令	separation of Shinto and Buddhism edicts
Shindensai	新殿祭	New Hall Purification
shinko aimochi	新古相須	mutual necessity of old and new
Shiragi	新羅	Silla
shishi	志士	patriot or loyalist
Shōanden	小安殿	Shōanden
shōko kaikyū	尚古懐旧	esteem for antiquity and nostalgia for the past
Shōkōgyō kumiai	商工業組合	Commerce and Manufacturing Association
shōkonsai	招魂祭	service for the spirits of the war dead
Shomubu	庶務部	General Affairs Office
Shomugakari	庶務掛	General Affairs Office (prefectural)
Shūgiin	衆議院	House of Representatives
shuisho	趣意書	Statement of Purpose
shujaku	朱雀	vermilion bird
shuten	主典	junior priest
Sokui shiki	即位式	Imperial Accession Ceremony
sonnō jōi	尊王攘夷	revere the emperor and expel the barbarian
sonsha	村社	village shrine
sōryū	蒼竜	blue dragon
sōsai	総裁	executive officer
sugi	杉	*Cryptomeria japonica*
Suisankan	水産館	Fisheries Pavilion
taikyō	大教	great teaching
taikyō senpu undō	大教宣布運動	Great Promulgation Campaign
Taikyōin	大教院	Great Teaching Institute
tairō	大老	great councillor
tamagushi	玉串	ritual shinto wand
Tankō tetsudō	炭鉱鉄道	Colliery Railway
teito	帝都	imperial capital
Toshigoi no matsuri	祈年祭	Yearly Harvest Festival
ubusunasha	産土社	tutelary shrine
uchikowashi	打壊し	warehouse-breaking rebellion
yabusame	流鏑馬	mounted archery
yatai	屋台	floats
yosemune-zukuri	寄棟造	pyramidal roof construction

Appendix 2: Timeline of major events[527]

1892

May 1892

- **13 May:** proposal by Usui Kosaburō to Kyoto Business Association to hold in 1894 an celebration for the anniversary of the founding of city by Kanmu
- **13 May:** decision of Kyoto Business Association to recommend to Kyoto Chamber of Commerce and the Kyoto Municipal Assembly to jointly hold anniversary and Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition
- **17 May:** letter by members of Kyoto Business Association to Kyoto Municipal Council concerning anniversary
- **19 May:** letter from Kyoto Business Association to prefectural governor, Kitagaki, calling for anniversary
- **19 May:** Kyoto Municipal Council decision to treat anniversary as a civic event
- **23 May:** Kyoto Business Association members petition prefectural governor to hold Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition in Kyoto
- **26 May:** Kyoto Municipal Assembly decision to appoint three councillors and four assemblymen to Anniversary Study Committee
- **28 May:** councillors (Naiki Kansaburō, Nishimura Jihei, Nishimura Shichisaburō) assemblymen (Amemori Kikutarō, Nakano Chūhachi, Higashie Kichibei, Usui Kosaburō) elected to Anniversary Study Committee:
- **28 May**: president of Kyoto Municipal Assembly, Nakamura Eisuke, wrote to Agriculture and Commerce Minister with notice of intent to hold Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition in Kyoto
- **31 May:** president of Kyoto Chamber of Commerce, Hamaoka, wrote to Agriculture and Commerce Minister and Finance Minister with request to hold Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition in Kyoto

June 1892

- **13 June:** first meeting of Anniversary Study Committee, Naiki elected chairman

July 1892

- **26 July:** additional assemblymen appointed to Anniversary Study Committee (Kuse Michiaki, Nakamura Eisuke, Hamaoka Mitsunori)
- **26 July:** Naiki advised Kyoto Municipal Assembly of Anniversary Study Committee's recommendation to jointly hold anniversary and exposition, approved by Assembly Liaison Committee

August 1892

- **3 Aug:** vice-minister of Agriculture and Commerce, Nishimura Sutezō, advised that Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition would be held in 1895, and gave unofficial notification that it would be held in Kyoto

September 1892

- **15 Sept:** application by the Kyoto Municipal Assembly and the Kyoto Municipal Council to the Agriculture and Commerce Minister, Gotō Shōjirō, for exposition in Kyoto in 1895

---

[527] Compiled from Heian Jingū Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Heian Jingū hyakunenshi nenpyō* (Kyoto: Heian Jingū, 1998).

- **20 Sept:** decision by Kyoto Municipal Council to establish Anniversary Administration Office within Kyoto Chamber of Commerce
- **22 Sept:** decision by the Cabinet that the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition would be held in Kyoto in 1895
- **23 Sept:** decision of Kyoto Municipal Assembly to hold anniversary in 1895 and to investigate method to carrying out plan; also decided to donate grounds for the exposition free of charge
- **? Sept:** expatriate Kyoto nobles and others cooperate to plan anniversary in Tokyo

October 1892

- **31 Oct:** Anniversary Cooperative Society founded from expatriate noblemen and patriots in Tokyo, formulated rules and a Statement of Purpose: Prince Konoe Atsumaro, Nijō Motohiro, and Iwakura Tomomi all sanctioned intent of Anniversary Cooperative Society and agreed to work for its aims
- **? Oct:** Kyoto Municipal Assembly with committee members signed and issued Statement of Purpose for the 1,100th Anniversary of the Founding of the City by Emperor Kanmu

November 1892

- **15 Nov:** Kyoto prefectural governor, Senda Teikyo, invited city notables and businessmen to his residence and invited them to participate in Anniversary Cooperative Society, which they agreed on
- **17 Nov:** meeting of foundation members of the Anniversary Cooperative Society; after reading of society's aims by prefectural governor, discussion concerning establishment of office in Kyoto Chamber of Commerce, budget of society, and members; formal organisation of the Kyoto 1,100th Anniversary Cooperative Society
- **18 Nov:** inauguaral meeting of Anniversary Cooperative Society; decisions on membership and recruitment
- **22 Nov:** discussion in the Kyoto Municipal Assembly concerning the anniversary; request made to the Imperial Household Minister, Hijikata Hisamoto, for the presence of the emperor at the anniversary

1893

January 1893

- **16 Jan:** House of Representatives decides budget for Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition

February 1893

- **2 Feb:** meeting of foundation members of the Anniversary Cooperative Society; decision to meet on 10th every month

March 1893

- **9 Mar:** first meeting of Anniversary Committee, discussion of bulletins concerning exposition and anniversary, division of labour, surveys of sites etc
- **11 Mar:** Governor Senda proposal to Home Minister, Inoue Kaoru, for construction of a Heian Shrine on the site of the former Daigokuden
- **11 Mar:** petition from 21 notable residents of Okazaki to Kyoto Municipal Council to hold exposition in their ward
- **12 Mar:** Anniversary Committee eestablished offices to oversee administration of exposition and anniversary (Cermonial and Publishing, Exposition, Public Works, Reception, General Affairs, Surveys Offices), committee members appointed

- **17 Mar:** foundation Cooperative Society decides that construction of model Daigokuden is responsibility of society; this is reported to the Tokyo branch of the society

April 1893

- **4 Apr:** Imperial order no. 16 proclaims permission for Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition to be held in Kyoto from 1 April to 31 July 1895
- **13 Apr:** Kyoto Anniversary Committee member Yumoto presents 'Opinions on the Heian Foundation Anniversary' including 'Proposal and diagrams of Heian-gū, construction of shrine for Kanmu' by Pulic Works Office engineer Mizuguchi Jirō; proposal to Anniversary Committee to begin preparations for construction of the Anniversary Hall
- **18-19 Apr:** various meetings of Cooperative Society foundation members in Tokyo and Kyoto; Konoe Atsumaro and Sano Tsunetami elected president and vice-president respectively
- **20 Apr:** establishment of Regional Anniversary and Exposition Alliance Committee, with participation by two city, eight prefectural, and fourteen town administrations
- **24 Apr:** former Agriculture and Commerce Minister, Nishimura Sutezō, lectures to regional Shinto and Buddhist priests concerning the exposition and anniversary
- **25 Apr:** vice-president of the Cooperative Society, Sano, stresses that the anniversary and exposition should showcase the natural beauty, preservation of famous shrines and temples, and beauty of Kyoto and Japan both domestically and internationally
- **26 Apr:** Cooperative Society members, president of Exposition Survey Committee, Kuki Ryūichi, Sano Tsunetami, and Nishimura Sutezō together for gathering, Prince Komatsu in attendance; Kuki proposes an art exhibition during the exposition and anniversary
- **? Ap r:** Mizuguchi Jirō presents to the prefectural government plans and budget for the Chōdōin

May 1893

- **3 May**: Site of exposition marked out with stakes
- **8 May**: Governor Senda calls on city temples and shrines to hold rituals and ceremonies and submit details to the anniversary administration office
- **8 May**: anniversary administration office issues referal to national railways and steam boat companies concerning discount of fares
- **10 May:** Tokyo members of Cooperative Society discussions with prime minister, decide that the constrution of a model Daigokuden should be the responsibility of the Society, they should collect funds, and it should be built to the east and adjacent to the exposition site in Gogōchi
- **20 May**: study commences to determine the site of the original Daigokuden
- **23 May:** Governor Senda referred reproduction of Kanmu's signature at Enryakuji to the Shiga prefectural governor
- **? May:** Tokyo Cooperative Society members plan fund-raising for the model daigokuden

June 1893

- **7 Jun:** Prince Arisugawara elected director-general of the Cooperative Society
- **8 Jun:** Emperor Meiji donates 20,000 yen to the Cooperative Society for the anniversary in 1895

- **11 Jun:** Cooperative Society president Konoe grants 20,000 yen from society to city, request Governor Senda to use it to purchase land for the anniversary hall
- **11 Jun:** Kyoto Municipal Council decides that anniversary celebration to be held on 30 Apr 1895

July 1893

- **10 Jul:** Kyoto Municipal Council proposes an overall budget for the anniversary and exposition of 250,000 yen, and submits this figure to the Kyoto Municipal Assembly
- **21 Jul**: Tanaka Gentarō, Hamaoka Mitsunori, Nakamura Eisuke establish Kyoto Railway Company
- **21 Jul**: Kyoto Municipal Assembly allocates 10,000 yen for repair of shrines, temples and famous sites

August 1893

- **25 Aug:** Kyoto Municipal Assembly decides to switch Anniversary Hall site from Gogōchi in the east to north of the exposition site
- **? Aug**: design of Anniversary Hall completed

September 1893

- **3 Sep**: Jichinsai begins at 5:30 am; Cooperative Society president Konoe and Governor Senda in attendance; night banquet and entertainments held
- **5 Sep**: Special Anniversary Hall Construction Planning Office established in Tokiwa Hotel; numerous businessmen come with a view for contracts in the construction
- **7 Sep**: Sano presents a plan to Konoe entitled 'Proposal to expand Anniversary Hall plan to become Heian Jinja'
- **9-10 Sep:** grounds of the Anniversary Hall roped off
- **15 Sep:** bidding for contracts takes place in Tokiwa Hotel. Kiyomizu Mannosuke from Tokyo wins contract worth 106, 600 yen
- **15 Sep:** Engineer Kinoko from the Imperial Household Ministry apponted Overseer of Construction of Anniversary Hall, and Itō, lecturer from the Tokyo School of Art, also appointed as an engineer
- **30 Sep:** Osaka works company wins bid to prepare construction site for Anniversary Hall
- **? Sep**: blueprints for Anniversary Hall completed
- **? Sep**: Cooperative Society appoints Yumoto from Kyoto to compile the *Heian tsūshi*

October 1893

- **1 Oct**: construction begins on Anniversary Hall
- **11 Oct**: earthworks for exposition site commences
- **25 Oct:** Engineer Itō and Kyoto's Mizuguchi begin individual surveys of sites for anniversary hall and exposition
- **25 Oct:** Anniversary Committee decides that the construction of the sanctuary of the shrine is not a enterprise of the anniversary

November 1893

- **1 Nov**: Nakai Hiroshi becomes prefectural governor
- **4 Nov**: Konoe reports by telegram that Imperial Household Ministry said there is no obstacle for a visit by the emperor
- **7 Nov**: Cooperative Society executive approves plans for Heian Shrine
- **13 Nov:** earthworks for the Ōtenmon commence

December 1893

- **1 Dec**: contract for preparing the site tranfered to Kiyomizu Construction from Osaka Earthworks due to breach of contract (expiry of date)
- **20 Dec**: Anniversary Committee decides that compilation of guidebooks is a municipal enterprise

1894

January 1894

- **15 Jan**: Hamaoka and others inspect seven city shrines, including the Kamo Shrines, as reference for construction of Heian Shrine
- **23 Jan**: Construction of scale model of Anniversary Hall completed

February 1894

- **2 Feb**: scale model of Ōtenmon completed
- **21 Feb**: Kiyomizu Construction chosen to build sanctuary of the Heian Shrine

April 1894

- **13 Apr:** model of entire project completed
- **15 Apr:** Pillar-raising Ceremony held for Anniversary Hall

May 1894

- **8 May:** Engineers Itō and Sasaki traval to Tōdaiji in Nara to research Heian Shrine construction
- **19 May**: exposition administration office issues 'Instructions for exhibitors at the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition'
- **31 May:** Konoe submits to Governor Nakai request for conferring of name and rank for shrine

June 1894

- **2 Jun:** Cooperative Society Executive establishes eight types of anniversary medallion, to be given to donors who gave between two and ten yen
- **25 Jun:** Cooperative Society Executive discusses details of Pillar-raising Ceremony for the sanctuary

July 1894

- **1 Jul:** Shrine sanctuary Pillar-raising Ceremony held; 274 invited participants, over 20,000 onlookers; entertainment of Sumo from Kyoto-Osaka Association and music within Anniversary Hall
- **2 Jul:** Home Minstry notice no. 83 declares name of shrine *Heian Jingū*, deity Emperor Kanmu, rank Great Imperial Shrine

August 1894

- **1 Aug**: outbreak of Sino-Japanese War

September 1894

- **8 Sep**: Engineer Itō and Decorations Committee visit Imperial Palace and elsewhere to research decorations for shrine sanctuary
- **14 Sep**: construction of Anniversary Hall structure commences

November 1894

- **4 Nov**: Watanabe Senshū appointed prefectural governor
- **5 Nov:** Cooperative Society Executive proposes Kunishige Masafumi as candidate for chief priest of the Heian Shrine
- **21 Nov:** construction of shrine garden commences

December 1894

- **11 Dec:** contract for construction of shrine garden awarded to Ogawa Jibei

1895

January 1895

- **10 Jan**: Decision to limit entrance to displays of treasures in all ranked shrines during anniversary to holders of worship medallions
- **15 Jan**: Prince Arisugawara, director-general of the Cooperative Society, passes away

February 1895

- **1 Feb**: Kyoto Electric Railway begins operations from Shiokoji-Higashinotōin to Fushimishimo Aburagake
- **16 Feb:** Mibu Motonaga of Cooperative Society Board of Trustees appointed first chief priest of the Heian Shrine
- **25 Feb:** sanctuary and the shrine garden completed

March 1895

- **1 Mar:** Prince Komatsu appointed director-general of the Anniversary Cooperative Society
- **6 Mar:** Cooperative Society Executive appoints Mizuguki Banshō from Hirano Shrine as senior priest of Heian Shrine, and Sawano Tadatomo from Cooperative Society as junior priest of Heian Shrine
- **7 Mar:** Cooperative Society takes possession of Heian Shrine and Anniversary Hall
- **9 Mar:** shrine officials move into Shrine Administration Office
- **11 Mar:** August Spirit of Emperor Kanmu arrives at Shichijō Station accompanied by envoy Takeya and others. Greeted by Chief Priest Mibu, prefectural governor Watanabe, Cooperative Society president Konoe and others.
- **11 Mar:** prefectural governor Watanabe officially hands over the site to the Cooperative Society
- **15 Mar:** Enshrinement Ceremony held; Imperial Envoy Takeya and five others bring August Spirit, with Konoe and 2,500 others in procession; prefectural governor and others treated to an evening banquet by the Cooperative Society
- **16 Mar**: Display of the Ages opens, runs until 22 June
- **23 Mar:** Heian Shrine priests conduct Notification of Priestly Appointment ceremony
- **25 Mar**: opening of the new Kyoto Municipal Chambers
- **30 Mar**: signing of the Sino-Japanese War ceasefire
- **30 Mar**: start of rail and ferry discounts for donors travelling to Kyoto

April 1895

- **1 Apr**: Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition opens; visit by Prince Yamashina, who bestows Imperial Decree.
- **3 Apr**: Governor Watanabe, Chief Priest Mibu and others attended the Martial Arts Restoration Society meeting
- **4 Apr:** Imperial Household Ministry sends details of shrine's festivals
- **9 Apr:** completion of shrine garden
- **10 Apr**: publication of the English language guide book
- **15 Apr:** Annual Ritual carried out at 10 a.m.
- **17 Apr:** peace treaty between Japan and China signed
- **17 Apr**: Foundation Meeting of Imperial Japan Martial Arts Society opens. Governor Watanabe elected president, Heian Shrine chief priest elected vice-president.
- **23 Apr**: 'Triple intervention' of France, Russia and Germany

- **28 Apr:** Emperor Meiji cancels special visit for anniversary ceremony due to unforseen circumstances; Prince Konoe, Governor Watanabe, Naiki, Amemori, Tsuji, Hamaoka, Wakamatsu meet and discuss postponement; Kyoto Municipal Assembly and the Kyoto Municipal Council decide on a postponement of the anniversary ceremony
- **30 Apr:** anniversary ceremony postponed; Imperial Household Ministry grants 5,000 yen to compensate; Special Anniversary Ritual carried out at 10 a.m.; Prince Konoe and 300 members of the Cooperative Society and executive attend
- **? Apr**: Kyoto Electric Railway begins operations between Kyoto Station and Okazaki at exposition grounds.

May 1895

- **3 May**: meeting of the Cooperative Society Executive; unofficial decision to hold anniversary ceremony on 1 June
- **7 May**: Anniversary Supervisory Committee decides to stage exhibit of military artefacts to the north of the anniversary banquet area
- **14 May**: pleniary session of Kyoto Municipal Council decides to hold anniversary ceremony on 8 November
- **16 May**: Nakagawa Toshimasa appointed junior priest at Heian Shrine
- **21 May**: Kyoto Municipal Assembly decides to hold anniversary ceremony on 22 October and smaller festvals up to 15 November
- **24 May**: Emperor Meiji visits the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition and tours the site
- **24 May**: victory celebrations for the Sino-Japanese War held at the Imperial Palace and Maruyama Park
- **26 May**: the empress attends the exposition.

July 1895

- **6 Jul**: Festival of the Ages Investigation Committee discusses the design of the festival
- **31 Jul**: closing ceremony for the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition held; visitors numbers reaches 1,330,000 people

August 1895

- **11 Aug:** Festival of the Ages Investigation Committee discusses allocation of one section of parade to each of seven districts
- **21 Aug:** chief priest of Heian Shrine also appointed Cheif Priest of Toyokuni Shrine

September 1895

- **3 Sep:** Cooperative Society Executive ratifies findings of Festival of the Ages Investigation Committee
- **10 Sep:** conference at the Kyoto Municipal Chambers to discuss the running of the Festival of the Ages; decision on rules of the Heian Association and the Heian Lecture Society; officers for society elected.
- **27 Sep:** Imperial Household Ministry Ceremonial Department agrees to loan instruments, costumes etc for ancient court music performances at the Festival of the Ages
- **29 Sep:** Festival of the Ages Investigation Committee decides on the order of the parade
- **? Sep:** temporary administration office of the Heian Lecture Society established in the Shrine Administration Office

October 1895

- **4 Oct**: Yumoto Fumihiko completes the 60 chapters of the *Heian tsūshi*
- **9 Oct**: Osaka prefectural governor, Yamada Nobumichi, appointed prefectural governor of Kyoto
- **10 Oct**: Youth Art Cooperative Exhibition opens till 15 November
- **14 Oct**: vice-president of the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition, Enomoto, approves sale of exposition buildings to Kyoto City for 12,314 yen; procedures for sale completed following day
- **15 Oct**: Exhibit of Modern and Ancient Art opens till 25 November
- **22 Oct:** Anniversary Festival conducted, then Anniversary Ceremony held; Emperor Meiji appoints Prince Yamashina as a representative to grant imperial decree; Governor Yamada makes presentation, Prince Komatsu and Home Minster Nomura read *norito*; after ceremony, banquet held in former exposition Agriculture Pavilion; various events held up to 15 November
- **22 Oct:** *Hinode Shinbun* publishes history and explanation of the Festival of the Ages
- **23-24 Oct**: Anniversary Festival continues; Cooperative Society opens night banquet for the anniversary
- **25 Oct**: inaugural Festival of the Ages held; departs from Kyoto Municipal Chambers, arrives at shrine; then departs from Ōtenmon and arrives at Sanjō and Karasuma avenues
- **25 Oct**: first Martial Arts Festival held at Heian Shrine
- **26-28 Oct**: exhibition of military prowess held in the former exposition Crafts hall (temporarily named the Military Hall)

November 1895

- **3 Nov:** Emperor Meiji's birthday celebrated in the Daigokuden by all the priests of the shrine.
- **6-12 Nov**: (except 9 Nov) visits from land-holders from various districts of the city
- **8 Nov**: Visit to the Heian Shrine by residents of the city over 70 yrs old (8,115 in total)
- **13-17 Nov:** various associations of the city visit shrine; each presents offering from the Cooperative Society

Appendix 3: 'Statement of Purpose' for the celebration of the 1,100th anniversary of the founding of Heian-kyō

Since the time Emperor Jinmu established his palace in Kashihara, the imperial capital of our land has generally been located in Yamato. However, the capital was moved for a duration of one or more reigns to Settsu, Kawachi, Ōmi and the like on twelve occasions. In times past, the scale of the imperial capital was not prescribed, and the frequency of moving the capital was determined by a variety of factors. However, since ancient times, the capital of our imperial land was established on a grand scale according to the conditions of the realm.

Emperor Kanmu embraced the noble spirit of his illustrious age and expanded the governance of the realm, so the capital did not need to be repeatedly moved. Recognising the need for a grand, spacious capital, and due to there being little room at Heijō-kyō for a large number of people and infrastructure, a site was chosen by divination at Nagaoka-kyō in Yamashiro Province and construction of a new capital started. However, this too was deemed unsuitable, so a new site was chosen in Kadono, extending from Utamura to Otagi. It was a sacred site of great natural beauty protected by the deities of the four directions. The plan for Kyoto was conceived and a national capital on the scale of an imperial city was established.

The emperor made known his will to all, from the courtiers and government officials down to the lowest villagers. His great achievement, to stand the test of time, was completed with grand elegance and precision. This showed how the people of the realm revered him and how foreign countries turned to him with awe. Since the founding of the city, the beautiful name of Heian did not change for over a thousand years. After the national upheaval of the Meiji restoration, the emperor's residence was established in Edo Castle due to its central location and national transport links. The city was renamed Tokyo, and our Heian was given the honoured title Kyoto. It was

prescribed that the great ceremonies of state, such as the Accession Ceremony and the Enthronement Ceremony, were to be held always in our esteemed Heian-kyō.[528]

This must be recognised as respect for the legacy of Emperor Kanmu. In our land of one rule for the ages, the capital had not changed for a thousand years. There are no precedents to be found to rival our Heian-kyō in Japan or abroad, now or in the past. How could it not flourish? It is truly the jewel of Japan, and the legacy of the virtue of Kanmu. How could the people of our land do otherwise than to esteem it?

In the 28th year of the Meiji era [1895], exactly 1,100 years since Emperor Kanmu first held the New Year Greeting at the newly completed Daigokuden in the Heian Imperial Palace on new years day in the 15th year of the Enryaku era [796], the people of Kyoto will hold an anniversary celebration for the founding of our Heian-kyō.[529] The August Spirit of Emperor Kanmu will be honoured, his imperial virtue extolled, and his great deeds praised. Further, the achievements of the city over the past 1,100 years will be publicly praised and the good fortune of our imperial land of Japan celebrated. Consequently, the anniversary festival will be a national event. It will be planned and carried out with the assistance and cooperation of people all over Japan, though residents of Kyoto will be the most passionate advocates of the project and will benefit most from it.

There have been many changes in Kyoto, even though the city has lasted for over a thousand years. The development of literature, the rise and fall of arts and crafts, changing customs and manners, or else the descent from lasting periods of peace into civil war and the disorder of government, have all been experienced in the changing fortunes of the passing of time. For this reason the land, and items related to the history of the city, must be utilised in an inquiry into learning and the arts. The natural

---

[528] As seen earlier, this was an 1880s initiative of Iwakura.

[529] This date is interesting because it is actually some fourteen months after Kanmu is considered to have founded the city by decree in the 10th month Enryaku 13 (794).

beauty of Kyoto brings great joy to all who cast their gaze on its purity and grace. The number of famous temples, shrines and treasures of international value is quite large.

Why should we not have improved facilities for visitors by expanding transport routes with the completion of the canal and with the upgrading of the roads? The beauty of the natural environment and the artisanship of man-made structures will stand together and even more increase the city's great renown. The number of national and international visitors is increasing with the passing of each year. For this reason our Heian is not just famous in Japan but is an international heritage site. Even the government applauds attempts by the people to celebrate the anniversary. Hoping for success, a decision was made to hold the Fourth National Industrial Exposition in Kyoto in 1895. Will this not, in combination with the anniversary, only increase its success and glory?

As part of the celebrations, Kyoto will display over one thousand years of its literature, art, crafts, technology etc., and will make known both nationally and internationally the advances in Japanese culture since ancient times. Further, shrines and temples in the city will hold religious ceremonies as part of the anniversary celebrations. This will make known the great works and virtue of Kanmu and will foster a sense of patriotism and loyalty in the populace. Leading up to that time, various national academic, literary, artistic and commercial associations will hold conferences in Kyoto, and in order to carry out their plans will begin preparing and gathering materials. Numerous events such as these will come together to ensure the success of the anniversary celebrations. Over and above this, we desire the success of the celebrations for the benefit of our imperial land of Japan and its entire people.

With great respect, the people of Kyoto will call on the patronage of the imperial family in order to carry out the anniversary for the founding of our city, as will also request the assistance of nobles in Kyoto and like-minded patriots around Japan. Even the aid of foreign gentlemen will be sought in order to ensure its success. In raising the esteem of the imperial family and extolling the glory of our nation, the people of Kyoto

are hereby revealing their deepest feelings and expressing them to the people of the world.

Dated this 10th month of the 25th year of Meiji [1892].

Kyoto City

Emperor Kanmu Foundation Anniversary Committee Members

Naiki Kansaburō
Hamaoka Mitsunori
Amemori Kikutarō
Nakamura Eisuke
Nakano Chūhachi
Higashie Kichibei
Nishimura Jihei
Kuse Michiaki
Nishimura Shichisaburō
Usui Kosaburō

Appendix 4: National contributions to the Anniversary Cooperative Society

Prefecture	1000~5000 yen	500~999 yen	300~499 yen	100~299 yen	50~99 yen	30~49 yen	10~29 yen	2~9 yen	1 yen	Total donors	Total amount	Population (,0000s)	Donation raio (yen per 1,000 residents)	Average contribution per donor
Type	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	A	B					
Aichi	0	0	0	3	2	3	50	121	136	315	1,417	1,557	0.91	4.5
Akita	0	0	0	1	0	2	73	311	179	566	1,824	755	2.42	3.2
Aomori	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	325	133	474	987	593	1.66	2.1
Chiba	0	0	0	0	0	1	15	129	280	425	763	1,247	0.61	1.8
Ehime	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	83	496	587	785	972	0.81	1.3
Fukui	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	27	72	110	295	632	0.47	2.7
Fukuoka	0	0	0	0	0	1	18	87	603	709	1,025	1,314	0.78	1.4
Fukushima	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	557	428	1,003	1,774	1,028	1.73	1.8
Gifu	0	0	0	0	3	2	32	176	1,084	1,297	2,008	981	2.05	1.5
Gunma	0	0	0	1	0	1	19	198	366	585	1,128	749	1.51	1.9
Hiroshima	0	0	0	0	3	2	103	153	267	528	1,970	1,400	1.41	3.7
Hokkaidō	1	0	0	5	12	9	277	2,069	2	2,375	6,188	508	12.18	2.6
Hyōgo	0	1	1	6	29	38	658	82	88	903	11,697	1,618	7.23	13.0
Ibaraki	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	168	171	350	642	1,101	0.58	1.8
Ishikawa	0	0	0	2	1	22	160	377	33	595	3,632	782	4.64	6.1
Iwate	0	0	0	0	0	1	16	84	525	626	940	701	1.34	1.5
Kagawa	0	0	0	1	2	4	133	788	2,912	3,840	6,344	685	9.26	1.7
Kagoshima	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	8	383	396	492	1,076	0.46	1.2
Kanagawa	6	2	0	0	4	0	32	79	10	133	9,273	754	12.30	69.7
Kōchi	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	30	261	299	442	600	0.74	1.5
Kumamoto	0	0	0	0	2	1	15	139	934	1091	1,539	1,112	1.38	1.4
Kyoto	10	14	17	192	175	206	2,838	5,739	535	9,726	115,714	914	126.60	11.9
Mie	0	0	0	1	0	1	37	304	2,120	2,463	3,392	976	3.48	1.4
Miyagi	0	0	0	0	1	5	64	1412	222	1,704	3,986	817	4.88	2.3
Miyazaki	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	20	118	139	173	439	0.39	1.2
Nagano	0	0	0	0	0	3	78	686	320	1,087	2,637	1,212	2.18	2.4
Nagasaki	0	0	0	0	3	7	74	371	22	477	2,009	796	2.52	4.2
Nara	0	0	1	1	1	0	15	311	131	460	1,370	526	2.60	3.0
Niigata	0	1	0	3	2	6	96	534	2,045	2,687	5,277	1,797	2.94	2.0
Ōita	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	90	790	888	1,157	822	1.41	1.3
Okayama	0	1	0	7	21	23	665	186	20	923	10,803	1,109	9.74	11.7
Okinawa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	440	0.00	1.0
Osaka	2	0	0	65	41	21	354	329	99	911	20,735	1,280	16.20	22.8
Saga	0	0	0	2	1	1	13	106	1661	1784	2,334	602	3.88	1.3
Saitama	0	0	0	0	0	2	77	649	207	935	2,405	1,149	2.09	2.6
Shiga	0	0	0	2	1	1	197	91	14	306	3,023	702	4.31	9.9
Shimane	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	29	192	228	340	713	0.48	1.5
Shizuoka	0	0	0	0	1	2	73	81	769	926	1,841	1,173	1.57	2.0

Tochigi	0	0	0	1	0	0	24	51	366	442	858	759	1.13	1.9
Tokushima	0	0	0	0	0	2	10	66	577	655	883	688	1.28	1.3
Tokyo	17	22	7	70	12	17	99	203	153	600	51,779	1,468	35.27	86.3
Tottori	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	190	626	830	1,190	414	2.87	1.4
Toyama	0	0	0	0	2	3	50	66	10	131	879	789	1.11	6.7
Wakayama	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	125	563	696	907	666	1.36	1.3
Yamagata	0	0	0	2	1	2	37	497	606	1145	2,402	808	2.97	2.1
Yamaguchi	0	0	0	1	0	0	31	82	259	373	857	967	0.89	2.3
Yamanashi	0	1	0	1	1	2	20	211	331	567	1,674	491	3.41	3.0
Foreigners	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	34	5	46	172	-	-	3.7
Total										**48,291**	**293,954**	**42,682**	**6.89**	**6.1**

Appendix 5: Kyoto Anniversary Committee budget

Item	1893 (yen)	1894 (yen)	1895 (yen)	Total (yen)
Exposition expenses				
Site survey	240			240
Tree cultivation	634	844		1,478
Miscellaneous	30			30
Site purchase	79,341			79,341
Site levelling	4,085	608		4,693
Roadworks	823	1,370		2,193
Plumbing		7,829		7,829
Bridgeworks	491	7,643		8,134
Sub-total exposition	**85,643**	**18,293**		**103,936**
Anniversary administration				
Wages	260	422	622	1,304
Miscellaneous payments	544	2,263	4,561	7,368
Incidentals	1,142	5,646	7,328	14,116
Repairs			30	30
Phone installation			818	818
Publishing	1,307	2,807	4,755	8,869
Sub-total administration	**3,252**	**11,138**	**18,083**	**32,473**
Anniversary costs				
Land acquisition	19,735			19,735
Ritual costs	135	2,732	17,686	20,553
Historical site preservation	137	1,931	2,015	4,083
Shrine/temple repair		10,200		10,200
Sub-total anniversary	20,006	14,861	19,701	54,568
Total	**108,901**	**44,292**	**37,784**	**190,977**

Appendix 6: Cooperative Society Anniversary budget

Income (yen)		
Imperial donations		27,500
Kyoto City grant		20,000
Donations (see above)		296,453
Visitor's medallions revenue		36,228
Miscellaneous revenue		
Anniversary medallion secondary revenue	23	
Substitute goods secondary revenue	7	
Anniversary plates revenue	139	
Interest	5,078	
Sale of unused goods	799	
Sale of unused building materials	500	
Miscellaneous	332	
Sub-total miscellaneous		6,980
Total income		**387,163**

Expenditure (yen)		
Establishment expenses		
Meetings	1,820	
Allowances		
Wages	90	
Miscellaneous contracts	126	
Travel allowance	473	
Allowances sub-total	669	
Miscellaneous		
Incidentals	125	
Printing	435	
Communication and freight	72	
Miscellaneous	9	
Miscellaneous sub-total	642	
Total establishment costs		**3,135**
Collection expenses		
Meetings		
Reception	10,362	
Gifts	590	
Meeting costs sub-total	10,952	
Miscellaneous		
Travel	9,472	
Printing	3,372	
Advertising	2,864	
Communication and freight	2,963	
Miscellaneous	4,705	
Miscellaneous sub-total	23,378	
Anniversary medals		
Advertising	151	
Handling charges	1,364	
Printing	477	
Communication and freight	155	
Miscellaneous	81	
Anniversary medal sub-total	2,231	

Total collection costs		**36,562**
Construction works expenses		
Land acquisition		
Land	26,657	
Compensation fees	284	
Registration	93	
Land acquisition sub-total	27,036	
Earthworks		
Shrine site preparation	1,859	
Anniversary Hall site preparation	3,473	
Road construction	907	
Earthworks sub-total	6,340	
Shrine construction		
Sanctuary	6,900	
Norito hall	1,928	
Fence	2,574	
Rear gate	413	
Storage room	989	
Offerings room	1,185	
Shrine construction sub-total	13,991	
Anniversary Hall construction		
Daigokuden	35,608	
Corridors	16,609	
Byakkō and Sōryū towers	20,330	
Ōtenmon	27,608	
Ryūbidan	5,198	
Anniversary Hall sub-total	105,355	
Shrine administration office construction		
Administration office	2,336	
Incidental building materials	530	
Shrine administration office sub-total	2,866	
Incidental construction costs		
Shrine grounds incidentals	9,463	
Site masonry	1,058	
Site fences, including temporary bamboo fence	1,238	
Water haulage	1,847	
Notice boards	578	
Enclosures for cherry and camphor-laurel trees	202	
Administration restroom	1,567	
Incidental design costs	788	
Construction protective goods	1,266	
Incidental sub-total	18,011	
Garden costs		
Garden stones	896	
Garden construction	2,690	
Related costs	635	
Garden sub-total	4,222	
Decorations		
Internal decorations	1,478	
External decorations	746	

Ritual decorations etc.	556	
Decorations sub-total	2,781	
Construction management office		
Engineer fees	800	
Assistant engineer fees	2,691	
Technical support	675	
Bonuses	1,000	
Miscellaneous contracts	382	
Miscellaneous wages	1,019	
Consolation money	205	
Travel expenses	577	
Board	47	
Incidentals	353	
Communication and freight	25	
Miscellaneous	190	
Construction management office sub-total	7,966	
Total construction works		**188,472**
Administration office expenses		
Tokyo office		
Meetings	11	
Salaries		
Secretariat	823	
Contractors	91	
Wages sub-total	914	
Allowances		
Travel allowance	120	
Board	72	
Allowances	33	
Consolation money	55	
Miscellaneous contracts	353	
Allowances sub-total	634	
Office costs		
Incidentals	138	
Printing	193	
Communication and freight	171	
Reception costs	314	
Miscellaneous	349	
Office sub-total	1,467	
Tokyo office sub-total		3,028
Kyoto office		
Meetings	678	
Salaries		
Secretariat	1,923	
Contracts	851	
Salaries sub-total	2,774	
Allowances		
Committee member remuneration	2,793	
Travel allowance	2,719	
Board	333	
Allowances	94	
Consolation money	1,338	
Miscellaneous contracts	2,872	

Gifts	5,012	
Allowances sub-total	15,165	
Office costs		
Incidentals	2,924	
Printing	459	
Communication and freight	1,515	
Reception costs	1,643	
Lightings costs	655	
Miscellaneous	1,769	
Office sub-total	8,967	
Taxation		
Land taxes	30	
Regional taxes	35	
Municipal taxes	153	
Taxation sub-total	185	
Kyoto office sub-total		37,770
Total administration office[530]		**40,799**
Ceremonial expenses		
Jichinsai		
Miscellaneous contracts	70	
Board	45	
Entertainments expenses	508	
Miscellaneous	1,982	
Jichinsai sub-total	2,607	
Construction ceremony		
Pillar-raising Ceremony	239	
Construction ceremony sub-total	239	
Enshrinement Ceremony		
Ritual costs	408	
Decorations	16	
Banquet	226	
Miscellaneous	155	
Enshrinement Ceremony sub-total	806	
Garden party		
Decorations	1,304	
Banquet	616	
Entertainment	539	
Miscellaneous	2,048	
Garden party sub-total	4,509	
Night banquet		
Decorations	1,226	
Banquet	1,350	
Entertainment	307	
Miscellaneous	819	
Night banquet sub-total	3,703	
Anniversary ceremony incidentals		
Site management	95	
Miscellaneous	479	
Supplementary ritual costs	85	
Anniversary ceremony sub-total	659	

[530] This is erroneously totaled to 30, 799.

Heian Shrine expenses	2,460	
Dissolution ceremony		
Decorations	509	
Banquet	516	
Entertainment	232	
Miscellaneous	251	
Dissolution ceremony sub-total	1,509	
Total Ceremonial expenses		**16,495**
Gifts		
Anniversary medallions		
Gold medallions	609	
Silver medallions	2,355	
Bronze medallions	2,695	
Miscellaneous	496	
Medallions sub-total	6,156	
Visitors medallions		
Type A	3,609	
Type B	12,515	
Visitor's medallions sub-total	16,124	
Anniversary plates		
Wooden plates	2,212	
Ceramic plates	6,276	
Service plate vouchers	262	
Anniversary plate sub-total	8,811	
Publications		
Transport discount vouchers	7,659	
Guide maps	3,930	
Guide booklets	226	
Publication sub-total	11,815	
Letters of appreciation		
Society members and associates	2,953	
One yen donors	642	
Letters of appreciation sub-total	3,595	
Total gifts expenses		**46,504**
Society members services		
Sake conferment		
Sake	46	
Contracts	650	
Incidentals	58	
Sake sub-total	755	
Military display expenses		
Display area construction	634	
Miscellaneous contracts	108	
Freight	240	
Miscellaneous	97	
Military display subtotal	1,080	
Temple and shrine treasures display		
Entry tickets	127	
Miscellaneous	8	
Temple and shrine treasures sub-total	136	
Total society members services		**1,972**

Reporting expenses		
Publishing society report	2,884	
Distribution of society report	64	
Total reporting expenses		**2,948**
Total Expenses		**326,897**
Balance		
Shrine maintenance fund		30,000
Hall preservation fund		20,000
Refund to Heian Lecture Society		10,272

Appendix 7: Passengers using train and ferry discounts

Transport company	Number of passengers		
	Mar-Aug 1895	Oct-Nov 1895	Total
Kansetsu Tetsudō	70,897	11,119	82,016
Kansai Dōmei Kisen	41,833	4,238	46,071
Kansai Tetsudō	36,776	2,302	39,078
Sannomiya Tetsudō	34,077	1,774	35,851
Osaka Tetsudō	25,092	1,262	26,354
San'yō Tetsudō	18,735	2,547	21,282
Sanuki Tetsudō	14,428	878	15,306
Hankai Tetsudō	11,880	927	12,807
Yodogawa Kisen	6,572	3,406	9,978
Nihon Yūsen	7,314	2,036	9,350
Kyūshū Tetsudō	7,481	616	8,097
Tosa Yūsen	7,129	(Included at left)	7,129
Sosui Tsūsen	5,300	3,228	8,528
Taiko Kisen	4,401	(Included at left)	4,401
Nihon Kyōritsu Kisen	3,039	387	3,426
Kanō Kisen	2,734	376	3,110
Nihon Tetsudō	2,486	161	2,647
Tankō Tetsudō	2,273	343	2,616
Konan Kisen	0	2,037	2,037
Sōbu Tetsudō	1,641	168	1,809
Awa Kyōdō Kisen	558	209	767
Daini Noto Maru	575	(not reported)	575
Kobushi Tetsudō	552	20	572
Tanshū Kisen	385	60	445
Ryōte Tetsudō	280	(not reported)	280
Chikuhō Tetsudō	230	43	273
Shun'yō Maru	209	(not reported)	209
Bantan Tetsudō	190	(not reported)	190
Total	**309,140**	**38,137**	**347,277**

Appendix 8: Guidebooks published from 1868–1895

These are *meisho* guidebooks published in Kyoto between 1868 and 1895 (in order of date of publication).[531]

Fukutomi Masamizu. 1877. *Kyōto meisho junranki.* Kyoto: Murakami Kanbei. (ADC-2830).

Hashimoto Chōgetsu. 1880. *Kyōto meisho ichiran zukai.* Kyoto: Fūgetsu Shōzaemon. (ADC-2819).

Endō Mohei. 1881. *Kyōto meisho annai zukai.* Kyoto: Fukui Genjirō. (ADC-2814).

Ishida Saijirō. 1881. *Kyōto meisho meguri.* Kyoto: Ishida Saijirō. (ADC-2844).

Ishida Akiyama. 1887. *Kyōto meisho annai zukai.* Kyoto: Fukui Genjirō. (ADC-2812).

Kabai Tatsunosuke. 1887. *Kyōto meisho annai ki.* Kyoto: Fūgetsu Shōzaemon. (ADC-2811).

Kataoka Kenzō. 1891. *Teikoku Kyōto meisho zukai: kaisei shinkoku.* Kyoto: Fūgetsu Shōzaemon. (ADC-3042).

Katō Sadatake. 1893. *Kyōto meisho annai.* Kyoto: Kyōseisha. (ADC-2807).

Fujita Kengo. (unknown date) 1895. *Kyōto meisho kairan-ki.* Kyoto. (ADC-2820).

Shimizu Yasumine. (28 February) 1895. *Kyōto meisho zue.* Kyoto: Fūgetsu Shōzaemon. (ADC-2825).

Naitō Hikoichi. (8 March) 1895. *Kyōto meisho benran zukai.* Kyoto: Naitō Hikoichi. (ADC-2829).

Nishimura Kurōzaemon. (10 March) 1895. *Kyōto meisho ichiran.* Kyoto: Mishimura Kurōzaemon. (ADC-2816).

Iwasaki Kisuke. (20 March) 1895. *Kyōto meisho annai.* Kyoto: Hosokawa Kiyosuke. (ADC-2804).

Matsuyama Takayoshi. (25 March) 1895. *Kyōto meisho to bijutsu no annai.* Kyoto: Tanaka Jihei. (ADC-2839).

Kinmori Naojirō. (3 April) 1895. *Kyōto meisho annai ki.* Kyoto: Iida Shinbundō. (ADC-2818).

Okabe Yosuke. (3 April) 1895. *Kyōto meisho zukushi.* Kyoto: Okabe Yosuke. (ADC-2836).

Heian Sento Kinensai Kyōsankai, ed. (5 April) 1895. *Kyōto meisho tebiki sō.* Kyoto: Heian Sento Kinensai Kyōsankai. (ADC-2838).

Shimizu Tsunetarō. (20 April) 1895. *Kyōto meisho doku annai.* Kyoto: Nakamura Yoshimatsu. (ADC-2841).

---

[531] Based on Kyōto Shuppan Shi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Kyōto shuppan shi*, pp. 27–151. This list includes works used in this study and amounts to approximately 50 per cent of all guidebooks published in the period. The numbers in brackets indicate the reference number in Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan, *Meiji-ki maikuro.*

Takeuchi Shōnosuke. (22 April) 1895. *Kyōto meisho annai*. Kyoto: Nakamura Asakichi. (ADC-2808).

Aoki Kansaburō. (25 April) 1895. *Kyōto meisho annai*. Kyoto: Yamada Naosaburō. (ADC-2803).

Kon'oka Shu. (7 May) 1895. *Kyōto meisho*. Osaka: Ōbuchi Wataru. (ADC-2802).

Bibliography

Akamatsu, Paul. 1972. *Meiji 1868: Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Japan.* London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.

Akamatsu Toshihide, and Kasahara Kazuo, eds. 1963. *Shinshū-shi gaisetsu.* Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten.

Akamatsu Toshihide, and Yamamoto Shirō, eds. 1969. *Kyōto-fu no rekishi.* Tokyo: Yamagawa Shuppansha.

Akimoto Nobuhide. 1976. 'Meiji jūrokunen no Heian Jingū sōken an.' *Kokugakuin Daigaku Nihon Bunka Kenkyūjo Kiyō* 38: 53–121.

Altman, Albert. 1986. 'The Press.' in *Japan in Transition: From Tokugawa to Meiji,* edited by M Jansen. Princeton: Princeton University Press: 240–245.

Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities.* Revised ed. London: Verso.

Antoni, Klaus. 1991. 'Japan and the Universal Categories of "Nation" and "Nationalism" – Some Remarks on a Current Academic Debate.' *Oriens Extremes* 34 (1-2): 139–145.

Antoni, Klaus. 1993. 'Yasukuni Jinja and Folk Relgion: The Problem of Vengeful Spirits.' in *Religion and Society in Modern Japan: Selected Readings,* edited by Mark Mullins, Shimazono Susumu and Paul Swanson. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press: 121–132.

Anzu Motohiko, ed. 1968. *Shintō jiten.* Osaka: Hori Shoten.

Ashworth, Gregory, and John Tunbridge. 1990. *The Tourist-Historic City.* London: Belhaven Press.

Aston, William George. 1956 (1896). *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697.* London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.

Bal, Mieke. 1996. *Double Exposures: The Subject of Cultural Analysis.* New York and London: Routledge.

Baxter, James C. 1994. *The Meiji Unification through the Lens of Ishikawa Prefecture.* Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University.

Beasley, William Gerald. 1999. *The Japanese Experience: A Short History of Japan.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Beasley, William Gerald. 1963. *The Modern History of Japan.* New York: Praeger Publishers.

Berger, Gordon Mark, ed. 1982. *Kenkenroku: A Diplomatic Record of the Sino-Japanese War, 1894–95.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Blacker, Carmen. 1988. 'Two Shinto Myths: The Golden Age and the Chosen People.' in *Themes and Theories in Modern Japanese History: Essays in Memory of Richard Storry,* edited by S Henny and J-P Lehmann. New Jersey: Athalone Press: 64–77.

Bock, Felicia Gressitt. 1970. *Engi-Shiki: Procedures of the Engi Era, books I-V.* Vol. 1, Tokyo: Sophia University Press.

Borgen, Robert. 1982. 'The Japanese Mission to China, 801-806.' *Monumenta Nipponica* 37 (1): 1–28.

Boyd, Andrew. 1962. *Chinese Architecture and Town Planning, 1500 BC-AD 1911.* London: Alec Tiranti.

Branham, Robert James. 1994. 'Debate and Dissent in Late Tokugawa and Meiji Japan.' *Argumentation and Advocacy* 30 (3): 131-149.

Breen, John. 1990. 'Shintoists in Restoration Japan (1868-1872): Towards a Reassessment.' *Modern Asian Studies* 24 (3): 579-602.

Breen, John. 1992. 'Emperor, State and Religion in Restoration Japan 1868-1877.' Phd, St John's College, Cambridge University, Cambridge.

Brinkley, Francis. 1895. 'The Kyoto Industrial Exposition of 1895.' *Arts and Trades Pamphlet.* Vol. 42. no place.

Brown, Delmer. 1955. *Nationalism in Japan.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cary, Otis. 1987. *Mr. Stimson's 'Pet City' : The Sparing of Kyoto, 1945.* Kyoto: Amherst House, Doshisha University.

Coaldrake, William. 1991. 'City Planning and Palace Architecture in the Creation of the Nara Political Order: the Accommodation of Place and Purpose at Heijō-kyō.' *East Asian History* 1: 37-54.

Coaldrake, William. 1996. *Architecture and Authority in Japan.* London and New York: Routledge.

Connerton, Paul. 1989. *How Societies Remember.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Conroy, Hilary. 1955. 'Japanese Nationalism and Expansionism.' *The American Historical Review* 60 (4): 818-829.

Coombes, Annie. 1994. *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Corbey, Raymond. 1995. 'Ethnographic Showcases, 1870-1930.' in *The Decolonisation of Imagination: Culture, Knowledge ad Power,* edited by Jan Nederveen Pieterse and Bhikhu Parekh. London and New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd: 57-80.

Davis, Winston. 1989. 'Buddhism and the Modernisation of Japan.' *History of Religions* 28 (4): 304-339.

Davis, Winston. 1992. *Japanese Religion and Society: Paradigms of Structure and Change.* Albany: State University of New York.

DeBary, Brett. 1989. 'Karatani Kojin's *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature.*' in *Postmodernism and Japan,* edited by Masao Miyoshi and Harry Harootunian. Durham: Duke University Press.

DeVere Brown, Sidney. 1986. 'Kido Takayoshi and the Young Emperor Meiji: A Subject and His Sovereign Pedagogue, 1868-1877.' *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan IV* Series 1: 1-21.

Duus, Peter. 1976. *The Rise of Modern Japan.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Ehrentraut, Adolf. 1993. 'Heritage Authenticity and Domestic Tourism in Japan.' *Annals of Tourism Research* 20 (2): 262-278.

Ellwood, Robert. 1978. 'Harvest and Renewal at the Grand Shrine of Ise.' in *Readings on Religion from Inside and Outside,* edited by Robert Ellwood. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Findling, John. 1994. *Chicago's Great World Fairs*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press.

Fridell, William. 1973. *Japanese Shrine Mergers: 1906-12: State Shinto Movers to the Grassroots*. Tokyo: Sophia University.

Fujitani, Takashi. 1986. 'Japan's Modern National Ceremonies: A Historical Ethnography, 1868-1912.' Phd Dissertation, History Department, University of California, Berkeley.

Fujitani, Takashi. 1996. *Splendid Monarchy : Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Fujitani Toshio. 1980. *Shintō shinkō to minshū Tennōsei*. Tokyo: Hōritsu Bunkasha.

Fujiwara Sadanobu. 2000. 'Shimaji Mokurai to Heian Jingū zōken.' *Bukkyō Bunka Kenkyūjō Kiyō* 39: 48-65.

Gluck, Carol. 1985. *Japan's Modern Myths*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Grapard, Allan. 1984. 'Japan's Ignored Cultural Revolution: The Separation of Shinto and Buddhist Divinities in Meiji *(shinbutsu bunri)* and a Case Study: Tōnomine.' *History of Religions* 23 (3): 240-265.

Greenhalgh, Paul. 1988. *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Guth, Christine. 1993. *Art, Tea, and Industry: Masuda Takashi and the Mitsui Circle*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Haga Shōji. 1994. *Meiji ishin to shūkyō*. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō.

Hakubunkan Henshūkyoku, ed. 1974. *Meiji setsuyō taizen*. Reprint ed. Tokyo: Geiyū Senta.

Harada Kumiko. 1961. 'Meiji jūyonen no chihōgikai to inmin no dōkō: Kyōto-fu no baai.' *Nihonshi Kenkyū* 57: 20-43.

Hardacre, Helen. 1989. *Shinto and the State: 1868-1988*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hardacre, Helen, and Adam Kern, eds. 1997. *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*. Leiden, New York, Koln: Brill

Harootunian, Harry. 1970. *Towards Restoration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Haruno Tsuyoshi. 1990. 'Meiji jidai no kankō annnai: tetsudō ensen annaisho o chūshin to shite.' *Yasshiro Gakuin Daigaku Kiyō* 37-38: 32-43.

Hase Haruo, ed. 1986. *Jinja saishi kankei hōrei kitei ruisan*. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai.

Hayashiya Tatsusaburō. 1962. *Kyōto, Iwanami Shinsho*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Hayashiya Tatsusaburō, ed. 1970. *Heian no shinkyō*. Vol. 1, *Kyōto no rekishi*. Tokyo: Gakugei Shorin.

Hayashiya Tatsusaburō, ed. 1974. *Ishin no gekidō*. Vol. 7, *Kyōto no rekishi*. Tokyo: Gakugei Shorin.

Hayashiya Tatsusaburō, ed. 1975. *Koto no kindai*. Vol. 8, *Kyōto no rekishi*. Tokyo: Gakugei Shorin.

Hayashiya Tatsusaburō, ed. 1976. *Nenpyō-jiten*. Vol. 10, *Kyōto no rekishi*. Tokyo: Gakugei Shorin.

Hayashiya Tatsusaburō, ed. 1979. *Kyōto-shi no chimei*. Vol. 27, *Nihon Rekishi Chimei Taikei*. Tokyo: Heibonsha.

Hayashiya Tatusaburō, ed. 1973. *Dentō no teichaku*. Vol. 6, *Kyōto no rekishi*. Tokyo: Gakugei Shorin.

Heian Jingū Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed. 1998. *Heian Jingū hyakunenshi*. Kyoto: Heian Jingū.

Heian Jingū Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed. 1998. *Heian Jingū hyakunenshi nenpyō*. Kyoto: Heian Jingū.

Heian Sento Kinensai Kyōsankai, ed. 1894. *Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai sanpai hikkei zu*. Kyoto: Heian Sento Kinensai Kyōsankai.

Heian Sento Kinensai Kyōsankai, ed. 1895. *Kyōto meisho tebiki sō*. Kyoto: Heian Sento Kinensai Kyōsankai. in *Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan shōzō Meiji-ki kankō tosho maikuroban shūsei*. Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan. 1992. Tokyo: Maruzen Kabushiki Kaisha: ADC 2838.

Hill, Christopher. 1997. 'Ideologies of Novelty and Agedness: Narrating the Origins of the Meiji Nation.' in *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, edited by Helen Hardacre and Adam Kern. Leiden, New York, Koln: Brill: 549–561.

Hinsley, Curtis. 1991. 'The World as Marketplace.' in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, edited by Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press: 344–365.

Hiruma Hisashi. 1980. *Edo no kaichō*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terrence Ranger, eds. 1983. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Horie Yasuzō. 1938. 'Meiji Ishin to Kyōto.' *Ritsumeikan Bungaku* 5 (2): 99–110.

Huber, Thomas. 1981. *The Revolutionary Origins of Modern Japan*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Hunter, Janet. 1988. 'Language Reform in Meiji Japan: The Views of Maejima Hisoka.' in *Themes and Theories in Modern Japanese History: Essays in Memory of Richard Storry*, edited by Sue Henny and John-Pierre Lehmann. New Jersey: Athlone Press: 101–120.

Igeta Ryōji. 1995. 'Kinsei to kindai no Kyōto.' in *Kyōto sennihyakunen no sugao*, edited by Nihonshi Kenkyūkai. Tokyo: Azekura Shobō: 36–64.

Inagaki, Hisao. 1984. *A Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms*. Kyoto: Nagata Bunshodo.

Inoue Kiyoshi. 1974. 'Tennōsei no rekishi.' in *Tennōsei ronshū*, edited by Kuno Osamu and Kamishima Jirō. Tokyo: Sanji Shobō: 75–108.

Inoue Mitsuo. 1978. *Kenkyūshi: Heian-kyō*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

Iriye, Akira. 1995. 'Japan's Drive to Great-power Status.' in *The Emergence of Modern Japan*, edited by Marius Jansen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 268–329.

Irokawa Daikichi. 1962. 'Meiji nijū nendai no bunkashiteki igi.' in *Iwanami kōza Nihon rekishi 17: Kindai 4*, edited by Ienaga Saburo et al. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten: 271–314.

Irokawa Daikichi. 1995. *The Culture of the Meiji Period*. Translated by Marius Jansen. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Ishida Akiyama. 1887. *Kyōto meisho annai zukai.* Kyoto: Fukui Genjirō. in *Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan shōzō Meiji-ki kankō tosho maikuro-ban shūsei.* Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan. 1992. Tokyo: Maruzen Kabushiki Kaisha: ADC-2812.

Izumoji Michitarō. 1942. *Jingi to saishi.* Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten.

Jansen, Marius. 1995. 'The Meiji Restoration.' in *The Emergence of Meiji Japan,* edited by Marius Jansen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 144–202.

Kamada Tadasu, and Yoneyama Toratarō, eds. 1992. *Daikangorin.* Tokyo: Daishūkan Shoten.

Karatani Kōjin. 1988. *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature.* Translated by Brett DeBary. Durham: Duke University Press.

Karp, Ivan, and Steven Lavine, eds. 1991. *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display.* Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Katō Genchi, and Hoshino Hikoshirō. 1926. *Kogoshūi: Gleanings from Ancient Sources.* Tokyo: Meiji Japan Society.

Katsuno Takanobu. 1961. 'Kanmu chō ni okeru shūkyō seisaku.' *Kodaigaku* 10 (2): 330–342.

Kerr, Alex. 2001. *Dogs and Demons: Tales from the Dark Side of Japan.* New York: Hill and Wang.

Ketelaar, James. 1990. *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Kinmori Naojirō. 1895. *Kyōto meisho annai ki.* Kyoto: Iida Shinbundō. in *Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan shōzō Meiji-ki kankō tosho maikuro-ban shūsei.* Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan. 1992. Tokyo: Maruzen Kabushiki Kaisha: ADC-2818.

Kojita Yasunao. 1994. 'Kindai Nihon ni okeru koto Kyōto.' *Rekishi Hyōron* 533: 39–48.

Kojita Yasunao. 1995. 'Teikokushugi jidai no Kyōto.' in *Nihon shakai no shiteki kōzō: kinsei, kindai,* edited by Asao Naohiro Kyōju Taikan Kinenkai. Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan: 379–394.

Kokugakuin Daigaku Nihon Bunka Kenkyūjo, ed. 1994. *Shintō jiten.* Tokyo: Kōbundō.

Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan. 1992. *Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan shōzō Meiji-ki kankō tosho maikuro-ban shūsei.* Tokyo: Maruzen Kabushiki Kaisha.

Komori Yoshimine, ed. 1982. *Nihon kenpō shiryō sen.* Enlarged ed. Kyoto: Sagano Shoin.

Kōno Hitoaki. 1999. *Nakamura Eisuke to Meiji no Kyōto.* Kyoto: Kyoto Shinbunsha.

Konoe Atsumaro Nikki Kankōkai, ed. 1968. *Konoe Atsumaro nikki.* Vol. 1. Tokyo: Kashima Kenkyūjo Shuppankai.

Kornicki, Peter. 1994. 'Public Display and Changing Values: Early Meiji Exhibitions and Their Precursors.' *Monumenta Nipponica* 49 (2): 167–196.

Kunaichō Shoryōbu, ed. 1968. *Meiji Tennō ki.* 12 vols. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

Kuroita Masayoshi, ed. 1929. *Nihon kiryaku.* Vol. 10, *Kokushi taikei.* Tokyo: Kokushi Taikei Kankōkai.

Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan, ed. 1971–1972. *Kyōto-fu hyakunen no nenpyō.* 15 vols. Kyoto: Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan.

Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan, ed. 1972. *Kyōto-fu hyakunen no shiryō*. 9 vols. Kyoto: Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan.

Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan Rekishi Shiryōka, ed. 1993. *Monjo kaidai*. Kyoto: Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan.

Kyōto Hakuran Kyōkai, ed. 1901. *Kyōto hakurankai enkakushi*. Kyoto: Kyōto Hakuran Kyōkai. in *Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan shōzō Meiji-ki kankō tosho maikuro-ban shūsei*. Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan. 1992. Tokyo: Maruzen Kabushiki Kaisha: BDI-1241.

Kyōto Sanjikai, ed. 1896. *Heian sento kinensai kiji*. 2 Vols. Kyoto: Kyōto Sanjikai.

Kyōto Shinbunsha, ed. 1989. *Kyōto Shinbun hyakujūnen shi*. Kyōto: Kyōto Shinbunsha.

Kyōto Shuppan Shi Hensan Iinkai, ed. 1991. *Kyōto shuppan shi*. Kyoto: Nihon Shoseki Shuppan Kyōkai Kyōto Shibu.

Kyōto-shi, ed. 1984. *Shakai-bunka*. Vol. 5, *Shiryō Kyōto no rekishi*. Tokyo: Heibonsha.

Kyōto-shi, ed. 1979. *Seiji-gyōsei*. Vol. 3, *Shiryō Kyōto no rekishi*. Tokyo: Heibonsha.

Kyōto-shi Sanjikai, ed. 1977. *Heian tsūshi*. Reprint of 1895 ed. Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha.

Kunaichō Shoryōbu, ed. 1968. *Meiji Tennō ki*. 8 vols. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

Lewis, Michael. 2000. *Becoming Apart: National Power and Local Politics in Toyama, 1868–1945*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Centre.

Linicome, Mark. 1997. 'Local Citizens or Loyal Subjects? Enlightenment Discourse and Educational Reform.' in *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, edited by Helen Hardacre and Adam Kern. Leiden, New York, Koln: Brill: 451–465.

Lone, Stewart. 1994. *Japan's First Modern War: Army and Society in the Conflict with China, 1894–95*. London: St Martin's Press.

Maruyama Hiroshi. 1986. 'Meiji shoki no Kyōto hakurankai.' in *Bankoku hakurankai no kenkyū*, edited by Mitsukuni Yoshida. Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan: 221–248.

Mason, Richard, and John Caiger. 1972. *A History of Japan*. Melbourne: Cassel.

Matsumoto Ken'ichi. 1998. *Nihon no kindai 1: Kaikoku – ishin, 1853-1871*. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha.

Matsunaga, Alicia. 1969. *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation: The Historical Development of the Honji-Suijaku Theory*. Tokyo: Sophia University.

Mingzheng Shi. 1998. 'From Imperial Gardens to Public Parks: The Transformation of Urban Space in Early Twentieth-Century Beijing.' *Modern China* 24 (3): 219–254.

Monbushō Shūkyō Kyoku, ed. 1977. *Shūkyō seido chōsa shiryō*. 9 vols. Vol. 2. Tokyo: Hara Shobō.

Morioka Kiyomi. 1987. *Kindai no shūraku jinja to kokka tōsei: Meiji makki to jinja seiri*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

Morris-Suzuki, Tessa. 1994. *The Technological Transformation of Japan: From the Seventeenth to the Twenty-first Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Munemasa Isoo, ed. 1997. *Miyako meisho zukai o yomu*. Tokyo: Tōkyodō Shuppan.

Murakami Senshō, Tsuji Zennnosuke, and Washio Junkei, eds. 1970. *Meiji ishin shinbutsu bunri shiryō*. 5 vols. Tokyo: Meicho Shuppan.

Murakami Shigeyoshi. 1974. *Irei to shokon*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Nakao Hiroshi. 1990. *Kyōto no torai bunka*. Kyoto: Tankōsha.

Nakao Takashi, ed. 1973. *Furudera junrei jiten*. Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan.

Nakatsuka Akira. 1962. 'Nisshin sensō.' in *Iwanami kōza Nihon rekishi: Kindai 4*, edited by Ienaga Saburō et.al. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten: 129–165.

Nelson, John. 1996. *A Year in the Life of a Shinto Shrine*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.

Nelson, John. 1993. 'Enduring Identities: The Guise of Shinto in Contemporary Japan.' PhD Thesis, Anthropology Department, University of California, Berkeley.

Nihonshi Kenkyūkai Kyōto Minka Rekishi Bukai, ed. 1995. *Kyōto sennihyaku no sugao*. Tokyo: Azekura Shobō.

Noma Seiroku. 1978. *The Arts of Japan, Ancient and Medieval*. Translated by John Rosenfield. New York, Tokyo, San Fransico: Kodansha.

Notehelfer, Fred. 1990. 'Meiji in the Rear-view Mirror.' Review of The Cambridge History of Japan Vol. 5: The Nineteenth Century, edited by Marius Jansen. *Monumenta Nipponica* 145 (1-4): 209–228.

Ōboshi Noriaki et.al., ed. 1977. *Shimizu kensetsu hyakushichijūnen*. Tokyo: Tokiwa Shoin.

Ogawa Nobukiho. 1991. 'Seido to shite no bunkasai: Meiji ki ni okeru "kokuhō" no tanjō to shūkyō bijutsu no mondai.' *Soshioroji* 35 (3): 109–129.

Okada Yoneo. 1966–68. 'Jingū jinja sōkenshi.' in *Meiji ishin shintō hyakunenshi*, edited by Shintō Bunkakai. Tokyo: Shintō Bunkakai.

Ōkubo Toshiaki. 1973. *Iwakura Tomomi*. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha.

Ōkubo Toshiaki, ed. 1965. *Kindaishi shiryō*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

Ōkurashō Insatsukyoku, ed. 1872. *Hōrei zensho*. 1872. Tokyo: Ōkurashō Insatsukyoku.

Ōkurashō Insatsukyoku, ed. 1874. *Hōrei zensho*. 1874. Tokyo: Ōkurashō Insatsukyoku.

Ōkurashō Insatsukyoku, ed. 1875. *Hōrei zensho*. 1875. Tokyo: Ōkurashō Insatsukyoku.

Ōkurashō Insatsukyoku, ed. 1880. *Hōrei zensho*. 1880. Tokyo: Ōkurashō Insatsukyoku.

Ōkurashō Insatsukyoku, ed. 1882. *Hōrei zensho*. 1882. Tokyo: Ōkurashō Insatsukyoku.

Ōno Susumu, ed. 1981. *Higashi Nihon to nishi Nihon*. Tokyo: Nihon Editasukuru Shuppanbu.

Ono Yoshio. 1986. 'Hakurankai to eisei.' in *Bankoku hakurankai no kenkyū*, edited by Yoshida Mitsukuni. Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan: 267–285.

Ōtsuka Takematsu, ed. 1927. *Iwakura Tomomi kankei monjo*. Vol. 1. Tokyo: Nihon Shiseki Kyōkai.

Plutschow, Herbert. 1996. *Matsuri: The Festivals of Japan*. Richmond, Surrey: Japan Library.

Ponsonby Fane, Richard. 1925. 'The Capital and Palace of Heian.' *Transactions of the Japan Society of London* 22: 107–229.

Pyle, Kenneth. 1969. *The New Generation in Meiji Japan: Problems of Cultural Identity, 1885–1895*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Reichauer, Edwin. 1955. *Ennin's Travels in T'ang China*. New York: Ronald Press.

Rydell, Robert. 1984. *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876–1916*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Saeki Arikiyo. 1961. 'Kanmu Tennō no kyōgai.' *Kodaigaku* 10 (2): 235–245.

Saitō Ryūzō. 1960. *Okakura Tenshin*. Tokyo: Yosikawa Kōbunkan.

Sansom, George. 1950. *The Western World and Japan*. Rutland: Tuttle.

Sasaki Kiyoshi. 1985. 'Shintō hishūkyō yori jinja hishūkyō e: Shinkan kyōdōshoku no bunri o megutte.' *Nihon Daigaku Seishin Bunka Kenkyūjo – Kyōiku Seido Kenkyūjo Kiyō* 16: 87–128.

Schafer, Edward. 1967. *The Vermilion Bird: T'ang Images of the South*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Schnell, Scott. 1995. 'Ritual as an Instrument of Political Resistance in Rural Japan.' *Journal of Anthropological Research* 51 (4): 301–328.

Schwartz, Barry. 1982. 'The Social Context of Commemoration: A Study in Collective Memory.' *Social Forces* 61 (2): 374–402.

Shiba Ryōtarō. 1994. *Kono kuni no katachi*. 5 vols. Vol. 4. Tokyo: Bungei Shunshu.

Shiga Shigetaka. 1891. 'Nihon fūkei ron.' in *Seikyōsha bungaku shū: Meiji bungaku zenshū*. Vol. 37. edited by Matsumoto Sannosuke. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō: 3–97.

Shils, Edward. 1975. *Center and Periphery: Essays in Macrosociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Shils, Edward. 1981. *Tradition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Shimoyama Saburō. 1973. 'Boshin sensō to ishin seiken.' in *Iwanami kōza: Nihon no rekishi 14, Kindai 1*, edited by Asao Naohiro et al.. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten: 66–120.

Shirahata Yōzaburō. 1993. 'Nihon bunka to shite no kōen no rekishi.' in *Nihon bunka to shite no kōen*, edited by Iinuma Jirō and Shirahata Yōzaburō. Tokyo: Yasaka Shobō: 3–42.

Shively, Donald. 1971. 'The Japanization of the Middle Meiji.' in *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture*, edited by Donald Shively. Princeton: Princeton University Press: 77–119.

Shively, Donald. 1982. 'Nishimura Shigeki: A Confucian View of Modernization.' in *Changing Japanese Attitudes Towards Modernization*, edited by Marius Jansen. Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co. Original edition, 1965: 193–241.

Smith, Anthony. 1996. 'LSE Centennial Lecture: The Resurgence of Nationalism? Myth and Memory.' *The British Journal of Sociology* 47 (4): 575–598.

Smith, Anthony. 1998. *Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism*. London: Routledge.

Snodgrass, Judith. 1996. 'Japan Faces the West: The Representation of Japan at the Columbian Exposition, Chicago 1893.' in *Japanese Science, Technology and Economic Growth Down Under*, edited by Morris Low and Helen Marriott. Warnambool: Amazon Press: 5–26.

Spillman, Lyn. 1988. *Nation and Commemoration: Creating National Identities in the United States and Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sugita Hiroaki, ed. 1987. *Kindai Kyōto o ikita hitobito: Meiji jinbutsu shi*. Kyoto: Kyōto Shoin.

Suzuki Norihisa. 1979. *Meiji shūkyō shichō no kenkyū*. Tokyo: Tōkyo Daigaku Shuppankai.

Tada Komon, ed. 1927. *Iwakura kō jikki*. 3 vols. Tokyo: Iwakura Kō Kyūseki Hozonkai.

Taguchi Chikashi. 2000. *Taguchi Ukichi*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

Takagi Hiroshi. 1991. 'Kindai Tennōsei no bunkateki tōgō: rikken kokka keiseiki no bunkazai hogo gyōsei.' in *Kindai Tennōsei kokka no shakai tōgō*, edited by Umahara Tetsuo and Kakeya Tadahira. Kyoto: Bunrikaku: 97–120.

Takagi Hiroshi. 1997. *Kindai Tennōsei no bunka shiteki kenkyū*. Tokyo: Azekura Shobō.

Takagi Ichinosuke, Ozawa Masao, Otsumi Kaoru, and Kinda Ichiharuhito, eds. 1959. *Heike Monogatari*. Vol. 1. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Takaku Reinosuke. 1995. 'Chihōka suru Kyōto: kento senhyaku nen no koro.' in *Kyōto sennihyaku nen no sugao*, edited by Nihonshi Kenkyūkai Kyōto Minka Rekishibukai. Tokyo: Azekura Shobō: 235–265.

Takayanagi Shinzō. 1965. *Nihon hōseishi 2: Meiji igō*. Tokyo: Yuhikyaku.

Tanaka Ryoko. 1942. *Meiji bunka to Akashi Hiroakira ō*. Kyoto: Akashi Hiroakira Ō Kenshōkai.

Tanaka, Stefan. 1994. 'Imaging History: Inscribing Belief in the Nation.' *Journal of Asian Studies* 53 (1): 24–44.

Toby, Ronald. 1985. 'Why Leave Nara? Kanmu and the Transfer of the Capital.' *Monumenta Nipponica* 40 (3): 331–347.

Togashi Yuzuri, ed. 1986. *Miroku Bosatsu*. Vol. 4, *Miwaku no butsuzō*. Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha.

Tokoro Isao. 1994. 'Heian Jingū zōken zenshi.' *Shintōshi Kenkyū* 42 (4): 56–87.

Tomida Masafumi, ed. 1966. *Fukuzawa Yukichi shū*. Vol. 8, *Meiji bungaku zenshū*. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō.

Tomii Yasuo. 1979. 'Ishinki no Gion kai ni tuite.' in *Kyōto chiikishi no kenkyū*, edited by Akiyama Kunimi Tsuitō Kai. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai.

Tomio, Kentaro. 1997. 'Expositions and Museums in Meiji Japan.' in *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, edited by Helen Hardacre and Adam L. Kern. Leiden, New York and Koln: Brill: 719–733.

Toriumi Yasushi. 1988. *Nihon kindai shi kōgi: Meiji rikkensei no keisei to sono rinen*. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppan-kai.

Turner, Victor. 1969. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Tyler, Royall. 1990. *The Miracles of the Kasuga Deity*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Ueda Masaaki. 1994. 'Heian-kyō no tanjō.' in *Heian-kyō kara Kyōto e*, edited by Ueda Masaaki. Tokyo: Shōgakkan: 17–44.

Ueda Masaaki. 1994. 'Kanmu chōtei to Higashi Ajia.' in *Heian-kyō kara Kyōto e*, edited by Ueda Masaaki. Tokyo: Shōgakkan: 217–230.

Ueda Masaaki, ed. 1994. *Heian-kyō kara Kyōto e*. Tokyo: Shogakukan.

Umegaki, Michio. 1990. 'Epilogue: National Identity, National Past, National Isms.' in *The Ambivilance of Nationalism*, edited by James White, Michio Umegaki and Thomas Havens. Lanham: University Press of America.

Wakamatsu Masatarō, ed. 1896. *Heian sento senhyakunen kinensai kyōsanshi*. Kyoto: Wakamatsu Masatarō.

Waldman, Marilyn. 1986. 'Tradition as a Modality of Change: Islamic Examples.' *History of Religions* 25 (4): 318–340.

Walsh, Kevin. 1992. *The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Post-Modern World*. London and New York: Routledge.

Waters, Neil L. 1983. *Japan's Local Pragmatists: The Transition from Bakumatsu to Meiji in the Kawasaki Region*. Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University.

Wigen, Karen. 1995. *The Making of a Japanese Periphery, 1750–1920*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wigen, Karen. 1998. 'Constructing Shinano: The Invention of a Neo-Traditional Region.' in *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Japan*, edited by Stephen Vlastos. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wilson, George Macklin. 1980. 'Time and History in Japan.' *The American Historical Review* 85 (3): 557–571.

Yamamoto Mitsuo. 1973. *Nihon hakurankai shi*. Tokyo: Risōsha.

Yang, Cao. 1991. 'A Study in the Origins of Ancient Japan's Palace System: Focusing on the Original Court Style.' *Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan* 36: 43–57.

Yasumaru Yoshio. 1979. *Kamigami no Meiji ishin*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Yasumaru Yoshio, and Miyachi Masato, eds. 1988. *Shūkyō to kokka*. Vol. 5, *Nihon Kindai Shisō Taikei*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Yoshimi Shun'ya. 1992. *Hakurankai no seijigaku: manazashi no kindai*. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha.