

Living with the Past: Preservation and Development in Japanese
Architecture and Town Planning

by

Cherie Wendelken-Mortensen

B.A. in Anthropology, M. Arch.,
State University of New York at Buffalo

Submitted to the Department of Architecture
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN ARCHITECTURE, ART AND ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES

at the

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

June 1994

© Cherie Wendelken-Mortensen 1994. All rights reserved.

The author hereby grants to MIT permission to reproduce and to distribute
publicly paper and electronic copies of this thesis document in whole or in
part.

Signature of the Author _____

Department of Architecture
April 28, 1994

Certified by _____

Stanford Anderson
Professor and Department Head
Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by _____

David Friedman
Professor
Chairman, Departmental Committee on Graduate Students

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE
OF TECHNOLOGY
VOL. 1
JUL 14 1994

LIBRARIES



Room 14-0551
77 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, MA 02139
Ph: 617.253.2800
Email: docs@mit.edu
<http://libraries.mit.edu/docs>

DISCLAIMER OF QUALITY

Due to the condition of the original material, there are unavoidable flaws in this reproduction. We have made every effort possible to provide you with the best copy available. If you are dissatisfied with this product and find it unusable, please contact Document Services as soon as possible.

Thank you.

The images contained in this document are of the best quality available.

LIVING WITH THE PAST: PRESERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN JAPANESE ARCHITECTURE AND TOWN PLANNING

by

Cherie Wendelken-Mortensen

Submitted to the Department of Architecture on April 28, 1994 in partial fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Architecture, Art, and Environmental Studies

ABSTRACT

The study examines the architectural preservation program as it has developed over the past century in Japan, and demonstrates how relics of the past have been manipulated and re-interpreted by individuals and communities seeking to define a modern identity. The study chronicles the development of preservation practice from a national perspective, followed by a local historical analysis of the town of Tsumago in Nagano Prefecture.

It is proposed that a nativist and modernist construction of the common Japanese house has had a special place in the history of the modern movement in Japan which influenced the conceptualization, study and preservation of traditional architecture over the past century. Also, the legal tools and field practices of both the national preservation program and the grass-roots district preservation movement have been tied to ideological and political concerns which have affected building designation, restoration, and public presentation.

The most important example of the grass-roots district preservation movement in Japan is Tsumago-juku in Nagano Prefecture, the first example of such a movement in Asia. It is demonstrated that Tsumago's place in the formation of Japan's modern national identity was of primary importance to the success of its preservation effort. Restoration work there resulted in important national legislation and created a conflict between the "living tradition" of local carpentry and community vs. professional preservationist. This centered on the nature of architectural tradition and definition of authenticity. As a result of the preservation effort, the town's history and traditions have been re-invented to suit the needs of the present, and its material historicity has been compromised in the name of a greater authenticity in the building process. Yet the modernist ideal of a structurally "honest" and materially "natural" Japanese house has made the acceptance of preservation intervention problematic in the architectural community, further demonstrating that the way old houses are preserved is as much a reflection of the architectural and political ideology of our time as they are a portrait of the past.

Thesis Supervisor: Professor Stanford Anderson

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations	4
Preface	9
Introduction	14
Chapter One. The Invention of Minka	23
Chapter Two. The Culture of Wood: Preservation Legislation and Practice ...	52
Chapter Three. Tsumago in History	131
Chapter Four. Building in Tsumago: Three Phases of Restoration and Development	183
Chapter Five. Tsumago in International Perspective	267
Conclusions	294
Glossary of Japanese Terms	300
Bibliography	309
Illustrations	328

List of Illustrations

1: Kon Wajirô's sketches of farmhouse types

(From *Minka ron: Kon Wajirô shû*, no. 2. Tôkyô Domesu Shuppan, 1971, Fig. 71)

2: Gifu Prefecture Municipalities

(From Ôta Hirotarô and Kodama Kôta eds., *Nihon no machinami: Chûbu*, no. 5, Tôkyô: Dai'ichi Hôki, 1982, p.145)

3: Gasshō houses at Shirakawa

(From Ôta Hirotarô and Kodama Kôta eds., *Nihon no machinami: Chûbu*, no. 5, Tôkyô: Dai'ichi Hôki, 1982, p.37)

4: Roof structure of gasshō houses, Shirakawa

(From Andô Kunihiko, *Jûkyô no seisan to tekio no gijutsu*, Tôkyô: 1981, no. 20, p. 76; no. 22, p. 108.)

5: Preservation District at Shirakawa's Ogimachi

(From Ôta Hirotarô and Kodama Kôta eds., *Nihon no machinami: Chûbu*, no. 5, Tôkyô: Dai'ichi Hôki, 1982, p. 156)

6: Gasshō houses at Shirakawa undergoing roof repairs

(From Ôta Hirotarô and Kodama Kôta eds., *Nihon no machinami: Chûbu*, no. 5, Tôkyô: Dai'ichi Hôki, 1982, p.37)

7: View of Ôuchi-juku, Fukushima Prefecture

(Photograph, Aizawa Tsuguo, 1980.)

8: Village Plan of Ôuchi-juku, Fukushima Prefecture

(Drawing by Aizawa Tsuguo, 1969)

9: Major daimyô domains

(From Naff, William, trans. of Shimazaki Tôson, *Before the Dawn*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987, inside cover.)

10: Kiso District map showing highways and towns of the Edo Period

(From Naff, William, trans. of Shimazaki Tôson, *Before the Dawn*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987, inside cover.)

11: Tsumago area map

(Base drawing from Ôta Hirotarô and Kodama Kôta eds., *Nihon no machinami: Chûbu*, no. 5, Tôkyô: Dai'ichi Hôki, 1982, p. 36)

12: Range of *machiya* plans from Tsumago

(From Ôta Hirotarô and Kodera Takehisa, eds., *Tsumago-juku: hozon saisei no ayumi*, Nagiso-chô, 1984, p. 168)

13: Diagram of Tsumago: recorded Edo house sites and ranks

(From Ôta Hirotarô and Kodama Kôta eds., *Nihon no machinami: Chûbu*, no. 5, Tôkyô: Dai'ichi Hôki, 1982, p. 19)

14: Sixty-nine stations of the Kiso Highway: Fukushima. Woodblock print by Andô Hiroshige. (From Akai Tachiro and Kodama Kôta, eds. *Nakasendô*, vol 2, *Edo jidai zushi*, Tôkyô: Chikuma Shobô, 1976, no. 11, Fig. 13)

15: Kon Wajirô's sketches of houses in the Kiso region

(From *Minka ron: Kon Wajirô shû*, no. 2. Tôkyô Domesu Shuppan, 1971, Fig. 156, 160, 259)

16: *Ishioki* roof detail drawings

(From Andô Kunihiko, *Jûkyô no seisan to tekiô no gijutsu*. Tôkyô: 1981, no. 17, p. 108.)

17: Relationship of houses to street

(From Ôta Hirotarô and Kodama Kôta eds., *Nihon no machinami: Chûbu*, no. 5, Tôkyô: Dai'ichi Hôki, 1982, p. 52)

18: Structural elements of Kiso *machiya*: example from Narai-juku

(From Ôta Hirotarô and Kodama Kôta eds., *Nihon no machinami: Chûbu*, no. 5, Tôkyô: Dai'ichi Hôki, 1982, p. 52)

19: Reconstruction plan of Tsumago *honjin*

(From Ôta Hirotarô and Kodera Takehisa, eds., *Tsumago-juku: hozon saisei no ayumi*, Nagiso-chô, 1984, p. 166)

20: *Kabuki-mon* reconstructed at the Shimazaki Museum in Magome

(From Ôta Hirotarô and Kodera Takehisa, eds., *Tsumago-juku: hozon saisei no ayumi*, Nagiso-chô, 1984, p. 159)

21: Kiso Fukushima Summer Horse Market. Anonymous screen painting, 19th century. (From Ikoma Kanshichi, *Nakasendô Kiso juichi shuku: sono rekishi to bunka*, Matsumoto: Kyôdo Shuppan, 1980, p. 140)

22: Tsumago Village Plan

(Base drawing from Nagiso-chô)

23: Tsumago: Structures dating from Edo to Early Meiji Periods

(Base drawing and data from Nagiso-chô)

24: Tsumago: First floor plan of Okuya before restoration

(Base drawing from Ôta Hirotarô and Koderâ Takehisa, eds., *Tsumago-juku: hozon saisei no ayumi*, Nagiso-chô, 1984, p. 138)

25: Restoration drawings of Okuya

(Base drawing from Ôta Hirotarô and Koderâ Takehisa, eds., *Tsumago-juku: hozon saisei no ayumi*, Nagiso-chô, 1984, p. 140)

26: Site plan and section of Okuya

(Base drawing from Ôta Hirotarô and Koderâ Takehisa, eds., *Tsumago-juku: hozon saisei no ayumi*, Nagiso-chô, 1984, p. 142)

27: Tsumago: Structures dating from late Meiji to early Taishô periods

(Base drawing and data from Nagiso-chô)

28: Tsumago: Structures dating from mid-Taishô to before World War II

(Base drawing and data from Nagiso-chô)

29: Tsumago: Structures built after World War II

(Base drawing and data from Nagiso-chô)

30: Tsumago village plan: Koino area

(From Ôta Hirotarô and Koderâ Takehisa, eds., *Tsumago-juku: hozon saisei no ayumi*, Nagiso-chô, 1984, p. 146)

31: Tsumago village plan: Shimomachi and Nakamachi area

(From Ôta Hirotarô and Koderâ Takehisa, eds., *Tsumago-juku: hozon saisei no ayumi*, Nagiso-chô, 1984, p. 147)

32: Tsumago village plan: N. Terashita and Kamimachi areas

(From Ôta Hirotarô and Koderâ Takehisa, eds., *Tsumago-juku: hozon saisei no ayumi*, Nagiso-chô, 1984, p. 148)

33: Tsumago village plan: Terashita area

(From Ôta Hirotarô and Koderâ Takehisa, eds., *Tsumago-juku: hozon saisei no ayumi*, Nagiso-chô, 1984, p. 149)

34: Tsumago village plan: Omata area

(From Ôta Hirotarô and Koderâ Takehisa, eds., *Tsumago-juku: hozon saisei no ayumi*, Nagiso-chô, 1984, p. 150)

35: View south to Terashita from lower road in Kamimachi

(Photograph: C. Wendelken, 1987)

36: View south to Terashita

(Photograph: C. Wendelken, 1987)

37: Survey drawings of Shimosaga-ya

(From Ôta Hirotarô and Koderâ Takehisa, eds., *Tsumago-juku: hozon saisei no ayumi*, Nagiso-chô, 1984, p. 120)

38: Restoration drawings of Shimosaga-ya

(From Kankyôbunka kenkyûjô, "Rekishiteki machinami no sôtenken," Tokyo: Kankyôbunka kenkyûjô, 1981, p. 44)

39: Site section at Terashita

(From Ôta Hirotarô and Koderâ Takehisa, eds., *Tsumago-juku: hozon saisei no ayumi*, Nagiso-chô, 1984, p. 151)

40: First floor plan of Kamichôji-ya before restoration

(From Ôta Hirotarô and Koderâ Takehisa, eds., *Tsumago-juku: hozon saisei no ayumi*, Nagiso-chô, 1984, p. 129)

41: Restoration plan of Kamichôji-ya

(From Ôta Hirotarô and Koderâ Takehisa, eds., *Tsumago-juku: hozon saisei no ayumi*, Nagiso-chô, 1984, p. 130)

42: Tsumago during the Bunka-Bunsei Fûzoku Emaki Gyôretsu

(From Ôta Hirotarô and Kodama Kôta eds., *Nihon no machinami: Chûbu*, no. 5, Tôkyô: Dai'ichi Hôki, 1982, p. 32)

43: Example of enhancement (*shûkei*) on a house built circa 1930.

(From Ôta Hirotarô and Koderâ Takehisa, eds., *Tsumago-juku: hozon saisei no ayumi*, Nagiso-chô, 1984, p. 47)

44: Terashita area: east elevation showing differences in building height

(From Ôta Hirotarô and Kodama Kôta eds., *Nihon no machinami: Chûbu*, no. 5, Tôkyô: Dai'ichi Hôki, 1982, p. 22-23)

- 45: Tsumago preservation district (outlined in black)**
(Base drawing and data from Nagiso-chô)
- 46: House in Nakamachi before and after restoration**
(Photographs supplied by Nagiso-chô)
- 47: Survey drawings of Yorozu-ya (before restoration)**
(From Ôta Hirotarô and Kodera Takehisa, eds., *Tsumago-juku: hozon saisei no ayumi*, Nagiso-chô, 1984, p. 134)
- 48: Survey drawings of Yorozu-ya**
(From Ôta Hirotarô and Kodera Takehisa, eds., *Tsumago-juku: hozon saisei no ayumi*, Nagiso-chô, 1984, p. 135)
- 49: Restoration plan of Yorozu-ya**
(From Ôta Hirotarô and Kodera Takehisa, eds., *Tsumago-juku: hozon saisei no ayumi*, Nagiso-chô, 1984, p. 136)
- 50: Houses in with *udatsu* in Nakamachi, Tsumago**
(Photograph supplied by Nagiso-chô)
- 51: Tatebajaya at Ichikokutochi**
(Photograph: C. Wendelken, 1987)
- 52: View south to Tsumago-juku from site of Tsumago Castle**
(From Ôta Hirotarô and Kodera Takehisa, eds., *Tsumago-juku: hozon saisei no ayumi*, Nagiso-chô, 1984, p. 7))

Preface

This study had its beginnings during a chance encounter with Prof. Aizawa Tsuguo in 1986 in Ôuchi-juku, a village deep in the mountains of Fukushima prefecture. By that time he had been involved in the affairs of the village for nearly twenty years. While a graduate student at the Department of Folklore at the Musashi University of Fine Arts in the 1960's, Aizawa had spent literally years walking the old abandoned highways created by the Tokugawa government, hoping to discover remnants of Edo folk culture in the isolated villages and farm-houses that lined the roads. During his travels he happened upon Ôuchi-juku. He is now widely credited with re-discovering what has become a well-known, and very rare, complete assembly of thatch-roofed farmhouses forming a post town on the abandoned Edo period highway to Aizu-Wakamatsu.

I met Prof. Aizawa and his students by chance during my own journey from Tôkyô to study extant *minaka* and traditional towns, part of my program of study in Japanese architectural history at Tôkyô University. Such site visits were akin to required reading for Japanese and foreign student alike, and we put together our pilgrimage routes by reviewing architectural guides and research reports available in Tokyo. But straying outside the inventory of protected monuments was a much more problematic venture in the mid-1980's than I imagined.

Some of the villages on my list of destinations had actually disappeared by the time I arrived in Japan, razed to allow for the widening of roads,

abandoned because of obsolescence and decay, or extensively repaired with modern materials. More than once I arrived at a recently published village or house site to find only a highway interchange, a shopping center or an empty field. Many of the current sources I reviewed in 1986 were illustrated with photographs that were probably shot in the early 1970's or before, and the sites were unrecognizable in the 1980's.

By the time I saw it, even remote Ôuchi-juku barely resembled the village that Aizawa had re-discovered; most of the thatched houses had been re-roofed with sheet metal or fiberglass, and several had been totally reconstructed. The most prestigious homes belonged to villagers who had made their fortunes in the early 1980's by selling off farmland to the prefectural government and a private developer as part of a plan to build a power plant in the valley. Some of these homes were industrialized concrete housing systems shipped from factories near Tôkyô. Flat-roofed and modern in design, they offered all the conveniences and comfort of modern city life, available to only a few villagers, but aspired to by all.

Prof. Aizawa was my first contact with the preservation movement in the field, and the experience I had with him, his family, and his research group were in large part responsible for my shift of interest from a pure history of residential architecture to a history and ethnography of the preservation movement and its architectural products. While village children played outside with immense and colorful battery-operated robots, Prof. Aizawa and his wife patiently tutored me on the construction and use of the disappearing local *minka*, or folk houses, and allowed me to spend long hours poring over their notes and photographs. Problematically playing the dual role of ethnographer and activist, Aizawa had resolutely and

meticulously documented the town's transformation, while lamenting the disappearance of the buildings and the lifestyles he hoped to preserve. His one-man preservation campaign was successful in bringing many scholars and thousands of tourists to this remarkable site, but ironically, publicity and tourism only accelerated the rate of change.

Aizawa's documentation revealed that traditional *minka* were no longer being constructed, repaired or even used in the traditional way. The juxtaposition of architectural forms we saw around us was not the co-existence of old and new, but a rapid transformation from traditional to modern, graphically plotted in Aizawa's twenty-year study. While the poorest villagers, primarily the elderly and the infirm, had not been able to alter their homes in any way, the wealthiest had reconstructed completely. Ôuchi's colorful, almost festive plastic and sheet metal townscape was a vivid testament to the effects of modernization on rural village life.

With the privileged perspective of what amounted to a time-lapsed photographic record of cultural transformation, I was struck by the accelerating speed and pervasiveness of the changes that were taking place. When I returned to Tôkyô I recognized that most Japanese architectural scholars were preservation activists almost by definition. It seemed impossible to maintain an interest in the subject without confronting the fact that the wooden architecture of Japan was rapidly receding into the domain of archaeological and archival record. I also realized that much of the historical research in architecture conducted since the beginning of the field almost a century ago had been commissioned research, part of the justifying argumentation or supporting scholarship for preservation projects.

Although the first laws to allow the designated protection of common rural houses date to the 1950's, survey documentation of such houses and towns did not begin in the post-war period. Scores of scholars have maintained an interest in the subject since the early years of this century, inventorying and documenting rural architecture through the primary research method, the group field survey. These activities have an interesting history of their own, and the result is an invaluable body of meticulous measured drawings, photographs, oral histories, and other documentation of village life that portrays not, of course, a remnant of Edo period culture frozen in time, but a culture in transition.

What were to become national inventories of historic towns and buildings had their beginnings in this way; the documentation produced by scholars in a range of disciplines and offices of local government was collected for governmental record at each stage of the creation of the preservation laws. The inventories and the studies conducted were both the justification and the base data for further research on traditional architecture and townscapes. The present-day body of literature on historic towns represents the work of scholars, students, local bureaucrats, and lay people who have combed the countryside often on their own initiative and in their leisure time, looking for surviving examples of pre-war material culture in the remotest corners of rural Japan. Most directly related to this study is the academic field research done by Prof. Ôta Hirotarô and Prof. Inagaki Eizô at Tôkyô University; Prof. Andô Kunihiro at Tôkyô University, Prof. Koderu Takehisa at Nagoya University, Prof. Nishimura Yukio at Meiji, and later Tôkyô University, and Prof. Aizawa Tsuguo at Musashi Institute of Fine Art.

In the course of my research, I took to heart E. J. Carr's entreaty, "Before studying history, study the historian." The documentation, in fact the definition, of folk culture and folk architecture was one of many intellectual interests that helped forge a modern cultural identity for the nation of Japan. This thesis examines the history of interest in common Japanese houses, and the development of the movement to preserve such houses. It demonstrates how the creation of a modern national identity, the nature of traditional architecture, and the practices of the preservation program, are inexorably related.

Introduction

Vernacular houses were not considered objects of importance, or by extension, architecture deserving of preservation and serious historical study until after the Second World War. This is true in Japan as well as most of Europe and the United States, but the "traditional Japanese house" is an ideal that has played upon the imaginations of architects for over a century, and has been an undeniable influence to a great number of Japanese, European and American designers. Praise of Japanese domestic architecture has appeared in the writings of historians, practicing architects, and architectural critics ever since the beginning of Western contact with Japan in the 1860's. It has been written about so often by so many different designers and historians that it holds a special place in the history of modern architecture.

This dissertation is very much a part of the history of the Western architect's fascination with Japanese architecture and traditional houses. It is written by an architect turned historian and ethnographer in an attempt to understand the history of that fascination, and the persistence of "the traditional Japanese house" as a cultural icon, a design metaphor, and an object of preservation, in an age when its actual physical survival is threatened daily. Yet despite the persistence of the metaphor, its relationship to real pre-modern wooden houses is elusive; and with the rapid pace of change in Japan, it seems more and more likely that this architecture will survive only in the metaphorical reinterpretations of it by contemporary

designers, and in the highly controversial, “artificial” activities of the Japanese preservation movement. Both involve interventions and conscious design decisions that alter the authenticity of form and experience.

However, this study is not a history of Japanese domestic architecture. Neither is it another architect's attempt to capture or define the “essence” of tradition for contemporary design, though its concerns are those of the present day. Rather it is the study of the search to define, and the drive to preserve, a kind of cultural and architectural authenticity, and thereby a regional and national identity, in the simple houses of common people. It is a study of a society's search for legitimacy and meaning in old buildings and old ways difficult to part with, but more difficult to maintain. Through an examination of the early architect's interest in history and tradition, and the growth of a grass roots preservation movement, this dissertation looks at the architectural preservation program as it has developed over the past century and demonstrates how relics of the past have been manipulated by individuals and communities seeking to define themselves in the present.

The study focuses on the role of vernacular or folk houses in all of this, proposing that the inhabited houses of common people have had special meaning in the search for legitimate design models and cultural fundamentals in Japanese architecture. This focus brings with it special problems in definition and methodology. It is proposed that Japanese *minka* have had two arenas of meaning in contemporary culture: an internal history, related to local events and concerns specific to a regional or local context, and an external history, which looks at the ways in which national and international cultures have interacted with and given meaning to a particular regional culture. In effect modernity has meant that such external

histories, which form a history of interpretation, of being seen from the outside, have gradually become part of regional or vernacular self-identity, whether it be the Western understanding of exotic Japan, or the urban Japanese's understanding of his remote rural cousin. Any study of vernacular architecture demands an awareness of these two perspectives, which in fact form two parallel and intersecting histories. Shifting the narrative from local to national events and back again, Shimazaki Tôson captured the important relationship of regional experience to national politics in Japan in his novel *Before the Dawn* (*Yokake mai*), a novel which in fact played an important part in Tsumago's recent history. This study perhaps reflects something of that narrative structure by chronicling the preservation movement from two perspectives, the national development of preservation programs and the experience of a local community at Tsumago.

The first two chapters look at the issue of vernacular Japanese houses and the development of a modern preservation program in Japan from the national and international perspective. Chapter One examines the interest in *minka*, the houses of the so-called common classes, among early Japanese architects and folklorists and deals with some of the problems involved in defining and studying that subject. Architect/ theoreticians were interested in the ancient monuments of religious architecture during the Meiji period and later the *sukiya* style residence as models for design, but the common house seems to have had a special, enduring meaning in the twentieth century. This chapter examines what is meant by the Japanese term *minka*, and demonstrates how a nativist construction of *minka* affected its conceptualization, study and preservation in this century.

Chapter Two examines the formulation and development of the preservation program over the last century, focussing on the evolution of the legal tools and the field practices used to protect historic architecture and sites in Japan. The evolving nature of the legislation and the practices employed in its execution render cultural values and political ideology explicit. The articulation of each law and the projects that were carried out under them reveal how Japan's architectural patrimony was conceptualized in different periods. This characterization affected which buildings were protected, and how they were presented to the public. The latest stage of development in preservation legislation was the district preservation program, the result of a grass-roots resident movement in the post-war period of democratization and rapid economic growth and change.

The next three chapters shift the emphasis to the local, regional perspective by looking at the most celebrated example of the grass-roots district preservation movement in Japan, Tsumago-juku. The story of the post town of Tsumago reveals how, through the efforts of a resident-based movement and historical circumstance, an architecturally undistinguished town became the first successful example of district preservation in Japan, and the first example of resident-initiated district preservation outside of Europe and the United States.

Chapter Three outlines the historical development of Tsumago as a post town along the Nakasendô, and its later decline in the twentieth century, an economic casualty of growing prosperity and development in other areas of Japan. It demonstrates how, rather than inherent historical or architectural importance, it was Tsumago's place in the formation of Japan's modern

national identity that accounts for the preservation project's legitimacy and success.

Chapter Four examines the actual restoration of the town, looking closely at selected houses during the three major phases of the on-going preservation project. It demonstrates how the "living tradition" of carpentry and community conflicted with the professional agenda to restore and preserve architectural form. At the same time, the conscious effort to preserve the town compromised its authenticity as a remnant of Japan's cultural past, making it the object of criticism to some urban intellectuals and architectural critics. Chapter Four also demonstrates that the project had slightly differing aims and practices during each of its three phases, related to the source of funding and management. The differing objectives in each phase affected how the houses were restored and presented to the public. Such differences underscore the fact that preservation is a self-conscious and ideologically driven act of design intervention.

Chapter Five looks at the Tsumago experience in international perspective, comparing the experience there with similar projects in Europe and the U.S.. The comparison provides an instructive foil which helps clarify Tsumago's special character and problems. The chapter also includes a discussion of the wider social and economic consequences of the preservation project in the town during more than ten years of experience. Some of the bold steps taken at the beginning of the project in the name of this objective are gradually taking an unforeseen financial and social toll on the village. The aims of residents often conflicted with those of the practitioners brought in to execute the project, and compromises made to resolve of these inherent conflicts have threatened the town's architectural authenticity as well as the

continuation of community. Finally, the Conclusion reviews the ways in which modern political and design ideology have affected the way the common houses of Tsumago and elsewhere have been understood and preserved.

In any context, the study of folk or vernacular houses presents a number of methodological problems. Typically the only specific information on a particular house in Japan is the archaeological evidence of its own structure, and in finer houses, a signed and dated *munafuda* or wooden plaque on the ridge beam. The absence of a recorded history, and reliance on a scant archaeological record make it necessary yet problematic to supplement this information with contemporary ethnographic data. The study of so-called vernacular buildings thereby takes on a curious ahistorical nature. Such a building has no written history, no individual designer or builder with his life and interests, to define its nature, its meaning, or its intent.

It for this reason that the vernacular in architecture, whether it be contained within one's own national borders or a remote curiosity, seems particularly susceptible to invocation in support of ideology. These are at times political, at times aesthetic, but more often than not both, as these concerns are wont to overlap. As interpretive remembering of one's own distant past, or the interpretive acquisition of an exotic culture as a model for, or critique of one's own, the study of *minka* and the preservation projects which these studies support seem to tell us as much about the history of modern architecture as they do about Japanese houses.

What importance and meaning do the notions of "vernacular" and "tradition" have at this point in history, particularly in Japan? Edward S.

Morse, the earliest Western chronicler of Japanese houses, remarked at the end of the 19th century that one had to go into the mountains to find the "real" Japan, unsullied by Western influences and ideas, a sentiment shared by Bruno Taut in the 1930's. By the 1980's an architect wishing to experience this authentic Japan had to travel to even more remote mountain villages cut off from modern economic change in hopes of finding *minka*, or folkhouses, that were still standing, let alone still inhabited. It is in such economically and physically isolated areas, and in the socially isolated, tradition-bound segments of urban society, that district preservation movements began.

As of 1993 there were 32 districts officially designated by the national government as *Dentôteki kenzôbutsu gun hozon chiku* or as the Agency for Cultural Affairs has translated it, Traditional Building Group Preservation Zones. Most of these designations were the result of local resident movements. Tsumago was among the first designations in 1976, and aside from its intrinsic interest, its story deserves a place in international preservation history by virtue of its being one of the first grass-roots preservation efforts outside the Western world, with intentions and characteristics unique to Japan. Tsumago has already served as a model for the Japanese national government's district preservation program, and the experiences there may have international implications.

Because of its successes and problems, today Tsumago confronts some of the most fundamental issues of preservation in any context: as a self-conscious strategy, how can a preservation project maintain physical and cultural authenticity once the historical reasons for a building's, or a town's, form and function have changed? How can rapid economic growth and an evolving community structure be accommodated within a fixed physical

pattern, particularly in Tsumago where circumstances rendered the population immobile? What meaning can inhabited historic structures have in a modern society with a rising standard of living and changing lifestyles?

The history of preservation in Japan and the story of Tsumago are linked with complex financial, political, and social problems, and controversies surrounding preservation touch upon all aspects of social life. During the field study of Tsumago, the issue of confidentiality was therefore a problem from the beginning: the citizens of Tsumago had strong opinions, and were anxious to voice them, yet made strong efforts to preserve the appearance of consensus with their neighbors. As a foreign researcher, I had a uniquely privileged position to hear conflicting opinions and stories which were not commonly discussed, and with this came a responsibility to protect the confidence of my sources.

In this study of place, however, I could not generalize or strive for the anonymity of that protects the privacy of many community studies. Ronald P. Dore's *Shitayama-chô* in Tôkyô and more recently Theodore Bestor's *Miyamoto-chô*, for example, are pseudonyms for places thereby taken off the map. These studies teach us about Japanese rural or urban society as a whole by examining a representative sample while protecting the privacy of the individuals which inform them.

In contrast, the case study of Tsumago has something in common with David Apter's *Against the State*, which documents the conflicts in the village of Sanrizuka in Chiba prefecture over the construction of Narita International Airport. Like Sanrizuka, the issues at stake in Tsumago are the preservation of a way of life against the onslaught of modernization. At the

heart of the matter are property rights and the intense desire of families to retain ownership of land. But quite unlike Sanrizuka, the spirit of the district preservation movement in Tsumago is not radical in nature, though it has political overtones and individual participants with political ambitions. Ironically, though the district preservation movement is politically charged with an agenda that appeals to, and at times attracts leadership from, the extreme right as well as the left, the main constituency of the movement is the broad-based conservative middle and lower-middle class.

In the final analysis, what is revealed at Tsumago is a community engaged in a struggle between insiders and outsiders, a struggle for survival, identity and autonomy expressed in the built environment through the fight to preserve old houses. In the process, history and tradition have been reinvented, seeking to define and protect the "authentic" tradition of the town from polluting outside influences. The preservation movement has become inexorably caught up in national and local politics, and in design ideology. The decisions that are made regarding what and how old buildings are preserved are as much a reflection of the architectural and political ideology of our time as they are a portrait of the past.

Chapter One

The Invention of Minka

The writings of many contemporary Japanese architects attest to the continued concern with the Japanese-ness, the national or cultural identity, of their work. The relationship of a Japanese designer's work to traditional architecture remains an important rhetoric to establish the Japanese-ness of his or her work. To the European or American architect, an interesting feature of contemporary Japanese criticism is the fact that Japanese-ness is often tied to the notion of tradition rather than history in modern architecture. Many Japanese architects seem compelled to establish a posture not toward history in the European sense, that is, a respect or rejection of the legacy or vicissitudes of the past, but to tradition, a unifying notion of continuity that defies time - a sensibility and system of building seen as constant throughout Japanese history and unique to Japan.¹ Most importantly, this notion of tradition suggests something which lives and has relevance in the present, and has a "timelessness" which gives it a legitimacy in contemporary experience.

¹ In the context of this study, an indication of this emphasis was the decision to name preservation districts "groups of traditional buildings" (*dentôteki kenzôbutsu gun*) rather than "groups of historic buildings" (*rekishiteki kenzôbutsu gun*).

The concern with Japanese-ness is part of the search for a national identity in Japanese architecture that has been a constant thread in architectural design and criticism in Japan since the late nineteenth century, despite the fact that, or perhaps because, the profession was introduced to Japan from the West at that time.² This chapter focuses on the early interest in common houses or *minka* among Japanese architects, and the construction of a nativist view of the common house. The growth of the folklore movement and developments in architectural theory affected the understanding of *minka* and their preservation before and after the war.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is remembered as a time of rapid institutional transformation and cultural change in Japan; architecturally it is remembered as a time of stylistic exploration and technical innovation. Yet the rapid changes that took place were related overwhelmingly to public, commercial, and industrial buildings. Residential architecture, on the other hand, changed at a much slower pace. In the early Meiji Period, the most significant change in residential construction, both in urban areas and in the countryside, was not the introduction of Western-style architecture or building techniques, but the abolition of a long history of building restrictions. This accelerated some of the developmental trends in late Edo period residences, whose evolution had been retarded by restrictions that were repeatedly reasserted even as they become more difficult to enforce.

² For studies in English of the early years of the profession in Japan, see David Stewart's *The Making of a Modern Japanese Architecture*, Kodansha International 1987; and Jonathan M. Reynolds, "Maekawa Kunio and the Emergence of Modernism in Japanese Architecture," Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University 1991, Chapter 2, pp. 33-64.

Town plans and building restrictions (in the regional *han* and the central Tokugawa government) are useful sources for descriptions of pre-modern commoners' dwellings. Edo Period building restrictions were the most explicit and elaborate, as this was also the greatest period of development for the common house. By the mid-17th century, the Shogunate had restricted the materials that could be used in construction, as well as the form and scale of residences. To maintain the order of the feudal hierarchy which the Tokugawa had created, an attempt was made to regulate the display of wealth and status in keeping with social class and political rank.

These restrictions took many forms.³ Between 1630 and 1650, restrictions were made on the type of wood and other materials that could be used, and the type of decorative elements or decorative materials that were allowed on commoners' houses. The regulations even restricted the type of furniture that was allowed within them. Restrictions on urban houses or *machiya* continued to be strengthened into the 19th century which reflects the growing wealth and power of the merchant class. An 1843 ruling in Ôsaka, for example, repeated earlier restrictions on the use in commers' houses of specific elements of *shôin* style interiors, a style which was associated with the warrior class. The repetition of these restrictions illustrate the fact that commoners-farmers, craftsmen, and merchants - continued to adopt elements from the elite residential styles into their dwellings during the course of the Edo period, despite governmental efforts.

Many regulations were made for safety reasons, often related to fire prevention, such as a national 1648 prohibition of any activity involving fire

³ Shiraki 1980, pp. 130-6

on the second floor. One national regulation that had widespread impact on the appearance of urban areas designated for commoners was the prohibition of thatched roofs, which were ordered replaced with tile in 1661. The *dozô-zukuri* type of construction, which was both labor and material consumptive, was prohibited for commoners until 1632, but was thereafter permitted for the purpose of fire prevention.⁴

As for farmhouses, in 1699 the *bakufu* issued a series of general regulations that were interpreted in each *han*, or feudal domain, with varying degrees of severity depending on the type of houses common to the region and the general wealth of the *han*. Overall building form was controlled by outlawing *genkan*, or formal entryways, as well as formal gateways in farmhouses belonging to commoners. Specific structural regulations were also enforced, perhaps as a way of reserving the best timber for use by the higher classes. For example, a restriction on *harima*, the allowable span between two structural beams, was made based on the wealth and status of the family. In Aizu, a family between 1 and 5 *koku*⁵ wealth was restricted to a span of 2 *ken*, approximately 12 feet.

Prohibition of the use of particular kinds of wood was also made. In most of the country, the valuable straight-grained *hinoki* (*chamaecyparis obtus*) was forbidden in the construction of commoners' dwellings.

⁴ *Dozô-zukuri* refers to a type of timber-framed construction where the wood structure is covered by thick layers of earth, and finished with plaster and tile. Common in storehouses (*dozô*), this fire-resistant type of construction was also used for residences. Stylistic references were often made to castle architecture which was structured in a similar way.

⁵ *Koku* literally means "stone," and was a unit of measure equivalent to about 180 liters of rice. It was used for the measurement of rice tax revenues and in the allocation of the salaries of officials, and therefore was an indicator of family wealth and rank.

Restrictions in the poorer regions of the country were particularly severe: other premium woods such as *sugi* (*cryptomeria*) were prohibited in Morioka and Akita, and in Sendai, even the use of wood floors was prohibited to farmers with the exception of village headmen.⁶ After the abolishment of the Tokugawa government and its restrictions, the homes of the common classes, particularly the increasingly wealthy merchant class, continued to adopt elements from the warrior-class residential style, the *shōin-zukuri*. On the interior this meant the presence of the formal alcove or *tokonoma* and decorative shelves *chigaidana*, in the house's most formal room; on the exterior surrounding walls and gateways became more common in free-standing houses. Also characteristic of Meiji period houses was the use of multi-storied construction; the use of noble woods once restricted to the warrior classes; and the reinforcement of residences with fireproofing materials like clay, tile, and plaster.

The evolution of new residential ideals, and the emergence of new house forms in the early modern era are beyond the scope of this study, but more detailed discussion of the changes from Edo to Meiji period residential construction follows in the description of Tsumago's houses in Chapter Five. Here it is sufficient to note that residential design and construction did not concern the Japanese architect to the extent it did his European or American counterpart until the first decade of the twentieth century, particularly during the reconstruction of Tōkyō after the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923. The great architects of the late 19th and early 20th centuries did build a small number of residences for foreign residents and wealthy members of Japanese society, but the vast majority of residences continued to be built by carpenters,

⁶ Shiraki 1980, pp. 130-6

not architects, of wood, not brick and stone. Maki Fumihiko has spoken about this aspect of the architectural profession in Japan, stating that his generation of architects has been preoccupied with, as he put it, "resolving the lack of connection between the personal experience of house and home, and the built environment of public life."⁷ It is therefore not surprising that the house, particularly the common house, does not appear as a significant object of interest to the architect as historian, practitioner or restorationist until the Taishô Period (1912-26). This can be tied to three phenomena of that time which introduced the profession to the problems of residential design, and made its expression all the more pressing after the damage to the housing stock in Tôkyô in 1923: the beginning of public housing and housing improvement programs as part of the democratic reforms of the Taishô period, the rise of the folklore and folk art movements, and the beginnings of a modern movement in architecture with direct ties and influence from a number of European movements, but particularly the Bauhaus.

This period also marks the beginning of a different kind rhetoric in architecture: as part of the modern movement, Japanese versions of historical revivalism based on ancient shrine and temples were replaced with an interest in the timeless fundamentals of tradition. Eventually the houses of the common people or *minaka* were to serve as symbols and as proof of this living tradition. These houses were still inhabited in great numbers and still being constructed in various forms all over Japan. As an architecture and cultural legacy they symbolized the naive and the authentic. By virtue of their apparent persistence in the modern age, and their apparent ahistoricity, they symbolized a tradition, a continuity of culture which lived and had

⁷ Conversation with Maki Fumihiko at Tôkyô University, 1987.

relevance in the present, the basis upon which to build a modern Japanese architecture as well as a modern national identity.

There is no precise definition of the word *minka* in English, although the Japanese have translated the English terms “folk house” and “vernacular house” as *minka*. Given the lack of precision in the use of these English terms, and in order to understand the full meaning of the word *minka*, it is worthwhile focusing on the evolution in its usage. Early use of the word *minka* can be found in legal documents as far back as the 12th century, in outlines of the sumptuary regulations of the building codes. However, in these early regulations the word *minka* was used to refer to the overall residential environment - the physical houses and the social environs of the common classes - in pointed contrast to that of the aristocratic or warrior classes.⁸ This is reflected in the contemporary usage of the term *ie*, which is written with the same character (also pronounced *ka*) used for the second syllable of the word *minka*. The term *ie* refers to the physical structure of the house and to the family, particularly the family as a lineage, but not to the daily life of the family.

Specific houses were classified and referred to by type as defined by physical type and location: the free-standing house of a farmer was called *nôka*, literally farmhouse, while the tightly spaced houses of urban areas were called *machiya*, literally, townhouses. Both were considered within the domain of *minka* if inhabited by a commoner.⁹ Social status was a primary consideration in the construction of a house, and conversely, house form was an important indicator of social status in the towns and villages. The *nôka*

⁸ *Kenchiku Daijiten* 1976, p. 1492.

⁹ Shiraki 1980, pp. 130-136.

and *machiya* were the rural and urban subsets, respectively, of the inclusive term *minka*. The term *minka* did not, therefore, originally have a specific stylistic or even typological meaning.

In the present day the word *minka* does call up rural or rustic imagery. Beginning in the 1920's, the meaning of the word *minka* changed. It became a word used by a group of Japanese architects and intellectuals involved in the folklore and folk art movements, and the housing reform movement, all of which had their beginning in the rich intellectual environment of Taishô Period (1912-1926). It was in this context that the European concept of folk or vernacular architecture was translated as *minka*. These terms as used in Europe and the U.S. imply a level of regional isolation and autonomous development in house form, but even in that context this is not always the case. The Japanese word *minka* was used to signify traditional rural homes, particularly farmhouses, as opposed to urban homes, but the term remains as problematic and politically loaded as its English-language equivalents. As in many cases in Europe, the supposed regional autonomy of *minka* form is affected by restrictions and regulations in even remote rural areas, pointing to the involvement of regional and central authorities in determining house form to some degree.

In the post-World War II era, the word *minka* still calls up images of rural farmhouses, but can be more broadly used to refer to wooden residences that have the structural and configuration features of common Edo period houses, regardless of their date of construction or location. Used in this way, the word *minka* highlights the contrast between such homes, and those constructed with modern materials and methods. The changing usage of the word *minka* can be seen as an evolving sensibility toward the notion of folk

in architecture. As such it reflects the architectural establishment looking at something outside of itself: first the commoner in contrast to the feudal elite, then the farmer as opposed to the urbanite, and most recently, the traditional in contrast to the modern. Like the architect's long-standing fascination with the "primitive hut" chronicled by Joseph Rykwert, Western and Japanese architects have looked to *minka* and the regional vernacular in general as a return to architectural essentials and national origins, a return to a pure and original state. Interest in vernacular or folk architecture in Europe in the 19th century coincided with the drive to establish national identities and national architectural forms in newly formed nations.

An interest in rural culture among Japanese intellectuals began during the revival of interest in Japanese history and culture during the late Meiji Period. The first field surveys of rural culture were conducted by the Anthropological Society of Japan, established in 1884.¹⁰ As the effects of rapid urbanization and industrialization continued in the Taishō period, there was a growing interest in the collection and study of traditional tales, religious festivals and other elements of rural folklore. The person most responsible for developing the field of folklore studies in Japan was Yanagita Kunio (1875-1962). Yanagita worked at the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce from 1900-1919, where his involvement in rural improvement programs took him on numerous journeys to remote rural areas. He continued to travel extensively as he devoted more and more time to the study of Japan's varied regional rural cultures, eventually leaving government employ to become a journalist, and later a full-time folklorist in the 1930's.

¹⁰ R. Morse 1975.

Ronald Morse has noted that the primary theoretical focus of Yanagita's prolific career was the search for the elements of tradition that are responsible for what he perceived as Japan's unique national character. Although his methodologies and interests were influenced by British folklore research, Yanagita was also a student of Edo Period *kokugaku*, or National Learning.¹¹ This field of study began in the 17th century as the exegetical and philological study of classical Japanese texts. In the latter Edo period, *kokugaku* took on an increasingly ideological and nationalistic character, as classical studies became a way of understanding the true Japanese national character before the outside influence of Buddhism and Confucianism. As such, it stressed the importance of Shintô, and found a place in the ideology of the imperial restorationists of the Meiji era, as well as the nationalists of the pre-World War II era.¹²

Yanagita's own interests in *kokugaku* did not involve the study of the ancient texts, but provided a theoretical basis for the study of what Morse calls "expressive folklore," particularly the oral narrative tradition and religious festivals (many of which are linked to Shintô beliefs) of rural Japan. Morse also notes that Yanagita did not have a particular interest in material culture, but did work closely with other men who did have such interests. One of his collaborators was Yanagi Sôetsu (1889-1961), the founder of the *mingei* or folk art movement, who periodically traveled with Yanagita to collect and study

¹¹ The term folklore was coined by William John Thoms (1803-85), founder of the British folklore journal *Notes and Queries*. Ronald Morse notes that at first the English term was used in Japanese, introduced by the English literature scholar Ueda Bin (1874-1916). It was later replaced by the Japanese term *minzokugaku*.

¹⁶ See Tahara 1973 for a more detailed discussion of the evolution of *kokugaku* thought.

local craft traditions, and worked with Yanagita into the 1930's.¹³ Yanagita left the role of architectural chronicler during his group field excursions to architect Satô Koichi of Waseda University, and his assistant Kon Wajirô (1888-1973). It was Kon Wajirô who eventually took up the independent study of rural houses and domestic material culture, using his visual training as a graphic designer and an architect and to record the form and structure of farmhouses and the elements of material culture in daily village life.

Today Kon Wajirô is remembered primarily for his later work, the invention of a field of study called *kôgengaku*, or “modernology.” His peculiar brand of behavioralism and its all-inclusive empirical research methodologies are described in Kawazoe Noboru’s *Kon Wajirô: sono kôgengaku*, and survive to some degree in the research activities of the *Nihon seikatsu gakkai*.¹⁴ Aspects of Kon Wajiro's enormously varied work have received attention in English-language literature in recent years. Miriam Silverberg has examined aspects of Kon’s modernology and suggested that his sketches and commentaries can be read as a critique of capitalism.¹⁵ Tada Michitarô has looked at Kon's relationship to the folklore movement

¹³ Yanagi coined the term *mingei* in 1926. During the 1930's Yanagita devoted himself full time to the development of folklore studies, and continued field surveys which involved extensive travel. At the same time, Yanagi Sôetsu was involved in field surveys and collecting expeditions in order to realize his goal of establishing a folk art museum, established in 1936 at Komaba in Tôkyô.

¹⁴ Kon was the first president of the *Nihon seikatsu gakkai*, founded in 1972. The founding members included architects Kikutake Kiyonori, Takeuchi Yoshitarô, and Yoshizaka Takamasa, architectural critic Kawazoe Noboru, architectural academicians Itô Teiji and Nishiyama Uzô, anthropologist Umesao Tadao, industrial designer Ekuan Kenji, and others. Its closest equivalent in the U.S is probably EDRA, the Environmental Design Research Association, which shares the belief that social science research could provide useful data for more user-oriented design.

¹⁵ Silverberg 1992, pp. 44.

and contrasted Yanagita's interest in the patterns of the past with Kon's stated desire for modernology to act as a kind of predictive social science, "projecting into the future."¹⁶

Kon's modernology focused on the study of contemporary urban culture and marked his break from Yanagita and the folklore movement. Kon trained as an artist, but he practiced and taught architecture and became involved in industrial design as well; the primary audience for his work was the design community throughout his career. His research interests were not purely theoretical or academic, but linked to critical design issues confronted by the practitioner. This is true of both his early *minka* work and his later modernology, and is the fundamental interest which ties these two apparently disparate contributions together.

Kon's early work on *minka* began as part of his involvement with the Ministry of Agriculture's rural housing improvement program. His shift in interest to modernology can be seen as a direct result of his involvement as an architect involved in the reconstruction effort in Tôkyô following the Great Kantô Earthquake. Just after the earthquake in 1923 Kon founded the Barrack Decoration Company¹⁷ which was a small design office involved in the improvement of the temporary structures (called *barakku* as a translation of the English "barrack") that sprung up around the city to replace buildings lost in the earthquake. The activities of the group eventually led to a commission for the Imperial University Settlement House in 1924, and Kon designed his own *9-tsubo* house (approx. 325 sq. ft.) in Tôkyô the same year.

¹⁶Tada 1985 pp. 97-120.

¹⁷Fujimori 1983, pp. 59-64.

Kon's continued involvement in practice, either as designer or consultant, reveals that his surveys of rural houses in use (as seen in his early *minka* studies) and of rapidly emerging urban cultural patterns where no clear house form had yet emerged (modernology), can be understood as source material or studies for housing design solutions. Kon continued to conduct research and consult with various government agencies with the explicit agenda of informing various housing improvement or housing development programs. For the purposes of this study, Kon's earlier work and interest in *minka* will be the focus.

Kon was born in Hirosaki City, Aomori Prefecture, the second son of a local doctor. In 1907, his family moved to Tôkyô, where Kon entered the graphic design program at Tôkyô Bijutsu Gakkô, now Tôkyô University of Fine Arts. After graduation in 1912, he began what was to become a long career at Waseda University, beginning as teaching assistant to the architectural instructor Satô Koichi.¹⁸ In 1917, Satô Koichi, Yanagita Kunio, and seven other men including Kon Wajirô, formed a research group by the name of the *Hakubôkai*, or the Thatch Group. Its stated purpose was the documentation and preservation of Japan's regional *minka*.. The following year, the group conducted its first published field survey of Uchigo-mura, in Kanagawa Prefecture, in association with another group called the *Kyôdôkai*
.19

¹⁸ Satô Koichi was a graduate of Tôkyô University who taught architecture at Waseda, and is remembered for his designs for several public buildings. Okuma Hall at Waseda University is the most well-known extant example of his work. Although he did not write about *minka*, Satô Koichi was a member of the *Hakubôkai* and did accompany the group on a number of field expeditions.

¹⁹ *Kon Wajiro shû*, pp. 494-5.

The rather bucolic name of the Thatch Group, was similar to other groups with similar interests, such as the *Ryokusôkai*, the Green Reed Group, which published an early collection of measured drawings of rural farmhouses as *Minka zushû*, in 1933. Another group which had a similar name but a different focus had an indirect affinity to the *minka* studies circle. This was the important literary society, *Shirakabaha*, or the White Birch Group, which published the journal *Shirakaba* from 1910 to 1923. In its early years, the journal introduced the work of great figures of Western literature and philosophy, in addition to publishing literature written by its members. *Shirakaba* also published many articles in art appreciation, and art history and theory. Beginning with Western art, the journal turned its attention to Japanese and East Asian art in its later years. Most notable among its contributors in this area was Yanagi Muneyoshi, who took the name Sôetsu, the founder of the folk art movement whose connection to Yanagita Kunio was discussed above.

Kon and other *minka* researchers not only shared a sensibility with this group, but shared with Yanagi a connection to Yanagita Kunio and an interest in the work of John Ruskin. Kon quotes John Ruskin in his introduction to *Nihon no minka* published in 1922, when he discusses one of the objectives of his research as aimed at informing the design of contemporary architecture, as he put it, "defining taste."²⁰ Kon, like Yanagi, was influenced by the writings of John Ruskin, which had been known in Japan in English since the late 19th century. By the 1920's Ruskin's writings were achieving a

²⁰ Ibid, p. 126.

wider popularity due to the efforts of the *Tôkyô Rusukin Kyôkai* (Tokyo Ruskin Association).²¹

Kon also knew of the interest in regional farmhouses in Europe that had accompanied the rise of nationhood there in the 19th century, which he discussed in an issue of *Kokusai kenchiku* (International Architecture) that he edited in 1934. Much of Kon's early work on *minka* was the result of extensive field surveys which he began in 1919 at the request of the Ministry of Agriculture, perhaps as a result of his friendship with Yanagita, who had worked in the Ministry since 1900. Kon also visited Korea in 1922 and did research on rural houses there at the request of the colonial government.

Typical of his early theoretical writing was his belief that earlier periods of Japanese culture were preserved in remote rural areas of Japan:

Few places in Tokyo still retain the traditions of the Edo Period, only old shrines and temples. But in the countryside, not only Edo period culture, but Momoyama and Muromachi period culture are also preserved. For those interested in the civilization of these periods, it is very important to study *minka*. The study of rural houses is important to understand the different phases of Japanese culture. Therefore, just like shrines and temples, the significant houses of each region should be preserved and protected. This reflects our respect to our ancestors, and also forms a basis of knowledge as to how our ancestors lived.²²

Kon believed that even Heian culture, and remnants of its residential architecture, the *shinden-zukuri*, could be found preserved in certain areas. He defined the program for *minka* research as mapping the spread of that culture throughout rural Japan, which would be evident in the configuration, use patterns, and regional distribution of farmhouse floor plan types. (Fig. 1)

²¹ Reynolds 1991, pp. 26-27; Kimura 1982, pp. 215-244.

²² Kon 1922, p. 16-17.

As one example, Kon postulates what seems a far-fetched similarity in seating patterns between the *shinden* style residence and the *chanoma* or central room of certain farmhouses. In a *shinden* style house, a Buddhist icon would occupy the *omoya* of the main pavilion of the house; priests would sit in front of the icon within the *omoya*, while worshippers would sit in the *hisashi-no-ma*. He compares this to the custom in farmhouses where the head of the household occupies the seat just in front of the house shrine. Guests and other family members face the shrine, and sit at a distance from it.

Another similarity he sees in farmhouses and *shinden* style houses is the use of the house for religious rituals, which he states disappeared in architectural forms developed in later periods. Again citing the integration of religious ritual and domestic space as a basis for similarity, Kon discusses Shiba-mura in Kyûshû, where legend has it that Heike warriors settled. Here he finds the houses different than typical *minka*., where despite their modest size, two rooms are exclusively reserved for use by priests and icons during religious festivals twice each year.²³ This kind of analysis, which tried to identify remnants of classical and specifically imperial elements of pure Japanese culture alive in remote areas, shows the influence of Yanagita's own primary research interest. There is also a strong affinity to the ideology of *kokugaku* , or nativism.

Kon continued to be active in the field of *minka* studies throughout the 1930's and into the 1950's, although the Great Kantô Earthquake of 1923 was the impetus for a major shift in his interests. At that time his architectural activities with the Ministry of Agriculture in rural housing improvement

²³ Kon 1922, p. 100-101

were interrupted by a more pressing housing crisis closer to home, in Tôkyô, and Kon became involved in the reconstruction effort. Kon also continued to conduct housing improvement studies, particularly in northern Japan, where he was born. Beginning in 1934 and continuing into the 1950's, Kon did research for the Ministry of Agriculture in the Tôhoku area, and maintained a special interest in construction and housing issues in cold climates. His work included the of problems of grain storage in cold climates (Tôhoku 1934-5), housing improvement in mountain and fishing villages of Tôhoku (1936), the formation of the group *Yuki no kai*, the Snow Group, which grew into an important association for the study of housing in heavy snowfall areas (1938-9), and did a number of consulting projects for private industry and the government after the Second World War. ²⁴

Even though his activities in housing improvement, industrial design, and especially his research in "modernology" became more publicized in later years, Kon Wajirô maintained his interest in rural housing and culture, forming the *Minka kenkyûkai* in 1936, which published the magazine called *Minka*. The members of this group included Takeuchi Yoshitarô, Fujishima Gaijirô, and a number of other architects associated with the modern movement. However, in the 1930's *minka* were still a debatable subject for legitimate academic study and the modern movement was still marginalized in pre-war Japan, where much of the architectural establishment was still steeped in academic European historicism, and the new government was promoting a version of Japanese historicist design in the nationalistic *teikanyôshiki* or Imperial Crown style.

²⁴ Kawazoe 1987.

Architect Takeuchi Yoshitarô had been involved while a student at Waseda University with the Japanese folklore movement under Yanagita Kunio and Kon Wajirô. After his graduation, Takeuchi became a member of the modernist group discussed in the previous chapter, the *Nihon Intânashonaru kenchikukai*. This group was formed in the Kinki region and was active from 1927-33, but its members continued their involvement in the modern movement after the group's dissolution. Takeuchi's involvement with the folklore movement and the village of Shirakawa was to have a lasting impact on the modern image of rural Japan. As a student of Kon Wajirô during the era of the first *minka* field studies, Takeuchi decided to write his graduation thesis on a village in Gifu prefecture called Shirakawa primarily, it seems, because he had relatives nearby.²⁵ His study of 1924 was the first architectural survey of the town, but the village had already been a subject of interest for folklorists working with Yanagita. Their interests included the local legends which described the village's origins as a settlement of refugees from the Heian court, and the unique social structure of the village thought to be a result of these origins.

This and other activities of the Japanese researchers on *minka* preceded German architect Bruno Taut's arrival in Japan by more than a decade. During his brief stay in Japan his tutored opinion of Japanese architecture was widely publicized and lent legitimacy to Katsura in particular as the premier embodiment of Japanese architectural beauty.²⁶ Similarly, Taut's praise of a particular regional house type seems to have lent legitimacy to *minka* as an object of study, and as culturally and aesthetically significant architecture.

²⁵ Takeuchi 1978, p. 329-367.

²⁶ See Inoue Shôichi's *Tsukurareta shinwa Katsura* 1989 for a discussion of Taut's role in Japan.

Members of the *Intânashonaru kenchikukai* hosted Taut's stay in Japan, helping him gain architectural commissions, arranging speaking engagements, and also guiding him in his travels to important sites such as Katsura and Nikkô. In addition, Takeuchi Yoshitarô took Taut on the long journey to his remote thesis site, the village of Shirakawa in Gifu prefecture. (Fig. 2)

In his writings and his many presentations in Japan, Taut focused on the houses of Shirakawa village in Gifu Prefecture as particularly worthy of admiration. In the same lectures and essays that praised the classical perfection of Katsura Villa, Taut praised the "timeless beauty of native Japanese architecture." The source of the Katsura aesthetic could be found in the formal simplicity of Ise Shrine, and the rational structure of the farmhouses of Shirakawa. Taut's praise gave international fame to what had been one obscure example of many regional farmhouse types, which has since become the most recognizable symbol of Japanese rural architecture. (Fig. 3) The style or type of construction is found deep in the mountains of Gifu prefecture, and is today referred to as *gasshō-zukuri*, or praying hands style. Until the last thirty years or so, the word *gasshō*, literally praying hands, was the general name for the rope-bound Japanese truss. Today this term refers to the particular style of house found in Shirakawa and Gokanoshō.²⁷

²⁷ Ueno 1987, p. 14. In an interview in 1990, architectural historian Ôkawa Naomi, formerly of Tôkyô University, suggested that many of the names for regional farmhouse types are probably not very old, and might not be indigenous to the region but part of the popular highway lore of the latter Edo period when large numbers of travellers were exposed to the array of regional architecture on their journeys.

Among the many villages he saw, why did Taut choose to focus on Shirakawa? The specific reason for his admiration can be found described in his book, *Houses and People of Japan*. Taut preceded his judgement of the *gasshō* with a series of photographs of other Japanese farmhouses set alongside European look-alikes from the Alps, Scandinavia, and England.²⁸ Significantly, he dismissed these other Japanese houses by saying they were not unique to Japan, and what was more, not as logically constructed as their European counterparts. He criticized the overly heavy timbers in the roof structures of the Japanese houses, and to the absence not only of a triangulated roof truss, but to the absence of diagonal bracing of any sort in a country where earthquakes seemed to demand great structural stability. (Fig. 4)

The *gasshō* on the other hand, had no European twin, and according to Taut was more logically constructed than other Japanese houses. It was built with smaller timbers forming a truss which was pinned to columns below, and employed diagonal bracing under the expansive thatched roof for lateral stability. It was as he stated, a pure expression of structural and social function, fit to compete with Katsura and the Parthenon as a model for modern architecture. Katsura Palace and Ise Shrine were both associated with the imperial family, and had received a good deal of attention by Japanese historians and critics in the 1930's. Like Taut's praise of these buildings, the celebration of the *gasshō* resonated in the growing nationalistic climate of pre-war Japan, and with those already deeply involved in the study of *minka*.

²⁸ Taut 1936.

Inoue Shôichi does not deal with Taut's interest in *minka* or the *gasshō*, instead focusing on Taut's more celebrated relationship to Katsura. But as in the case of Katsura, it was Taut's Japanese hosts who in fact "discovered" the farmhouses of Shirakawa village, in particular, the architect Takeuchi Yoshitarô. Like Katsura the *gasshō-zukuri*, of Shirakawa became icons for modern design. Its prominence in architectural rhetoric resulted in earlier and more comprehensive protection of this *minka* style in the post-war preservation movement, ensuring its role as a symbol of Japanese design.

It is interesting to note that a year after Taut's arrival, Kon edited a special edition of *Kokusai Kenchiku*, a magazine that served as one of the main forums for modernist discourse in the 1930's. Here Kon told Japanese modernists that they must look to *minka*, just as the European architects in the late 19th century had looked to their own farmhouses for inspiration and lessons in design. Addressing the growing interest in tradition among Japanese architects in the 1930's, Kon repeated his conviction that rural Japan deserved careful attention because it preserved aspects of Edo and even Heian culture. By returning to the simplicity of rural Japan, the modernist architect would find the unadorned functional architecture he sought. By extension, all Japanese architects could effect a return to national origins.

Aware of the Bauhaus praise for the anonymous craftsman that was an early cornerstone of the modern movement, Kon continued by recalling his disappointment at visiting a museum in Berlin in 1930. There, covered with dust inside a locked room, was a collection of German farmhouse models which German architects had forgotten, "blindly forging ahead without looking back at these valuable models." In his essay he predicts that his special issue on Japanese farmhouses will be similarly ignored by Japanese

modernists.²⁹ By this time, Kon himself seems to have questioned its relevance, as his focus had already shifted from rural architecture to *kôgengaku*, his new field of modernology with emphasis on contemporary urban culture.

Interestingly, the first edition of Kon's book *Nihon no minka* published in 1922 does not include the *gasshō* among the many regional styles he describes. A post-war edition was published in 1954, by which time the *gasshō* houses were known internationally among modern architects as a result of Bruno Taut's widely read book. Kon's 1954 edition of *Nihon no Minka* includes a chapter on the *gasshō* written by his colleague Takeuchi Yoshitarō, the only chapter not written by Kon himself.

Takeuchi notes that Shirakawa's houses were striking for their sheer size; each house had two inhabitable floors, and a large scaffolded roof which could contain up to three or more stories of work space. Of particular interest was the unusual social structure of the villages of the region. Extended families called *daikazoku* (literally big families) lived in the *gasshō*; usually large households of up to 40 people, headed by the eldest son. Daughters did not leave the home to be married, and instead their common-law husbands visited them in the house where they were born. Sleeping quarters were divided into a large room for men, another for women and young children, and a small room for the head of the household and his wife.

Early folklore field researchers had postulated that Shirakawa was indeed founded by refugees from the Heian court in the 12th century, as evidenced by the existence of these large households and the extended family system that

²⁹ Kon 1934, pp. 240-243

was thought to be the remnants of the residential customs of the Heian court. Historian Kodama Kôta visited the village in the 1930's after the publicity surrounding Taut's visit, and argued that the *gasshō* was more likely a later development of the Edo period. He cited the fact that Shirakawa had come under direct control of the Tokugawa government in the 18th century, and that restrictions had been placed on the construction of new houses, and the establishment of new households. He suggested these restrictions were related not only to the shortage of arable land but to the need for secrecy in government-supervised gun powder production which was carried out under the floorboards of the houses. As for the extended family system, Kodama suggested that it, too, was a later development. Women were needed to work in the burgeoning sericulture industry that developed toward the end of the Edo period and therefore were not permitted to leave home.³⁰

Even with these revisions it was Taut's praise of the village's uniqueness and the connection to Heian court that was used to bolster the value of these buildings. This characterization of the town's architectural value was made explicit in the post-war preservation movement, when Taut's words and the Heian connection were used to successfully argue for protective designation of these houses.

It is now recognized that the roof structure which Taut praised was not unique to the *gasshō*. Similar structures could be found in Yamagata, Fukushima, Gunma and even near Tōkyō. Nor was the construction purely "rational;" ritual and local custom played an important part in the house's construction, form, and use. No archaeological or documentary evidence has

³⁰Kodama 1982, pp. 141-144.

yet been found to support connection to the Heian court. Despite the fact that *gasshō* could be found in other sites in the area such as Gōkayama, Togano, and Iijima, it was Ogimachi, the site that Taut and Takeuchi visited, that received national designation in the first year of the preservation program. (Fig. 5)

Most importantly, although in subsequent years 32 other districts have received protective designation from the national government, Gifu prefecture gave the *gasshō* houses the additional distinction of being protected as a type, regardless of their location. The *gasshō* remains the only *minka* type to have this level of protection, which means that the houses may not be destroyed, and subsidy money is available for their repair and reconstruction even if they are moved from their original site. It is therefore more economically feasible to rehabilitate the *gasshō* to other uses. The primary structure can be exported and rebuilt in urban areas and even overseas. Before the construction of a dam in a nearby valley, about 35 such structures were moved from the prefecture and reconstructed for a variety of purposes.³¹ As a result more *gasshō* survive today in proportion to their original number than perhaps any other form of farmhouse, further exaggerating their importance in Japanese history and in the landscape.

The studies conducted by the Taishō and early Shōwa era researchers of *minka* were heavily influenced by the folklore movement, and used ethnography and field surveys of existing conditions to understand the structures they saw. The next generation of researchers, particularly the

³¹ Beginning in 1964, *gasshō* houses have been moved to the hills outside Kamakura to serve as an antique shop, and the suburbs of Tōkyō and New York City to serve as restaurants and residences.

Minka kenkyūkai (which had among its members Ôta Hirotarô, Itô Teiji, and later Inagaki Eizô) which began in the late 1930's owed much to the earlier work of Kon Wajirô whom they considered a teacher, but they began to develop historical methodologies for the study of these houses. In concert with Kon's mandate to develop a map of typological distribution, these researchers continued to conduct field surveys to complete the picture of regional pattern distribution. Beginning in the 1950's, through a sponsored research program which was to support plans to preserve *minka* under a new national program, they were able to supplement the survey of existing floor plans and structure with the primary research method developed during the study and repair of monuments, the process called *kaitai shûri*, literally, "dismantling and repair." National funds were made available to underwrite the considerable expense of dismantling entire structures which could then be examined to determine their age and original appearance. Through the growing body of this type of meticulous research on individual houses, a clearer picture of *minka* development has been constructed in the post-war years, revealing that some of the features considered to be remnants of antiquity were, as Kodama had pointed out in the case of Shirakawa, actually developments of later periods.

A later generation of researchers has given *minka* and particularly Shirakawa renewed attention in recent years, and revived the interest in ethnographic fieldwork as a tool to understand *minka* and rural culture. Educated during the 1960's, some of these younger researchers have links to the Japanese communist and socialist parties while others are simply liberal thinkers with no political affiliation. Although they have revised the methods and content of their *minka* studies, they acknowledge their

indebtedness to Kon, and some quote Morse and Taut in the introductions to their studies.³²

For researchers such as Andô Kunihiro³³ and Aizawa Tsuguo³⁴, the communal lifestyle of the large families which inhabited the immense *gasshō*, and their system of cooperative labor called *yui* were the focus of interest. Studies on *yui* and Shirakawa during the 1970's and 80's called attention to the egalitarian nature of village organization, and detailed the system of reciprocal obligations that directed volunteer labor teams for the sowing of rice, the construction of houses, and the re-thatching of roofs. Andô Kunihiro wrote of the importance that villagers place on communal good, illustrated by detailed studies of thatching events and building rituals such as *ishiba*, the placing of foundation stones.³⁵ (Fig. 6)

Ironically, without the financial subsidies resulting from the preservation program and the tourism which accompanied it, the cooperative labor system and the thatching events at Shirakawa would have disappeared as they have in most other areas of Japan. *Minka* again found a place in political rhetoric, this time in houses preserved for different ideological reasons. This recurrent use of the common Japanese house as model for contemporary design, and the *minka* as an embodiment of architectural and political ideals, might be seen as an example of what anthropologist Theodore Bestor has called "traditionalism: the manipulation, invention, and recombination of cultural patterns, symbols and motifs that legitimate

³²Interview with Andô Kunihiro 1986.

³³ Andô 1981, pp. 109-113.

³⁴ Aizawa 1987.

³⁵ Andô 1981.

contemporary social realities by imbuing them with a patina of venerable historicity."³⁶ Through such a process, the vernacular or folk house in Japan has been given attributes of architectural naturalness and unself-conscious honesty which served as a model for contemporary design and culture. In architectural discourse, history and tradition were re-invented and the common houses of Japan served as embodiments of modernist ideals. Yet they were also used as symbols of folk culture in nationalist and socialist politics.

The historic towns that became the first Important Cultural Properties in the 20th century are implicitly those that have the greatest cultural value. Yet as the case of Shirakawa demonstrates, it was not the town's intrinsic historical or architectural importance that made it significant in the context of modern Japan. Rather it was the importance that the town had in the development of an identity for modern Japanese culture and the emergence of a modern Japanese architecture. Shirakawa was designated during the first year of the District Preservation Program in 1976. Its role in the early Japanese modern movement has given the town an exaggerated prominence in architectural literature, and even popular culture, as a symbol of rural Japan.

In terms of the development of the district preservation movement and its program, there can be no doubt that another town in this same region called Chûbu is of greater importance. The town of Tsumago-juku has a different configuration and is composed of quite a different type of *minka* but it parallels the profile of Shirakawa in one important way: its importance as a

³⁶ Bestor 1989, p. 2.

preservation site relates not to its importance as an Edo Period post town, or its architectural quality, but to its role in early modern culture.

A fire destroyed a large portion of Tsumago in the 1890's, and it was soon re-built in the liberalized context of the Meiji period, that is, without the Edo building restrictions or intervention from Edo town planners. In the 1920's, visitors would have seen relatively new Meiji versions of the regional house style. It was not therefore the kind of "timeless" and apparently archaic built environment that would have interested the researchers involved in the *minka* studies movement of the 1920's. In addition, there were probably towns similar to Tsumago along the Kiso and other highways that were of potentially greater architectural interest in the 1920's which had survived without recent fire.

Nonetheless, Tsumago does have a link to the intellectual climate of the 1920's and to the agrarian idealists of the age. Shimasaki Tôson's influential novel, *Before the Dawn* (*Yoake mae*), was published in the monthly magazine *Chûo kôron* between 1929 and 1935. The first of many critical analyses of this work soon followed in 1936, just at the time that the folklore movement, the *minka* studies circle, and the modern movement in architecture, were celebrating the rural farmhouse. The novel was a carefully researched and highly detailed literary "reconstruction" of life in the Kiso Valley just before and after the Meiji Restoration. *Before the Dawn* has continued importance in the collective imagination of contemporary Japan, due no doubt to its success in describing the emergence of a modern Japanese nation. Its association with the region is a large part of the success of the first example of district preservation in Japan at Tsumago. In the words of Stephanie Kraft, speaking of the importance of Ralph Waldo Emerson's

Concord, Owen Wister's Wyoming, and Sinclair Lewis's Main Street to American cultural identity, a nation has to be created "in the imagination as well as in concrete reality."³⁷

³⁷ Kraft 1977.

Chapter Two

The Culture of Wood: Preservation Legislation and Practice

Japanese architectural historians such as Ôta Hirotarô and Inagaki Eizô, critics such as Itô Teiji, and master craftsman such as Nishioka Tsunekazu have described Japan's pre-modern architecture as the product of a culture of wood.³⁸ In journals such as *Ki no kenchiku* (Wooden architecture), *Wafû kenchiku* (Japanese-style architecture), and numerous international preservation fora, the great architectural monuments of Japan have been characterized as being constructed of wood and other organic materials, like the humblest Japanese dwelling, and unlike the monuments in European countries where monuments were built in brick and stone.

Wood construction and the concern for the preservation of wooden structures is not, of course, unique to Japan. In Norway and Sweden, the dominance of wooden architecture in the national patrimony has played a part in defining the Nordic cultural identity against that of continental Europe in the postwar period.³⁹ James Marston Fitch has written that the

³⁸ Nishioka 1978; Itô 1971, pp.48-50; Inagaki 1984, pp. 26-39; Ôta 1966, pp. 1-26

³⁹ Nordisk samarbeide om å bevare nordens gamle trebyer (The Conference on Preserving the Old Wooden Buildings of the North): "*Den nordiska trästaden: Trebyer i Norden*" (The Nordic Heritage: Wooden buildings in the North) is a series of reports that were published by the Conference as part of a campaign to preserve the nordic wooden towns, beginning in 1972.

majority of America's historic buildings are also of wood.⁴⁰ In Japan, special cultural importance has been given to the Japanese understanding of the material properties of wood in defining its own architectural and cultural identity.

Itô Nobuo, Director of the Architectural Division of the Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties in Tokyo has noted that UNESCO was not seriously interested in the problems of wood conservation until 1984.⁴¹ This marked the beginning of a series of training programs in wood conservation sponsored jointly by ICOMOS, ICCROM and UNESCO, modeled after the Rome program which had focused on stone and masonry. It was not until the economic development of Japan and Norway after the Second World War that these two nations were in a position to promote the start of such a program.

Japan's "culture of wood" claims a special appreciation of wood in its natural and unfinished form, and a special knowledge of its material properties. In residential construction, wood species are said to be appreciated for their visual characteristics as much as for their physical properties. Where the Western carpenter smoothed a plank by using sand paper that crushed the grain of the wood, the Japanese carpenter would use a sharpened plane so that the grain could be preserved and appreciated. Where the Western builder would hammer members together with metal nails, the Japanese carpenter avoided metal hardware and carefully crafted structures together with joints that could be dismantled for inevitable repairs. Where Western lumber was stored horizontally in anonymous piles, in Japan wood was

⁴⁰ Fitch 1992, p. 108.

⁴¹ Interview with Itô Nobuo 1987.

considered a living material and therefore lumber was stored vertically with its natural base at the bottom, as the tree had grown; Japanese carpenters would erect pillars accordingly. The insensitivity to such issues in the West was as if, in the words of one Japanese preservationist/historian, Europeans built with wood as if it was stone.⁴²

Suzuki Kakichi points out that even where stone was available in Japan, it was used only for foundations and bridges.⁴³ It is a source of ongoing debate among architectural historians in Japan as to whether the cultural attitude toward the built environment was determined by the vocabulary of easily available materials, or whether cultural values restricted the materials used. Ôta Hirotarô has suggested that especially until the Muromachi period (1393-1568) there was no need to use stone in the construction of great religious or residential structures because of the abundance of durable *hinoki* (*chamaecyparis obtus*), a type of cypress considered to be Japan's premier structural wood. He also cites the difficulty of transporting stone, which would have been formidable in Japan's mountainous terrain.⁴⁴ Even after *hinoki* became more scarce, a wide range of organic building materials such as reed, grasses and bamboo were available, but deposits of granite, slate and other stone were not fully exploited. While the challenges of building in an environment plagued with frequent earthquakes might partly explain the limited use of masonry construction, other earthquake-prone regions have developed masonry architecture; alternatively, the damp climate of Japan might seem, if anything, ill-suited to wood construction.

⁴² Interview at the Architectural Division, Agency for Cultural Affairs, 1987.

⁴³ Suzuki 1983, p. 157.

⁴⁴ Ôta 1966, p. 18-19.

Another unique feature of Japanese structures pointed out by Itô Teiji and others is the mobility of individual buildings made possible by the dry-jointed wood post and beam structure. The absence of nails or adhesives made it possible to dismantle buildings for rebuilding on other sites, which was frequently done in the pre-modern period. Dismantling also aided the frequent repairs demanded by organic construction materials in a humid climate. Consequently, it has been argued that Japanese building culture has a special relationship to wood, part of its uniquely close relationship to and appreciation of nature in general.⁴⁵ As a part of nature, Japanese architecture was subject to the cycle of the seasons, the passage of time, and the passing of human generations. It was for this reason that the Japanese constructed buildings which seemed to fatalistically accept their tenuous nature, designed to be easily replaced and repaired, rather than built to endure.⁴⁶

This view has a corollary in religious beliefs. The fragility of pre-modern structures seems in concert with the Buddhist notion of the physical world as a “floating world” of fleeting illusion, reinforced by the ravages of man-made and natural disasters in Japanese history - the fires, wars, and earthquakes which to a large extent mark epochs in urban and architectural history.⁴⁷ Ôta Hirotarô and many other architectural historians have quoted the *Hôjôki*, or

⁴⁵ Itô 1971, p. 48.

⁴⁶ Often overlooked is the fact that the *dozô-zukuri* a fire-resistant form of construction based on the clay-walled storehouse, increased in the late Edo and early Meiji periods, demonstrating that there was indeed both a city planning response through the creation of stringent fire-related building codes, and an architectural response. More widespread use of *dozô-zukuri* construction prohibited by the *bakufu*, as it was considered too resource consumptive.

⁴⁷ Knut Einer Larsen notes that frequent conflagrations were also a major factor in the urban development of medieval Europe's wooden cities and in Scandinavia until the late nineteenth century in .

"Notes from a ten-foot square hut" by thirteenth century monk Kamo no Chômei (1155?-1216), which cautions that even the grandest residences of Japan were as vulnerable as man to the forces of nature and the passage of time.⁴⁸

Similar references are made in the Shintô tradition. The *shikinen sengû*, or ritualized reconstruction of Ise Shrine is often cited as the model for a uniquely Japanese approach not only to preservation, but to the very conception of monumentality in architecture.⁴⁹ At Ise, an approximately twenty-year cycle of reconstruction has continued with few interruptions since the seventh century. The reconstruction enacts Shintô religious beliefs about cyclical renewal, and ritualizes not only the replacement of decayed organic building materials, but also the transmission of knowledge about construction and repair from one generation to the next.⁵⁰

Fujimori Terunobu calls the acceptance of the temporary nature of wooden architecture in Japan a legacy of "ephemeral architecture."⁵¹ Even castles, the most fortified structures built in pre-modern Japan, were subject to repeated destruction by fire and repeated reconstruction. As an extension, this heritage illuminates some aspects of the Japanese preservation effort that have been different from practices in the West. Contemporary preservation practices Japan are not the same as the historical building tradition, however, but represent an adaptation during over a century of on-site experience and evolving legislation.

⁴⁸ Ôta 166, p. 18.

⁴⁹ Inagaki 1976, pp. 189-212; Sekino 1972, p. 210.

⁵⁰ The reconstruction of Ise was interrupted for over one hundred years beginning from the end of the fifteenth century due to civil war.

⁵¹ Fujimori 1990.

The cyclical or systemic nature of wood construction in Japan has appeared as a concern throughout the history of the preservation program. This chapter describes how, during the very early stages of preservation legislation in the Meiji period, temples and shrines were seen as custodial institutions for important works of art. The protection of objects of art mandated building repair, but there was no mandate for architectural preservation as such. As the preservation program evolved, architecture was recognized as worthy of physical preservation, and at first Western technology was used to enhance its longevity and structural stability. Gradually, new techniques evolved for modern restoration that recognized the special problems of wood preservation and were based on traditional building practices. During the second wave of modern restorations and repairs in the postwar period, a movement to return to purely traditional building practices called for a renewed acceptance of the temporary, cyclical nature of Japan's pre-modern architecture. In the latest phase of the program's development, the postwar district preservation movement saw a new meaning in the nature of Japan's architecture as a cyclical, and ultimately, social process. Factions of the movement called for the preservation of a traditional way of life, the culture which generated and maintained traditional houses. Equally important throughout the history of the preservation program was the role and meaning of architecture in national identity and national politics. The wording and design of preservation legislation, and the designation of specific buildings or types of buildings demonstrates that the preservation program in Japan, as elsewhere, was ideologically bound and ideologically driven.

Preservation Practice and Terminology

James Marston Fitch notes that until recently the terms "preservation" and "restoration" were used almost interchangeably in the U.S. and Europe, and that the imprecise use of these terms was more than a semantic problem but was related to ambiguous intent and ill-defined practices.⁵² Over the years the precision of the English-language vocabulary has increased along with the amount and sophistication in preservation techniques and theory. In Japanese, a similar problem of imprecise usage persists, but in the context of legal documents the preservation terminology is precise and specific and generally has a counterpart in English. For the purposes of clarifying the following discussion, the English language terms as defined by James Marston Fitch are explained and followed by their Japanese language equivalent after consultation with the Architectural Division of the Agency for Cultural Affairs.

Fitch's seven definitions are classified by the increasing level of intervention each represents to a historic building:⁵³

1) preservation "implies the maintenance of the artifact in the same physical condition as when it was received by the curatorial agency. Nothing is added to or subtracted from the aesthetic corpus of the artifact. Any interventions necessary to preserve physical integrity... are to be cosmetically unobtrusive."

⁵² Fitch 1990, p. 84.

⁵³ The following definitions are taken from Fitch 1990, pp. 44-47.

In Japanese, the word "preservation" is usually translated as *hozon*, but the specific meaning of "the maintenance of the artifact in the same physical condition as when it was received by the curatorial agency" is called *genjô hozon*, literally, the preservation of the existing state. Preservation in the general legal sense of legislated protection of cultural properties, it is translated as *hogo*.

2) restoration "describes the process of returning the artifact to the physical condition in which it would have been at some previous stage of its morphological development. Intervention at this level is more radical than simple preservation."

In Japanese, "restoration" is usually translated as *fukugen*, but that word is also sometimes used to mean what Fitch calls "reconstruction" and "reconstitution." Also, as in Europe and the U.S., the word *hozon* is often synonymous with restoration in popular usage, because designated structures eventually undergo some level of restoration in the course of radical repairs.

3) conservation and consolidation "describes physical intervention in the actual fabric of the building to ensure its continued structural integrity."(This is called stabilization in the Secretary of the Interior's "Standards for Historic Preservation.")

In Japanese, the term "conservation" meaning material stabilization as described by Fitch is usually translated as *hozon* . The broader meaning of the term as used in English for landscape or nature conservancy, is *hozen*.

4) reconstitution "is a more radical version of the above, in which the building can be saved only by piece-by-piece reassembly, either in situ or on a

new site. Reconstitution in situ is ordinarily the consequence of disaster...where most of the original constituent parts remain in being but *disjecta*...On occasion, it may be necessary to dismantle a building and reassemble it on the same site...Reconstitution on new sites is much more familiar..."

In Japanese, the term *ichiku hozon* would describe the preservation of a building which is dismantled and moved to another site. Reconstitution on the same site is a standard method of radical repair in Japan, called *kaitai shûri*, or dismantling and repair, more common in Japan than in Western countries. After dismantling, building reconstitution is termed *fukugen*.

5) adaptive use "is often the only economic way in which old buildings can be saved, by adapting them to the requirements of new tenants. This can sometimes involve fairly radical interventions, especially in the internal organization of space, in which any or all of the above levels of intervention may be called for..."

Fitch does not mention rehabilitation, which the Secretary of the Interior's "Standards for Historic Preservation" defines as "returning a property to a state of utility through repair or alteration which makes possible an efficient or contemporary use while preserving those portions or features of a property which are significant to its historical, architectural, and cultural values..."⁵⁴

In Japanese, adaptive reuse is usually called *tatemono no sairyô*. literally, building reuse. Recently, the *katagana* term *risaikuru* or "recycle" has been

⁵⁴ Maddox et al 1985, p. 275.

used for adaptive reuse. Alternatively, the term *saisei* is used to mean something closer to "revitalization," and *kaizô* to mean renovation or rehabilitation. Other related terms which are not confined to the preservationist's vocabulary are repair and maintenance, or *shûri* in Japanese.

6) reconstruction "describes the re-creation of vanished buildings on their original site. The reconstructed buildings act as the tangible, three-dimensional surrogate of the original structure, its physical form being established by archaeological, archival, and literary evidence...all attempts to reconstruct the past, no matter what academic and scientific resources are available...necessarily involve subjective hypothesis..."

In Japanese, the reconstruction of a non-existent building is called properly *fukugenteki fukkô*, or simply *fukkô*, or less precisely *fukugen*. Planned reconstruction, as in shrine buildings, is called *saiken*.

7) replication "in the art field implies the creation of a mirror image of an *extant* artifact; in the case of architecture, it implies the construction of an exact copy of a still-standing building on a site removed from the prototype..it has utility in certain situations, eg., to stand in the open air as a surrogate for an original which must be removed to the controlled environment of a museum."

The closest approximation in Japanese is probably *saiken*, the term used to describe the planned, periodic reconstruction of shrine buildings, as at Ise, and the deliberate construction of replicas within the preservation program that replace the original.

The terms listed in the Secretary of the Interior's "Standards for Historic Preservation Projects," and in the National Trust for Historic Preservation's *Landmark Words: A Glossary for Preserving the Built Environment* are in general agreement with Fitch, but there are cases where the international preservation community does not seem in total agreement over the usage of specific terms. For example, Italian architect restorer Piero Sanpaolesi proposes that the important distinction is not between restoration and preservation, but between conservation methods: those measures taken to halt the physical or material deterioration of a structure; and reconstruction methods: those measures taken to replace what has physically been lost. Sanpaolesi's use of the term restoration reflects the frequent usage of the term as meaning something closer to rehabilitation, as in the "restoration" of its utility.⁵⁵ The usage and meaning of the Japanese terms are also complex, and related to the modern preservation program as well as the historical building culture, both of which have some significant differences from that of the U.S. and Europe.

The Time Clock of Japanese Wooden Structures: Repair, Reconstruction, and Preservation

The following discussion considers the nature of present-day preservation field practices and how they relate to the historical building tradition. If Japanese architecture is by its very nature cyclical, and Japanese

⁵⁵ Sanpaolesi 1972, pp. 49-62.

preservationists explicitly acknowledge this, what distinguishes preservation practice from traditional building repair and maintenance? Sekino Masaru has stated that because of the problems of inevitable decay in wooden structures, Japan has developed four basic ways to preserve its architectural patrimony: periodic dismantling and repair; sheltering; periodic reconstruction following the original design; and construction of scale models.⁵⁶ This classification has been in place since the 1930's, but of these, certainly the last two are somewhat foreign as preservation strategies to the European or American, in that they are necessarily divorced from material historicity.

The primary concern of preservationists in any context is the integrity of historical experience, the authenticity of a structure or place. In the West, the concept of historical authenticity has, at least in the twentieth century, become closely linked to material authenticity, that is, the retention of original materials wherever possible. In the context of Japan, the accuracy of representation also seems to be a measure of authenticity. Certainly the inclusion of scale model building as a preservation strategy suggests this. Accuracy of representation was a also strategy for the preservation of paintings throughout Japan's (and China's history). Faded and damaged artwork was meticulously copied, and accepted as a perpetuation of the original.

Periodic reconstruction (*saiken*) was once a religious rite of renewal practiced at many shrines, which perpetuated the shrine as an institution and usually followed the historical form, but ritual reconstructions were not

⁵⁶ Sekino 1972, pp. 207-8.

necessarily precise architectural replicas of the previous building; changes could be incorporated in form and detail, resulting in an evolution of shrine form over the centuries.⁵⁷ Because of the expense and the shortage of appropriate materials, periodic reconstruction has declined as a religious practice since the Momoyama period. It is now practiced at Ise Shrine and in a modified form at one other shrine in Nagano prefecture.⁵⁸ In the postwar period the practice has been widely discussed in Japan as a uniquely Japanese strategy for architectural preservation.

The technique of sheltering is defined as the erection of a larger building as a container for another. While it has been routinely recommended to preserve Japanese structures erected in foreign museums, it is a costly strategy rarely used in Japan. Employing modern technology (including chemical treatment and careful climate control), sheltering is reserved for the preservation of very unique and usually ornate or ancient structures of modest scale, such as the Konjiki-dô at Chûson-ji.⁵⁹

By far the most common strategy for architectural preservation in Japan comes under the first category of dismantling and periodic repair. Present-day field practices are divided into by the Architectural Division of the Agency of Cultural Affairs into the following: *tosô shûri* (repainting) *yane fukikae* (re-roofing), *bubun shûri* (minor repairs), *hankaitai shûri* (literally "half-dismantling and repair", which leaves the primary structure standing), and *kaitai shûri* (complete dismantling of the entire structure, followed by

⁵⁷ See Watanabe Yatsuda 1974, pp. 50-84 for a discussion of the extent to which reconstruction resulted in changes to Ise Shrine over the centuries.

⁵⁸ Sekino 1972, p. 211.

⁵⁹ Suzuki 1983, p. 161-2.

replacement of damaged areas, repair, and finally reconstruction, usually on the same site). Of these, only the last, *kaitai shûri*, was not part of the pre-modern tradition of building repair practiced on all wooden structures.

In the pre-modern tradition, building maintenance involved regular repairs done on a continuous basis, according to the demands of each particular material or component part of a building. Japanese wooden structures can be thought of as having a built-in "time clock" of cyclical repairs facilitated by the ease with which parts of buildings, or even entire buildings, could be dismantled and reassembled. For example, wooden houses in urban areas were thought to have a lifespan of about 40 years, although the tax laws allow them to fully depreciate in 20 years;⁶⁰ farmhouses which employed heavy timbers survive longer. Religious buildings are known to be the most durable because of the high-quality woods they employ, and because certain protective features in their design, such as a double roof structure (*keshô noki* and *noyane*), retard water damage.⁶¹

Hankaitai shûri, or partial dismantling refers to the practice of stripping walls and other secondary elements away from a primary structure which remains standing, so that individual elements, including single columns or beams, parts of the secondary structure, interior or exterior walls, and so on, can be replaced. The historical record (primarily of temple buildings) suggests that on average Japanese wooden structures require simple *hankaitai* every 100 to 130 years. This normally would involve replacement of rotting footings or *netsugi* through the hoisting columns off their foundation stones, cutting away damaged areas, and fitting a replacement to the bottom portion

⁶⁰ Interview with Long Term Credit Bank, Real Estate Division, 1988.

⁶¹ Sekino 1972, p. 207.

of the column. Roof repair or *yanegae* would involve the sealing of leaks and rebuilding of damaged areas under the roof, and since tile roofing needs replacement at around the same interval, it is often done during *hankaitai* repairs. More thorough *hankaitai*, which would involve dismantling down to the rafters and the possible replacement of some structural members, was normally conducted every three to four hundred years on the ancient temple structures, as that related to the average life of their primary structural members. Pillars of *hinoki* could last centuries longer.

Traditional exterior stains and pigments require re-surfacing every fifty to sixty years, and roofs covered with bark or wood shingles need replacement after about thirty-five to forty years.⁶² Thatch roofs (most often *kaya*: *miscanthus*) require replacement every fifteen to twenty-five years, and usually need minor patching every spring. Beginning in the seventeenth century, some shrine roofs were covered with copperplate or, more rarely, lead; this material is known to last around seventy years.⁶³ On the interior, the reed (*igusa*: *juncus effesus*) covering of *tatami* mats might be replaced or recovered every five years or less, while the paper *ofshôji* screens may require repair or replacement annually.

Wood structures are also subject to gradual deformation. Therefore additions in later years, and repairs or changes to the interior, are constructed to fit the deformed building. Bracing or partial reinforcement of the primarily structure with additional wood was sometimes done in the pre-modern period, but since the late Meiji period, severely damaged or leaning structures were completely dismantled before they were repaired. The process

⁶² Suzuki 1983, p.161-62.

⁶³ Sekino 1972, p. 215-219.

of dismantling soon became an important tool for historical research, and methods of study developed by historians during the pre- and post-war periods were directly related to preservation repairs and restoration. Often sparse documentation on a particular building was supplemented with the detailed examination of structural members. This was only possible after the internal configuration of joints and other markings were revealed after dismantling. In the process, rotting or damaged members could be reinforced or reproduced in fresh wood; a leaning building could be stabilized by righting the structure. Once righted, the later additions as well as many newer internal fixtures no longer fit in place. These additions and fixtures either had to be cut and re-fitted, or discarded. At the same time, individual structural members yielded evidence from which the initial form of the building could be discerned. Careful study of this evidence, similar buildings, and any surviving old plans could postulate missing rooms, subsidiary structures or other features. This information is used to guide the re-assembly of the building, which are usually for the above reasons, full restorations to initial form and sometimes quite different to the form before dismantling.

Consider Hôryû-ji's Kondô which was constructed around 680 A.D.. The building underwent radical *hankaitai* in 1100, in 1374, and again in 1603. Full dismantling for repairs or *kaitai shûri*, a modern practice developed in the context of the Meiji period preservation program, was not performed on this structure until 1945.⁶⁴ As result some architect conservators estimate that as

⁶⁴ Suzuki 1983, p. 163.

little as 15% of the wood now part of Hôryû-ji dates to its original construction.⁶⁵

The skill of fully dismantling buildings did exist in the pre-modern period, but normally not for the purposes of repair and reconstruction on the same site. Religious buildings and grand residences were sometimes dismantled to be moved to another site, either in part or in their entirety. Even humble farmhouses were often dismantled and so that their structural components could be re-used elsewhere. Therefore, with the exception of full dismantling for restorative reconstruction on the same site, most of the skills used in today's preservation program were traditionally used in building repair and relocation.

Reconstruction projects that were carried out on the original site in the pre-modern period usually replaced buildings irretrievably lost to decay or fire. Such reconstruction projects normally utilized surviving foundation stones, and were sometimes conducted on a grand scale to perpetuate important monuments and institutions, but could involve the complete re-design of a structure. The repeated reconstruction of Tôdai-ji's Great Buddha Hall in Nara is probably the most striking example of monument perpetuation in the pre-modern period, but the reconstructions of 1203 and 1707 were not copies of the previous structure. The reconstruction of 1203 made use of the surviving foundation stones and podium, but introduced a new style of building then popular in southeastern China. The reconstruction of 1707 again took place on the same site, but due to economic constraints, the builders were forced to decrease the size of the structure.

⁶⁵ Interviews at the Agency for Cultural Affairs, 1987.

Also, stylistic elements such as the center cusped gable were added which had not been present in the original.⁶⁶

Reconstruction efforts such as this in pre-modern Japan were the result of individual prerogatives concerning the fate of particular monuments. Such action by definition is driven by motives beyond the purely functional requirements of architecture.

A modern preservation effort is defined by Norval White in *The Architecture Book* simply as "an overt act in response to a threat," while the National Trust has stated that in the pre-industrial age "preservation was not a movement but was synonymous with conservation: necessary maintenance and a stewardship of resources...architectural preservation meant keeping...buildings in repair."⁶⁷ In Japan and the U.S., modern preservation efforts are distinct from pre-modern repair or reconstruction also by the concern with perpetuating historical form. Preservation programs in the modern sense of the term are distinguished by the creation of articulated goals and procedures, supported by laws and sanctions, and executed through an institutional structure that supersedes the context or requirements of any particular monument or site. The perpetuation of historical form does not however, divorce the preservation effort from political or aesthetic ideology. Values are rendered explicit in the articulation of laws, ordinances, and bylaws, as well as in the standards and practices used in the field. Japan's modern preservation effort is a sponsored public program which began in the late nineteenth century, and which has evolved and expanded considerably over the past century.

⁶⁶ Coaldrake 1986, pp. 42-6.

⁶⁷ White 1976 and the National Trust cited in Maddox, ed. 1985, p. 37.

A Review of Preservation Legislation

The architectural preservation program in Japan is divided into two distinct areas, with differing goals and methods. The first, and earliest, type of effort is monument, or to cite the more inclusive term now favored by the international bodies, cultural property preservation. This deals with the comprehensive preservation of individual structures and sites. Legislation to protect monuments was initiated at the end of the nineteenth century by the Meiji government at the behest of a small group of activists and bureaucrats. The cultural properties program which evolved over the following century is, as in France, administered by the Ministry of Education, within the Architectural Division of the Agency of the Agency for Cultural Affairs.

The second area of activity is district preservation, which deals with the preservation of groups of inhabited buildings valued not for their individual importance, but for their place in a unique district of similar buildings. This latter form of preservation is a post-war phenomenon in Japan, and is largely the result of a grass-roots resident movement. A centrally administered district preservation program in France is administered by their Ministry of Construction, while in Japan, this program too is administered by the Division of Architecture of the Agency for Cultural Affairs, within the Ministry of Education.

The town of Tsumago-juku discussed in following chapters involves both types of preservation efforts. The village and part of the valley which

surrounds it is a designated district subject to protection; within the district are several individual buildings and sites that have additional designations as Important Cultural Properties. The methodologies for district preservation were a direct outgrowth of the earlier practices for Cultural Properties, which had particular consequence at Tsumago. This project was begun before the differences between the two types of effort were articulated or fully understood. In addition to clarifying these two programs and how they work, the following review of the history of preservation legislation and practices reveals that some of the ideological and theoretical issues that have plagued Tsumago have been part of the preservation effort from its very beginnings in the Meiji Period.

The legislation discussed in below includes provisions for the preservation of art objects, but the discussion here centers on the portion of each law that deals with specifically with architectural preservation.

The Origins of Preservation in the Early Meiji Period

As has been the case throughout Europe and in the United States, the awareness of the need for preservation in Japan was first awakened in response to a period of wide-spread destruction of historic buildings. The scale of damage caused to historic structures by local peasant uprisings and unrest among warrior factions in various parts of the country during and after the Meiji Restoration of 1868 and into the 1870's is well-documented in certain urban areas such as Kyôto, but remains unknown at the national

level. It is generally recognized that damage was augmented by government policy during these same years. Government orders regarding the disestablishment of Buddhism, and the land reforms accompanying the abolishment of the feudal domains were responsible for the destruction of tens of thousands of buildings in the early years of the Meiji period. Contemporary preservationists remain unsure of the number that would have been considered historic structures by today's standards.

Great losses were suffered by the Buddhist establishment, whose buildings continue to form by far the largest group of designated monuments despite the events of the early Meiji Period.⁶⁸ Religion during the Edo period had been characterized by the increased syncretization of the Shintô and Buddhist faiths. Shintô shrines often maintained an affiliated Buddhist temple within the shrine precincts; similarly, Buddhist temples often had shrines dedicated to site gods within their grounds, with monks serving additionally as Shintô priests. As part of an effort to consolidate the power of the new regime, the Meiji government sought to establish a state Shintô religion that would reinforce the Imperial Restoration, and limit the influence of the well-organized Buddhist establishment which had enjoyed the protection and patronage of the shogunate during the Edo period.

The government issued an order proclaiming the Separation of Shintô and Buddhism, the *Shinbutsu bunrirei*, in March of 1868, just months after the Restoration. Buddhist temples located within shrine precincts were forced to close, and the monks in charge of them were forced to return to the laity, many turning to agriculture or tutoring to survive. Governmental

⁶⁸ The term monument is used here to refer to both the Japanese terms for cultural property (*bunkazai*) and National Treasure (*kokuhô*).

efforts to disestablish Buddhism, or at least limit its influence, exacerbated public sentiment against the formerly privileged Buddhist establishment. Attacks on temples led by Shintô priests and followers of Hirata Atsutane's *kokugaku* , or nativist teachings, resulted in the burning of icons, sutras, and other objects, and the abandonment or destruction of temple buildings. In addition, there were a number of conflicts between between shrines and temples for the control of land in disputed ownership after the split.⁶⁹

This wave of anti-Buddhist violence during 1868, the first year of Meiji, lasted several months and was known as the *haibutsu kishaku* , literally, "Abolish the Buddha and destroy the Sakyamuni." But the destruction of Buddhist temples continued far beyond its end. In 1873, officials within the Ministry of Education were still protesting the excessive destruction of Buddhist temples. Another order which soon followed the *Shinbutsu bunrirei* was the *Shaji ryô jôchirei* , the Order to Expropriate Temple and Shrine Lands in 1871. This proclamation gave local authorities the right to expropriate shrine and temple-owned lands other than actual temple or shrine precincts. As a result of these two orders, hundreds of regional temples were disestablished, and the system of temple patronage was abolished; these actions cut temples off from their traditional sources of income. The *Shaji ryô jôchirei* was particularly exploited in urban areas, and played an important part in the redevelopment of cities.

The city of Kyôto, which contained hundreds of temples, was especially affected by this action. Lands thereby made property of the city government became part of large public works projects, such as the completion of the

⁶⁹ See Collcutt 1986 pp. 143-167 for a description of this period.

Biwako Canal, the construction of Heian Shrine, and the creation of public parks.⁷⁰ Additional sites, such as the land once belonging to the temple of Nanzen-ji and now surrounding its gates, were sold off to private industrialists to finance public works projects.⁷¹ Temple land was used for other public purposes, such as the organization of a major exposition in Kyôto in 1871 on a site belonging to the temple Nishihongan-ji.

After the first wave of violence was quelled by the government, destruction of temple buildings continued primarily for economic reasons. Many of the monks who were forced to abandon the priesthood had had hereditary control of their temples for generations. During the transition, temples were emptied of icons and artwork by monks who considered these objects family patrimony. While icons, sutras and other art objects from temple collections fetched respectable prices in a booming antiques and art market, many historic religious buildings were burned, left to deteriorate, or sold at auction for scrap value.⁷²

Severe damage was suffered by even the great temples of Nara, in particular Kôfuku-ji. Some temple buildings were converted to government offices.⁷³ In what became the most notorious example of the destructive

⁷⁰ In 1873, Tokyo issued the *Meishô kyûseki kôen* (Famous and Historic Site Park) decree, and requested that individual prefectures identify candidate sites. In Kyôto, the Sento Gosho palace grounds, which had been used as fairground, was the first park created under this decree, along with the outer precincts of Yasaka shrine, the site of Kiyomizu temple, and the Arashiyama area in the western foothills. Maruyama Park was created in 1886. The Biwako Canal was initiated in 1881, and constructed between 1885-90.

⁷¹ Kariya Yûga 1987.

⁷² For a discussion of the Meiji period antique and art market and the activities of the early collectors, see Guth 1993, especially pages 100-116, and 161-191.

⁷³ Nishikawa 1971, p. 54.

excess and economic desperation of this time, the 5-storied pagoda at Kôfuku-ji was sold for 250 yen at auction in 1871.⁷⁴ In the end, it was decided that the structure was too expensive to dismantle, and too dangerous to burn for the retrieval of the metal fittings. But there were scores of other temple buildings that were not saved. In particular, the residential structures of temples, including Daigoin,⁷⁵ were sold off and subsidiary structures such as gateways, bell towers, and pagodas were either destroyed or dismantled so that the wood could be used to repair the main structures of the temple. Apocryphal stories circulated into the 1880's about priests trying to sell all the trees at Ueno for lumber, and the Great Buddha at Kamakura to foreigners for scrap metal. Rumours also circulated that there was a plot to burn Shiba Zôjo-ji and Ueno Kanei-ji, two powerful Tôkyô temples closely associated with the Tokugawa, and clearly out of favor in the early political climate of the Restoration.⁷⁶ When buildings from these temples were later sold, the industrialist and art collector Okura Hachirô (1837-1928) purchased them for reconstruction at his Okura Art Museum.⁷⁷

The relocation of buildings, particularly valued tea houses, increased in the changing social and economic climate of the Meiji period. The iconoclasm of the time made stone icons, foundation stones, lanterns and other stone objects from temples available through purchase or looting. Such objects found a new use in the vogue for *objet trouvé* which characterized

⁷⁴ To cite just a few references to this incident: Tsuji 1951, *passim*, Bunkachô Kenzôbutsuka 1960, p. 13; Collcutt 1986, p. 159.

⁷⁵ Nishikawa 1971, p. 54.

⁷⁶ Bunkazai hogo i'inkai (Cultural Properties Preservation Committee), 1960, p. 12-13. Specific incidents of architectural destruction during this period are recorded by Tsuji 1951, and Murakami, Tsuji, and Washio 1926.

⁷⁷ Guth 1993, p. 162.

the Meiji period tea garden, an eclectic fashion which was a direct result of the large number of derelict temple sites at the time.⁷⁸

Due to their value in the world of tea, a number of tea houses were bought or salvaged and removed from temple precincts to private gardens. Even before the wave of *haibutsu kishaku* a number of tea houses were relocated in the nineteenth century. The diminutive scale of these buildings rendered them relatively portable; their unique forms and often recorded provenance, as well as the precious materials used in their construction made them desirable possessions, and many were purchased or salvaged for relocation. For example, the Ryokaku-tei built by Ogata Kenzan around 1688 was relocated sometime between 1843 and 1880 to Ninna-ji; Furuta Oribe's En-an was relocated in 1867.⁷⁹

In some cases their idiosyncratic design required explicit working drawings and models. Drawings of floor plans and wall details of tea houses were sometimes available to aid reconstruction on the new site. Based on surviving drawings, a number of lost teahouses were reconstructed by tea enthusiasts during the Meiji period. Christine Guth has chronicled the activities of one tea enthusiast and art collector of the Meiji period, Hara Tomitarô (1868-1937), who seems to have been unique in that he also collected historic buildings. Among others, he relocated the Rinshunkaku Villa built in 1649 to Sankei-en, his estate near Yokohama. Hara was able to acquire a number of religious buildings in addition to tea houses, all of which

⁷⁸ For examples of this type of Meiji period garden design by Ogawa Jihei, the period's pre-eminent garden designer, see Amasaki 1989.

⁷⁹ Hayashiya et al 1974, passim.

were reconstructed to be used in tea ceremonies on the grounds of his estate.⁸⁰ .The use of such religious structures as settings for the tea ceremony was a new development of the Meiji period.

In 1871 the government responded with the Antiques and Relics Protection Order. It was primarily aimed at the registration and protection of religious icons and art objects which had proven their substantial worth on the international art market. Some of these objects were later sent to international exhibitions overseas and some were exhibited as models for contemporary craftsmen producing export wares. Nishimura Yukio has pointed out that the Finance Ministry and the Home Ministry were involved in a move to protect the buildings which housed these valuable art objects, and that several committee members explicitly stated their belief that the easiest way to protect the valuable estates of the temples was to protect them as functioning institutions so that they would continue their custodial function.

The Council of State proposed the *Koshaji hozon kinseido* , or Ancient Shrine and Temple Funding System in 1879, which set aside monies to be used for the routine maintenance (*shûzen*) and reconstruction (*saiken*) of temple and shrine structures, but this was not a deliberate move toward architectural preservation as it provided no protection for historic structures, and instead provided funding which could be used for repair or reconstruction.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Guth 1991, pp. 29-49; 1993, pp. 157-160.

⁸¹ Nishimura 1984, pp. 101-5.

The Ministry of Rites had earlier made funds available to protect shrines that were considered important monuments; all national shrines were given stipends in the context of efforts to create State Shinto from 1874 to the end of the Second World War. Again, the Finance Ministry was involved in dispersing funds, based on a classification of shrine ranks related to the size of the main building; and again, the funds were to be used for repair and reconstruction and other needs of the shrine's general institutional needs. This program did not recognize the needs or importance of historic structures, and dissatisfaction with the program led the Council of State to replace it with another proclamation for the "Preservation of Ancient Shrine Styles" only six months later, which recognized the historic value of certain so-called "ancient structures" regardless of rank or size.

There were other instances where historic structures benefited from protection, for example, in cases where the *Shinbutsu bunrirei* seems to have not been enforced. It is not certain that this was the result of an intention to protect individual buildings, but important examples are the Buddhist structures within the shrine site of Nikkô Tôshôgû.⁸² Martin Collcutt notes that all of the approximately eighty monks at Nikkô Tôshôgû had left the shrine by 1871, perhaps to join the neighboring Tendai temple Rinnô-ji. A number of Buddhist icons which had been placed in various locations around the shrine were moved to the Futatsudô, the Twin Halls at Rinnô-ji in 1871, but a few clearly Buddhist structures within the shrine precincts remained unharmed, including the Yakushi-dô, the Kyû Goma-dô (Incense Hall), and the Rinzô 5-storied pagoda. By 1880, the shrine had its own endowment for preservation as a result of the efforts of private citizens. Similar foundations

⁸² Ibid, pp 104.

were started during the 1880's by private citizens at Buddhist temples such as Ginkaku-ji, Byôdô-in, Asakusa Kannon-dô, and Zenkô-ji.⁸³

Also in the early Meiji period, another government order caused a wave of demolition of another kind. The *Haihan chiken*, or Abolition of the Feudal Domains, also of 1871, allowed the expropriation of lands controlled by former *daimyô* and their retainers. This had particularly far-reaching effect in Tokyo, where the grand residences of the regional *daimyô* had occupied vast tracts of land. The sites vacated by the destruction or abandonment of a number of these residences between 1868 and 1871 provided land for public buildings, embassies, schools, industrial, and even agricultural, development.

84

There seems to have been little protest to the demolition of the grand *daimyô* estates, which were certainly lavish, if not particularly historic private residences. The only regulation of building demolition within Tokyo was an order issued on March 7, 1871 by the Council of State, establishing a system for building permits through the city government. Special permission was required for the demolition of *nagaya*,⁸⁵ *omote zashiki*,⁸⁶ and exterior walls and gateways, and a permit was required for the demolition of any building within the city.

⁸³ Bunkachô, *Meiji ishin shûkyô seidô hyakunenshi* cited in Nishimura 1984, p. 104.

⁸⁴ Tôkyô to, ed., *Meiji shonen no bukechi shori mondai*, Tôkyô tōsei shiryôkan, 1965, p. 28-31, cited in Smith 1986.

⁸⁵ Probably referring to the small, contiguous rowhouses for low-ranking warriors and servants which formed gateway walls, rather than similar buildings which were alley housing for craftsmen or servants.

⁸⁶ Refers to the front area of a free-standing warrior's residence.

Hardly a move toward historic preservation, the order does seem to be the first legal action to protect architecture within Tokyo, and was motivated by both urbanistic and economic reasons. Citing the terrible appearance of the city due to the large number demolished and derelict villas, the regulation aimed at preserving the perimeter structures and surrounding walls of these sites as a visual barrier. The order also cited the waste incurred by “destroying a building worth 1000 pieces of gold to recover 100 pieces of gold, only to construct another building costing 1000 pieces of gold in its place.”⁸⁷

The castles and castle towns all over Japan were also effected by the expropriation of *daimyô* land. The national government did not expand its protection to non-religious monuments until 1929, but there were isolated examples of the protection of castles. Most castles were transferred from the Ministry of the Army to the Ministry of Finance for re-development in 1873 as the result of many requests to use castle sites and other *daimyô* land holdings for agriculture.⁸⁸ Even the former sites of the great *daimyô* residences in Tokyo were turned to agricultural uses during a short-lived experiment to grow mulberry for the silk trade.⁸⁹ The destruction of Nagoya and Inuyama castles was stopped by a letter from the Imperial Household and the Ministry of Education in 1873 which appealed to the Finance Ministry to consider the practical value of these castles as armories in the style of the Tower of London. Later in 1878, the Meiji Emperor himself appealed to the Finance Ministry to protect Hikone Castle, and the Imperial Household Ministry bore the expense of temporary repairs.⁹⁰ Hikone Castle had been the

⁸⁷ Nishimura 1984, p. 104.

⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 106.

⁸⁹ Smith 1986, p. 359.

⁹⁰ Nishimura 1984, p. 106-7.

property of the Hikone's *daimyô* Ii Naosuke, who had also been appointed Regent to the Tokugawa. Ii had worked to conclude treaty negotiations for the opening of the country to foreign trade, and was assassinated in 1860.

It is interesting to note that while practical considerations were necessary to argue for the protection of Nagoya Castle, which had belonged to the branch of the Tokugawa that controlled the domain of Ôwari, and Inuyama Castle, which had belonged to Tokugawa Ieyasu, no such arguments were necessary for Hikone, most likely because of its association with Ii Naosuke. The involvement of the government with repair work there perhaps paved the way for a similar project at Himeji, which seems to have been requested for purely architectural reasons by the Ministry of the Army.⁹¹

The 1897 Ancient Temples and Shrines Protection Act (*Koshaji hozon hô*)

By the 1880's there was a shift in attitude away from the wholesale adoption of Western architectural forms, which part of a general change in the cultural and political climate.⁹² The resignation of Inoue Kaoru in 1887 marked the end of the Rokumeikan era, and the beginning of a general re-examination of the value of Japan's history and cultural legacy.⁹³ As

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² For a discussion of changes in the political and cultural climate of the mid-Meiji Period see Pyle 1969.

⁹³ Inoue Kaoru had promoted the creation of Western-style reception halls such as the "Deer Cry Pavilion," or *Rokumeikan* , designed by Condor and built in Tokyo in 1883. Similar buildings were built primarily of wood by Japanese carpenters in their version of Western architectural styles in many parts of Japan. These buildings and the post offices and primary schools built by the

Jonathan Reynolds notes, a shift in architectural thinking took place at this time, when the first generation of Japanese nationals trained in Japan by Japanese instructors began to assume control of the architectural profession.⁹⁴ Among them, Itô Chûta (1867-1954) and Sekino Tadashi (1867-1935) were of particular importance to the preservation effort which followed. These men were among the first Japanese architects to be concerned with giving architecture a distinctly Japanese character after years of enthusiastic adoption of Western styles and technologies. They were involved from 1892-3 in the first governmental field survey that explicitly focused on inventorying the important architecture of ancient shrines and temples (*koshaji*).

There had been earlier surveys for the purpose of inventorying and preservation, but these had either concentrated on important art and religious objects, or been concerned with quantifying the general building stock, not identifying historic structures. A document prepared for the Meiji government in 1871 had provided information on the number and condition of temples which had survived the anti-Buddhist violence of the previous years. The following year, the first Western-style national census included data on temples and other structures.⁹⁵ Also in 1872, Machida Hisanari (1838-97) of the Ministry of Education had conducted a survey to catalogue the

central government were constructed to serve as symbols of modernization, and vehicles for spreading Western institutions, education, and architecture. Extant examples of such reception halls include the *Hôheikan* in Sapporo (1880) and the *Hakodate Ku Kôkaidô* in Hakodate (1910). The Tokyo *Rokumeikan* was lost to fire in 1945, but the term *Rokumeikan* era is used to refer to this period of enthusiastic adoption of Western culture and institutions.

⁹⁴ Reynolds 1991, pp. 36-40.

⁹⁵ Collcutt 1986, pp. 161-163.

important art objects held by ancient shrines and temples.⁹⁶ This survey aimed to identify objects for protection in a museum that was being planned, as well as use in international exhibitions or as models for contemporary craftsmen. Machida's effort in turn might have been modeled after an earlier eighteenth century survey of temple and shrine holdings under Tokugawa Regent Matsudaira Sadanobu⁹⁷, but neither of these surveys had considered the shrine and temple buildings themselves as objects of historical importance or value.

The 1892-3 survey was conducted under the supervision of Kûki Ryûichi, the Vice Minister of Education, and his assistant Okakura Kakuzô (1862-1913). Sekino and Itô produced measured drawings and conducted historical research on a number of buildings, which were intended to inform the restoration and repair of these buildings with the sponsorship of the national government. This survey preceded the first courses in Japanese architectural history at Tôkyô University which did not begin until 1889, and may have been the first exposure that Japanese architecture students had to Japanese architectural history and historic buildings. The participation of architecture students was probably requested not for their knowledge of history but for their ability to produce measured drawings. The master carpenters of the Meiji period who worked on these buildings used with only simple sketches. Sekino's and Itô's involvement in historical research and their use of historical reference in design seems to have been influenced by this experience and the contact they had with Okakura Kakuzô who supervised

⁹⁶ Guth 1993, pp. 106-7.

⁹⁷ Ibid, pp. 107-8.

them in the field.⁹⁸ They remained involved in academic research, and expressed critical dissatisfaction with the European architectural styles dominant in contemporary practice. Educated as architects in the Western tradition, they both continued to produce designs in European styles, but also turned to Japanese and other Asian historical references in their work.

As a product of his involvement with the historic building survey, Sekino authored the first monograph on the history of the Byôdô-in at Uji, and a study on the Heijô capital and its imperial palace in 1907 which was an important work until a full archaeological survey was begun in 1955.⁹⁹ Later, Sekino used the Hôdô-dô as an inspiration in his design for a wooden building in 1905 which housed the Nara Bijutsu Kenkyûjô. He also participated in the repair and restoration of Byôdô-in at around the same time. Sekino was not alone in his praise for the Byôdô-in as a paragon of Japanese architectural beauty. Kuru Masamichi's design for the Japanese pavilion at the Chicago World Exposition of 1893, called the Phoenix Hall, or Hôdô-den, was also inspired by the Hôdô-dô, and was yet another example of the renewed interest in antiquity during the late Meiji period.¹⁰⁰

Sekino eventually abandoned practice and devoted himself to the study of architectural history, becoming a leading figure in developing the field of Japanese architectural history. He remained closely involved with the restoration of important monuments through the growing national preservation program. Eventually his son Sekino Masaru took over as the

⁹⁸ Ôta 1984, pp. 24-25

⁹⁹ Nishikawa 1971, p. 53.

¹⁰⁰ Okakura Kakuzô 1893.

director of the Architectural Division of the Agency for Cultural Affairs, a post which he held until the late 1970's.

Sekino's classmate Itô Chûta continued to practice architecture in a range of styles, combining an interest in historical reference in design with the teaching, and the study of history. He also continued his involvement in restoration projects. As an historian, Itô is remembered for his important study of Hôryû-ji, first published in 1893.¹⁰¹ Like Sekino's study of Byôdô-in, this study was a direct product of Itô's experience with the historic building survey. Itô continued his involvement in the periodic restoration of various structures within the temple beginning at the turn of the century and continuing into the 1930's.¹⁰²

As a designer, Itô's interest in a Japanese historical revivalism is most literally represented in his design for the Heian Shrine in Kyôto in 1895. Part of a large urban design project to commemorate the 1100th anniversary of the founding of the City of Kyôto (called Heian-kyô in the Heian Period), the Shrine was conceived as a reduced-scale reconstruction of part of the eighth century Imperial Palace of Heian-kyô, which had been destroyed at the end of that era.

Itô, Sekino, and others of their generation seem to have been primarily interested in Buddhist and Shintô architecture for historical reference in their designs. Similarly, the focus of the early preservation legislation of the Meiji period was restricted to religious architecture in ancient temples and shrines. This closeness of the study of architectural history to the profession, and of

¹⁰¹ See Itô Chûta 1893.

¹⁰² Bunkachô bunkazai hogobu kenzôbutsu ka, 1978 pp. 400-403.

both to preservation practice, continues to the present day, although Sekino and Itô remain unique in their contributions to all those fields.

By 1897 the range of preservation-related activities described above culminated in the passing of the Old Temples and Shrines Protection Act, the *Koshaji hozon hô*, which was in effect until a major revision in preservation law took place in 1929. It is significant that the first legislation which explicitly mandated the protection and repair of historic buildings with the aid of government funds focused on temples and shrines.¹⁰³ This was certainly a reaction to the losses suffered by temples during the early Meiji period, and was probably also related to the substantial market value of their holdings of art and religious objects. Calls for broader protection to other types of buildings at this time were quelled by arguments over the issue of private property rights, which continued to be a major source of difficulty for architectural preservation.

Interestingly, the notion of what constituted an "ancient" shrine or temple changed somewhat from earlier definitions in the context of the late Meiji period law. In 1880, and until the passing of the above law, the Home Ministry defined "ancient shrines and temples" for the purposes of study and survey as the following:

1. Any shrine or temple more than 400 years old, or more precisely, any built before the date of Bunmei 18 (1486).
2. Any shrine or temple known in history which has become a famous landmark (*meiku koseki*).
3. Those that have attractive sanctuaries and beautiful grounds

¹⁰³ Nishimura 1984, p. 108; Nishimura 1985, pp. 38-44.

4. Those worshipped by the imperial family or feudal lords, and have received some endowment from them, which after the Restoration, have difficulty maintaining their properties

5. Those which, regardless of the existence of actual Buddhist icons, were built as memorials to *kami* or Buddhist deities.

6. The mausoleums or tombs of famous political figures and warlords

7. Those that were started by imperial decree or initiatives of the imperial family or its relatives, by well-known politicians, warlords, and that carry out a yearly cycle of rituals.¹⁰⁴

It is not clear from the memoranda if a particular shrine or temple was meant to meet all, some or just one of the above criteria, but the list of registered shrines indicates it was the latter. This left quite a bit of room for interpretation, and for the protection of shrines and temples based solely on ideological grounds or personal connections. Another feature of the memorandum is the period of 400 years, and specifically Bunmei 18 (the last year of the Bunmei era) which serves as the definition of antiquity. This put all protected buildings clearly outside of the Edo time period. Later in 1895, the definition of antiquity was amended to include those temples or shrines which were built before the last year of Genroku, or 1703.¹⁰⁵

Earlier proclamations had called for the registration of objects worthy of protection based on the results of the government's ongoing surveys through the Ministry of Education, but did not provide any restriction on their liquidity. The 1897 legislation took the step of restricting the liquidity of newly defined "National Treasures" (*kokuhô*), through the creation of

¹⁰⁴ Nishimura 1985, pp. 38-44.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, p. 39. Nishimura proposes an explanation of what might appear to be arbitrary dates. Just as Bunmei 18 is the last year of that era, Genroku 16 is the last date of Genroku. Amending the definition of "antiquity" from 400 to 200 years counted back from 1895 would put the date to 1695, or Genroku 8, which was then amended to the last year of the Genroku era.

penalties for their destruction, and an obligation to register designated National Treasures with the newly created National Museum, which retained the right of first refusal of purchase.

The 1897 law also created standards for the application of this law to important buildings and sites, and for the first time, was explicit in its concern for protecting buildings of national importance. However, at the same time, it loosened the definition of what constituted a "National Treasure" to include buildings that had been built quite recently but for ideological reasons consistent with the consolidation of national priorities that characterized the late 1880's. For example, arguments were made for the designation as National Treasure of Minatogawa Jinja, built in Kobe 1872 to honor Kusunoki Masashige, who had fought and died on that site to protect the Southern Court during the Nambokuchô Wars. Kusunoki became a symbol of devotion to the emperor during the Meiji period. There were also requests for the protection of Yasukuni Jinja, built in Tokyo in 1869 to honor those who had died in service to the nation.

The 1929 National Treasures Protection Act (*Kokuhô hozon hô*)

It is said that the direct reason for the creation of the 1929 law was the recovery of several icons stolen from Hôryû-ji in Yokohama before they were to be shipped out of the country for sale. An important contribution of this law was therefore restriction on the export or removal of National Treasures from Japan. Other aspects of the 1929 law dealt with some of the inadequacies

of the 1897 legislation in regard to real property. Despite the designation of over 1000 buildings under the *Koshaji hozon hô*, there were a number of problems with the 1897 law in the area of architectural designations, the most significant of which were related to the issue of liquidity.

Japan's industrialization was proceeding rapidly, and the most important source of collateral (then and now) for commercial loans was land.¹⁰⁶ Restricting the development of land because of the presence of historic buildings severely affected the value of what was probably the most significant asset an individual or institution possessed. Some of the land under consideration for potential designations had already been mortgaged out at appraised values that reflected development potential, and far exceeded their present use. It was not uncommon for declining temples and shrines to mortgage their land holdings in order to provide capital for the operating expenses and improvements. Designation could theoretically result in a recalling of outstanding loans and put an institution or individual in danger of bankruptcy. Because of this, the 1897 law had made architecture and historic sites subject to additional, complex approval procedures before the sale of land, or the destruction of structures could be prohibited.

The 1929 National Treasures Protection Act made it easier to restrict the liquidity of designated sites. No provisions for compensation to owners was included. The restrictions on the sale of sites containing historic buildings and on the demolition of designated buildings in the 1929 law made the protection afforded to architectural National Treasures equal in strength to

¹⁰⁶ Economic Planning Agency of Japan, 1988. In 1988, a remarkable 57% of Japan's national wealth was tied up in land assets, compared to only 7.2% in England, and around 27% in the U.S.

that provided to objects of art. However, the issue of property rights and financial consequences continued to be a problem. This is reflected in the fact that the largest number of new designations made under the 1929 law were properties owned by municipal governments, (formerly owned by feudal lords), such as castles, mausolea, and *shôin* style residences. Even in the 1980's, only 14% of Important Cultural Properties were privately owned.¹⁰⁷ Under the 1929 law, a small number of properties belonging to private citizens were designated, including five teahouses, but as was described earlier, the scale and mobility of these structures was not necessarily a hindrance to land value and development potential. In addition, two *minka*, or folk houses were designated under this law: the Yoshimura Residence outside of Ôsaka, designated in 1937, and the Ogawa Residence outside of Kyôto designated in 1944.¹⁰⁸

The 1929 law also consolidated the responsibility for protection of National Treasures under the Ministry of Education. Formerly, responsibilities were split between the it and the Home Ministry which controlled funding. Nishimura notes that in general, the shift in the priorities of the 1929 law took the emphasis away from the perpetuation of custodial institutions such as temples as the focus of preservation, and toward the preservation of objects and specific buildings.¹⁰⁹ It also shifted the emphasis away from "historical" importance toward a more general notion of "cultural importance," but the ideological nature of designations was not eliminated with the 1929 law. The new statutes were general enough to

¹⁰⁷ Suzuki 1983, p. 160.

¹⁰⁸ Bunkazai Kenzôbutsu Hozon Gijutsu Kyôkai 1981.

¹⁰⁹ Nishimura 1985, p. 43-44.

perpetuate the politicized nature of designations through the pre-war period, particularly in relation to Shintô and sites associated with the imperial family. For example, a number of places which had accommodated the Meiji emperor during his travels throughout Japan to announce the new era were declared historic sites during the 1930's. All in all, the 1929 law created 790 National Treasures and was responsible for 297 architectural designations, and was in operation until the creation of the Cultural Properties Act (*Bunkazai hogo hô*) of 1950.

Another important change soon after the passage of the 1929 law was the employment of professional restoration technicians during each project. Earlier work had involved historian/architects such as Sekino Tadashi and Itô Chûta, who had studied Western and Japanese architectural history and modern engineering as part of their training. They had acted as academic advisors, and had designed the restoration. A particularly skilled master carpenter was chosen to supervise the actual construction work relatively independently on site, and to function as the general contractor. The gap between these two professions was great, however, and neither possessed the complement of skills necessary to supervise a restoration.

Meiji period restorations had relied upon the skills of master carpenters trained in the practices of late Edo period carpentry. These carpenters relied on the system of dimensioning (*kiwarihô*) to size and deploy primary structural members, and another stereometric system (*kikujutsu*) to design and dimension complex joints which had evolved considerably by the end of

the nineteenth century.¹¹⁰ By the time of the first modern restorations, some of the building techniques of antiquity had been lost or transformed by this time, and were unknown to Meiji carpenters. For example, the corner columns on some pre-Momoyama temples were heightened in relation to other columns to accentuate up-turned roof curves; rafters were placed in a gradually increasing linear frequency, designed to support the uneven load of a curved roof. These subtleties and certain techniques of archaic joinery were erased by Meiji carpenters in the early restorations.¹¹¹

On the other hand, architects such as Sekino and Chûta and were trained in Western structural engineering, and integrated its materials and methods into restoration projects. Sekino Tadashi had used Western-style steel trusses to repair the roof of the Kondô of Tôshôdai-ji in Nara during its 1898 dismantling and restoration. Similarly, supervising architect Tsumagi Yorinaka had tested the limits of modern structural engineering during the 1906-13 dismantling and restoration of the Great Buddha Hall at Tôdai-ji in Nara. Timbers of sufficient dimension were not readily available, and the scale of the project was a challenge to Meiji period carpentry skills in any case, so he decided to reinforce the main roof span with 23 meter Shelton steel box trusses.

The great temple buildings of Nara and Kyoto were in severe disrepair by the time they were examined for restoration in the Meiji period. Radical

¹¹⁰ For a study of the changing system of measurements see Kiozumi 1977. A history of carpentry techniques is found in *Nihon Gakushi*'in *Nihon Gakushi Shinkôkai*, ed. 1961, Reprinted 1984.

¹¹¹ Interview with architect conservators at JACAM (Japanese Association for the Conservation of Architectural Monuments, the juridical foundation for architect conservators) 1987; Takahashi 1983, pp. 232-3.

repairs and dismantling were required on many of the early projects, but the meticulous cataloguing and analysis of components demanded skills that neither the Meiji carpenter nor the engineer possessed. Ôe Shintaro (1874-1935), a student of architecture and engineering under Itô Chûta, became the first person to develop the skills of a professional restorationist, or as they are now called, chief architect conservator. Ôe's first project was the restoration of Nikkô Tôshôgû in 1907.¹¹²

A system was set up by the early 1930's that provided for the employment of architect conservators on every project. From this point on, the techniques for the analysis of dismantled structures became more systematized. Since the Meiji period, survey drawings of extant condition and design drawings for restoration had both been produced for individual projects. The published restoration reports that began in the 1930's also included photographs, detail drawings, argumentation for restored form, analysis of available historical documents and any other information about the building's history and its site.

As chief architect conservator Takahashi Masao notes, there are over 1,000 restoration reports now kept in the archives of the Agency for Cultural Affairs, which provide an invaluable record for future research and reconstructions.¹¹³ These reports constitute complete working drawings along with building biographies; this accurate and comprehensive architectural record plays an important role in the cycle of building repair and restoration even if, as is the case with at least one building at Tsumago, full-scale

¹¹² See Ôe Shintarô 1935.

¹¹³ Takahashi 1983, p. 233.

reconstruction is postponed or never takes place, because it constitutes the only truly permanent record of built form. This data, along with the numerous scale models that architectural historians build after archaeological investigations, form a kind of "virtual architecture" which has special importance in Japan because of the sheer volume of what has been lost. The historical precedent of complete, programmed reconstruction, and the accepted notion of architecture as a temporary construct make this data important as a part of the architectural patrimony, perhaps beyond the meaning it would have in a European or American context.

The Cultural Properties Act of 1950 (*Bunkazai hogo hô*)

The cities of Japan suffered severe damage due to bombing during the Second World War. The Ministry of Construction estimates that upwards of 80% of Tokyo and other major cities was destroyed by the end of the war in 1945, but fortunately Kyôto and Nara were not damaged. Langdon Warner has long been credited in Japan for the decision to spare Kyôto and Nara from bombing raids, and a stone pagoda was erected outside the west gate of Hôryû-ji in his honor. Edwin O. Reischauer wrote that even he was given credit for the decision not to bomb Kyoto in a German book, but as Otis Cary has proved, credit was due only to Henry L. Stimson, the Secretary of War at the time who had spent his honeymoon in Kyôto.¹¹⁴ In addition to the personal

¹¹⁴ Reischauer 1986, p. 101; Cary 1979, pp. 506-514.

circumstances of Warner that Cary cites, there is another reason that the myth of Warner's role grew after the war.

Ôka Minoru was in charge of architectural preservation during and after the war.¹¹⁵ He remembered meeting Warner before the war, around the time of the organization of the 1938 exhibition of art of the Pacific Basin for the San Francisco Exposition. Ôka remembers hearing Warner reassure his Japanese colleagues that in the event of a conflict, Kyôto and Nara would be spared.¹¹⁶ These words were vividly remembered after the war, and called the "Warner Promise." What were most likely informal words of reassurance probably account for the assumption of his part in the decision.

Ôka Minoru was responsible for camouflaging important monuments such as Himeji Castle, and even dismantling and removing important structures to protect them during the war. He also had responsibility for fire prevention. Despite his efforts, Ôka recorded that 206 designated buildings burned due to bombing-related fires. Among the wartime losses, of particular note was Nagoya Castle, but by 1959 it was reconstructed by the municipality in reinforced concrete. The practical cause of the decision to use concrete was the enormous expense that would have ensued if traditional materials and methods had been used. It was rationalized that the thick plastered walls and heavy wooden post and beam structure used in castle construction had constituted a reinforced structure of a sort, and the function of castles as fortresses meant that reinforced concrete, the material of the modern bunker,

¹¹⁵ Ôka Minory is also known as somewhat of a designer in a traditional idiom, responsible for the creation of five "Peace Pagodas" which have been placed in public parks in New York City, Europe and India.

¹¹⁶ Interview with Ôka Minoru, 1987.

was an acceptable material.¹¹⁷ Osaka Castle's donjon, destroyed in 1868, had been reconstructed in 1931 in reinforced concrete and had been used as a fortress during the war. (The militaristic nationalism of the 1930's was responsible for a series of concrete donjon reconstructions during that period.) Concrete was also a visually appropriate solution. Familiar features in the urban landscape where they had stood, castles had great importance as civic symbols. Nagoya castle's recreation after the war was a powerful symbol of postwar reconstruction.

Along with buildings destroyed in the war itself, the American Occupation forces became involved in a further reduction of the number of monuments designated by the Agency for Cultural Affairs. In 1948, 377 of the designated sites associated with the Meiji emperor's visits were declassified by the Occupation Forces, along with a number of Shinto shrines and religious objects.¹¹⁸

Coming just a few years after the bombing suffered during the Second World War, the fire at Hôryû-ji in 1949 was a particularly painful event for the preservation community and the nation as whole. The mural paintings inside the Kondô had been in the process of being copied since 1940 as part of a 15-year plan of restoration at Hôryû-ji begun in 1934. The work had been slowed during the war, and it was decided that the copy of the Kondô murals should be finished by the end of the fiscal year of 1949 so that the dismantling of the structure could ensue. The monks had refused to allow removal of the murals from the building during restoration because they were religious objects. The restoration crew headed by Ôka Minoru therefore decided to

¹¹⁷ Inagaki 1984.

¹¹⁸ Bunkachô 1960, p. 96. Woodward 1972, p. 172 records 379 sites declassified.

depart from usual practice and continue work through the winter. Ôta Hirotarô recalls that the cause of the fire was most likely the electric *zabuton* or floor cushions which had been custom-made for the job site. The fire did some damage to the partly dismantled structure, but smoke and heat severely damaged seventy percent of the mural paintings inside. Only the small section that had been removed retained its original coloring. Although about seventy percent of the copy had been completed by the time of the fire, eighty percent of this copy was also destroyed. Afterwards, it was noted that there had not been enough money in the budget to hire electricians to properly wire the job site, or to hire enough inspectors and watchmen.¹¹⁹

On May 30th of the following year, a further broadening of the preservation laws took place with the passage of the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties (*Bunkazai hogo hô*). One change it provided was the right to override the objections of building or object owners when it came to the custodial care of National Treasures, stressing that these Treasures were also the property of the public. More stringent safety standards were given special attention, along with increased budget allocations for security, but this did not save the Kinkaku-ji (Golden Pavilion) at Rokuon-ji from a fire set by a monk in July of 1950. Fortunately, drawings from the 1904-6 restoration were available, and were used in conjunction with an analysis of the charred remnants of the original structure to design a fairly accurate reconstruction in 1952-5. The original pavilion had been remodeled during its history, and the reconstruction was based on this final form, so it is not an exact replica of the

¹¹⁹ Ôta 1981.

original.¹²⁰ The complex, altered structure of the burned structure was simplified, resulting in minor differences in structural detail and scale in the reconstruction, but according to Ôta Hirotarô, the level of accuracy achieved would have been impossible without the Meiji restoration records.¹²¹

Another change with the enactment of the 1950 law was the reclassification of all former National Treasures as Important Cultural Properties, a term promoted by the international preservation organizations after the war to broaden the scope of preservation beyond historic monuments. National Treasure thereby became a higher classification for Japan's most valued cultural properties. Designations of Important Cultural Properties (*jûyô bunkazai*) could be made at the national, prefectural or municipal level. The 1950 legislation also created a new category called Intangible Cultural Properties (*mukei bunkazai*), and another called Folk Cultural Properties. The creation of special provisions for folk art and folk culture within the preservation laws was a result of the activities of Yanagi Sôetsu, Yanagita Kunio, and the *minka* studies groups before the war, and also in tune with the spirit of democratization promoted after the war. The notion of the cultural property and the acceptance of folk art and culture as important as aspects of the national patrimony created the context in which *minka*, could be designated in the postwar period.

The creation of Intangible Cultural Properties was an important, and notably Japanese contribution to preservation theory. The concept made it possible to designate activities such as festivals and rituals practices, and

¹²⁰ This and other fire damage to cultural properties is described in Nishiji 1984, pp. 37-55.

¹²¹ Interview with Ôta Hirotarô 1987.

performance arts. It also made it possible to designate and perpetuate skills in addition to objects and sites. Traditional craftsmen could receive the honor of being declared "bearers of intangible cultural properties," or in common parlance, living national treasures (*ningen kokuhô*). With this legislation, the notion of a "living tradition," involving process as well as form, was made explicit as a feature of Japanese national culture.

Folk art and folk architecture (*minka*) were the largest group of objects and buildings preserved under the 1950 law. After 1965, about one third of all repair projects involved *minka*.¹²² The recognition of the importance of folk culture paved the way for a major governmental campaign through the Ministry of Education to survey, document, and designate for preservation the *minka* of each region of Japan, and later, to do the same for districts of *minka*. Government-sponsored surveys of *minka* for the purposes of preservation started in the mid-1950's. Shîba, Gokanoshô, and Ishikawa were the first localities surveyed in 1955, and the Architectural Institute of Japan created a subcommittee on *minka* in 1961 which held liaison meetings with the public sector concerning surveys conducted primarily by its university-affiliated members. Field surveys to identify important *minka* continued to be conducted in every prefecture until 1965, utilizing funds provided by the Ministry of Education. The Ministry of Education assigned a quota of ten houses per prefecture for the first round of designations, and restoration work began on these houses in the 1960's.¹²³

¹²² Suzuki 1983, p. 165.

¹²³ Interview with Ôka Minoru 1987.

The surveys and resulting designations of the 1950's and early 60's concentrated almost exclusively on rural farmhouses.¹²⁴ Such houses had been the primary interest of Kon, Yanagita, and the *minka* studies groups of the 1920's and 30's. These rural houses had captured the popular imagination; they had strong regional characteristics, and studied by urban intellectuals as well as local amateur geographers and societies interested in regional culture. Kon himself had protested the use of the word *minka* as early as the 1930's, saying that the term sounded too unprofessional. For his later focus on researching rural housing improvement he preferred the more specific term *nôson jûtaku*, or agricultural housing.¹²⁵

The repair and restoration of *minka* was conducted by the same historians and technicians that had worked on the great temples and other Important Cultural Properties, and was carried out with the same meticulous methods. The unequivocal objective of the authorities was full restoration of each house to its initial form, which meant the removal of subsequent alterations, and especially modern improvements. It was gradually recognized that the restorations were becoming the cause of inconvenience and even hardship to resident families. Those who retained ownership of the historic structure were expected to pay a portion of the repair costs, usually negotiated around 5% or less of costs that could range between two and forty million yen, the rest of which was split between prefectural and

¹²⁴ Of the 150 *minka* restoration reports issued between 1960 and 1983, Adolf Ehrentraut notes that 109 were concerned with rural farmhouses, and the remainder on *machiya*. Farmhouses were dominant especially during the early years of the survey and restoration work.

¹²⁵ Takeuchi 1971, p. 473-488.

national authorities.¹²⁶ Others could choose to donate the historic structure to the authorities. These families did not inhabit the historic structure but often a built new houses beside it, usually retaining ownership of the land upon which the old house stood, but without the benefit of any real estate tax abatements.

Ôka Minoru, who had taken undeserved personal responsibility for the fire at Hôryû-ji, was the first person to argue for the designation of *minka*, as early as the 1940's. Ôka has stated that he began thinking about creating a *minka-en*, or outdoor architectural museum, as soon as the first *minka* surveys began in the 1950's. Many such houses had a history of being dismantled and moved in the pre-modern period. A final move to a protected site may have seemed a less complicated alternative to dealing with resident needs; these were proving to be a difficult problem in on-site preservation of *minka*, far beyond what had been experienced previously with cultural properties since few of them had been inhabited residences. When the 250-year old Itô Residence in Kawasaki faced destruction, as did many other houses, Ôka thought of moving the house to Sankei-en in Yokohama, Hara Tomitarô's estate which had opened its doors to the public as an outdoor architectural museum in 1958.¹²⁷ Sankei-en had received a house from *gasshō-zukuri* house from Gifu in 1960 (Hara was born in Gifu), and the Hida Folklore Village was created around the same time in Gifu prefecture. The construction of the Mihoro Dam which flooded a part of the valley, resulting in the relocation of around thirty-five *gasshō* houses.¹²⁸ In

¹²⁶ See Ehrentraut 1989, 135-161 for an analysis of rural *minka* restoration projects between 1960 and 1983.

¹²⁷ Interview with Ôka Minoru, Tôkyô 1987.

¹²⁸ Ueno 1987, p. 18.

nearby Kawasaki City, an outdoor architectural museum was planned to showcase important *minka* that were similarly under threat of demolition in other areas of the country, and it received the Itô residence. Like similar parks which multiplied in Europe during the same period, it was modeled after Skånsen in Sweden, which had been established in 1891.¹²⁹ The Kawasaki *minka-en* opened its doors to the public in 1967. Presently there are thirteen major outdoor architectural museums throughout Japan which contain *minka* moved from other sites, most operated by prefectural authorities.

Machiya in small villages such as Tsumago had also functioned as farm housing of a sort because many villagers were part-time farmers, working fields that they owned nearby. Kon Wajior did write about *machiya* but his interest was not centered on their configuration as individual buildings. He was interested in *machiya* as elements in a larger system of *ofchiwari*, or land subdivision, that was the basis for town and city planning. One reason for the limited interest in *machiya* until the 1960's may have been their relative uniformity in comparison to *minka*; although there is some regional variation among *machiya*, it does not compare to the wide variety of farmhouse types in different parts of the country. When Kon visited Agematsu in the 1920's, a post town north of Tsumago in Kiso, he suggested that the farmhouses were of more ancient origin and therefore more worthy of study. The *machiya*, he suggested, were probably built by carpenters from Edo. (This is unlikely given the number of skilled carpenters in the area.) It was perhaps difficult to consider individual *machiya* for preservation before or after the war because of their place in larger, tightly

¹²⁹ Perrin 1975, pp. 9-13.

packed village or city fabrics; although typically with independent side walls, such houses could be only inches apart. It was not until the late 1960's and the interest in district preservation that *machiya* preservation became a major concern.

There were special problems associated with the preservation of *machiya*. It was estimated by the Ministry of Education in 1975 that about two thirds of all surviving *minka* were *machiya*. Of these, an estimated two thirds were located within commercially zoned districts.¹³⁰ These areas had correspondingly high land prices and were experiencing the most rapid re-development. Many of the great *machiya* were sited on land that had been repeatedly collateralized based on its escalating market value to finance business activities., making designation problematic. Moreover, many *machiya* were located within urban planning districts designated under the City Planning Act (*toshi keikaku ô*) as amended in 1968, and subject to land use and density zoning which disallowed extensive repairs because the houses did not meet the new planning and building codes. While the Ministry of Education administered the 1950 law to provide protection for a limited number of traditional structures, the Ministry of Construction administered another series of laws stressing public safety and rapid development, hastening the destruction of traditional structures which was further exacerbated by rapid development and rising land prices.

Another case of crossed agendas can be seen in the way taxes on real property was distributed. The two most important taxes are the annual fixed asset tax, which was a local, or *chihôzei* payed to the municipality; and the

¹³⁰ Nishimura and Watanabe 1989, p. 5.

inheritance tax, which was a national tax or *kokuzei*, payed directly to the central government. Since 1964, local governments in rural and urban areas were able to mitigate the tax burden on rapidly appreciating land for residential use via what were called "tax burden adjustment measures." One such measure was the calculation of the value of land for tax purposes at a controlled rate of increase that kept it lower than its assessed value. The assessed value, in turn, was lower than its true market value.¹³¹ The low fixed asset tax was a response by local government to pressure from residents who resisted the financial burdens and the displacement that resulted from the rapid rise in land values. The result was a lower rate of annual real estate taxation than in many other industrial nations.¹³² The lower municipal taxes allowed a certain amount of social stability within communities during the post-war period of rapid economic growth, by allowing building owners to remain in place for the duration of their lifetime.

After the death of a land owner, heirs were required to pay an inheritance tax to the national government. The inheritance tax is calculated on the current market value of land. The national government's inheritance tax was a pro-development strategy that effectively countered local governments' leniency in allowing individuals to retain land ownership and thereby potentially hinder development. The inheritance tax in urban areas, based on the market value of rapidly appreciating land, is often impossible for heirs to pay. Property owners in prospering areas were were profoundly

¹³¹ The methods used for calculating fixed asset, inheritance, and other tax burdens on real estate is explained in Gomi 1985-1986, pp. 26-29.

¹³² Nomura Research Institute calculated in 1989 that the average fixed asset tax rate in Tokyo was about 1/13th the rate charged to equivalent properties in New York City. (Research notes and interviews at NRI Regional Development and Planning Division, Yokohama 1989)

affected by the inheritance tax. Heirs were forced to sell or subdivide properties in order to pay the tax. In the case of either sale or subdivision, existing houses usually had to be destroyed. (Japan has no official minimum plot size, so the process can be repeated).¹³³ As the aging patriarchs of many fine *machiya* lingered, in some cases the next generation scrambled in vain for ways to save their old houses from destruction. The dramatic environmental effect of the inheritance tax demonstrated that in post-war Japan, the traditional house was not only culturally and physically as vulnerable as its owner to the passage of time and to death, but legally linked to the life of its owner.¹³⁴

For all of these reasons, *machiya* or town houses in villages and cities, which were historically considered *minka*, were not dealt with until the next wave of surveys related to the designation of historic districts.¹³⁵

The Rise of the District Preservation Movement and the Amendment of 1975

During the mid-1960's rural areas of Japan faced serious economic and population decline while urban areas faced the environmental problems of rapid growth and development. The frantic reconstruction of Tokyo and other major cities during the postwar years was supported by an aggressively

¹³³ Officials within Kyôto's Planning Department estimated that approximately 50% of the surface of the city had been re-developed by 1989.

¹³⁴ Despite its easing of the impact of rapid economic growth on neighborhoods and families, the tax system results in unplanned, piecemeal development which does not allow for preservation or development planning.

¹³⁵ Ueno Kunikazu, manuscript, 1987.

pro-development national City Planning Act. This legislation and the Building Standard Law (*Kenchiku kijun hô*) of 1950 were products of a strongly centralized pro-development planning system.¹³⁶ They were augmented by transportation planning and other policies that left little flexibility to accommodate the priorities and concerns of local communities. Not surprisingly, the rate of destruction to historic sites and pre-war buildings increased dramatically during this period. While in 1960 the proportion of emergency surveys of historic sites was 34.2% of all historic site surveys commissioned by the Agency for Cultural Affairs, by 1969, the rate of emergency surveys had increased to 75%.¹³⁷

Despite, or perhaps in reaction to strongly pro-development national policies, a number of local preservation movements appeared beginning in the 1960's in various parts of Japan. The scale of the postwar reconstruction effort has overshadowed the steps that citizens and smaller communities have taken to address the need for district preservation at the local level. The most notable example is Kyôto, which initiated the earliest urban design and planning legislation, and was the site of the earliest citizen-led preservation movements. Ten years before an independent municipal government was created in 1898, Kyôto's governor instituted urban design regulations with a set of detailed ordinances restricting development and regulating signage. As early as 1894, the local Kyôto government was in conflict with policies issued

¹³⁶ In 1968 a comprehensive revision of the City Planning Law of 1919 was passed. The Urban District Buildings Law of that same year was a building code applicable only to construction in designated urban areas, was replaced by the Building Standard Law of 1950.

¹³⁷ Emergency surveys are defined as those which must be completed before scheduled groundbreaking at a site of approved development. Statistics from the National Japanese Commission for UNESCO 1971, p. 78.

by national authorities in Tôkyô with a petition to the National Forestry Ministry to protect the landscape at Arashiyama and Higashiyama, which was denied. More recently, a joint petition submitted by the mayors of Kyôto, Nara, and Kamakura resulted in the passing of the Ancient Cities Preservation Law in 1966. During the last century Kyôto representatives have repeatedly petitioned Tokyo for legislation amendments, exemptions, and financial support to protect the city's monuments and historic environment, with limited success.¹³⁸

However, Kyôto's early ordinances were restricted to height and density limitations, land use, and signage control in specified areas. It was not until the 1960's that architectural design regulation was put in place as a means of preserving the character of traditional districts. The first measures were taken at Kanazawa City, Ishikawa Prefecture, and in Kurashiki, Okayama Prefecture, both in 1968. Kyôto followed in 1972 with city ordinances that created the Special Industrial Zones at Nishijin and Haradani to protect cottage industries. Within designated sites at Saga Torimotochô, Gion Shimbashi, and the Sannenzaka-Ninenzaka area, an urbanistic approach was taken to preserve the overall character and pattern of traditional streets and building facades in the *Kyôto tokubetsu hozon shûkei chiku* or Special Areas for the Preservation of Kyoto Landscape. The system known today as *Kyôto hôshiki*, or the Kyôto method was largely the result of research by Nishikawa Koji, a professor of architectural history at Kyoto University, and members of his *Hozon shûkei kenkyûkai*. Nishikawa and his group recognized the futility of what they described as the "freezing" of architectural form through historic preservation in the changing city of

¹³⁸ Kariya Yûga 1987, manuscript.

Kyôto. Their concept was to create instead a dynamic system of standards and controls which would mandate traditional building design, which they named *hozon shûkei*. Although the design controls and height restrictions resemble in principle those in historic districts in many Western cities, *hozon shûkei* was described by Nishikawa and his colleagues as a means of ensuring the perpetuation of Kyoto's living building tradition which was being threatened by rapid modernization.¹³⁹ According to Nishikawa, over the centuries the people of Kyôto had created a system of building which consisted of a vocabulary of materials, and a set of conventional dimensions and forms. Modern citizens "no longer had the skill to design buildings within the tradition," but the tradition could be codified by surveying existing buildings and making the implicit rules of design explicit in design handbooks and ordinances.¹⁴⁰ It was not necessary or appropriate to freeze the form of existing buildings, but simply guide or control their transformation.

The word *shûkei* had long been used in the design professions to mean something similar to landscape design, but Nishikawa's term *hozon shûkei* meant something closer to historicist urban design, and could refer to any or all of the following: the repair or restoration of traditional buildings, the controlled design of new construction, and significantly, the re-design of existing building facades and other features of the street in a way that contributed to the traditional character of Kyôto's neighborhoods. The city ordinances required that any construction work within the designated *hozon*

¹³⁹ Interview with Ônishi Kunitarô, former head of Kyôto City's *Fûchichiku* (Scenic zones) administration department 1987.

¹⁴⁰ Interview with Tachîri Shinzô, program administrator at Kyoto City Hall, 1987.

shûkei districts was to follow the design rules and dimensional standards set out in a series of handbooks, each outlining a building style identified during surveys of each area. Many of the wooden buildings surveyed in the 1960's were actually built during the Taishô period or later, and included relatively modern features, such as the use of idiosyncratic *sukiya* elements and influences from Western architecture in town house facades. This was not seen as being in conflict with the aim of protecting "traditional districts," because the scale and materials of such buildings were consistent in material, scale and articulation with the historical tradition, unlike the increasing amount of high rise concrete and steel construction. Within the *Tokubetsu hozon shûkei* districts, new concrete and steel structures were not prohibited, but required special permits and design reviews. The resulting building had to reflect the scale of wood construction, and had to be finished with wooden facade elements.

At around the same time, similar ordinances based on the practice of *shûkei* were put in place in the cities of Hagi, Kurashiki, Kanazawa, Takayama, and Tsuwano.¹⁴¹ As in Kyôto, these initiatives were taken by municipal governments with little input from resident communities. They did not actually protect pre-war structures from demolition, nor did they discourage development; the primary aim was to limit the scale of development, and to guide the form of inevitable new construction. The definition of *shûkei* also did not demand historical accuracy or authenticity. In Kyôto for example, large paving stones taken from the road bed of a dismantled streetcar line were used to pave the streets of Gion Shimbashi, although the street had not been paved with such stones in the past.

¹⁴¹ Ishikawa 1981, p. 23.

The above describes only preservation efforts initiated by municipalities that affected the built fabric of cities, and were not the products of civic movements. Nature conservancy was also attracting an increasing amount of attention during this period. At the same time, a different kind of preservation movement was beginning to appear in rural areas and urban neighborhoods. The oldest and later the most influential activist groups formed independently at Tsumago-juku, Arimatsu-chô, and Asuke in the early 1960's; Ishikawa Tadaomi (1929-) of the Asahi News was involved with the Arimatsu-chô movement, and played a role in creating contact between the three groups. He and the leaders of these three groups organized a league of resident movements in 1974 called the *Nihon zenkoku machinami hozon renmei* (Japanese national league for townscape preservation) which has gradually grown to around several dozen member groups, and has held annual meetings or *Machinami zeminaru* to promote the movement and educate its participants since that time. The movement leaders from Tsumago and Arimatsu, two of the earliest and most vocal resident movements, and a number of academic organizers have since traveled as far as Okinawa's Taketomi Island to share their experiences the help organize other communities. These movements all involved resident communities that called themselves *machinami hozon* or townscape preservation movements. They stressed the environmental quality and historic value of the physical environment, but they had agendas that reached beyond the preservation of historic buildings. Just as the traditional concept of "house" or *ie* had referred to the physical structure and the family within, the *machi* or towns talked about in the context of the *machinami hozon* movements were not only physical places and groups of buildings but communities of residents.

During the 1960's such resident-based preservation movements appeared independently in communities from Okinawa to Hokkaidô.¹⁴² The aims of these groups differed markedly from the urban design concerns of the municipalities, which they considered superficial. Characteristically they appeared in rural communities that were being threatened by declining populations and lack of employment opportunities, and in old urban communities which were being broken up by high-density redevelopment and corporate investment. They were also often communities engaged in declining traditional industries; particularly industries that relied upon community ties and traditional environmental characteristics for success.

At Arimatsu-chô, an old neighborhood at the edge of the city of Nagoya, families of fabric dyers relied on Byzantine community relations and in-house workshops to conduct their businesses. In the historical entertainment district of Gion Shimbashi in Kyôto, geisha entertained in fragile wooden teahouses and were part of the tightly knit, hierarchical society of the Hanami-koji *chayagumi*, or teahouse union. The territory of the union extended from the Gion Shimbashi triangle north of Shijô southward to the teahouse district of Hanami-koji, where the land is owned by Kennin-ji. (See Fig.) While Kennin-ji's ownership of the land protected the southern half of the union territory from re-development, those above Shijô had their livelihoods threatened by rising real estate taxes and developers

¹⁴² Ishikawa 1981, pp. 23-30 summarizes the development and transformation of local movements from the 1960's into the 1980's. The *Nihon zenkoku machinami hozon renmei* (Japanese National Townscape Preservation League) newsletter, *Kawaraban* has chronicled the development of local movements since 1975. Beginning in 1986, they sponsored the compilation of local newspaper reports from the beginning of the movements in Tsumagojuku, Asuke, and Ôdaira-juku.

"from Osaka" who were re-developing teahouse lots into multi-story buildings and breaking up the community.¹⁴³ Gion Shimbashi had not been a part of the municipal preservation effort in Kyôto, as the Hanami-koji union was recognized as being a secretive society, and almost an independent governing body within the city. The planning department of the city government had turned a blind eye toward violations of the building code within the tightly-packed district of the wooden houses on temple land. Design and repair of buildings was monitored and controlled closely by the head of the union at Ichiriki-jaya. Typical of the resident-led movements, only the threat of outsiders forced residents to demand protection from city official and later national officials.

Similarly, at Tsumago and other rural communities like Shirakawa-gô the breakup of the community was at issue, not due to re-development, but to a dropping population. Small family farms became less profitable and few opportunities were available for employment. Tsumago residents hoped to supplement declining income by returning to the town's traditional occupation of inn keeping. At Imai-chô, a *teramachi*, or formerly self-governing temple town, the community was fast losing its internal cohesion as the town became a bedroom community for commuters to Nara and Ôsaka. The movement in what many historians consider to be the best-preserved Edo period townscape left in Japan, was organized by the monk from the declining temple at the town's center which had been the core of its social and political life. The lack of success of the movement in reaching a consensus to preserve as the years went on is a direct result of the infighting and rivalries that developed as a new modern leadership structure emerged.

¹⁴³ Interviews at Gion Shimbashi and Arimatsu-chô, 1987.

Imai-chô was finally designated in the late 1980's due to the dogged efforts of the municipality in cooperation with the Agency for Cultural Affairs' dedicated field officers, only after they were able to demonstrate through model projects that historic houses could be preserved and rehabilitated as comfortable places to live. Imai-chô contained a number of restored museum houses which, in the manner of cultural property restoration, had been stripped of their modern comforts. The museum houses were the only exposure to preservation that the villagers had before the model projects.

The organizers of these district preservation movements were varied, but most were responding to a specific emergency situation or event: the abandonment of the Kazura area in Shirakawa and construction of several dams in the valley; the construction of concrete and steel highrise buildings in and around Gion Shimbashi; plans for a mega-resort in Taketomi, Okinawa. Although all the movements were concerned with the destruction of their villages or neighborhoods, all shared a social agenda that seemed to precede the concern for historic structures.

The leaders of many movements in rural areas such as Tsumago-juku and Narai-juku were members of the traditional village elite whose power base was eroding. The same was true for some of the movements in old communities in urban areas, such as Imai-chô and Arimatsu. Other urban movements, including many of the more loosely-defined *machizukuri* ¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ The closest English equivalent to *machizukuri* is "community development" in urban planning literature, and the word has the same broad social meaning of place-making and community-forging as that English term. The objectives of movements calling themselves *machizukuri undô* vary widely, including pro-growth economic development movements, neighborhood environmental quality and amenity improvement movements, and conservative no-growth or limited-growth movements that have much of

movements that sprang up in Kyôto and Nara in the 1980's, were organized by representatives of the local Communist or Socialist Party. Kyôto's progressive preservation and planning policies had been enacted under Ninagawa, the long-time communist governor of the region. These leaders saw the movement as part of an oppositionist political agenda, but their broader political agendas were often ignored or lost on local residents. At Kyôto's Gion Shimbashi, the movement was led by a communist party activist who resided within the district, but was not a part of the teahouse union. He was never able to awaken interest in concerns beyond the boundaries of the local *chônai*,¹⁴⁵ and his overt party association is atypical of resident movement leaders. The movements attracted both left-wing and right-wing outside supporters, in the same way that the spectrum of nationalist politics had admired the writings of Yanagita Kunio. The residents of Kyôto, Arimatsu, Shirakawa Tsumago, and other areas typically deny political affiliations, insisting on a villagist agenda, but especially in Kyôto, where the local communist party has substantial influence, the *machinami hozon* and *machizukuri* movements were powerful political platforms. Communist support of the movement has caused suspicion about its political affiliations among the broader citizenry. Elsewhere, at Okinawa's Taketomi Island, Mimura Hiroshi of Kyôto University's Department of Architecture advises the preservation movement from a firmly leftist

their social agenda in common with the *machinami hozon* effort. See Robertson 1991 for a study of a *machizukuri* movement in Kodaira City.

¹⁴⁵ A *chônai* is the association of residents within a *chônai*, the traditional physical and social unit of Japanese neighborhoods. Similar in some ways to a block association, it usually consists of the residents in an area defined by the group of around 20-30 households lining both sides of a street. See Aoyagi 1983, Braibanti 1948, and Falconeri 1976.

political stance that matches the villagist values of islanders in their fight to stop resort developers.

In some cases, urban intellectuals were involved as advisers and organizers. Among these were students of Yanagita Kunio such as Yamada Katsutoshi in Kawagoe, Saitama Prefecture; and students of Kon Wajirô such as Aizawa Tsuguo in Ôuchi-juku, Fukushima. Yanagita's work in rural areas and his search for the roots of a national cultural identity took on new meaning as his words, as well as those of Kon Wajirô, were used to rally residents to preserve not only historic environments, but the way of life which had generated them. Paraphrasing Yanagita, Yamada praised the beauty of a unified townscape, created by the cooperative spirit of ordinary people, and contrasted it to the selfish, crass modernity of Tôkyô.¹⁴⁶ The new district preservation movements imbued the visual harmony of traditional settlements not only with aesthetic and historic value, but with moral and cultural values that also needed protection. The historic districts of cities, and the groups of pre-war *nôka* and *machiya* in rural areas, were not only traditional in appearance. They were inhabited by communities that had long been in place, with traditional patterns of social relations, and even traditional industries still in operation. Here were remnants of "real" Japanese culture that had survived the changes of the postwar period and could serve as an example for contemporary Japanese society.¹⁴⁷

This kind of rhetoric captures the spirit of what were specifically resident preservation movements, not, as those familiar with American or European movements would more naturally say, citizen-led movements.

¹⁴⁶ Ishikawa 1981, pp. 23-4; 1978, pp. 51-58.

¹⁴⁷ Inagaki 1984, pp. 72-85, 163-175; Interviews with Ishikawa Tadaomi 1987.

This is perhaps accounted for by the historical structure of towns and villages, which were organized in small neighborhood groups described earlier that had territorial responsibility and control. Citizen preservation movements, i.e. those which were able to attract city-wide or regional participation, have been limited in Japan, but they do have a long history. One of the oldest citizen-led preservation groups is the *Takasegawa hozon dômeikai*, the Takase River Preservation Alliance, a Kyôto city-wide movement which successfully opposed the filling of the small Takase River (actually a canal) which runs between Nijô and Fushimi. Organized in 1920, the group exists to the present day and keeps a watchful eye on urban waterways in Kyôto. The *Takase hozon dômeikai* won another victory in 1969 by halting a new proposal to fill the Takase in order to provide badly needed parking spaces in the inner city.¹⁴⁸

There were a number of larger citizen-led movements in the 1960's, particularly in the Nara basin. Citizens opposed the construction of a railroad through the site of Heijô palace in 1963-65, and other movements opposed highways through the sites of the Fujiwara and the Heijô Tôin palaces. (The Heijô movement succeeded in getting the public sector to purchase the site for a historic park.) More recently in Kyôto, city-wide opposition movements have appeared over the destruction of Nijô Station building, the re-development of Kyôto Station, and the widening of the Kamo River bed, all of which will probably meet with defeat. The need for these and other campaigns, and their failure, underscores the weakness of the Ancient Cities Preservation Law of 1966, which lacks both the administrative muscle and the necessary funding to adequately protect the historic landscape, not to mention

¹⁴⁸ Ueda, p. 69.

the built fabric, of Japan's historic cities. In general, these larger scale movements have not been concerned with architecture, but with landscape and nature conservation issues. In fact, all the regional or city-wide preservation movements identified in the course of this study were confined to uninhabited sites, where neither buildings nor the prerogative of residents were involved. The absence of a resident community allowed access to such sites by the larger citizenry, and identification of such sites as commonly held urban amenities.

Ishikawa Tadaomi, the reigning Asahi Newspaper journalist of the preservation movement from the 1960's through the 1980's, and long-time coordinator of the *Nihon zenkoku machinami hozon renmei* (Japanese national league for townscape preservation) characterizes the special nature of the resident-led preservation movements by drawing attention to the implicit social agenda of these groups. In his nationwide reporting and many articles on local movements, Ishikawa made an early distinction between "citizens" (*shimin*) and "residents" (*jûmin*), stressing the importance of residents in determining the fate of their own community and their own houses.¹⁴⁹ Ishikawa often repeated a widely shared assertion: that the preservation of buildings alone was somehow unnatural and superficial. A preserved town or district would be meaningful only if it preserved the habitation and the livelihood of the people who had built it.

When it came time to consider ordinances and the formulation of preservation plans, the resident-led movements and the municipalities initiating preservation ordinances were able to draw upon architecture

¹⁴⁹ Interviews with Ishikawa Tadaomi, 1987; Ishikawa 1981, pp.23-4.

survey groups from the universities and the governmental agencies of the preservation program. By the end of the 1960's the nation-wide survey of *minka* sponsored by the central government after the passage of the 1950 Cultural Properties Act was nearing an end. That survey had concentrated almost exclusively on individual farmhouses but the next phase of sponsored survey work was to be significant groups of farmhouses identified during earlier field studies, and the previously overlooked groups of *machiya* in villages and older towns.

The period of rapid economic growth in the 1960's which saw the beginning of local resident *machinami* preservation movements also saw a rise in interest among modern Japanese architects in traditional settlements as subjects for cultural and spatial analysis as described in Chapter One. This interest in settlement patterns and urban form, was not only a Japanese phenomenon; in Europe, the ninth CIAM congress of 1953 launched a criticism of the placelessness of modern architecture, calling for a return to urbanistic design in what Kenneth Frampton describes as a "search for the structural principles of urban growth, and for the next significant unit above the family cell."¹⁵⁰ The final CIAM meeting in 1956, a group later known as Team 10, took the criticism of functionalist urban and architectural design a step further by proposing the need for social and cultural identity in built form.¹⁵¹ One team member in particular, Aldo van Eyck, was interested in what he saw as the timelessness of vernacular architecture, and in the

¹⁵⁰ Frampton 1992, p. 271.

¹⁵¹ Alison and Peter Smithson outline the Team 10 position in the *Team 10 Primer* 1968 and *The Team 10 Meetings*, 1991. Their interest in socio-cultural issues did not necessarily lead to designs that were recognizably traditional in form.

fundamental design principles that could be learned from so-called primitive cultures.

At around the same time, the district preservation movement was gaining momentum in Europe. In 1962 the master plan for the city Rome was put in place by the Italian government, which declared the entire historic center a cultural property, and imposed strict limitations on alterations to existing buildings.¹⁵² By 1964, Giancarlo de Carlo had formulated his influential plan for the city of Urbino which included provisions for preserving and adapting the historic fabric of the city, and was based on an extensive survey and analysis of the spatial structure of the city and its individual buildings.¹⁵³

During the same period in Japan, university groups began conducting similar topological village and community field surveys, which similarly sought to analyze urban and village forms and the social and cultural patterns which generated them. Some of these surveys were funded by the Architectural Institute of Japan and other foundations which sponsor architectural research, and were not related to preservation movements as such. Many, however, were either commissioned by local governments or eventually found a place in the preservation plans for such towns in later years. In 1965, Shinohara Kazuo's students from the Tokyo Institute of Technology did measured drawings of farming villages in Nara, and later

¹⁵² Larsen 1987, p. 1.

¹⁵³ Frampton 1992, pp. 269-277. De Carlo described a method for urban design based on the notion of *edilizia tipologia*, or building typology, whereby the historic buildings of the city informed a generative spatial and stylistic grammar for preservation and development. De Carlo's urban design methodology is described in Barbara Mehren, MIT Masters Thesis, 1985.

districts within the towns of Kanazawa and Takayama. The same year a group from the Tokyo Institute of Fine Arts surveyed the fishing village of Sotodomari, and later Gion Shimbashi in Kyôto. Miyawaki Mayumi's students from Hôsei University did a survey of Kurashiki, and later Magome in the Kiso Valley. Aizawa Tsuguo of Musashi Institute of Fine Arts began his field work in 1966, publishing topographical drawings of Ôuchi-juku in *Toshijûtaku* (Urban Housing) in 1969. (See Fig. 7 and 8). Kojiro Yuichiro and his students from Meiji University continued village field surveys for over ten years.¹⁵⁴ Kojiro's studies were published in *Kenchiku Bunka* and later as a two-volume book in 1975 called *Nihon no komyûnitî*. This was same the year that the Cultural Properties law of 1950 was amended to created statutes for district preservation.

Criticism of the modern movement had awakened more wide-spread interest the deeper cultural and symbolic meaning in architectural and urban form among some designers, drawing them to the study of folklore and anthropology in the mid-1960's. Kojiro Yuichiro was interested in Yanagita Kunio's work on the importance of Shintô in village life and landscapes, such as the presence of *yamamiya* (mountain shrines), *satomiya* (village shrine), and *tamiya* (field shrines). With detailed topographical drawings and diagrammatic spatial and movement analyses, Kojiro tried to identify the underlying spatial structure of the Japanese community in contrast to Western communities. His studies of the movement axes of Japanese villages, especially the paths of Shinto *matsuri* or festivals, was described as contrasting the central, static organization of European farming communities

¹⁵⁴ Miyawaki 1981, pp. 49-50.

around a "village green."¹⁵⁵ Other studies of *matsuri* followed by other architects and folklorists, demonstrating their relation to urban form and settlement patterns.¹⁵⁶ Through these studies, the traditionalist concerns of Yanagita were explored in terms of their spatial consequences; at the same time there was renewed interest in Kon Wajirô's early work on *minka*, beyond the level of the individual house to the level of settlement and landscape.

In the mid-1960's, Itô Teiji organized a number of these survey groups into the *Dezain sâbuei dantai renraku kyôgikai*, the Design Survey Group Association. Itô Teiji and his students had conducted field surveys and studies of urban and village form since the early 1960's, publishing a series of articles in the magazine *Kenchiku Bunka* which were eventually published in an influential book called *Nihon no toshi kûkan* in 1968. The cultural interests of Itô and Kojiro were not only to adequately describe the villages they surveyed, but to prescribe more satisfying solutions for Japan's urgent urban design problems. *Nihon no toshi kûkan* analyzed the form of pre-modern urban and village spatial patterns and proposed a vocabulary of fundamentally Japanese "traditional" design techniques that could generate Japanese solutions to modern, post-war urban problems. The successful design of modern cities and new towns could be based on fundamental cultural and spatial principles, as embodied in pre-modern villages and towns.

155 Kojiro 1975, pp. 8-24.

156 Yoneyama Toshinao's book *Gion Matsuri: Toshi jinruigaku koto hajime* (The Gion Festival: An Introduction to Urban Anthropology) published in 1974 was an example of an anthropologist looking at the spatial aspects of traditional urban culture, and was widely read among architects with similar interests.

Some of the drawings produced by design survey teams were helpful in the formation of local ordinances and bylaws and ended up as documentation in local preservation plans. The interests of these architects were somewhat different from the residents in the towns that they surveyed, however. Few of the architects involved in design surveys ended up as enthusiastic supporters of preservation efforts.¹⁵⁷ Their interests centered on spatial principles that were based on enduring, fundamental cultural patterns, not on the design of self-conscious measures to prevent change.

The aesthetic and theoretical praise of designers did bolster efforts by municipalities in towns like Tsuwano to promote design controls for a local tourist industry. In places like Tsumago, however, where residents took the initiative, they did not view the town in terms of its aesthetic quality or configurational interest. For them, the preservation effort was an effort to steel the community against further erosion, for the common good. Outside organizers of resident movements in what were generally small residential districts of as few as thirty households, generally failed to rally wider civic support. The residents themselves generally did not desire the involvement of people outside the immediate community, which is explained by the fact that the boundaries of almost all the "preservation districts" are characteristically not physical, but the social boundaries of a defined community. Kyôto's smallest district at Gion Shimbashi, only 3.5 acres in size, is the area of a single *chônai*. Other designated districts range from 1-

¹⁵⁷ Itô Teiji, known primarily as an architectural critic and author, remained involved with preservation-related work, producing reports on Unno-juku in Nagano and historic district of Kurashiki City, and wrote among other essays, the introduction to a book on district preservation called *Machinami hozon no nettowâku*,

185 acres but still correspond to the social and administrative boundaries of a resident community. Tsumago is the exception with a total of 3,000 protected acres, most of which is publicly-owned forest land which surrounds the town. The social rather than physical boundaries underline the fact that the concern of these resident-led movements were internal cohesion and self-determination, not broad environmental or architectural issues.¹⁵⁸

Preservation Technology and the Culture of Wood

Not surprisingly, the district preservation movements of the 1960's also found support among architectural historians, administrators and craftsmen who had been involved in the preservation of Cultural Properties. Like the design community, their concerns were somewhat different than those of the resident activists, and related to an ideological shift in thinking about preservation technology that took place soon after the Second World War.

In post-World War II projects, craftsmen and scholars had to re-work, for the first time, the first wave modern restorations of the temple buildings done in the late nineteenth century. As discussed earlier, a hybrid approach of combining metal reinforcing with traditional wood structures had been used. When subsequent repairs were undertaken, these methods proved to be the cause of complex problems and even damage to the historic structures they were meant to protect.

¹⁵⁸ Interviews with Mimura Hiroshi, Aizawa Tsuneo, Ishikawa Tadaomi.

Nishioka Tsunekazu was a master carpenter whose family had historically been associated with Hôryû-ji and had been involved in reconstructing of nearby Hôrin-ji after it had been lost to a fire caused by lightning. When the planning commenced for further work on Hôryû-ji after the War, Nishioka protested the use of steel and other Western-style reinforcing components which he had encountered in the course of restoration work elsewhere. The presence of steel reinforcing members made the dismantling of the buildings more difficult; the interaction of steel with wood had caused more severe warping and cracking. Other departures from traditional practices which had been employed in early restorations, such as the wider spacing of roof tiles to reduce the weight of the roof, had resulted in earlier and more serious leakage. Worst of all for the traditional carpenter, modern methods demanded that metalworkers and their tools be brought on the job site to modify the same structure being constructed by the carpenters. This compromised the master carpenter's control, and disturbed the sacrality of his tools, materials, and building site, an important prerequisite to the successful completion of the job. During the Hôryû-ji project, Nishioka proposed a return to traditional building practices, which were part of what he called *ki no bunka*, or "the culture of wood." This meant the rejection of modern scientific engineering interventions, and reliance solely upon skilled carpentry and the exclusive use of traditional materials employed in the traditional way. He argued that no steel could last as long as high quality wood, which could survive one thousand years or more. In addition, wood was a living material, which changed over time. A totally wooden structure would deform gradually and in concert, but a hybrid structure of steel and

wood would be subject to dangerous internal stresses.¹⁵⁹ Nishioka's opinions expressed the discontent long felt by older carpenters working on preservation projects, who questioned the artificiality and lack of integrity of traditional structures with hidden reinforcement and chemical treatments.¹⁶⁰

Nishioka's criticism suggested an approach which would take preservation practice in postwar Japan in an opposite direction from the trend in Europe and the U.S. The new traditionalist methods could require more frequent dismantling, because the rejection of steel structural reinforcing meant that leaning structures would have to be righted in order to be stabilized, and weakened structural components had to be replaced. The rejection of chemical fungicides and insecticides, epoxies, and other surface treatments would make frequent repairs necessary, and would require the continuous involvement of the craftsman in the life of the building.

While Nishioka's criticisms were having an affect on the way in which repair and restoration projects were being thought about in Japan, in 1964 the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, known as the Venice Charter, was adopted by UNESCO.¹⁶¹ (A year later, the United Nations created ICOMOS, the International Council of Monuments and Sites.) The Venice Charter formulated basic principles for historic preservation for the international community, with "each country being responsible for applying the plan within its own culture and traditions." The document could thereby serve as a model or guideline for the formulation of preservation legislation and practice where none existed.

¹⁵⁹ Nishioka Tsunekazu's philosophy is articulated in Nishioka 1978.

¹⁶⁰ Interviews with carpenters in Tsumago, Kyoto, and Takayama 1987-8.

¹⁶¹ UNESCO 1964.

The Charter was issued after the destruction of the Second World War, during a period of rapid economic growth that was causing a further threat to monuments. Article 1 of the Charter expanded the definition of "monument" to include "not only the individual architectural work but also the urban or rural setting...", and thereby encouraged the efforts in many countries at the time to initiate district preservation programs. Article 3 stressed that the preservation of monuments should be "no less as works of art than as historical evidence." The third section of the Charter dealt with Restoration, by calling for the recognition, in Article 11 of "the valid contributions of all periods to the building of a monument...since unity of style is not the aim of a restoration. When a building includes the superimposed work of different periods, the revealing of the underlying state can only be justified in exceptional circumstances and when what is removed is of little interest and the material which is brought to light is of great historical, archaeological, or aesthetic value, and its state of preservation good enough to justify the action." Article 9 described restoration as "based on respect for original material and authentic documents." Finally in the section that deal with excavations, Article 15 states that "ruins must be maintained and measures necessary for the permanent conservation and protection of architectural features...must be taken...All reconstruction work should however be ruled out *a priori*."

The Charter favored the retention of the existing state of a building, as opposed to restorative reconstruction of a previous or original form. It discouraged the destruction of later, non-period additions in favor of retaining of original materials wherever feasible, as an important part of the historical record. The Charter therefore made explicit policy statements about

the definition of the fundamental theoretical concern of any preservation effort, the authenticity of historical experience. The authors of the Charter affirmed that authenticity was linked to a physical or material authenticity, that is, the presence of original building materials, and visual evidence of age.

Contemporary Japanese preservationists have stated off the record that the articles of the Charter that deal with restoration principles are culturally biased, and do not recognize the problems of decay and instability so common in wood structures and other, more ephemeral forms of architecture.¹⁶² It is true that the Charter was written with the situation in Europe and the United States as its premise and primary experience, and it did not address the material and technical problems faced not only in Japan, but in Africa, Southeast Asia, and other parts of the developing world. However, the nature of the Charter does not reflect an innate cultural bias, so much as the affirmation of a position arrived at after a long period of debate over preservation practices in Europe and the U.S. Even today, supporters can be found arguing both sides of the opposing positions often characterized as the contrasting approaches of Viollet le Duc (1814-1879) and John Ruskin (1819-1900) toward preservation.

Viollet-le-Duc's approach saw restoration as an interpretive art, concerned with restoring the visual harmony of a building. His own words state that he was concerned with restoring a monument to a state of perfection which "may never have existed at any given moment," and his name is often associated with nineteenth and even twentieth century restoration efforts which destroyed later additions and apparent incongruities

¹⁶² Interviews with administrators at the Architectural Division of the Agency for Cultural Affairs, 1986-87.

in an attempt to return a building to its original appearance. Viollet-le-Duc placed greatest importance on the integrity of, or truth to, visual harmony which were the product of a period or style; he allowed for the recreation of missing elements and even the postulation of form based on similar buildings or interpretive extrapolation of what remained. His notion of authenticity was linked to the recreation of lost formal integrity; the importance of visual harmony allowed the architect-restorer a certain freedom of interpretation.¹⁶³

Ruskin on the other hand, took a stance that grew from the romantic movement in late nineteenth century England. With an eye that was at the same time more sociological and more moralist than Viollet-le-Duc's, Ruskin advocated respect for the extant form of a monument as evidence of human history. In its extreme, Ruskin's approach celebrated the aesthetic of the ruin: the untouched decay of an ancient structure was the ultimately authentic experience of historicity. Ruskinian thinking eventually influenced the study and restoration of monuments based on a more archaeological approach; in the early part of this century the Italian Camillo Boito defined contemporary restoration principles stressing respect for a monument's extant form and original materials as important historical documentation.

While Japan is a signator to the Charter, the preservation community there views that the values it expresses assume a level of material stability only possible in brick and stone. The ephemeral wooden patrimony of Japan demanded a different approach, one which embraced the cyclical nature of

¹⁶³ Gazzola 1972, pp. 15-30, 187-206. For Viollet-le-Duc's own words on historic preservation see excerpts quoted in "Defining the Nature of Restorations," Hearn 1990, pp. 269-288.

material renewal as a strategy for preservation. Nishioka's call for a return to the "culture of wood" recognized the importance of building process as well as form.

Steel structural reinforcing, epoxies, chemical surface treatments, and even cosmetic coloring of repair work were never completely abandoned in Japanese restoration work, but Nishioka's criticisms did have a serious impact on the way in which repair and restoration were approached. The use of modern engineering and scientific methods was moderated greatly, and more consideration was given to the role of the carpenter and his traditional judgements in the postwar period. At the same time, the number of skilled carpenters and other tradesmen diminished. As a result, even monument preservation took on an important social and environmental dimension. Steps had to be taken to ensure that the social system and the organizations which perpetuated the training of craftsmen survived. Building materials such as wood, thatch, bark, certain types of reed, and clay, needed frequent replacement. Such materials, once abundantly available, were becoming scarce and expensive; tending and gathering such material had been an integral part of village life that was rapidly dying out.

Scholars and administrators involved with the monument preservation program saw in the resident-organized district preservation movement not only an increase in the scale of the preservation effort, but something more profound and correct.¹⁶⁴ The social agenda of the grass-roots movement, with its call to preserve not only buildings but human community and a way of life, seemed in concert with the growing concern

¹⁶⁴ Interviews at the Agency for Cultural Affairs 1987.

among scholars and program administrators in the postwar years with the perpetuation of building culture as a whole. The internal social goals of the district preservation movement differed from the primary concern of the preservation establishment, however: for preservationists, the effort had meaning if it resulted specifically in the perpetuation of building culture. Inhabited traditional districts were places where the traditional building cycle would continue. The part of the "living tradition" which concerned architectural historians and administrators of the preservation program was specifically the "culture of wood" which generated and maintained traditional wooden structures.

In 1975, influenced by the events that took place in Tsumago and other local communities, the Amendment of the Cultural Properties Law included provisions for district preservation for traditional (note: not historic) buildings, under the designation *Jûyô dentôteki kenzôbutsu gun hozon chiku* (the Agency for Cultural Affairs translates this as Important Traditional Building Group Preservation Zones). Also provided in the 1975 Amendment was an additional category under the heading of Intangible Cultural Properties, the creation of *sentei hozon gijutsu*, or Designated Preservation Skills. This provided the means of designating, and perpetuating with subsidy funding, the skills of craftsmen needed to repair cultural properties with traditional materials and techniques.

Chapter Three

Tsumago in History:

The village of Tsumago is located in Nagano Prefecture, in the central part of Japan, known in pre-modern times as Shinshû. Tsumago is in the Kiso Valley, which lies due north of Nagoya between Tôkyô and Kyôto. Because of its cold, dry climate, the valley is known as one of the best areas in the country for the growth of particularly close- and straight-grained *hinoki* trees (*chamaecyparis obtus*), a type of cypress. This fragrant softwood¹⁶⁵ is the most valued structural wood in Japan, known for its longevity and toughness; it has historically been used to build palaces, shrines, and the finest residences. The valley is also known as containing a segment of the Nakasendô, one of two major cross-country routes connecting the capital of Edo (Tôkyô) with the imperial seat in Kyôto during the Edo period. The town's history is closely related to the vicissitudes of the highway's development and the highway's lore, and intimately linked to the culture and the problems of the forests which surround it.

¹⁶⁵ Softwood refers to the wood of coniferous trees regardless of their material properties; hardwood refers to the wood of angiospermous trees.

The Kiso Valley and Its Wood

As early as the 10th century, Fujiwara Michinaga had recognized the quality of the Kiso valley's timber; even at this early date, the supply of *hinoki* available outside of Kyôto and Nara had become limited. Michinaga granted harvesting rights in part of the Kiso valley to Muryô-ji and Kôzan-ji. These Kyôto temples used the wood for construction on their own sites, and for income through sale to other temples. Until the end of the Muromachi period, however, most construction was done with lumber harvested from forests nearby metropolitan areas. Only buildings such as Ise Shrine, Enkaku-ji, Ginkaku-ji and Nanzen-ji were built with Kiso *hinoki*. When Hideyoshi took power in 1590, he took direct control of the forests, using the Kiso and Hida rivers to transport *hinoki* which he used at Jûrakudai, Fushimi Castle, and other monumental construction projects.

Tokugawa Ieyasu took direct control of Kiso just one month after he gained power in 1600. His consolidation of power in the early Edo period followed a period of civil war, and scale of the construction boom which followed was unprecedented in Japanese history. In a few decades, the capital city of Edo and its castle were built and continued to grow; and castle towns continued to be built all over Japan. Easily accessible forestlands near the new urban centers were rapidly depleted, and the forest resources of even distant Kiso were heavily exploited. Ieyasu granted his son Yoshinao the province of Ôwari, which included the Kiso district, in 1610 and it was administered

from Nagoya until 1868.¹⁶⁶ (Fig. 9) The forests' resources were the most important source of the region's income, and forestry continues to be the region's largest employer.

The mountainous forestland surrounding the narrow, steep Kiso Valley was therefore subject to a strict system of control from 1665. The Ôwari Tokugawa divided its forestland as follows: *tomeyama* or closed forests, which were completely forbidden to villagers; *akiyama* or open forests, where villagers could harvest a controlled number of trees except for specific species; and *suyama*, or nesting forests, sheltered falcons used in hunting by the shogunate and the imperial court. These nesting forests were also forbidden to villagers.

The harvesting of the celebrated *Kiso gomoku*, or "five trees of Kiso" were, like the six species of Tosa or the seven species of Kaga, forbidden even on privately owned land. The five species were: *hinoki*, *sawara* (cypress: *chamaecyparis pisifera*) *asuhi* or *hiba* (*thujopsis dolobrata*) *nezuko* (*thuja standishi*) and *kôyamaki* (umbrella pine). Fully half of the trees of the virgin forests in the valley were *hinoki*, and a system of checkpoints along the highway and the river combined with strict penalties to control their harvesting.

Unlike the *tomeki* in other domains, however, not all the species in Kiso brought high market prices or were even good construction materials. Three of the species, *sawara*, *asuhi*, and *nezuko*, were difficult to distinguish from *hinoki* in the forest and were added to the list because of the severe penalties for poaching *hinoki*. The fifth, *kôyamaki* was the best material for

¹⁶⁶Akai and Kodama, eds., pg. 161.

making *hinawa*, the slow-burning ropes that were used to light the primitive matchlock guns used for a time in Japan.

Mature *hinoki* is usually between 200-300 years old when it is harvested, so the *hinoki* being taken from Kiso today was subject to the protection of the Tokugawa era.¹⁶⁷ The legacy of the strict controls even on privately owned land, and the warning *ki ippon ni kubi hitotsu* (For every tree felled a neck will be cut) continued to be an issue into the twentieth century, and the issue of land scarcity and property rights remain sensitive in Kiso. Boundary disputes and forestry problems were major themes in Shimazaki Toson's historical novel *Before the Dawn (Yoake Mae)*, which portrayed life in this region in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Tsumago-juku in the Edo Period: A Post Town along the Kiso Highway of the Nakasendo

A settlement called Tsumago is mentioned in travel documents as early as the Heian period, but the town in its present location dates from the beginning of the Edo period. It is assumed that Tsumago was moved from the Ôshima-Tajima area to its present site when it became part of a newly improved highway system organized by the Tokugawa in 1601. The new site moved the town closer to the site of a small fortification called Tsumago-jô.¹⁶⁸ The castle was ordered demolished in 1615, five years after the Ôwari

¹⁶⁷Ibid, pp. 158-161.

¹⁶⁸ Ôta et al 1984, pp. 6-10.

branch of the Tokugawa took control of the region, making it part of the Ôwari domain and one of the 15 provinces of the Tokaidô. Tsumago thereby became one of eleven post stations along the Kiso highway (*Kiso kaidô* or *Kisoji*), a segment of the 500 kilometer Nakasendô. (Fig. 10)

One of the famed *gokaidô*, or five major highways of the shogunate, the Nakasendô was a newly improved replacement for an older route, the Tôsandô, which had gone through the Ina Valley since the Heian period. During the Edo period, the Nakasendô had sixty-nine stations or post towns which had been created to service travelers. The road itself had been rerouted a number of times throughout its history; the oldest routes can still be discerned high in the mountains, located there because of the danger of flooding. The most modern routing can be considered National Road Nos. 19 and 256, the lowest and closest to the river, which has been altered to enhance flood control. (Fig. 11)

The Nakasendô departed Edo at Itabashi, and headed west until Shiojiri, (a town so named because of its role in transporting salt from the Japan Sea to the capital). From there, the road turned southwest through the Kiso River valley until the bend in the river at Midono (near today's Nagiso), and the beginning of the Araragi River. Thereafter the road headed due south along the Araragi toward Nakatsugawa and ended at Kusatsu, in today's Shiga Prefecture. At that point, the Nakasendô joined the more heavily traversed Tokaidô to Kyôto.

In the Edo period, Japan was split between the administrative capital in Edo, and the imperial seat and former capital of Kyôto, a split which necessitated travel between the two cities. Adding to the movement along

these highways was the system of alternate residence called *sankin kotai*, created by the shogunate as a means of maintaining political control. Regional lords or *daimyô* were required to maintain a residence in Edo, where they were required to reside periodically, with their families to remain as nominal hostages during the *daimyô*'s absence.¹⁶⁹ The *bakufu* required members of the warrior class, particularly *daimyô* and their large parties, to use the official highways and post towns during their journeys rather than alternative roads. The official highways were carefully planned to supply rest stops, inns, and places of entertainment in post towns placed between five and ten miles apart, facilities which developed under strict governmental control.¹⁷⁰ Kiso was one of a small number of highway regions in Japan that was controlled directly by the Tokugawa, because of the strategic importance of the road and the richness of the timber resources in the valley.

As early as the 16th century, a watchtower (*kuchidome banshō*) had been built just south of the site of Tsumago-jō to monitor the timber being taken from the valley. At Ichikokutochi, a site in the hills between Tsumago Pass and Magome Pass, another raw timber checkpoint (*shiraki aratame banshō*) operated from 1749 to until 1869 with the same function.¹⁷¹ Although the elaborate transfer of goods and personel associated with the *sankin kotai* system and other official travel added to the brisk commercial trade along the Kiso road, official processions were allowed artificially low rates for housing, horses and porters. To compensate for the financial burden this imposed on Kiso's residents, extra charges were levied on commercial traffic. In the latter

¹⁶⁹ Tsukuhira 1966.

¹⁷⁰ See Vaporis 1987, Chapters 2 and 3, for a detailed discussion of the post towns and their facilities.

¹⁷¹ Akai and Kodama, eds. 1979, pp. 158-179.

half of the Edo Period when a rising number of common pilgrims and merchants traveled the highways, Kiso had to compete with alternative roads which had lower or no fees. In addition, the villagers were responsible for a "timber tax," which was payed in labor to harvest government-owned forestland, and was considered payment for the lumber villagers were allowed to use. This meant that Kiso villagers were obligated to harvest government forests for very little compensation. Due to this situation and the limited land and resources of the valley, the towns along the Kiso road were never the most prosperous of Japan's post stations.¹⁷²

The Tokaidô, the sea coast road, was the more frequently traveled road, but more vulnerable to flooding and to thieves. In contrast, the Nakasendô (literally, "road through the mountains") was a scenic but arduous route which had fewer rivers to ford. It was nicknamed the "women's road" because of the number of women who traveled the Kiso with the required special passport, perhaps because of the seclusion, security, and beauty of this mountainous route to Kyôto. This reputation was reinforced in 1861 when imperial Princess Kazunomiya traveled in a lavish procession along the route on the occasion of her wedding to a Tokugawa in Edo. ¹⁷³

The eleven post towns along the Kiso and other highways were built to serve travelers, and were either planned and built directly by the Tokugawa authorities, as was the case with Tsumago, or developed along a pattern similar to that mandated by the government. The contemporary towns of Narai, Yabuhara, Suhara, and Magome, like Tsumago, retain some aspects of

¹⁷² Wigen 1992, p. 18-19.

¹⁷³ For an account of this procession and other lore of the Kiso Highway see Ikoma 1980.

the configuration and scale of their Edo form. The typical length of a post town along the Nakasendô was about 270 meters. The largest post towns had two or more *honjin*, or main inns, but the towns of Kiso had one *honjin*. The term had military origins and literally meant "field office." The *honjin* served as the local administrative headquarters of the Tokugawa government and as the residence of the village headman. It was also the highest ranking, largest inn, and accommodated only the highest ranking warriors or aristocratic members of a party traveling on official business. The Nakasendô post towns also had one *wakihonjin* or secondary official inn, as well as two *tonya*. The *tonya* was the facility in charge of dispensing horses and porters for the transportation of freight along the highway; two *tonya* were created to allow each to rest on alternate months.¹⁷⁴

In most cases such post towns, or *shukuba*, were created by ordering a scattered farming community to gather on a designated site in order to rebuild according to a fixed government plan. In the Kiso Valley, the inns were built as tightly packed *machiya*¹⁷⁵ The word literally translates as "town house," and refers to the most common urban house form. Unlike the English usage of the word "townhouse" as equivalent to "rowhouse", *machiya* do not have party walls, but are tightly packed free-standing homes. Similar urban residences with party walls are called *nagaya*, literally "long houses," and individual units were typically not owned by occupants. *Machiya* usually have long narrow plans which minimize street frontage or townhouses, similar in plan to the smaller residences of Kyôto. (Fig. 12) In more remote areas of the country and on smaller highways, post towns took

¹⁷⁴ Ueno 1987, p. 3.

¹⁷⁵ Ota et al 1984, pp. 113-118.

the form of a cluster of free-standing farm houses on either side of the road.¹⁷⁶ (Fig. 8)

By 1643, Tsumago consisted of 54 houses and had a population of 337 people. A map from 1686 is the earliest surviving record of the physical layout of the town. The administrative area of the post town was approximately one kilometer long. The 1686 drawing was an official survey document of the Tokugawa *bakufu* indicating the names of land owners and residents, the status or position of the owner, and the size and plan of each house. The drawing illustrates that the width of the lot signified the social status of the resident; wider, deeper lots contained larger residences, and belonged to the higher ranking townspeople. The drawing also shows that the position of the house in the village was another important indicator of status. The most important families and facilities were located toward the protected center of the town, with the lesser facilities toward the edges of the town, which served as entry points. Figure 13 is a diagram based on the 1686 map.

The *Minka* of Tsumago

The towns along the Nakasendô have been depicted in a number of guidebooks and print series. The most popular guidebook was probably Kaibara Ekken's *Kisoji no ki*. Hiroshige's series in collaboration with Eisen

¹⁷⁶ Extant examples of this type of *shukuba* would include the Ôuchi-juku in Fukushima Prefecture, and Imajô-chô in Fukui Prefecture.

of the 1830's, remains the most recognizable depiction of the eleven stations of Kiso.¹⁷⁷ The *Kisoji rokujûsantsugi no uchi* (The Sixty-nine Stations of the Kiso Road) depicted the entire Nakasendô, which was also popularly called the Kisoji after the most dramatically scenic part of the road. All but three of the houses dating from this time have long since burned, and those which survive had been substantially remodeled by the time Tsumago's architecture was studied by historians in 1968. The survey in 1968 revealed that the construction methods and forms of rural housing (both *nôka* and *machiya*) in the Kiso region had changed only gradually from the middle of the 18th century to the end of the nineteenth century. Therefore, despite the fire in the late nineteenth century, Tsumago's houses and streetscape were similar to their Edo appearance, described below.

Like Hiroshige's other highway print series, the depictions of the eleven Kiso stations and the valley are concerned primarily with natural mountain scenery and vistas, not with the built environment of the towns. One print which does depict a town is *Fukushima*, north of Tsumago. The print shows the entrance to what was the largest post town in the valley, because of the location there of the *sekishô* or checkpoint. (Fig. 14)

Both the farmhouses and the *machiya* of the Kiso region were built with shallow-pitched *ishioki* (literally, "placed stone") roofs, that is, roofs covered by wooden shingles held in place by stones. Thatched roofs became less prevalent as the valley developed, perhaps because the material for thatch was not easy to come by; there was a lack of area in the narrow valley to cultivate or harvest naturally growing grasses. Also, wooden shingles

¹⁷⁷ Another of many guidebooks was the encyclopaedic "*Kisoji yasumi ezu*," published in 1756.

required less maintenance, and could be repaired by an individual rather than a group. Kon Wajirô sketches of houses in the Kiso region, done in the 1920's, show that both thatch and *ishioki* roofs were to be found even in the twentieth century. (Fig. 15) The shallow pitch of the roofs and the vulnerability of the unsecured stones are evidence that builders in Kiso did not have to contend with heavy snowfall or high winds. (Fig. 16) In comparison with other areas of Japan, earthquakes in Kiso were also less frequent and less severe. However, the dry winters in the Kiso mountains record among the coldest temperatures in the country and are thought to be responsible for the tight, straight grain of the wood which originates there.

The architectural style of the *machiya* lining the roads of Shinano province is known as *debari-zukuri*, literally meaning "projecting beam style." It was so called because of the cantilevered beams projecting from the front facade, which supported the half-second story.¹⁷⁸ This approximately one foot projection on each house and the overhanging eaves above provided a narrow sheltered walkway that was more or less continuous along both sides of the street. Valuable cargo and important passengers were thus offered some protection during loading and unloading in inclement weather. (Fig. 17)

The *debari-zukuri* are not unique to Tsumago. Although details of plan and structure vary, the style is typical of most *shukuba* in the Shinshû region. The houses of Tsumago, like other *shukuba*, were similar wooden *machiya* lining both sides of the highway. They had narrow, open facades with entrances directly onto the highway, and long, deep plans extending away

¹⁷⁸Ota et al 1984, pp. 113-118.

from the road. The same type of structure served as residence for the townspeople, and as inns, rest stops, restaurants, and other facilities for traveling officials, merchants, and pilgrims. Among the *machiya*, there was no differentiation in plan type between residence, inn or tea house. The important distinction was one of scale, particularly the width of the street frontage. As the size of the house and the plot increased with social rank, so did the complexity of the floor plan.

The *machiya* of the more important families were distinguished by wider facades, which toward the end of the Edo period might have plastered end walls and facades. As was the case in most *shukuba* in Shinshû, there were two classes of houses based on street facade width. Those with 5-7 *ken*¹⁷⁹ widths were *honyaku*, that is, the homes of families with full-time responsibilities within the operation of the station; houses with 2.5-3.5 *ken* widths were *mizuyaku*, belonging to those with half-time *shukuba* responsibilities, presumably supplemented by farming, craft production, and/or forestry. As discussed earlier, the larger houses were located toward the center of the town.¹⁸⁰

Like other houses in Edo period Japan, the residences of Tsumago had a raised-floor living area about one foot above the ground, accessed by a dirt-floored corridor called the *doma* that ran from the front to the back of the house. To the rear of the house was a service yard with one or more *kura* (clay-walled storehouses). In smaller houses, the *doma* was a single-loaded corridor along a sequence of three to four raised-floor, tatami-matted rooms.

¹⁷⁹ *Ken* is a unit of measurement that derives from a standard column interval, and is equivalent to approximately 6 feet.

¹⁸⁰ Ota et al 1984, p.113.

The location of the *doma* was on the same side in every house in each *shukuba*; at Tsumago, it was the south side. (There does not seem to be a practical reason for choosing one side over the other.) The amount of interior space covered by *tatami* mats increased over the latter half of the Edo period. Before that time, front rooms had been either earthen- or wooden-floored.

The front rooms of the smaller houses were called *mise*, and they could be either *tatami*-matted or wood-floored, depending on their use. The another word used locally for this space is *dei*. This room was for commercial purposes, which might be a shop, restaurant, craft workshop, or guestroom for travelers. The *dei* in smaller houses were often wood-floored, as little as *oneken* (approx. 6 feet) in depth. This space also served a function similar to a front porch, in that it was a semi-private space in direct contact with the street. The *dei* can be clearly seen in *ukiyôe* prints of Kiso. In the daytime, exterior wooden sliding doors or lattices were removed, and the space thus created was used to display goods for sale, for receiving and sending off luggage, and for socializing.

The second room, the *daidokoro*, was used by the family for dining and everyday activities, and also functioned as a support space for the *mise*. This room was normally located in the center of the house under the ridge. The roof structure interfered with the creation of inhabitable space in this area so the *daidokoro* were without ceilings, with the roof structure visible overhead. This area functioned well as a clearstory; open cooking fires used no flues; smoke might escape through a hole cut in the roof, or simply disperse overhead and through the cracks in the shingled roof.

The rear rooms, which were called respectively *nakanoma* (middle room) and finally, *zashiki*. The *zashiki* was both the formal reception room and the place where the master of the house and his wife slept. The *nakanoma* also functioned as a sleeping room. Until the late Edo period, small houses had very simple interiors. Even the *zashiki* was often without *shôin* details which were associated only with higher ranking homes. Some of these houses had small *toko*, or alcoves which were not full *tokonoma*¹⁸¹ but wooden-floored recesses that might be just a few inches in depth and undistinguished by any elaborate wood work.

During the Edo period, these smaller houses were typically single-storied, or built with a half-second story (*tsushinikai*), but the second floor was usually only over the streetside half of the house. As in Kyôto, full second-stories were officially outlawed; habitation of the second story was forbidden to prevent common people from looking down on a procession of high-ranking people which might pass by the house. It was also restricted for practical reasons; lit coals or open fires for heat were forbidden on the second story,¹⁸² and in any case, the roof structure interfered with the creation of second story space over the entire length of the house. In smaller houses, these second floor spaces were cramped and normally used for storage.

In the Meiji period, houses rebuilt on former *mizuya* sites had full second stories and formal *tokonoma* and other *shôin* elements. Other than such improvements, the small houses of early Meiji are very similar to houses built in late Edo. Generally constructed with varieties of common pine during the Edo period, from the beginning of Meiji even small houses

¹⁸¹Ibid, p. 114.

¹⁸² Shiraki 1980, pp. 130-6.

occasionally incorporated a prized column of *hinoki*, or an interior panel of the decorative *keyaki* (*zelkova: abelica serrata*) that had been previously outlawed for common house.

The larger *honyaku* houses had more variety in plan. The *doma* was usually double-loaded corridor that extended to the rear lot, which sometimes had a decorative garden. There could be two rows of rooms on one side of the *doma*, for a total of 5-8 rooms. In larger houses, there were two *mise* or *dei*, one on either side of the *doma*. In such houses, the rear *zashiki* was often reserved as a guest room, in contrast to smaller homes, where guests would sleep on the street side. The second story of larger homes was inhabitable, and often located in two separate halves, again, because of the interference of the roof structure. The street-side second story would be reserved for guest rooms, while the rear second story, if present, would be reserved as the master's sleeping quarters.

The framing of all these houses was wood post and beam, with the primary columns continuous from stone base to roof. The beams which supported the second story passed through these posts. Secondary beams cantilevered approximately one foot over the first floor facade, forming the characteristic overhang. (Fig. 18) In other towns in Shinshû, this cantilever was elaborated with carved bracketing and other ornaments, but this was not the case at Tsumago.

The entrance to these buildings was through a very large side-hinged swinging door (*ôdo*) designed to allow luggage and cargo to pass easily. These large doors could measure six feet square, and were normally kept shut, while smaller, sliding panel doors cut into them were used for daily human

passage. Along the rest of the facade, the earliest homes had solid wooden *shitomi* (top-hinged or side-hinged swinging panels). Many facades were left open to the street during the daytime, because daily life and commerce demanded constant and immediate interaction with the travelers on the highway. The closely packed inns and tea houses competed with each other to attract business. The facade was securely shut with solid panels after dark or during inclement weather.

Towards the end of the Edo period, *amado* or sliding wooden doors gradually replaced the *shitomi*. A greater degree of modulation of the facade was possible when the interior and exterior edges of the *dei* were fitted with wooden tracks that could receive several types of elements for enclosure. At night the facade would be completely closed with the solid wooden *amado*, while in the daytime, translucent paper *shoji* screens covered the the interior side of the *dei*. Wooden lattices could be inserted on the street front to provided security to the interior, while allowing a view to the exterior. The openness of the facade depended on the business being conducted inside.

Meiji period homes were characteristically of higher quality and larger in scale, but very similar to Edo period houses in overall configuration; *hinoki* and other expensive woods were used in some due to the prosperity and the loosened control on the forests during that time. Early twentieth century houses remained close to *machiya* in appearance, but were built with slimmer timbers. Later homes were typically taller, with full second stories that had window-like openings; the doctor's residence in Tsumago, built in the Taishô period, represented a complete departure from convention with its stuccoed exterior walls, Western-style windows, and front fence.

The highest ranking residences were the largest structures, and of a different architectural type than *machiya*. They were built as free-standing residences called *yashiki* on larger plots of land.¹⁸³ The *honjin* was the largest and most important *yashiki* in the town. The *honjin* of Tsumago was lost to a fire at the end of the Edo period and was not reconstructed. Figure 19 is a drawing of the *honjin* of Tsumago based on documentation surviving from the late Edo period. It was located at the center of the town, and in close proximity to the *wakihonjin*, an inn second in size and prestige, managed by a branch of the same family. In most cases, the headman and his family were members of the farmer class like the other residents of the *shukuba*, but were given the honorary rank of samurai to signify their importance in the village. In the case of southern Kiso, the family of Shimazaki Toson was the most powerful land-owning family into the Meiji period. Branches of the Shimazaki family controlled the *honjin* in Tsumago and neighboring Magome, and their extended family included the *wakihonjin* in those towns.

As warrior residences, the strict building code of the *bakufu* permitted the compounds of the *honjin* and *wakihonjin* to have surrounding walls and decorative gateways, which distinguished them from all other buildings in the town. Like the other official buildings along the Kiso road such as the toll barrier (*sekishô*) at Kiso Fukushima, the *honjin* of Tsumago was probably entered through a simple *kabuki mon* in the perimeter wall of

¹⁸³In his dissertation "Gateways of Power," William Coaldrake refers to Kōdera Takehisa's definition of *yashiki* in *Nihon kenchiku tokushitsu* as literally meaning the land upon which a mansion and its subsidiary buildings are constructed, and by extension refers to the buildings on the site. Coaldrake 1983, p. 331.

wood.¹⁸⁴ (Fig. 20) Like all warrior residences, this house had a formal entryway or *genkan* which was used by the most important guests to directly access the main rooms of the house. A second, informal or service entryway was used by family members, less important guests, and for luggage and other goods. This entrance accessed directly into the *doma*, the earthen-floored passageway which connected to the rear yard. There stood a number of *kura* or storehouses that safely contained treasured family possessions and supplies within fire-resistant structures.¹⁸⁵

Aside from the headquarters buildings, and inns of various ranks, each post town contained smaller buildings that functioned as relay stations for messengers and porters, storage houses, and horse stables, which in this region were numerous because they housed the renowned *Kiso uma*, small sturdy packhorses used along the Nakasendô and other roads. (Fig. 21) In addition to managing the inns and other facilities of the *shukuba*, villagers engaged in agriculture, traded with other villages, and produced crafts to sell to passers-by. In the Kiso valley, each town specialized in a particular craft using the high-quality wood which was locally available. Today craftsmen in the *shukuba* Yabuhara still produce wooden combs; one of the last surviving *mempa* (bent-wood box) makers in Japan, was working in Narai-juku in 1987; and lacquer ware is still produced in Agematsu. In Tsumago, the last

¹⁸⁴ *Kabuki* in this case translates as lintel. A *kabuki mon* is a simple gateway used as an entry to warrior residences or castle grounds, consisting of two primary posts placed directly in the ground, with a straight, heavy beam forming lintel over the double doors. The structure is stabilized on the interior side by a secondary structure, which strengthens it against forced entry.

¹⁸⁵ The exact appearance of the main structure and gates of Tsumago's *honjin* is unknown. However, a detailed discussion of regional *yashiki* styles in relation to the building code of the *bakufu* can be found Coaldrake 1983, passim.

surviving *geta* maker had put down his tools by 1987, but craftsmen in Hirose still produce simple wooden bowls and other kitchen items. The craftsmen of the modestly prosperous Kiso region were known for their plentiful production of simple wood utensils for everyday use, not for the refinement of their woodworking skills.

Archaeological evidence show that although not a walled town, Tsumago, like most other *shukuba*, was fortified by dirt embankments at each side of the road, and wooden gates (probably in the form of tall *kabuki mon*) across the road at either end. Such a gate is depicted in the print "Fukushima" from the Hiroshige/Eisen series. Armed guards were stationed at the entry point to Kiso Fukushima to check travel documents. This was meant to protect the security of important guests, and was typical of post towns on both the Nakasendô and the Tokaidô.

The variation among town plans along the highway was largely due to the configuration of the main road. Some of the curves in the road were in response to local topography, particularly challenging in the Kiso mountains. Urban planner and historian Watanabe Sadao suggests that the zig-zagged irregularity of the roads was deliberately designed to increase the defensibility of the town. The *masugata* , or jog in the road at each end of Tsumago were meant to slow an attack and offered protection to the central areas of town where the most important guests were housed.¹⁸⁶ (Fig. 22) Watanabe also points out that these bends in the road, although military in origin, had a social dimension. In Tsumago and other *shukuba*, village social units are still defined by bends in the road or other topographical features of the town.

¹⁸⁶ Itô et al 1968, pp. 50-51.

Tsumago has twelve neighborhood divisions, but the major divisions of the *shukuba* area are: Shimomachi (Lower Town), Nakamachi (Central Town), Kamimachi (Upper Town), Terashita (literally Below the Temple) and Ôtsumago (Greater Tsumago), are largely geographically defined.

In *Nihon no Toshikûkan* and elsewhere, contemporary urban designers and architects have lauded the visual interest created by changing vistas along the curved roads in otherwise simple town plans, but this seems likely a consequence of the configuration rather than a determining factor. The regulated town plan and the predominance of a singular housing type does not seem to have produced a monotonous, linear townscape within any of Kiso's *shukuba*, nor are the *shukuba* identical to one another. Along with the variations due to siting, each town developed slight variations in house style, and each house incorporated subtle variations of handcrafting in its overall form, detailing and scale. In Tsumago, small hills, rock formations such as the Koiwa, a stream, and other features along the road created an especially pleasant rhythm of small irregularities in a larger order. The Koiwa or Carp rock in Shimomachi was so named because of its resemblance to a carp, but the configuration of the rock was altered in an earthquake in 1869.

Another variable in town planning was the width of the road itself. The entire length of the road in Kiso had been widened to a minimum of 12 feet to accommodate the procession of Princess Kazunomiya in 1861, but previously the most difficult terrain demanded that the highway shrink to a path just a few feet wide in some segments. The most important towns, such as Kiso Fukushima which was the site of the *sekishô*, had the widest roads.

The relatively wide road at Tsumago is a result of the rebuilding that took place in the early Meiji period.

The census data of 1843 show that Tsumago contained at least 83 houses, among which were 31 officially registered inns (*hatago*); the population was nearing 1000. The proportion of inns to the total number of houses was the second highest among Kiso's eleven stations. By the end of the Edo period, the traffic along the highway had created a modestly prosperous economy for the residents of the *shukuba* in the Kiso Valley, despite the valley's remote location and the scarce amount of arable land. Constant contact with urban travelers also enhanced the level of culture and sophistication within the town; even today people in nearby farming communities are quick to point out that residents of the *shukuba* are, as one farmer put it, "special people, with cultured ways. They watched all of Japan pass by their doors, and it makes them different than people who work the land." The *shukuba* residents still pride themselves on their tradition of hospitality and view themselves as cosmopolitan and open-minded, which they see as legacies of the community's past.

Tsumago in the Meiji Period

With the opening of Japan to the West in the Meiji Era, the government of the Tokugawa was overthrown, and a modern state was established in 1868, which formally recognized the restoration of Imperial authority by moving the emperor to Edo, which was renamed Tokyo. The highly

organized Tokugawa highway system, with its relay stations, official inns, and other administrative facilities, was no longer in operation, but the Nakasendô continued to be an important transportation route. At the beginning of the Meiji period, the Ina highway, an almost parallel road through the Ina valley which had competed with the Kiso for traffic during the Edo period, was altered to merge with the Nakasendô at Tsumago. This made Tsumago one of the largest and most important of the eleven Kiso stations in the early Meiji period, and its population peaked at around this time.

After the Restoration, the *honjin* and the subsidiary facilities associated with the operation of the post town lost their function. The numerous buildings and fortifications that made up the *sekishô* at Kiso Fukushima were destroyed. Men such as Shimasaki Tôson's father, Masaki, lost much of his wealth and official position in the town of Magome as a result. Many *honjin* families of other towns were either forced or chose to leave their native villages as the nation restructured. A serious fire in 1868, perhaps related to the instability and confusion of the times, destroyed a portion of Tsumago. All of the northern section of the town, Shimomachi, was destroyed. Thirty-four houses in the upper central portion of the town, Nakamachi, were destroyed, and the front part of the *honjin*, owned by a branch of the Shimazaki family, and *wakihonjin*, run by the Hayashi family, were damaged.

Gradually the public institutions of the modern state were brought to Tsumago, and constructed on the sites of the old institutions. A small town hall and a branch police station was built toward the front of the *honjin* site which the Tsumago Shimazaki had vacated. These facilities were later relocated to accommodate a governmental forestry management station on

the site. Later in 1914, a post office was built on the site of the *tonya*.¹⁸⁷ (Fig. 22) In 1873 a new primary school was created at Tsumago, first setting up inside one of the former inns. Later in 1884, a new 2-story wooden primary school was constructed in the typical *giyôfu* style¹⁸⁸ of the Meiji period, a building which now serves as the Community Center (*Kôminkan*).

The political power of the Kiso *honjin* and *wakihonjin* families were reduced during the Meiji period, but typically those who remained in their native villages managed to retain their social and political position. Unlike the conservative Shimazaki Masaki, more enterprising families with land and education were able to open new businesses, which helped them maintain their economic standing, although at a more modest level. Sake brewing was the business of choice for these families in the Kiso area; their relatively large rice field holdings made this possible. The *honjin* family of Suhara is now a well-to-do sake brewer, as is the *wakihonjin* family in Narai. In Tsumago, the *honjin* family left the town, but the residents of Oku-ya, the *wakihonjin*, stayed on and became prosperous sake brewers. All of these families have remained heavily involved in local politics and the preservation movement.

In the popular imagination Tsumago's "golden age" is thought to be the early Meiji period. A significant amount of fine construction in the town dates to that time, but the more important reason is the association with the novels of Shimazaki Tôson. The tumultuous political changes which came

¹⁸⁷ Ôta et al, 1984, p. 10.

¹⁸⁸ *Giyôfu* was a transitional style of wooden architecture in the early Meiji period devised by Japanese carpenters. The decorative elements and overall form was a combination of Japanese and Western styles, fashioned with Japanese woodworking techniques.

with the Meiji era brought a stream of travelers back and forth along the Kisoji. In 1878, village records show that 6,707 people had stayed in 32 operating inns.¹⁸⁹ Yet the elaborate tolls and taxes that extracted wealth from these travelers were no longer in effect, and the number of inns was no longer controlled. To make matters worse, the 1868 fire destroyed about half the southern end of the town. All these factors put the town in difficult times even as its population grew. Another major fire destroyed much of neighboring Magome in 1895. Buildings dating from before this fire are shown in Figure 23.

In the early years of Meiji, Kiso villagers took advantage of a new-found autonomy. For the first time in centuries, they were able to harvest the rich forestland that some villagers owned without restriction, particularly the "five trees of Kiso" (*Kiso gomoku*) which had been restricted since the seventeenth century even on their own lands. Some forest land fell into disputed ownership during the confusion of the transition, and a series of protracted boundary disputes ensued between local villagers and the new national government. During this period some of Kiso's finest homes were built, including the *hinoki*-rich Okuya belonging to the Hayashi, the *wakihonjin* family of Tsumago. (Figs. 24, 25, and 26)

The Hayashi family built Okuya between 1877-80, a window of time during which the Edo period laws regarding the use of *hinoki* trees had been liberalized and modern restrictions had not yet been effectively put in place. During the Edo period, even the *wakihonjin* had not been permitted to build a home of *hinoki* although the family-owned forests contained more than

¹⁸⁹ Ota et al 1984, p. 10.

enough wood. The house was therefore built of the finest available timber, cut from the Hayashi's own land. Set back from the street and enclosed by a high wall just as the former *wakihonjin* had been, the design of Okuya is thought to preserve the form of the Edo period *buke yashiki* (warrior class residence) but with several additions that seem to deliberately defy the earlier building restrictions. Built to an unusual three-story height, the total interior area is a generous 170 mats, with a footprint of 111.5 mats or about 2,000 square feet. The house also employs elements of castle design, which include the unusual height, and the white plastered walls of the facade facing the road which are embedded with grey tiles in the manner of castle construction. The formal gateway within the compound, which was a standard feature of *buke yashiki* intended for use only by honored guests, has ceramic gable end decorations in the form of *shachihoko*, a mythical fish that was often a decorative feature of castle design. The association with castle architecture was made explicit by the owner who claimed that the *fusuma* leading to one of the rooms on the second floor, the *shinden no ma*, were from Tsumagojô, the castle which had been destroyed in 1615. An unusual feature of the house is the third floor room, the *kakushi no ma* or hidden room, which is reached by a secret stairway. The purpose of this room is unclear. Although today it is speculated that the master used the loft for trysts, it seems more likely that it served as a secure room for closed meetings and special guests during a very unstable period.

The house served as the residence of the Hayashi family, as well as the headquarters of its sake brewing business which took the commercial name Okuya. The business was at its peak at the time of the house's construction, and just after its completion was honored with a visit by the Meiji emperor.

The Meiji emperor made six journeys throughout Japan from 1872-85 which were called the "Great Circuits." He spent almost three hundred days traveling throughout the country, dressed in Western clothing, in the company of members of the new government. The purpose of these journeys was to affirm the association of the new regime with the person of the emperor, and to announce the coming of a new age to all parts of a supposedly unified nation.

During the earlier journeys, it was common for the emperor to be lodged at the home of the local elite, and as part of the 1880 circuit, he visited the newly constructed Okuya. The emperor rested with great ceremony at a Western-style table and chair especially prepared for him by local craftsmen, designed to stand comfortably on top of *tatami*. The design of the furniture is said to have been researched by consulting books on Western ways. Another feature prepared for the emperor was an "imperial toilet," a tatami-floored room containing a privy. (Fig. 25) This small 2-mat room located next to the bath is now often said to be modeled after one at Katsura, but this is most likely not the case. Katsura was not used by the imperial family at the time, nor was it open to the public; the room is typical of privies in aristocratic residences.

The rudimentary chair and table the emperor left behind in Tsumago became a local symbol of those times of change, as may have been intended. For the preservationist, the Meiji emperor's many visits were ironically fortuitous. Many of his rest stops were designated as historic sites by local governments, and later in the 1930's by the national government, as a special category of historic site called *Meiji tennô seiseki*. The designation of these sites at the national level was facilitated by the passage of the 1929 National

Treasures Preservation Act, which incorporated several statutes for landscape preservation. The Meiji emperor traveled as a harbinger of the modern, Western age to come, but inadvertently helped to preserve the finest traditional residential architecture in regional areas. Because of the relatively recent date of construction of many of these residences, many might otherwise have been overlooked or forgotten. Even after some of these sites were declassified after the war as discussed in the previous chapter, re-designation as a cultural property at the prefectural level was possible under the 1950 law. Nagano Prefecture designated Okuya as a prefectural-level Important Cultural Property in 1968 in celebration of the Meiji Centennial.

In 1881, soon after the imperial visit, farmers and other land-owners of Kiso encountered yet another infringement on local affairs from the central government. A 25-year conflict between local villagers and the Imperial Household Agency ensued over the conversion of what was supposedly *bakufu* -held forestland to imperial property. Villagers complained that the controls over the forestland issued by the new government were even more severe than the Ôwari domain's had been, and disputed the property boundaries that resulted from government surveys. Groups of villagers from Kiso repeatedly petitioned the central government for the return of disputed lands. Shimazaki Tôson's elder brother Hirosuke played a role in quieting the persistent protest of the villagers against imperial authority to reach a compromise.¹⁹⁰ One of the contributions of Shimazaki's novel was the portrayal of the sophistication of rural intellectuals in voicing their objections to the course of the central government in the early Meiji era.¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ Gluck 1985, p. 97-99. Machida 1982, pp. 607-14.

¹⁹¹ Naff 1987, xxii-iii.

Although the Restoration brought changes, Tsumago's inns were still busy because of the traffic along the Nakasendô in the early Meiji period, which continued until a new road was constructed in 1892, now National Road No. 19. Instead of following the old Nakasendô along the Araragi River, the new road continued west along the Kiso River from the former post town of Midono to Tadachi, Sakashita, and Ochiaigawa, until it met the Nakasendô south of Tsumago at Nakatsugawa. The new route effectively cut Tsumago and Magome off from the travelers who provided their livelihood, which was the beginning of the town's serious economic decline. (Fig. 11)

The problem was compounded by plans to construct a railroad through the valley, following essentially the same route as Road 19. Villagers again organized a protest, led this time by farmers because of the inadequate compensation they were offered for confiscated fields, and because they feared the soot of the steam engines would pollute the valley. Plans for the train went ahead anyway, and in 1909 the Chûo West line from Nagoya to Midono opened, again following the Kiso river and by-passing Tsumago; by 1911 the line was complete to Tokyo. With the station stop at Midono, and a new road constructed along the Kiso River which was built for the comfort of horse and carriage, and later cars, travelers no longer had reason to even pass by Tsumago, and less reason to stop at the other closely spaced post towns. The railroad, and re-routing of roads were instrumental in the decline of the post towns in the Kiso valley. By the early 20th century however, farming and sericulture had completely replaced inn management as the major source of livelihood.

Shimazaki Tôson and Kiso

The "forest problem" and the disappointment over the eventual effects of the Restoration on life in Kiso were major themes in the epic novel *Before the Dawn* (*Yoake mae*) written by Shimazaki Tôson (1872-1943). The declining towns of Tsumago and Magome achieved fame in the early twentieth century because of their association with this great novelist, and with *Before the Dawn* in particular.

Shimazaki Tôson was born into the *honjin* family of the neighboring village of Magome in 1872. Sent early in his life to be educated in Tokyo, Shimazaki left Japan in 1913 for Paris, making him one of the first Japanese novelists to leave Japan for an extended residence abroad.¹⁹² He eventually returned to his family's home in the mountains of the Kiso Valley after his father's death, to re-establish his connection to his family's history and his home town. There he wrote what are considered his most influential novels, beginning with a collection of stories intended to give his children a sense of their heritage. A well-known early poem, "First Love" took as its subject Oyû-san, his childhood playmate in their home town of Magome; she later married and moved to Okuya in Tsumago. The first volume, *Home Country*, was published in 1920, followed by *Tales of Childhood* in 1924.

Magome and the Kiso region were the setting for these stories, and later, for the epic novel *Before the Dawn* (*Yoake mae*), published first a series in the journal *Chûo kôron* between 1929 and 1935. The novel is considered by

¹⁹² Shimazaki Toson's life and work are studied in MacClellan 1969.

its English translator, the Japanese literature scholar William E. Naff as a kind of Japanese equivalent to Mikhail Sholokov's *The Quiet Don*, in that it remains the single most important literary work for the modern Japanese public's understanding of the transition from the Edo period to the Meiji period.¹⁹³ The period is important because it saw Japan change from a collection of feudal fiefdoms to a modern nation. Historical anthropologist Haga Noboru considers that as a work of historical fiction, *Yoake mae* surpass even the work of Mori Ôgai, another of Japan's great historical novelists.¹⁹⁴

The mood of the novel, the scenic beauty of the area, and the richness of the historical culture of Shinshû, have become one. Historical Shinshû centers on present-day Nagano prefecture, which has a strong educational tradition; the novel's popularity continues to bring scholars, writers and literary tourists to the Kiso Valley. The Magome-Tsumago area has come to embody the melancholic beauty that Tôson gave to Meiji Japan. The region has experienced a significant amount of urban emigration in the twentieth century, and for many of these "expatriated" residents as well as other modern Japanese, there is a strong aura of nostalgia associated with the region.

By 1968, isolated Tsumago seemed to almost magically preserve the scenes and landscapes described in Shimazaki's books. To add to the appeal of the area, other sites had modern literary associations as well. Literary tourism has long been a popular form of domestic travel in Japan as in other countries. There were places which were known from Edo period prints and from popular novels. The Kiso highway was the subject of Juppensha Ikkyû's

¹⁹³ Naff 1987, p. xiv.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid p. xii.

popular novel *Kisokaidô zoku hizakurige* which capitalized on the success of his earlier *Tokaidô chû hizakurige* of 1802-1809. Just south of the *shukuba*, the site of two waterfalls called Odake and Medake (male waterfall and female waterfall), was the site of the romance between Musashi Miyamoto and his lover Otsû, in a popular novel by Yoshikawa Eiji (1892-1962), *Musashi Miyamoto*.¹⁹⁵

As time passed, Magome and Tsumago's isolation from the rapid changes taking place in other areas of the nation heightened the literary celebration of what were in fact, once very ordinary towns. Their renown especially in the postwar period seemed to grow along with the gap between the stagnant, even declining state of Kiso's economy, and the rapidly growing economy of urban Japan. Unfortunately, a fire in 1895 had destroyed the pre-Meiji buildings of Magome; the reconstruction which followed soon after the fire took a very similar form to the tightly packed Edo period *debari* streetscape, but it was destroyed in a great fire in 1956 which consumed almost all the traditional buildings in the central village.¹⁹⁶ By the time of the 1956 fire, the village was already benefiting from a modest tourist industry. In part to recover this resource, local residents decided to construct a Shimazaki archive on the site of his residence. The reconstruction after the fire was done without any particular public guidelines or design restrictions, but residents decided on their own to reproduce variations on the destroyed townscape rather than opt for more contemporary forms and finishes on their houses.¹⁹⁷ Both actions contributed to the continued success of a

¹⁹⁵ Akai and Kodama, eds. 1976, pp. 149-151.

¹⁹⁶ Fukukawa 1988, pp. 445-50.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

thriving tourist industry in Magome during the post-war period. Although it is not under any preservation or urban design restrictions, the value of the tourist industry at Magome, and the vividness of the literary description of the town, has resulted in an ad hoc approach to design control in the village which will be discussed in a later chapter.

Tsumago in the Early Shôwa Period: *Sokai Bunka*

Tsumago continued to be an isolated, economically depressed town throughout the Taishô period. During this time Shimasaki returned to Magome where he bought a house for his son, and lived himself for several years. During that time he made a detailed study of that town and neighboring Tsumago with the help of local historians. Although his own family records had been lost in the 1895 fire, the diary belonging to a neighbor, known as the *Daikokuya nikki* was a detailed source of information from the period 1826-1870. He may have also relied on his elder brother Hirosuke, whose diary detailing the forest problem from 1901-1905 was rediscovered in 1967.¹⁹⁸ Shimazaki used his father Masaki as the model for the main character of the novel, Aoyama Hanzô. The story includes other family members as well, in a story which chronicles the decline of the elite families of Magome and Tsumago, the former owners of the *honjin* and *wakihonjin* in those two towns. Spanning the period from 1853-1886, he captured the pain and confusion of that era not only in the Kiso Valley but in Japan as a

¹⁹⁸ Aoki 1968.

whole by effectively moving between national and local events, all of which were meticulously researched during his four-year residence in Magome. Not only events but places were vividly detailed. The book itself was a form of literary "reconstruction" of place and time that continues to have great appeal in post-war Japan. Its realism is underscored by the enormous amount of scholarly work that has been done since its publication to prove or disprove that the particulars of life in Kiso portrayed in the novel were historically accurate.¹⁹⁹ Shimazaki survived until 1943 and maintained his connection with Magome, planning to continue the story of *Before the Dawn* to the 1920's.

After Shimazaki's death, a group of fifteen or so families from Tokyo arrived in Tsumago in March of 1945. When Tokyo and other major cities were threatened with bombing raids during the Second World War, the central government evacuated citizens to the safety of rural areas, to live with relatives if possible, or to be assigned to villages that could accommodate them. This period marked the beginning of what Tsumago villagers now call "*sokai bunka*," or "evacuation culture," which refers to the small cultural renaissance that the villagers experienced due to the activities of these temporary residents. One can assume that the importance of Tsumago and Magome in the novels of Shimazaki Tôson had something to do with the

¹⁹⁹In addition to histories of the region and literary studies of the author, a number of books have examined Kiso in light of Tôson's novel, for example, Chiba Noburô's *Kisoji Yoake Mae Oboegaki* (The Kiso Road, A *Before the Dawn* Memorandum, published in 1975; Kitaoji Ken's 2-volume *Kisoji: Bunken no Tabi, Yoake Mae no Tankyû* (The Kiso Road: A Bibliographic Journey, Research into *Before the Dawn*) 1970-71; and Senuma Shigeki's *Kisoji to Shimazaki Tôson* (The Kiso Road and Tôson Shimazaki), 1982.

high proportion of intellectuals that were among the families that lived in the village during this exodus from the major cities.

Tsumago's older residents recall that they did not welcome the arrival of outsiders; they were already coping with food shortages during the war, and perceived a vast difference in background between themselves and the visitors which threatened to upset the routines of village life. By all indications however, the urbanites soon earned a place in the village, and seem to have left a profound impression on the young people of that time. During their stay, the visitors organized seminars, workshops, a theater group and other educational programs for local citizens. Most of the *sokai* visitors returned to Tokyo directly after the war, but at least two decided to stay on in Tsumago for two years; one was a scholar of German literature, and the other, Yonebayashi Tomio, a sociologist. They continued their educational activities and were joined by a succession of intellectual friends who visited the village periodically.

The leaders of the preservation movement had been young men during the early Shōwa period, and were tutored by these visiting scholars. In addition to running cultural programs, they praised the village's beauty and importance, and engendered a sense of pride in its history. The awarding of a Ministry of Education Prize to the village in for its cultural programs in 1969, and the continued popularity of the village with urban intellectuals, artists, and writers, created a reputation for Tsumago as the home of a kind of local intelligentsia.²⁰⁰ This was in keeping with Shimazaki's earlier portrayal of the town's elite. This was an important appellation in the post-war land

²⁰⁰ Ôta et al, p. 10.

reform period, when the national government was striving to create an awareness of and respect for the democratic process in rural areas that were once controlled by large land-owning families.

The Post-war Years

Despite its enlightened reputation, the continued economic decline of Tsumago and the entire Kiso region forced a large proportion of younger people to leave the village in search of jobs during the postwar reconstruction period, leaving the elderly behind. Small-scale farming was no longer profitable, and by the late 1960's sericulture had completely disappeared as a source of secondary income. Tsumago lost population fairly steadily from the 1950's onward, and although the rate of decline has slowed, continues to decline to the present day. The proportion of elderly residents also rose during this period, reaching a peak of 43% in that year.²⁰¹ Local authorities searched for new industries or farm products that would create jobs for the region.

The Kiso Valley has always had to confront severe limitations to its growth and prosperity. Although the population increased steadily during the Edo period, the steep valley has little farmland, and most of the rich forests on the mountainsides have long been the property of the Imperial family and the *bakufu*. After the Second World War, much of this land was transferred to the National Forestry Agency. The wealthy upper class citizens

²⁰¹ Nagiso Municipal census data.

of the valley once controlled extensive landholdings; for example, the Shimazaki family in Magome once controlled about 60% of the arable land in that town. Today, the wealthy are not extensive landholders, but more typically owners of forestry companies that harvest timber by contract on public lands.

Another characteristic of the district discussed earlier is that, because of the strategic importance of the highway and the richness of the forest land, the valley was administered directly by the Ôwari branch of the Tokugawa throughout most of its history. Villagers have historically expressed resentment over the fact that most of the surrounding forest land is still owned and controlled by the government. The rich forest therefore provides no local tax base, allows very little room for expansion, and benefits the local population with only seasonal employment at modest wages.

The region's economy stagnated and became increasingly dependent on the local timber industry for employment of its dwindling population. However, even the timber industry suffered. Traditional forestry had been a painstaking, labor-intensive occupation along the steep Kiso mountainsides. In the post-war years, however, modern machinery and more efficient methods were introduced, but much of Kiso's forestland was inaccessible or impractical for the new harvesting techniques. Many of Kiso's most accessible forestlands were quickly deforested in the early post-war years during the nation-wide rush to reconstruct damaged housing. Although the timber industry remains the region's largest employer, the demand for labor was greatly reduced by the 1960's.

Sericulture also supplemented the income of small family farms from the Meiji period to the 1960's. Family farms, other than the remaining holdings of the old *gônô* (wealthy farmer) land-owning class, which had been broken up in the post-war land reform, averaged less than one hectare in size.²⁰² Silk production had been an important cottage industry since the late Meiji period, replacing the lost innkeeping business associated with the Nakasendô. Mulberry bushes, which were used to feed the silkworms, had filled all available fields, and the steep slopes and poor quality soil of Kiso's farmlands posed no problem for mulberry cultivation.

As in other mountainous areas of rural Japan, silkworms were raised inside the family home even into the 1960's. Older villagers remember that the all the rooms of the main house and the available subsidiary buildings were fitted with metal brackets along interior beams. These were placed to receive the wood scaffolding and shelves which held baskets of silkworms, where they matured and wound their silk cocoons. For several weeks each year, living quarters became a busy maze of tightly-packed poles and baskets. Villagers spent each day harvesting mulberry leaves, and spreading the leaves in the multi-layered tiers of baskets. At night, families would spread their *futon* between the shelves, and fall asleep to the rustling sound of feeding silkworms. By the late 1960's Kiso's cottage industry could not compete with modern industrial developments in silk production, and artificial fibers had affected the silk market everywhere. Local silkworm and mulberry cultivation were rendered unprofitable, and income from the small, labor-intensive family farms continued to fall. The decline in sericulture and the family farm follows a general pattern in rural Japan during those years.

²⁰² Ibid.

Domestic tourism was a growing source of income for some rural areas of Nagano from the 1960's. Winter brought skiers, but most of the well-known slopes of Nagano's "Japan Alps" were just north of the Kiso Valley. Instead, some of the old inns of Kiso hosted the infrequent young hikers who followed the twisted routes of the old Nakasendô through the forest; a small number of literary tourists interested in Shimazaki's work continued to tour the valley by foot, car, and train. But there was no major traditional attraction such as a hot spring, or pilgrimage site that would pull in large numbers of travelers. In 1967, when leading citizens discussed village revitalization which they hoped to spur around the Meiji Restoration Centennial, many hoped that hot springs would be discovered, assuming that this would solve the town's economic problems by drawing large numbers of year-round visitors. Even today villagers jokingly lament the absence of natural hot springs in Kiso which would allow them to abandon the preservation project.

Tsumago's population continued to decline in the postwar period; the average income in rural areas of declining population had fallen far below the national average. By 1968, over 60% of the inhabitants of the historic district were over the age of 65, and at least five houses within the district were abandoned by absentee owners.²⁰³

The population decline during recent years is illustrated by the following:

	<u>Nagiso-chô</u>	<u>Tsumago-juku</u>
1961	10,771	1,757

²⁰³ Ibid.

1967	8,573	1,332
1981	6,704	1,103

The post-war reconstruction period brought improvements in the transportation systems which ran through Kiso, but this did not bring prosperity to the valley. The re-routing and improvement of railways and roads further isolated Tsumago and other post towns from the mainstream of Japanese cultural and economic life. Unlike the Shinkansen (bullet train) corridor, which follows the route of the old Tokaidô highway between Tokyo and Kyôto, the mountainous Kiso Valley Chûo line corridor to Nagoya did not become a belt of economic development in the post-war period. The Chûo (or Central) Line leaves from Shinjuku, in Tôkyô, and continues through Kiso to Nagoya. The speed of the Chûo Line was gradually increased in the post-war period, and the number of local stops decreased, but Nagoya can still be reached in about half the time from Tokyo via the Shinkansen. In addition, the narrow valley and steep terrain of Kiso limited the development of industry or large-scale farming which was transforming the rest of the country.

As for transportation, by the 1960's none of Kiso's famous horses remained, and few villagers were able to afford cars. The closest train station to the historic center of Tsumago-juku was at Nagiso, the town into which Tsumago had been incorporated, and whose small commercial center was about five miles away from the *shukuba*. The only train that stopped there was the infrequent local of the Chûo Line. After the flood control was improved along the Kiso and Araragi Rivers, a new, widened road now

known as National Road 265, was planned to follow the Araragi south along the abandoned Tsumago-Magome segment of the Nakasendô in 1965. The original plan was to route the road through the *shukuba* as had been done in many other post towns along the old highways.

The Rise of Conventional vs. Traditional Housing

As young people left Kiso, including Tsumago, to search for work in urban areas, abandonment of property and a growing proportion of elderly residents were only two of the visible manifestations of the changes that were taking place. The building fabric of Kiso was also affected by the changing economy. Construction labor and material costs, particularly of high-quality domestic wood, rose sharply. This in combination with the relative decline in local income levels made building up-keep, and particularly traditional-style repairs, more and more difficult for the average person to afford.

In 1968 many pre-war wooden homes were in serious disrepair, but villagers recall that even those who could have afforded to maintain their homes in the traditional manner refrained from spending money on pre-war houses, which were becoming more and more ill-suited to changing post-war lifestyles. Residents of Tsumago were able to recognize that in more affluent areas, particularly in the cities, wooden homes that had survived the war were rapidly being demolished and replaced with more convenient modern homes at a rapid pace. New construction brought improvements in climate control, sanitary conditions, and durable construction materials that reduced

maintenance costs. As the traditional building fabric deteriorated into the 1950's and 60's, it was generally agreed among villagers in Tsumago that a wiser housing investment could be made by saving in order to build anew on the same site.

The changes in house form in the 1950's and 60's were nationwide. These were years which defined a new approach to single-family housing construction in urban and rural Japan. The cause was not only the change in lifestyle due to increased prosperity and contact with the United States and Europe. A clear and deliberate break with the past was made via national public policy in 1950 with the creation of a new building code under the Ministry of Construction, the *Kenchiku kijunhō*.²⁰⁴ This law effectively rendered traditional residential architecture illegal, and fundamentally changed the context within which architects, carpenters, and residents thought about housing.

The details of the new code are far beyond the scope of this study, but a few general statements can be made about the most common changes it had on house form in Tsumago in the postwar period. The new code's emphasis was clearly on the reduction in the threat to public safety posed by highly flammable pre-war construction, a reaction to the massive destruction and conflagrations suffered during the war. The new standards particularly enhanced fireproofing and earthquake resistance; the Japanese standards are now among the most stringent in the world. This was done by prescribing higher standards for the performance of structural features, the fire rating of building materials, and the siting of new construction. Many more

²⁰⁴Kensetsu shō, *Kenchiku kijunhō* 1950.

restrictions were put on new construction in designated urban planning areas (*toshikeikaku kuiki*), but a number of changes applied in the countryside as well.

Diagonal bracing was required on exterior walls, and across the interior span approximately every 20 feet, resulting in interior solid walls that interrupted the openness of the interiors. The open sequence of *tatami* rooms typical of traditional houses was thereby more difficult to achieve. Fireproof materials were required on all roofs, immediately eliminating the wood-shingled *ishioki* roofscapes that characterized the region. The large unfinished timbers that formed the primary roof structure of *minka* were unavailable, and unnecessary because new framing techniques used metal connecting hardware and smaller beams in a modified version of the traditional roof structure. The complexity of the new code required approval through individual project reviews by city and town government officials. Although checks were not performed in all rural areas, a hybrid architecture emerged which retained largely traditional plans but incorporated modern structural elements and materials, and included major improvement to kitchens and baths. Such housing is called "conventional" rather than "traditional" housing construction, or in Japanese, *zairai kôhô*.

In urban areas, no wood structural elements could be exposed to the exterior. This one requirement profoundly altered the familiar streetscape of half-timbered houses and was a particular problem in cities like Kyôto. Exterior finishes on walls (and roofs) had to be of fireproof materials. Although this last restriction did not apply in the countryside, many rural builders opted for the safety and durability offered by new finishing materials, particularly various forms of sheet metal and fiberglass, which were cheap

and widely available in urban areas. Modern finishing materials also increased the ability to build airtight spaces that were more effectively climate controlled, one of the fundamental problems of traditional construction.

Exceptions to the building code were made for repairs to existing homes, defined as those homes which retained 30% or more of a pre-existing structure. More comprehensive repairs or reconstruction meant that the entire building would have to be brought up to code, a disincentive to repair which has been particularly troublesome in surviving pre-war urban areas like Kyôto.

The early post-war years to 1968 can be considered a transitional period for Tsumago's houses. The aim of the average family was inevitable reconstruction as mandated by the new building code, and as made desirable by changing lifestyles and an improved standard of living. The most economical form of repair was to employ cheaper and more durable modern materials such as corrugated zinc, fiberglass, and plastics to repair wall and roof surfaces. In this age of transition, these new materials were often affixed with stones placed atop the roof in the manner of *ishioki*.

It was not unusual to find solar panels for hot water and TV antennas bristling from even the humblest wooden *machiya*; tattered shoji screens were replaced with aluminum sash windows; sliding glass doors which ran on steel tracks were fitted into existing wood frames. *Irori* were filled in with wood and covered with *tatami* or in the more progressive homes, carpeting, or were used as the site for gas stoves with chimneys. The earthen-floored *doma* were covered with concrete that had a high cement content to produce a glossy, clean surface. Modern kitchens were built to the rear of many

houses or on newly raised wooden floors built over *doma*. Modern ceramic fixtures were incorporated into baths and toilets, but even today simple deposit toilets remain, without the introduction of septic tanks. Despite tests that prove the contrary, villagers continue to resist modern plumbing because they fear seepage will pollute the river, which runs just behind the historic district.

In this way, pre-war homes were patched and expanded with modern building components and materials, and integrated with the existing primary structure. The generally agreed aim was to eventually reconstruct at a higher standard, and with a full second story - a house that would be safer, more durable, more comfortable. By 1968 at least three houses within Tsumago had been completely reconstructed according to the postwar standard within what was to become the historic district. In addition, there were concrete structures within the town which had been built by the public sector: the firestation, the forestry station, and the post office were, like the *giyôfu* public buildings of the Meiji period, powerful messages from central authority about the direction of change. A number of homes constructed in the latter half of the Shôwa period in Tsumago, especially after the Kamimachi fire in the 1950's, took forms considerably distant from the original *debari* style houses with higher profiles, steeper roofs, and greater setbacks from the road. Figures 27-29 show the location of buildings constructed in the late Meiji to early Taishô periods, the mid-Taishô to pre-World War II era, and those dating from after the 1950 fire in the post-war era, respectively.

The Rise of the Preservation Movement

Tsumago citizens trace the beginnings of their preservation movement to around 1964, the same year that ICOMOS issued the Venice Charter. At the time, Tsumago was steadily losing population and incomes were declining. Even as the village faced hard times, a well-remembered speech was given by the principal of the primary school that year, calling for the preservation of historical documents and even old *fusuma* as they were constructed of old, used paper that contained valuable historical information.²⁰⁵ This *kyôdôkan* (local museum) movement was the first stirring of concern for preservation among the villagers, although there were no plans for a restoration of the village among this group in these early years.

The people involved in this local museum movement were former members of the theater group organized by the visiting scholars during the war. Largely the sons of the most prominent village families, such as the Okuya and the Ikomaya households, they later formed the core of the district preservation movement. Ehrentraut notes that members of the local elite are often involved in local preservation movements in rural Japan, and that their restored houses become a status symbol for the former elite.²⁰⁶ Their first project was to try and rent the Meiji period Okuya from the Hayashi family to house the archive and museum.

The Hayashis had built a new residence nearby the old, abandoned family seat, which was in serious disrepair. Their fortunes having declined after the post-war land reform, they were in no position to restore the house,

²⁰⁵Ota et al 1984, pp. 12-13.

²⁰⁶ Ehrentraut 1989, pp.135-161. In Kiso, this has been the case in Tsumago, as well as neighboring Narai and Suhara.

and lacked a suitable use for it. Although they had several opportunities to sell the structure for development into a restaurant or inn, they resisted renting or selling. It gradually became clear, however, that the house could not survive without extensive repair, and it was decided that the museum would be located there, which opened in 1966.

Around this time, a proposal from transportation planners to route National Road No. 256 through the town by widening the road became a focal point for debate. It was not an unusual plan to raise an old *shukuba* in order to widen the old *kaidô* create a modern highway. Villagers voted to reject the proposal, and had the road re-routed to by-pass the town to the west so that it could run along the Araragi River. However, the number of citizens in the *kôminkan* movement alone could not have carried the vote. The by-pass was probably able to muster broad support because of the uncertainty about how much land would be lost, and the inadequate compensation that was offered. The issue of property rights and boundaries was a sensitive issue in Kiso which remained in the consciousness of the villagers.

The re-routing of this road and earlier transportation had a negative effect on the area's economy, but the end result was that towns such as Narai, Suhara, Magome, and Tsumago, were not destroyed due to road widening, which was the fate of many post towns along Edo highways in less difficult terrain. Although not all of these towns preserved Meiji or earlier building stock, they did contain a mixture of similar houses which preserved the overall traditional form of the *debari* style, sited in the configuration of the old post towns.

In the early 1960's, the Nagiso municipal government initiated a program to identify new products and industries for the town. As part of this program, they hired Kobayashi Toshihiko, a former a veterinary technician and an accomplished amateur agronomist raised in the Nagano region who was to become a major force in the preservation movement. Kobayashi recalls that he experimented with sheep, horses, a variety of crops, but the climate and the shortage of arable land prevented any success on a significant scale. Now a retired prefectural employee, Kobayashi recalls with characteristic mirth that he even suggested the town secede from Nagano prefecture, so that it might benefit from more generous subsidies offered in neighboring Gifu prefecture.²⁰⁷

Kobayashi Toshihiko's dauntless energy and perseverance have made him something of a legend; his vibrant personality has made him popular with the press which usually credits him for being the founder of the preservation movement. This has been cause for some resentment in the village, and there is debate as to just how much of the preservation project was Kobayashi's own idea. Kobayashi's version of the story plays down the role of the active community of local intelligentsia already involved in a local museum movement and related activities. But there is no doubt that Kobayashi was partly responsible for making the connection between the solution of the town's economic woes and its anachronistic physical character. As a public employee, he was outside the web of obligations and protocol of the resident community. With the cautious support of the village elite, he was able to gather momentum and support from the public sector to become the main driving force behind the actual execution of the project.

²⁰⁷ Interview with Kobayashi, 1987.

Kobayashi vaguely remembers reading in books and magazines (particularly one he found in a barbershop) about completely restored towns in Western countries that were being advertised as popular tourist destinations. He also was impressed by the growing number of visitors to the Shimazaki Museum in neighboring Magome, which actually contained few buildings that dated from Shimazaki's lifetime. Tsumago had a few visitors as a result of the spill-over effect, who stayed in the few surviving inns. The guests of Ikoma-ya, which now is the most prestigious inn at Tsumago, praised Tsumago's authenticity in comparison to the increasingly touristic atmosphere of Magome.

Ôta and Koderá point out that the town of Nagiso as well as Nagano prefecture had been interested in touristic development for some time. In 1964, Nagano prefecture published a 5-year development plan which included a discussion of tourism. It included proposals for the creation of sight-seeing courses, and the promotion of the region's special characteristics, specifically citing the Nakasendô. The following year, the Nagano Railroad Association began to promote tourism with its advertising campaign slogan "*Shizen to Roman no Furosato*," (The Home of Nature and Romance) and issued a proposal which listed Tsumago among towns worthy of touristic development. The proposal also specified the importance of conserving virgin forests, and the potential for the old Nakasendô as a tourist attraction.²⁰⁸

The Arrival of Ôta Hirotarô and the formation of the *Tsumago o ai suru kai*

²⁰⁸ Ôta et al, p. 10-11.

Research for the designation of Oku-ya as a prefectural-level Important Cultural Property was the cause of the first visit to Tsumago by Prof. Ôta Hirotarô of Tokyo University, perhaps the most crucial figure in the decision to conserve the town. A renowned professor of architectural history at Tokyo University at the time, he was serving as consultant to the prefecture regarding the selection and designation of cultural properties.

Prof. Ôta frankly remembered nothing of interest about the town after his first visit to Tsumago, saying that all he could recall later was a poor, dusty village composed of small houses in bad repair. He confesses he was not very impressed with the architecture of the Hayashi residence either, though it had historical interest because of the emperor's visit, and was very surprised, and rather sceptical about the proposal to preserve the town. What did impress him was the enthusiasm and dedication of the villagers he met, and he somewhat reluctantly accepted the role of mentor and advocate of the preservation project, a role which he continued in the following two decades.²⁰⁹

In 1967, Tsumago residents formed a committee to promote tourist development, and proposed restoring the old route of the Nakasendô, which had grown over with vegetation in many areas where the original road had been by-passed. The same year, representatives of the prefectural government came to Tsumago to discuss possible projects for the Meiji Centennial. The restoration of the Okuya became one of these projects, which was to be

²⁰⁹ Interview with Ôta Hirotarô, Tôkyô 1987.

executed with special funds from the central government, due to the designation.

In September of 1968, the *Tsumago o ai suru kai*, literally, the "Love Tsumago Committee" was founded. The *Ai suru kai* claimed as its members all the residents of Tsumago, and was to be administered by representatives elected by each of the twelve traditional community divisions of the village. The purpose of the *Ai suru kai* was to formalize a way in which residents could govern themselves and the restoration project, which would supersede and control the participation of "outsiders." These outsiders included not only the threat of urban investors and entrepreneurs, but the activities of the rotating bureaucrats and elected officials of the Prefectural Government and even the Town Hall.

Kobayashi and the citizens group at Tsumago were anxious for more extensive work to be done as part of the Meiji Centennial, and with the help of Prof. Ôta convinced the prefectural government to fund an experimental restoration project that would recreate the environment of the Meiji period. To support the project, a physical survey was conducted by a team from Nagoya University, lead by Prof. Koderu, which covered a ten kilometer stretch from Senzawa to Magome Tôge.²¹⁰ The prefecture decided to start construction in 1968, the following year, but a number of legal matters had to be resolved, both at the local and the prefectural level. This was the first experience with district preservation in the country, and the restoration work again raised the sensitive issue of property rights in Tsumago, this time at the very intimate level of the individual's own home.

²¹⁰ Ota et al 1984, pp. 12-13, 23-24.

Kobayashi estimates that at least 70% of the villagers were strongly opposed to any restoration of their homes, and the local preservationists lobbied hard for support. They needed to convince village and prefectural authorities that the project had sufficient popular approval. After many months of debate and argument, a highly publicized public vote was held at the Community Center. The vote was unanimous in favor of restoration, but Kobayashi remembers that even minutes before the show-of-hands vote, many people had not been in favor of the project, and the lobbying continued until literally minutes before the show of hands.

The villagers were far from unanimous in their opinions regarding the project. A consensus was reached for the purposes of the vote itself, but there was hardly a shared understanding regarding the project's objectives, methods or consequences. A number of disgruntled villagers recall that strong social pressure rather than the democratic process was being responsible for the unlikely unanimous count. Some of the most prominent and educated members of the community strongly supported the project; these residents were genuinely interested in the historic value of the townscape; their own houses were among the largest and best-constructed in the village. Their concerns were not divorced from economic interests, however: because of the large scale and central location of their homes, they would clearly have the greatest business opportunities from any tourism that resulted. In fairness, they probably did not foresee the scale of the inequities that would result from their historically privilege position within the town.

Less vocal citizens did not want to appear against what was billed as the public good in a show-of-hands vote. Some people of lesser means truly believed this was the only hope left for the economy of the village. Others,

particularly the elderly, did not understand the difference between house repair and restoration, since their houses had never been modernized. Some cynically remember thinking that at least they would finally have their houses repaired properly.

A few villagers made a substantial portion of their income from farming diminutive fields, at time when small family farms were becoming less and less profitable. They could imagine that a return to inn management offered the hope of creating “value-added” agriculture, which had been the historical basis for the village’s economy; guests could be fed prepared products from the fields.

None of the villagers were able to predict the scope of the effect their decision was to have not only on their own lives, but on historic towns in other parts of the country. Tsumago became the first restored town in Japan, and it provided a model for the 1975 Amendment as well as projects in other towns. Tsumago was not chosen because of intrinsic historical importance or outstanding architectural quality, however. The decision to preserve grew out of a combination of factors related to the town’s history, location, physical character, and sociology; it was the interplay of these factors with circumstance, timing and particular personalities that created the preservation movement and allowed it to succeed. Tsumago's distinction as a *shukuba* of the Edo period was not the primary reason it became an appealing site for tourism, and later preservation. Similar to Shirakawa, it was the town's role and meaning in recent history that made it important; the work of Shimazaki Tôson gave Tsumago a place in the modern cultural identity of Japan.

Chapter Four

Building in Tsumago: Three Phases of Restoration and Development

The year 1968 marked the Meiji Restoration Centennial, and was the year that preservation-related repairs and construction began in Tsumago. The extant buildings within what is now the historic district were a haphazard collection of run-down, small-scale houses and shops, ranging in age from the first half of the nineteenth century to the 1950's. These buildings, like other features of the town, were undocumented, unstudied, and problematic to date.

It was difficult to distinguish the age of most individual houses because of extensive alterations, and in the 1968 survey of the village conducted by Ôta and Kodera, buildings were classified on plans not by age but by type: *machiya* in the local *debari* style; free-standing traditional houses; other traditional structures (which included temples buildings, storehouses, and sheds); early Western-style buildings (*yôkan*); and modern construction. Figures It was estimated that 30% of the houses were built in the first half of the 19th century, 30% in the latter half of the 19th century, and 25% before the second world war; the remaining 15% were built after the war. (Figs. 23, 27, 28, and 29)

Even close examination revealed no definite date of construction for most of the houses. This was partly due to the similarity in style over a long period of time and partly to the extensive repairs and reconstruction each had undergone. In the construction of *minka*, economy of means was important, and wood from many sources had been utilized in the houses at Tsumago, both at initial construction and in subsequent repairs. It was not unusual, for example, to re-use wood from older structures. All of these factors made dating of individual building problematic. By 1968, just about all of the *ishioki* roofs had been reconstructed with wood shingles nailed into place, or replaced with tiles or sheet metal. Most of the traditional *tategu*²¹¹ on the front and rear facades had been removed and the tracks adjusted to receive wood- or aluminum-framed glass sliding doors. One of the most typical alterations of the postwar period was the replacement of drafty wood-framed *tategu*, which ran on wooden tracks, with airtight aluminum sash windows and doors. The buildings that housed shops were marred by large-scale modern signage, but wooden *amado* were still used to close the street front facades at night. In many residences a layer of *shôji* screens was visible just behind the glass doors opening onto the main road, retained to protect the visual privacy of the interior during the day.

The national move to designate *minka* as Important Cultural Properties had a beginning quota of only ten houses per prefecture; most of the *minka* which had been designated and restored during the 1960's had

²¹¹ *Tategu* refers to the many kinds of removable sliding panels that run in wooden tracks on the exterior walls and in the interior of a house. Solid wood panels (*amado*), lattices (*kôshi*) or translucent *shôji* are used to modulate the division of interior and exterior, while opaque panels constructed of layers of paper over a wood frame (*fusuma*) are usually used to create divisions in the interior.

therefore been the finest homes extant in each region. Many had served as the homes of village headmen and wealthy farmers (*gônô*), and many houses had dated wooden plaques attached to the main ridge beam of the house (*munafuda*) which offered evidence of age and architectural quality. Such a plaque signaled the involvement of a master carpenter, and Ôta Hirotarô stated that the presence of these plaques had been almost a prerequisite for the early *minka* designations.²¹² Within a given village, such houses were the exception, however; many of Tsumago's structures did not approach that level of quality, and even if they could be accurately dated, the townscape was made up of buildings from a wide range of periods.

All of this meant that the normal practices associated with cultural properties preservation were difficult to apply at Tsumago. Dismantling each house and restoring it to its original state would be problematic. It would also be pointless in terms of the total effect produced in the townscape. Ôta Hirotarô remembers that he originally favored preserving the buildings in Tsumago-juku just as they were in 1968. He recalls that this preference for the preservation of existing conditions, or *genjô hozon*, was because of the difficulties he foresaw in having residents involved. He also foresaw the academic problems which would arise if his research team tried to accurately date each structure, many of which probably not very old and did not merit the trouble of careful dismantling and restoration.²¹³

As it stood in 1968, Tsumago was not an unusual town. Ôta suggested there were probably scores of rural villages in Japan in the 1960's with similar

²¹² Interview with Ôta Hirotarô 1987.

²¹³ Ibid.

mixes of late Edo to early Shōwa period houses, built in variations of a regional style. Narai and Suhara were two other such villages in Kiso alone. This may explain why Kobayashi and the *Ai suru kai* strongly disagreed with the proposal to limit the project to the repair of existing homes. They challenged Ôta's proposal to leave the Western-style Town Hall Branch Office built in the Meiji period standing, and disagreed with his plan to leave the small number of other Western-style or Taishō period buildings intact. Residents favored demolishing these and ambitiously proposed reconstructing the *honjin* according to available records.

The preservation movement leadership was composed of a conservative, cultured elite, and a more practical, entrepreneurial faction, but both had the same objective in mind. While former members of the local museum movement were concerned with enhancing historical and literary associations, the popular concern was to create a novelty that would attract visitors. Their aim was to distinguish Tsumago from similar villages along the old highway and in other parts of Japan as much as possible; the complete reconstruction of the old *shukuba* was to be the solution. Kobayashi and the *Ai suru kai* strongly advocated comprehensive restoration of the town to its pre-modern appearance because they did not conceive of *genjō hozon* as anything more than simple building repair; it did not go beyond what the villagers were already doing themselves in Tsumago and elsewhere as part of routine maintenance. This is indicative of the extent to which traditional building methods and house forms were alive in 1968. Senior carpenters who work at Tsumago today report that, with the exception of reviving certain details such as wooden drainage gutters and *ishioki* roofs, the techniques used even in cultural property-level restoration of local houses is

largely identical to the trade they practiced just before the war.²¹⁴ During the early years of the project, the term “preservation” (*hozon*) became synonymous with restorative reconstruction, both for the villagers and for carpenters. For the academic advisors and administrators, the model for this type of work was the growing number of *minka* restorations throughout the country, many of which resulted in the creation of museum houses. In addition to the benefits of the “rarity value” that Tsumago would enjoy through restorative reconstruction, it was clear even at this time, before there was any real discussion of a national designation, that the leaders of the preservation movement attached pride to the village meriting the same care and respect as an Important Cultural Property.

Kobayashi Toshihiko vaguely remembers reading about restored towns in Europe and the United States in popular magazines, but it was Ôta Hirotarô who drew the explicit parallel between Tsumago and Williamsburg in the United States. During the research and lobbying effort which preceded the 1975 amendment to the Cultural Properties Law, Tsumago was described as a candidate to become “the Williamsburg of Japan.” The restored medieval town of Rothenburg ob der Taube in Germany, one of the first European towns to be restored to its medieval form, was also cited as a model for Tsumago. Although there is no direct relationship between Tsumago and these foreign examples, their existence did legitimize the new approach to restoration at the district scale: instead of returning each individual building to its original form, or preserving the present state of the village to mitigate problems with residents, the entire town would be reconstructed to a

²¹⁴ Interviews with local carpenters within Nagiso township, 1986-7.

postulation of its appearance during a particularly meaningful time in its history, the early Meiji period.

There was quite a bit of discussion about what time exactly the town's restoration would recreate. Some argued that Tsumago was a post town along the Nakasendô, and ideally should be restored to its appearance during the Edo period, perhaps the Bunka-Bunsei era of the early 19th century. The lore of the highway had been captured in landscape prints during that time, and those prints informed the image of a post town in the popular imagination. It was suggested that Tsumago should "preserve" that important time in Japan's cultural history. It was countered that this would be unrealistic, because few of the existing buildings dated to that time, and an Edo restoration suggested the enormous expense and controversy of reconstructing the lost *honjin*. Many villagers had strongly negative images of the harsh life in Kiso during its feudal past, and suggested this was not a bright image that would attract visitors.

The years between 1870 and 1873 had been declared by Shimazaki to be the best years that Kiso had ever experienced.²¹⁵ Many of the harsh restrictions of the Tokugawa had been removed, and although the abolishment of the highway administration system was causing hardship among the elite, many innovations such as the creation of a post office and a grievance procedure, were put in place. Many of the most damaging changes for Tsumago as a town had not yet been made. Shimazaki's novel, which spanned the years from 1853-1886 was already responsible for drawing growing numbers of visitors to Magome, and it was decided that the restored

²¹⁵ Shimazaki *Before the Dawn*, trans. 1987, p. 550.

town would represent the early Meiji period. Eventually the first year of the Meiji Period, 1868, was named the official date of the restoration, a date which marked the dawning of the modern era.

The Restorations

The following discussion looks closely at examples of restoration work executed during the more than two decades of experience at Tsumago. The restorations are classified by the municipal government into three phases, according to the source of funding for the project. The classification is a useful one, because the work executed in each phase does have a particular character. There were changes in the nature of supervision and in the source and amount of funding; there were also changes in technique and meaning as the preservation project progressed.

Phase One spans the period from 1968-70, and refers to the houses worked on as part of the Meiji Centennial project. These early restorations were supervised by Prof. Ôta Hirotarô, the leading architectural historian of his generation, and at the time, Professor at Tôkyô University. Because of the expense of having a team commute from Tôkyô, he was assisted by Prof. Koderu Takehisa of Nagoya University and his graduate students, notably Ueno Kunikazu now of the Nara Research Institute for Cultural Properties.

Before the Amendment of 1975, the Cultural Properties Law did not have provisions for the national designation of historic districts, and therefore there was no subsidy money available from the national government for the repair and restoration of buildings within locally-created districts unless *minka* were individually designated as Important Cultural Properties at the national, prefectural, or municipal level. The money set aside for the Meiji Centennial project by Nagano Prefecture was therefore

crucial; but even though the work did not fall under the auspices of the Agency for Cultural Affairs directly, Nagiso employed the same advisers and methods. The early restorations were therefore the most extensive and the most like Cultural Property restorations. The notion of district preservation was new and the special problems, requirements and methods which were to become an integral part of district preservation had not yet been distinguished from the familiar practices associated with Cultural Properties restoration.

The Second Phase refers to the period from 1971- 75. By 1970 the Meiji Centennial funds were exhausted, and no further government subsidies were available. Despite the efforts of the Nagiso municipal government and local citizens, no further government grant or subsidy program could be identified that would fund the continuation of their project. During these years, private citizens used their own money to repair their houses, and restored them to the extent and to the form that they wished. Little supervision or control could be exercised during this period, and the results varied greatly from house to house. Not surprisingly, the restorations done during this period were largely associated with creating businesses related to the projected tourist trade, and included more repairs and visual alterations to the facade rather than thorough historic restorations. Inequities in opportunity and resources began to cause conflicts during this period, underscoring the contradictory aims of the project as the consequences of the tourist trade were felt.

The Third Phase is marked by Tsumago's national designation as a *Jûyô dentôteki kenzôbutsu gun hozon chiku* or District for the Preservation of Groups of Important Traditional Buildings, after the passage of the 1975 Amendment to the Cultural Properties Law. The provision in the amendment for district preservation were a consequence of the Tsumago

project and its endorsement by Prof. Ôta Hirotarô. At this point, funds became available from the Agency for Cultural Affairs of the Ministry of Education. Along with the subsidy money came the systematized management and bureaucratic procedural methods of the Agency. Restoration and repair work during this period shows the effects of this outside intervention. Also, because many of the buildings left unrestored to this point were newer, they were given more superficial, uniform *shûkei* treatment. As the project matured, there was also an increasingly interpretive nature to the work, including the gradual development of landscape and urban design-type judgements and intervention to resolve visual incongruities in the townscape. The validity of landscape design intervention versus objective presentation of historical form became an issue as the project reached a level of completion.

The physical data on the restorations was published in a 1984 book edited by Ôta and Koderu, *Tsumago juku: hozon saisei no ayumi*. However, there has been no comprehensive history of the preservation project. The analysis presented here is based on the physical data in the 1984 report, and supplemented with additional information provided by the *Ai suru kai*, Nagiso Town Hall, and the Agency for Cultural Affairs. Resident experiences and opinions are offered as the result of approximately six months of periodic residence in Tsumago and Kiso, and continuing contact with the village from 1986-89.

In all the governmental surveys and plans of Tsumago, houses are referred to by the name of the present occupant; villagers refer to the houses by their *yago* or traditional commercial name. The *yago* is used here where possible in deference to that practice, and to offer a modest level of anonymity

to the many occupants who offered information and opinions. For that same reason, individual house plans are not keyed to their precise location on the village plan, with the exception of restored museum houses and the inns which have posted signs outside their doors. The comprehensive topographical survey drawings completed in the early 1970's as part of the restoration research are presented in Figures 30-34, and illustrate the footprints of each house at that time, from the north end of the village at Koino in Figure 30, to the south end at Omata in Figure 34.

Phase One: 1968-1970

The work completed during the first phase appropriately concentrated on the oldest buildings and districts in the town. A total of 28 houses were restored, of which 22 were located in Terashita and six were in Kamimachi. (Figs. 32 and 33) Terashita, which means "beneath the temple," was so named because of its location at the foot of the hill upon which Kôtoke-ji is sited. The land remains the property of the temple, and originally the small *machiya* and *nagaya* were built as rental housing. This section of town burned in a fire at the end of the 19th century, and most of the houses were rebuilt at around the same time after the fire. By 1968 the units were privately owned by occupants, but the land was still being leased from the temple. As a restoration site it was particularly appealing because of the uniformity of the houses on both sides of the road, and because it still contained three houses which dated from the Edo period. These included Kamisaga-ya, Shimosaga-ya, and a small structure which had been a horse

stable but had been converted to a residence. The most exclusive of Tsumago's inns, Ikoma-ya is located here, as is Yû-ya, a residence which functioned as a public bath until the end of the Meiji period. This is the section of town most often photographed and used as a film location. Toward the northern edge of Terashita a *kura* or clay-walled storehouse is situated on the eastern side of the street which once was used as a rice warehouse.

(Identified in Fig. 33)

Kamimachi is adjacent to the north of Terashita, located along a bend in the road that preceded the approach from the south to the *honjin* and other official buildings of the town center. The name, which means "upper town," probably dates from before the construction of Terashita, when Kamimachi was the southernmost portion of the *shukuba* and therefore closest to the imperial capital of Kyôto from which directions were reckoned. The area contains several fine buildings from the Meiji period, including the inn Matsushirô-ya, and its topography is particularly appealing. There is a change in level that creates a high road and a low road, and houses are sited on one side, along the outer edge of the gentle curve of the lower road. Heading southward from the *honjin*, the old Nakasendô had followed the small, steep descent which is now the narrow low road, along which remnants of old stonework are still evident on the hillside and the path. Continuing south, the approach to Terashita is an ascent up a stone staircase past Shimosaga-ya. (Figs. 35 and 36)

Shimosaga-ya: The First Restoration Creates a Museum House

Shimosaga-ya was the first residence chosen for reconstruction by the team of researchers from Nara and Tôkyô as part of the Meiji Centennial Project. As such it was the town's first experience with the aims and techniques of preservation-related repairs and restoration, and the scholarly community's first experience with district preservation. Shimosaga-ya was considered to be one of the oldest structures in the town, making it a logical choice for the first restoration. It was supposed that the house was initially constructed at the end of the 18th or the beginning of the 19th century. However, the date of construction may have been later since the judgement was partly based on its small proportions.²¹⁶ As usual, most of the basic structure, not the entire building, dated from that time. The survival of most of the basic structure, regardless of the condition of other parts of a building, can be considered sufficient to warrant and inform restoration of a *minka* since secondary features can be inferred from surrounding houses. In the case of Shimosaga-ya's structure, the posts and beams showed evidence of having been worked by a *chônashi*, or adze, rather than plane, which was evidence of its antiquity. Also, the posts and beams were unusually thick, which was another indication of its age. Located on the northern edge of the Terashita district, the single-storied Shimosaga-ya is one of the smaller houses in Tsumago. With a width of only 3 *ken* and a depth of 6 *ken* after restoration, the house may have originally been one bay of a longer *nagaya*..

When it was initially surveyed in 1968, the house had a width of 3.5 *ken*, and included a small kitchen which projected out from the street-front facade. (Fig. 37) The wood-fired bathroom was also located on the streetside, which was a common solution in Tsumago; the narrow sites made access to

²¹⁶ Ôta et al 1984, p. 113-118.

the rear of the house difficult with firewood and gas. The kitchen and bath were located in what had been an earthen-floored *doma* , rather than the usual *tatami*-matted room, in the front area of the house. The following two rooms in the interior were 8 *jô* (the unit of area measure for rooms, equalling the area of one *tatami* mat, or approximately 18 sq. ft.) each, and were the only living spaces for the family. A small storage room was located overhead in the highest area of the roof, below the ridge beam. As was usual in such houses, the wood plank-floored central room, or *daidokoro*, which was the most heavily used during the day, was without windows. The family had not constructed a hung ceiling by 1968, so the space continued to the roof, which was a drafty combination of *ishioki* and corrugated metal. Shimosaga-ya was badly in need of repair when the Meiji Centennial project started, even though the residents had made improvements to the interior, added aluminum sash windows to the facades, and were living in relative comfort when they were informed that the house was chosen to be returned to its Edo period form.

The residents of the house were informed that the house was to be stripped of its glass windows, the new kitchen and bathroom were to be demolished, all electrical wiring and plumbing were to be removed, and the floor was to be taken out of the front area of the house so that the earthen-floored front *doma* could be recreated. This undid all the improvements that had been made during the past 50 years and in effect, rendered the house uninhabitable. After some negotiation, the family agreed to sell the house to the prefecture and used the payment to build an entirely modern house just to the rear of the restored house. This was a common solution for the residents of a restored *minka*. The sale provided a family of modest means

the capital to build a new house which was most likely their preference, and gave the preservationists a free hand in creating a museum. In that sense, both parties directly involved were satisfied.

Shimosaga-ya was eventually completed with its dirt-floored front *niwa* and a raised 8-mat living area complete with a reconstructed *irori* (flat hearth). The *doma* included an authentic Edo period "kitchen" which was simply a clay stove and a place to drain water out of the house. A simple wooden ladder led up to a small storage loft in the center of the house, in which most of the unused original timbers are now stored. During the day, the entire facade of the house could be opened up to the street as it had been in the days of the *shukuba*, and closed at night with the old-style *shitomi* that slid down in two pieces across the facade from a storage pocket on top of the opening. (Fig. 38) The carpenters and the preservationists had reason to be proud of this carefully constructed museum house, but the negative effect of the results on the village was enormous.

As this restoration progressed, neighboring villagers began to understand what the consequences to the house would be. They knew that the prefecture could not afford, nor would villagers allow, the purchase of all the homes in village in the same way as Shimosaga-ya. The villagers saw a family evicted from its home, given little compensation, and forced to build a new house on a small plot of land made smaller by the presence of the museum house. Residents of Shimosaga-ya seem in fact quite happy with their new house. To the villagers, Shimosaga-ya had looked much the same as the other houses in the village before its restoration, although it was a little smaller in scale. Who was to say that their own houses, once examined by the experts, would not yield the same results? No one could be expected to

live in Edo period conditions, and not everyone could afford to build an entirely new house as this family had. Worse, not everyone had room to the rear of their sites for a new house or even an extension. Where were they to live? Despite the appearance of a consensus of approval for the restoration, resistance to the project had been strong but not openly discussed; this initial example seemed to make the resistance stronger. Most of all, residents feared that the project would force them to abandon the town after all.

The restoration of Okuya also took place in this period, which also resulted in the creation of a museum; in addition to it and Shimosaga-ya, two other structures were completely restored as museum houses. One was Kamisaga-ya, a slightly larger house in the Terashita district. (Fig. 33) Another was a tiny, single story structure that had been inhabited by an elderly woman. After her death it was examined carefully and discovered that the house had originally functioned as a horse stable. Yet another horror to neighboring residents who stood by and watched, the windows, doors, and interior fixtures of their friend's house were all stripped away, leaving it fit only for horses which were nowhere to be seen.

Tsumago's Culture of Wood: Carpenters and the Restoration Work

The early years of the preservation project in Tsumago are especially interesting because they occasioned the first architectural confrontation in the town between the traditional values of carpenters and the traditionalist concerns of the preservationists. The local carpenters engaged to do the work

at Shimosaga-ya were employees of a local construction firm specializing in conventional single family houses built of local wood. They were not experienced in restoration or preservation work, but the senior carpenters were very familiar with local building tradition in their everyday practice, and the choice of local carpenters was typical in the restoration of *minka*. Even today, new homes in Kiso are built of wood using many traditional structural details. The carpenters were happy to have the opportunity to practice underutilized skills to create a truly hand-crafted traditional home, the likes of which had not been built in decades. They were very familiar with local woods and their respective properties, and with other local building materials and products. The special advantage of these men was their age; in their fifties in 1968, they were old enough to have been trained using traditional tools, and had extensive experience building thoroughly traditional structures native to the region in the early years of their practice.

Although Shimosaga-ya was being restored to its Edo period form, the job carpenters recall that the work did not demand any out-of-the-ordinary joinery or skills. The only exception was the exacting process of dismantling, which required labeling and analysis, and was supervised by academic advisers. Only the detailing of gutters totally constructed of wood had to be revived, as these had been commonly constructed of metal for since before the war. Also, the laying of an *ishioki* roof involved a revival of skills they had not used since before the war. Carpenters therefore conceived of the project as a repair job, and were not familiar with the special aims of a preservation project.

Once given their instructions, the carpenters dismantled the house under supervision, which included the removal of the modern

improvements described above, and awaited the results of the study which followed. After the dismantling, the carpenters naturally thought the job in terms of a reconstruction effort. Directions came from Nagoya outlining the configuration of the original house, with the intent that the carefully catalogued original wood members were to be used where ever possible. The reconstruction took place with periodic supervision from the town hall and Nagoya and Tôkyô, but as was usual in such projects, much was left to the skills and knowledge of the local carpenters. In their judgement, it was necessary to replace almost all the wood on the exterior of the house, and to replace many elements of the basic structure as well. The carpenters and their local assistants worked quite independently for most of the project, but the arrival of advisers on the job site was the cause for daily disagreements that continue to the present day. The problem centered on the issue of re-using wood from the original structure; the carpenters had deemed much of it unsound or unsightly. The academic advisors were aware that much wood needed replacement, but aimed to retain as much of the original material as possible; they were willing to use injected resin and other methods of stabilization if necessary. Debates raged on the job site over the value and usability of this piece of wood or that.

The senior carpenters still remember with some amusement, and some bitterness, how illogical it was to re-use rotting boards, some of which they insisted were no more than twenty years old, to make an "authentic" Edo period house. They were sure their Edo forefathers would never have been satisfied with the shoddy results. They protested vehemently, saying that re-using the old, discolored and warped wood was not only ugly to look at, it suggested that the carpenters had done a sloppy job, or that the residents

were too poor to make proper repairs. After all the trouble taken to remove the old house, it was a point of pride and logic that the replacement be as good as the original when it had been new; and by rights should appear as if new.

If the aim was to have the house look as it had when it was constructed in the Edo Period, the answer was obviously freshly-planed yellow planks of carefully chosen new lumber. They argued that the weather would eventually age the wood and make the house look old again, if that was important. The best carpenters in southern Kiso had been called in for this project, and they had the highest confidence in their judgement and skills; they were also the most deeply immersed in traditional ways of working and thinking.

The academic advisers explained at length that the marks and holes in old structural members were an important historical record; this was information that made it possible to understand the series of alterations the house had gone through, and identified pieces that may have originally been used in a nearby temple or another house. The advisers "edited" the discard piles, and retrieved pieces of wood they felt should be re-used. When they left the site, the carpenters discarded them again, but not before carefully carving replicas of these pieces in new wood, with all the markings and holes painstakingly reproduced in the proper places.

The advisers remember they experienced great anxiety every time they left the building site, and continue to check discarded wood even though the carpenters have learned to adjust their ways to suit the idiosyncratic concerns of the preservation district. The friction between carpenters and preservationists was not a new experience for these supervisors, but the

criticisms of Nishioka Tsunekazu in the 1950's were unknown to these local carpenters.

There are about six construction firms in the Nagiso area, the largest of which employ 10-15 carpenters with traditional training. The carpenters working on restorations at Tsumago come from several of these firms. All of these carpenters live in newly constructed houses which they estimate cost about twice the price of repairing an old house. (In the case of the Nagiso area, that means around 20 million yen as opposed to 10 million yen) In the course of this study, five master carpenters were patient enough to be interviewed at length as they worked.

As previously discussed, few of the houses in Tsumago had been built of particularly fine wood, and none had been built of *hinoki* with the exception of Okuya and parts of a few of the finer residences from the Meiji period. However, the advisers from Nagoya and Tôkyô were anxious that the houses be reconstructed with the finest available wood to ensure their longevity and enhance their quality, and therefore instructed the carpenters to use *hinoki* wherever possible. The carpenters begrudgingly complied, but countered that *hinoki* was not appropriate for all parts of a building. Like pine, it was very weak in the presence of moisture. It was good for fine interior details because of its fine, straight grain. If it remained dry it did not warp; it was also very good for sheltered structural members because of its great strength in compression parallel to the fibers. But they stressed that it should never be used in ways that exposed it to moisture: to construct wooden bath tubs, or for *dodai*, the thick ground sills between columns.

The conventional wisdom among carpenters in Kiso was that *momi* (*abies firma*) was stronger in the presence of moisture, and a good choice for the floor boards under the *tatami*, or *tansu*, or for the inside of a storehouse which must remain dry. *Kiri* (*pauwlonia tomentosa*) was the best choice for water-resistance, and was the proper choice for *dodai*. Despite their objections, they agreed to use local *hinoki* many parts of the early restorations. As the carpenters predicted, their first wave of repairs to their restorations involved the replacement of *dodai* and other *hinoki* elements exposed to moisture which had rotted in less than ten years.

The issue of new versus old wood again became an issue in the resulting appearance of the restored houses. Kiso's houses had been traditionally constructed of untreated and unfinished wood. Only the finest townhouses had had stain or finishing applied to their facades toward the end of the Edo period, which was also the case in Kyôto. It was therefore a natural consequence to the carpenters and townspeople that the houses restored during the Meiji Centennial project were either a mixture of contrasting old and new wood, or in some cases, entirely new wood. This was another reason that carpenters preferred using more fresh lumber. The pale yellow lumber of restored homes stood in great visual contrast to the silver-grey, weathered lumber on the older houses surrounding them. Carpenters and residents did not find any problem with the new wood, or even with the mixture of the two, but on the contrary, appreciated the freshened appearance of the town. The buildings were left to weather naturally, as the wood was expected to lose its fresh color in two years or so.

Toward the final years of the first phase, the academic advisers and Kobayashi recognized the peculiarity of the historic town they were creating,

which looked more freshly constructed than any other town in the valley. The advisers suggested using an industrially produced wood stain on the new lumber, which restorationists call generally *koshoku*, literally “old color.” It was commonly used on cultural property restorations and designed to camouflage the newness of wood used in repairs by matching the appearance of aged wood.

The Kiso carpenters again balked at what they saw as the introduction of another practice of fakery. At first, their resistance led to the revival of an old practice which they proposed as an alternative. Freshly milled lumber was given a darker color by singeing planks over an open fire. This would weather-proof and insect-proof wood to be used on the exterior by giving it a protective coating of creosote and soot. It was also considered wise to revive this practice because the wood in Kiso houses had been protected by the smoke from open cooking and heating fires of the *irori*, before the introduction of gas stoves and chimneys. These fires had also contributed to the familiar dark patina of the interiors of *minka*, which glistened after years of women polishing the wood. Singeing wood also enhanced wood grain, which was appreciated for its decorative effect. Singeing had been done elsewhere on cultural property restorations of *minka*, along with the smoking of reeds and grasses to protect them before they were used to thatch a roof.

In the early years, Kobayashi Toshihiko concocted his own *koshoku* which was entirely made up of traditional materials, a mix of oil, soot, and cinnabar, which when applied to the exterior planks of the *itabari* walls, produced a deep terra cotta color. This was similar to the mix of substances used to treat the exterior wood of the finer homes of Kyôto. By the third

phase of the project, the time-consuming practice of singeing lumber and Kobayashi's home brew were abandoned in favor of commercial stains that produce an unfortunate flat, reddish-brown tone which now covers much of the village.

Yû-ya: The First Inhabited Restoration

In the first period of reconstruction, it became clear that the Meiji period *nagaya*²¹⁷ of the Terashita area were going to be an important part of the project. Together, these houses formed a townscape that closely resembled that of the Edo period. In addition it was the only area of the town that had a continuous built fabric of homes dating from the same period. The Terashita houses were the smallest in the village, however, and the plots were also small. This was particularly true on the east side of the road, where a hill rose sharply in back of the houses, cutting short the rear gardens of each house and putting them in deep shade. There would clearly be no room to expand behind a reconstructed house in this area, and most of the inhabitants of Terashita could not afford to move, nor was the opportunity available to sell to the prefecture or town. (Fig. 39)

After the completion of Okuya and the three other museum houses, there was an intention to create perhaps just one more such house in the Koiwa area in the northern part of the *shukuba*, where a very old mid-Edo structure was found. The next house worked on in would therefore be one where residents would be expected to inhabit the restoration. There was a long period of discussion to decide which house in Terashita would be the first restored. The villagers were understandably reluctant to get involved, and for several months it seemed as if no one would agree to participate.

²¹⁷ *Nagaya* refers to a true townhouse where units share party walls, unlike *machiya* which are free-standing homes built close together. *Nagaya* were originally built as rental housing for servants or artisans associated with a wealthy family or temple, and the units have less floor area than *machiya* or farm houses.

The only experience with restoration in the village thus far had been the creation of museum houses. Shimosaga-ya and Kamisaga-ya stood like dark and empty shells exposed to the street, stripped of all the improvements made during the previous fifty years. Ueno Kunikazu, who had taken over supervision of the restoration work by this point, recognized the problem of habitability and shifted the primary concern of the project to preserving the streetscape, that is, the external appearance of the houses. There was not yet a clear physical approach in the minds of preservationists or villagers to this concern. At the same time, the need for reinforcement and other repairs to the primary structure and the interiors was a reality, which meant the restorations would necessarily be invasive.

Ueno Kunikazu spent several weeks trying to convince someone to step forward and volunteer to be the first, but with no luck. Finally the inhabitants of Yû-ya agreed. The owner of Yû-ya (here after referred to as Mr. Y) ventures it would have been impossible to become the first volunteer if he had been a native of Tsumago. He and his wife were both born and raised elsewhere, and had been adopted as adults by a childless aunt who needed care in her old age. In exchange they became the heirs of her modest estate, which included Yû-ya, an arrangement not uncommon in rural Japan.

Mr. Y remembers he had dreamed of tearing down the old house in order to build a modern concrete house and garage on the site, something like the post office or the fire station which had been built in the town by the government. He understood the advantage of building with concrete in this hazardous town of tightly packed wooden houses. He actually had started this project with the construction of a small outbuilding of concrete in his back yard, and realized how expensive the project would be. This small

concrete building was to serve as his home during the reconstruction work. Mr. Y had spent several years of his youth as a carpenter, and could see that his inherited house needed extensive and costly repairs. He says his familiarity with construction, and the practical advantage of the subsidy available from the Meiji Centennial helped him decide to let the work be done on his house, despite the objections of his neighbors. He also had the confidence of being able to undo any unreasonable changes that would be made.

It was decided that at least the front half of Yû-ya needed to be completely dismantled. Although the rear of the building was left intact, leaving the modern kitchen untouched, the front of the house was rebuilt according to an interpretation of its Edo Period plan. The work, supervised by Ueno Kunikazu now of the Nara Institute for the Study of Cultural Properties, and now one of the world's leading experts on the preservation of wooden structures, was at the time a young graduate student at Nagoya University.

Mr. Ueno's powers of persuasion seem to have been formidable, because in the course of the project it was decided that the house would be returned to its original function as well as its original form. The building dated from the mid-Meiji period, and its name Yû-ya meant bath house. The house had functioned as an inn, but it was assumed it also functioned as a kind of public bath for both villagers and travelers. In fact, older villagers still refer to the house as *sentô*, the word for public bath. Mr. Y decided he would open an inn based on this concept after the reconstruction. Examining the stone remains in the front room, Ueno designed and constructed a smaller,

higher-walled version of the large stone tub, calling it his interpretation of an Edo period public bath, which was to be heated by a wood fire.

The facade of the building underwent several changes. The glass sliding doors on the first and second floor, and the glass and wood entry door were removed. In their place, wood-framed *shôji* and *amado* were re-installed in traditional wooden tracks.²¹⁸ The reversion to traditional *tategu* continues to be of great concern to residents because the creation of airtight joints in wood using the traditional detail is not possible. The draftiness that results affects the interior temperature of the house, and winds cause unpleasant rattling. The *tatami* in the front room of the house were also removed and the original wood-floored *dei* was recreated. This meant that the interior living space was set back an additional 1 *ken* (approx. 6 feet) from the street, reducing the total inhabitable floor area of the house.

Mr. Y demonstrated what he called his modest skill as a carpenter by confidentially pointing out some of the changes and innovations that he made to the interior after the official restoration was complete. One was the creation of a hole in the ceiling of the first floor, continuing as a shaft through the second floor and out the roof, where the smoke hole for the old *irori* had been. This small innovation brings fresh air and light into an otherwise dark and windowless center room. Such improvements to the house's habitability were not suggested during the restoration, and he remained unsure of their legality. Another change was the replacement of some interior columns in the reconstructed area of the house, a job which requires considerable effort and skill. Mr. Y was dissatisfied with the workmanship of the restoration

²¹⁸ *Ai suru kai* building repair records, 1968.

because old columns had been re-used; they were dirty, and full of holes and other scars. He replaced them with new columns of fresh wood, and used the old columns for firewood in the bath. The quiet replacing of re-used old wood from the original building came up again and again in discussion with Tsumago residents and carpenters.

The inn at Yû-ya was later used by Ueno and others as their living quarters and the headquarters for the reconstruction work. Today it can accommodate up to fifteen people in its four guest rooms, located on the second floor. Mr. Y does not run the inn or use the large bath during the winter because of his concern for the fire hazard to his neighbors, which is formidable in this long row of contiguous wooden houses, which were without sprinklers or smoke alarms at the time. Concern with neighbors is a constant issue at Tsumago, especially in the cramped quarters of Terashita. Mr. Y said with resignation that an outsider would always be an outsider in Tsumago. General opinion in the village seems to agree, but Mr. Y ventured that he was a progressive man, pointing out another first. He volunteered Yû-ya as the site for the installation of the first, and to this day the only, flush toilet in the village. Although the run-off from his septic tank is tested regularly, other villagers refused to install any more of these toilets because of what they perceived as an environmental hazard.

Ueno and the other advisers were wisely concerned about repairing and protecting the primary structure of each house, and in the beginning aimed to reconstruct as much as necessary of each house in the same comprehensive manner they approached cultural property restorations. Residents had voted for the restoration in general, but there had been no clear idea of the physical intervention this would entail; and there were no set

rules or guidelines for the work to be done on individual houses; during the first phase, case by case negotiation with inhabitants determined the extent of each restoration. In all cases, at least the *dei* was restored, aluminum sash windows and doors were replaced with wood *tategu*, and general repairs were done to the facade and roof. Even after the decision to concentrate on external restoration and repair, in finer homes with more architectural interest, the reconstruction could be much more intrusive.

Kamichôji-ya: Old Houses and Old People

Kamichôji-ya was probably built around the end of the Edo period.²¹⁹ It has an unusual wedge-shaped plan due to its siting along the curved road in the Kamimachi district, and functioned as an inn during the Meiji period. (See Fig. 40) The second story rooms probably functioned as guest rooms. Architecturally it is one of the best five or so houses in the village, and the cost of privately repairing a house of this quality would have been substantial. In the second year of the Meiji Centennial project, the three adult residents agreed to let the entire house be restored. In the process, the structure underwent half-dismantling (*hankaitai*). The restoration study revealed that two of the six *tatami*-floored rooms would have to be eliminated and restored to wood plank flooring. (See Fig. 41) One of *tatami* room became part of the unusually large and open *daidokoro*, with an *irori* toward its edge near the *doma*. The *doma* was enlarged to its original width by cutting a triangular

²¹⁹ Ôta et al 1984, p. 117.

piece off the raised floor area of the *daidokoro*, and some of the modern improvements in the *doma* area were removed. Another tatami-matted room was returned to plank flooring to become part of a 2-*ken* (approx. 12 feet) deep *dei* on the south side of the facade, while the opposite side was returned to its original function as a closed storage area. As a result of all these changes, the living area of the house was decreased by about one third. The activities once performed in the plank-floored areas of the *dei* and *daidokoro*, and in the earthen-floored area of the *doma* such as preparing meals for large gatherings, or dealing with shop inventory or the products of the harvest, were no longer a part of daily life. The family was no longer as large as it once had been, and the three adult residents spent most of their time in the rear *tatami*-floored spaces. The two of the inhabitants were elderly and neither needed the lost floor area nor were inconvenienced by the newly re-created traditional spaces. Though they did not use the *irori* or the *daidokoro*, they and other elderly residents of Tsumago spoke of the nostalgia of returning the house and the street to the way it had been in their youths.

A few years later, when other restorations had been completed on houses in Terashita and elsewhere, the *Ai suru kai* praised the behavior and the manners of Tsumago's elderly residents; their sincerity was contributing to the preservation effort. Some spent their days sitting at the edge of open *dei*, chatting with passing neighbors. They by habit wore traditional clothing, and did not have any interest in filling the *dei* with goods for sale to tourists. The elderly were content to live on as they always had, happy that their houses were being properly repaired. The absence of aluminum-framed doors and windows did not seem to bother them. Elderly villagers could be

seen with the walls of their houses wide open even in the dead of winter, sitting comfortable at small braziers, wrapped in quilted cotton clothing and watching the snow fall. Some of these elderly villagers said that they preferred *shôji*; aluminum-framed doors and windows actually made the house colder. They explained that glass was cold to the touch, while *shôji* were warm to the touch. This was an interesting tactile perception of heat, perhaps because raising air temperature was never the objective of heating in a traditional Japanese house; people warmed themselves via radiant heat on the body from small fires at close range.

On the other hand, the elderly complained quietly about the tourists, whose number was growing rapidly as news of the restoration spread. These visitors did not seem to understand that people actually lived in the houses of Tsumago. Where had people's manners gone? Open *dei* were not an invitation to sit and eat a picnic lunch, or to step inside to explore the house. The younger residents of Tsumago, those in their forties and younger, recognized that the average person was no longer acquainted with the etiquette of traditional houses. Tourists were used to visiting the vacated premises of *minka* museums, restored as cultural properties. Younger residents either kept their *dei* closed, or began to define them as commercial space, filling them with souvenirs for sale.

Preserving the Streetscape: Drawing the Line of Territorial Control

Although some special houses like Kamichôji-ya merited special attention, it was gradually realized that thorough restoration would be too costly and too controversial to execute on every house. The plank- and earthen- floored interior areas were considered uninhabitable spaces by villagers in their forties and younger, who spent most of their time in *tatami*-floored or carpeted rooms. The removal of hung ceilings in *daidokoro* and the restoration of drafty traditional *tategu* were the cause of increasing resistance to the restorations. The work done to each house had to be decided through lengthy negotiations with each owner. It was eventually decided to put priority on the recreation of a traditional "streetscape," which Ueno articulated at first in Western terms.²²⁰ The focus would be on the reconstruction of the street-side facades of the houses, in accordance with the practices in the historic districts of Europe and the U.S..

Ueno was quick to point out that the houses of Tsumago did not have fixed "facades." They were traditionally left open to the street in the daytime; the *dei* was a transitional zone between public and private that was, at least visually, an important part of the character of the street, though territorially a part of the house. To clarify and expedite the project, he devised a uniform *one-ken* (approx. 6 feet) area as a guideline or minimum area of intervention, which eventually was designated as under mandatory public control in 1976. This zone began at the streetfront column of the house, and

²²⁰ Interviews with Ueno Kunikazu, 1986-7.

extended back into the house one *ken* across the entire facade. This approximated the area given over to the *dei* , although these semi-public spaces were considerably deeper in many houses, and absent in others.

The transitional zone eventually legislated into the preservation plan at Tsumago is of interest because it recognized an attribute of traditional houses that has been widely admired and discussed by architects, the transitional definition between interior and exterior space. Traditionally, inhabitants mediated that transition by manipulating the range of removable *tategu* that were so disliked among contemporary residents: solid *amado*, or in older homes, *shitomi*, would secure the house at night and in the residents' absence. During the day, lattice-like *kôshi* provided a view to the street but offered security and a measure of privacy inside; behind them, residents could close translucent *shôji* to let in the light but create even greater visual privacy.

Residents were to be free to renovate and expand their houses freely behind the one-*ken* line within their property, as long as the changes were not visible from the main street through the town. Several years later, it was realized that there was a problem with the rule; it provided no protection for the basic structure of the house, which had been the most crucial part of all buildings in the history of the preservation program. The survival of the primary structure defined the survival of the structure in general, as it provided enough information to design the remainder of the restoration through interpolation and reference to similar houses.²²¹ The new ruling meant that the historic fabric of Tsumago was defined as the one-*ken* width

²²¹This process is described in Ôta et al 1967.

volume lining both sides of the street. As the project progressed and resident income began rise, this area increasingly became a shop-front for sometimes entirely reconstructed houses to the rear. The transition and the connection between the restored and inhabited areas also became problematic, both visually and structurally. Restorationists argued that the boundary should be defined with traditional *tategu*, but some villagers constructed wood walls or added aluminum-framed windows behind a layer of *shôji* so that their living spaces could be adequately heated. The condensation that resulted caused further tension between villagers and the preservation professionals, but no one could deny villagers the right to heat their homes.

The Bunka-Bunsei Emaki Procession: Bringing the Restoration to Life

In November of 1968, the organizers of the preservation movement proposed creating a new annual festival at Tsumago, in addition to the annual summer festival associated with the village shrine. The ostensible purpose of the new festival was to commemorate the start of the preservation work; at the same time there was an agenda to create an additional attraction for visitors to the village. Interestingly, there was also a concern expressed by the organizers of the movement that Japan's modern citizens would not understand the intent of the restoration. Tsumago was not to be just a collection of buildings, an empty shell in memory of the Nakasendô's highway lore: the residents of Tsumago must demonstrate that the life of the town and the importance of its relationship with travelers on the highway

was still alive.²²² The result was the *Bunka-Bunsei fûzoku emaki gyôretsu*, literally, the Bunka-Bunsei (the historical period spanning 1804-1829) Genre Scroll Painting Procession. The festival would be a celebration and a re-enactment, a parade in the form of a pilgrimage procession along the old highway to Zenkôji in which all the characters depicted in narrative scrolls and landscape prints of the highway would be represented, from common pilgrim to imperial princess.

The festival was to be organized and performed by the residents of Tsumago, in full period costume. It served the very practical purpose of attracting paying guests to the inns and created publicity, but the procession also served to breathe life into the restoration, rendering the old form of the town both comprehensible and real in the present. It was not unlike the late-nineteenth century creation of the *Jidai Matsuri* in Kyôto, which re-enacted an Heian period imperial procession ending at Heian Shrine, a reconstructed version of the old imperial palace. The festival and the construction of Heian Shrine reinforced the city's identity with imperial culture after the departure of the emperor. On a humbler scale, the re-enactment in Tsumago's festival seemed to give meaning to the restored town by recreating the lost function of its houses and people, but with an interesting role reversal. Tsumago's houses opened their facades completely to the streets and welcomed visitors inside; visitors became residents and watched the procession pass by; residents become travelers passing through the town. On the day of Tsumago's Bunka-Bunsei procession, all of Japan was invited to become a Tsumagoan and a participant in its history. (Fig. 42)

²²² Kobayashi 1982, pp. 29-33.

The Achievements of the First Phase

In summary, the first period of reconstructions was personally controlled and monitored by Kobayashi, Ueno, Ôta, and Kodera. Thorough restorations were carried out on the interiors and exteriors of about a dozen homes in the Terashita and Kamimachi areas, in addition to the creation of four museum houses (including the Okuya). The work done to these houses was comprehensive in the manner of a cultural property restoration, and involved more handcrafted detail than work done in the Second and Third Phases.

In the course of this early work, a number of important policy and design decisions were made that defined the direction of future work. The first was regarding the question of material authenticity: carpenters criticized the artificiality of the restoration process, and the unreasonable demand to re-use scarred or aged wood. The advisers countered by accusing the carpenters of fakery in their attempts to reproduce the configuration of discarded members in fresh wood. Residents seemed unconcerned with either side of this debate, centering their own concern on the second major issue, that of habitability. Fearful of the consequences to their own houses after restoration, and of a town emptied of its population as a result, residents accused the preservationists of fakery, saying that Tsumago would not be a "real" town if the work progressed in this manner. The elderly were praised as the most valuable asset and the most "authentic" participants of all, but all the talk of preservation was puzzling to them. To Tsumago's elderly, the

greatest achievement of the restoration was the beginning of a trend for their adult children to return to the homes of aging parents in Tsumago from urban areas. These returnees could benefit from employment in the tourist trade; once they arrived, their agenda was a practical one and they were frustrated by the attempts to curb business development and the consequences of prosperity.

Phase Two: 1971-75

The second phase is considered the era after the funds for the Meiji Centennial project were depleted. Public funds for restoration were limited to the modest resources of the town of Nagiso; the rest was covered by the expenditures of private individuals. By 1971, the completed restorations in Terashita and Kamimachi were attracting nation-wide media attention, which in turn created a surge in visitors far beyond what villagers had anticipated in their most optimistic projections. Almost 400,000 visitors came to Tsumago in 1971, calculated by the number of tickets sold at Okuya.²²³ Villagers rushed to equip their homes as *minshuku*, simple bed-and-breakfast inns, or start other businesses. By this time, around forty shops and seven restaurants had opened in the area containing about two hundred households.²²⁴ The potential profits to be made were attracting outside

²²³ Nagiso-chô 1986, p.12.

²²⁴ Ibid, p. 13.

interest, most importantly the adult children of Tsumago's elderly who were beginning to return to the village from the city. Their return, and the ability to keep maturing children in the village, had been an important unwritten objective of movement supporters among the citizenry. Interest was being awakened among corporate investors, however, because of the growing amount of press coverage the village was receiving; concern grew among villagers as they began to hear of inquiries being made by tourist industry operators. Fear that they might lose control of the project resulted in two important actions by residents during the second phase.

The *Jûmin kenshô* or Resident's Declaration

The first action was the formation of a committee of 39 people to study ways in which the villagers could ensure that they retain control over the fate of the village and any benefits which were to be had. The committee included representatives from each of the twelve traditional community divisions of Tsumago, and representatives from the municipal government, and the Board of Education (*Kyôiku i'inkai*). The result was the *Jûmin kenshô*, or Resident's Declaration, a document which was finalized in July of 1971. The document was a group effort, probably written by the officers of the *Ai suru kai* with the help of Board of Education members, familiar with the formulation of policy statements on various cultural and education matters in the town. The contents of the declaration were widely copied by other movements in other parts of the country in subsequent years, and widely celebrated by Japanese preservationists.

The declaration made it clear that the formation of regulations and the resolution of disputes within the preservation district were to be controlled by residents themselves. They chose to minimize the number of formal regulations articulated on paper or in town ordinances, instead expressing general sentiments so that the project's aims and intentions be clear. The essence of the Declaration was expressed with the now-famous words, "*Uranai, kasanai, kowasanai*" ("Do not rent, do not sell, do not destroy") any of the historic buildings or any land within the village. The Declaration also stated that residents would govern the project themselves through the *Ai suru kai*, which would forward its decisions to the Town Hall. Some restrictions were articulated, such as the voluntary prohibition of vehicular traffic through the center of town along the old Nakasendô during the day, and the desire to control signage within the historic district and areas surrounding it. Signage within the town was to be voluntarily limited in size and designed to resemble early Meiji period forms; electric lights would be minimized along the street.

The declaration that land would not be sold, nor houses even rented to outsiders seems a bold step, especially considering the extent to which real property is valued in Japan. As stated earlier, Japan's national wealth is currently tied up in land value at about twice the rate as any Western country. Yet in reality, land rarely changed hands in the countryside. The word for fool in Japanese was "one who sells his rice fields." No one could remember the last time a piece of land was actually sold in the village. As for renting houses to outsiders, as the case of Mr. Y. illustrates, even those who came by invitation and legitimate inheritance were not readily accepted into the community. This sentiments expressed in the Declaration were not far from

traditional village attitudes. The boldest statement of the declaration was the promise not to destroy old houses.

Because land was not bought and sold regularly, and villagers were not accepting of outsiders in old communities like Tsumago, it was a familiar notion that many families remained on the same site for several generations. This seemed particularly true for some of the families of the leaders of the movement. Interviews with less prominent members of the community revealed that there actually had been a number of moves in and out of the village often arranged within or between families to accommodate changes in circumstance. Nonetheless, the notion of commitment to place was familiar enough that the agreement was able to essentially assign families to occupy their present site *in perpetuita* . A particular family would accept the size and position of their site, and the form and scale of the house it contained.

The Declaration also defined the extent of the district which was to be protected. It was to include all of the mountainside forestland visible from the *shukuba*, as well as the historic character of the Nakasendô itself.²²⁵ Eventually 3,000 acres (1,245 hectares) were designated as part of the conservation district, about the same area as the Edo period Tsumago village. It remains by far the largest preserved district in Japan.²²⁶ The scale of this move was possible only because the government Forestry Ministry owned most of the visible mountainside forests surrounding the town. The villagers later requested that government harvesting of this land be restricted to enhance the character of the restoration. Harkening back to the long

²²⁵ Ôta et al 1984, p. 38.

²²⁶ Miyazawa 1987, p. 150.

history of strict governmental control, and the protracted disputes during the Meiji period between the central government and local residents regarding boundaries and control of this forestland, this was an interesting reversal of control and an affirmation of at least visual ownership. The forestland was declared part of the village's heritage, and its protection would fall under at least the nominal control of resident-run decision-making bodies.

The *Tôsei i'inkai* (Control Committee)

The second action that same year was the formation the *Tôsei i'inkai* , literally the "Control committee," which was created out of the *Ai suru kai* as part of its implementation plan. Staffed by officers of the *Ai suru kai*, the Control Committee was created as a self-policing body to ensure that all residents complied with the articles of the Declaration. It also was arbitrate any disputes that arose within the village related to the preservation project. Significantly, its operations and decisions were to supersede those of the public officials of the Nagiso town government.

In 1973, at the request of Tsumago's residents, Nagiso Town took an important step in passing official preservation ordinances. This formalized the goals and procedures outlined by the residents into written law. The ordinances explicitly requested all residents to comply with the decisions made by the *Ai suru kai*. As William Kelly notes, there has been a consistent agenda during the modern era in Japan to consolidate local government and increase its scale: villages were incorporated into towns, and towns into

cities.²²⁷ Tsumago had been incorporated into Nagiso township during the 1920's. The new ordinances gave Tsumago's *Tôsei i'inkai* or Control Committee the final decision-making power to approve building permits for new construction and alterations. However, the *Ai suru kai* and the *Tôsei i'inkai* were in effect under the control of the historical village elite even though its officers were voted into office.

The town ordinances put the control of village planning and building directly in the hands of traditional community leaders, minimizing the role of the modern town government in the preservation project. It also soon became clear that the preservation project went far beyond the management of building stock, and eventually included almost every aspect of life in the village. As a result of the formalization of Tsumago's *Ai suru kai*'s role, traditional community leaders were empowered far beyond those in surrounding villages.

The *Ai suru kai* articulated its vision of Tsumago as being a traditional *shukuba* where people ran small inns inside their own houses, and fed guests with products from their fields. In the words of one committee member, "a true Tsumagoan was a farmer and an inn keeper." These were considered the most correct occupations. Less desirable from an ideological standpoint was the operation of souvenir shops, although some members of the committee had themselves started shops. If souvenir shops were a necessary evil, then only traditional products should be sold, produced by local craftsmen with local woods. This was soon to prove an unrealistic goal, however. Although some crafts were produced at nearby Hirose, there were

²²⁷ Kelly 1992, pp. 214-218.

very few craftsmen left in the valley as described earlier, and their products could be expensive. Eventually, mass-produced wares were brought to the village to be sold in its shops from increasingly distant factories.

The *Tôsei i'inkai* was responsible not only for construction-related decisions, but for the management of the townscape on a day-to-day basis. They were responsible for fire safety, a traditional role of neighborhood groups which made nightly patrols of the town. In addition, their inspections could result in the decision that too many commercial goods were being displayed on the street; that shop signage was too large or too modern; or that residents were not using their *tategu* properly to close up the house at night open it to the street during the day. Since the open facades provided a view into the house, comments could be made about what was being seen or not seen from the street.

One early example of the power and control of the committee is now called "The Coffee Problem." Kobayashi Toshihiko and the members of the *Tôsei i'inkai* decided that the villagers should do everything possible to make the town appear as it had been in the late Edo and early Meiji period. A request for villagers to wear *mompei*, a type of traditional work clothing, in the streets was not well-received. Some of the more enthusiastic supporters of the movement demonstrated their devotion to the cause and community spirit by occasionally appearing in costume.

It was voted that Tsumago was to have no bars or *karaoke* establishments; only traditional Japanese, and preferably Kiso regional food, would be served in its restaurants; *gohei mochi*, a local recipe for grilled rice cake that had been featured in Shimazaki's novel, appeared in every

minshuku and restaurant. It was also determined that the serving of coffee in restaurants and *minshuku* would not be permitted. Tsumago was to preserve the traditional Japanese atmosphere of the old highway and serve only Japanese tea. The *Tôsei i'inkai* was charged with making sure the rule was enforced while stories circulated about jars of instant coffee kept secretly on hand to please visitors.

The prohibition did not, of course, extend into the private kitchens of the villagers. They were free to renovate the rear portion of their houses as they chose, and to live there as they chose. Fifteen years after its initiation, however, the coffee prohibition is still hotly debated. For Kobayashi and the conservative faction of the movement, it is an important symbol of the cultural preservation effort the project represents. Residents were responsible for ensuring that visitors to Tsumago had a purely Japanese experience; villagers were to look and behave appropriately in public. Tsumago's streets would be one place in Japan where Western culture would not interfere. Some of these same villagers had earlier felt the Western-style wooden buildings constructed during the Meiji and Taishô periods should be demolished. The Committee hoped that villagers would really value traditional culture and thereby contribute to the sincerity of the community effort, but they required at least that villagers appear to do. The consensus to present the impression that traditional material culture was still alive would create a selling point to attract visitors. Thereby the most important aspect of traditional culture, that of family and community relations, would be preserved.

To the average resident, the coffee prohibition became a symbol of the movement's and the Committee's intrusion on their civil rights. It was not

coincidental that the men who started the movement and ran the *Tôsei i'inkai* were almost all born in the first few years of the Shôwa era. In their fifties during the 1970's, they had been educated in a nationalistic climate before and during the war. Younger residents compared the activities of the *Tôsei i'inkai* to the self-policing groups which had been formed in villages and urban neighborhoods before and during the war. Such neighborhood organizations had a long history in Japan, dating to the Edo period. Tsumago had been traditionally divided into twelve such groups. During war, the government had made the self-policing of *tonarigumi* as they had been called, mandatory in all neighborhoods throughout Japan. Throughout the war they controlled dissent and kept a watchful eye on citizens, but after the war was over such groups had been abolished in many villages and towns.

Tsumago's *Tôsei i'inkai* was not an arm of a totalitarian central government, to be sure, but a group organized by and for residents. In addition, the committee's powers were limited by the only weapon of enforcement it had, the threat of censure by other villagers. Nonetheless, some villagers, particularly the young, felt the association with pre-war practices was too strong. The basic problem seemed to be that despite the announced intent of creating a democratic self-government within the *shukuba*, the historical elite, and the new elite created by the movement, controlled much of the decision making process because of the desire among all villagers to maintain social harmony and consensus.

Enforcement: *Murahachibu*

The formal ordinances passed by Nagiso Town contained only a brief statement about enforcement of the regulations imposed on the village. For any violation, the village had the power to impose a 50,000 yen fine. This is not quite U.S. \$500 at 1993 exchange rates, not a very significant fine for violations such as constructing an unapproved new building or demolishing a historic structure. The village never, in fact, levied a fine on anyone during the years from 1968-1987. Villagers complained about minor violations often, though few large violations were in evidence. Why hadn't fines been imposed, and how did the village regulate itself?

Earlier events in Tsumago made it clear that the appearance of consensus did not mean that all residents actually approved of the project; from the beginning there had been dissent. As Kobayashi himself estimated, as many as seventy percent opposed the project. In 1967, before the Resident's Declaration was made official, one family decided to demolish their house. The *Ai suru kai* reports that the demolished house was one of the finer Meiji period homes, similar to Kashiwa-ya and Kamichôji-ya. The decision to demolish the house was made at the urging of a young bride who had just moved to Tsumago from a neighboring village, and the event took place just weeks before the vote to approve the project.

A new house was quickly constructed to the family's specifications on the same site; the result is an instructive example of what many villagers considered to be the superior standard of living provided by new construction. Plans or photographs are not included of this house at the request of the owner. The new house was somewhat smaller in size, but had a very similar layout to the previous house - the area which had been the *doma* became a raised, wood-floored side corridor with a row of *tatami*-

matted rooms to one side, with a modern kitchen and toilet to the rear.²²⁸ The significant differences were the following: the rooms had lower ceilings and were smaller, more airtight spaces than rooms in a typical *minka*; the windows and doors were aluminum-framed glass, and the house was constructed with fresh lumber. The kitchen and bath areas were well-designed and integrated with the rest of the house. Finally, the *debari* style of the old house was replaced with a simple, rectangular single-story house that had a flat facade and a metal roof. Typical of new construction in Kiso, the new house was neither insulated nor equipped with a more sophisticated means of heating than the previous house. Free standing gas stoves heated each room, requiring that windows be left open a crack for ventilation. The site did not allow for the creation of more side windows, but the larger expanses of glass and the color of the new wood resulted in a brighter interior in the front and rear rooms. From the perspective of an American or European architect familiar with building rehabilitation, the comfort level provided by the new house could have been provided within the old house at a lower cost. Subsequent maintenance costs could have been reduced by introducing modern materials and details in the construction of infill walls; an increased level of comfort could have been provided by using an interior layer of insulation with weep holes to the outside for condensation, as is commonly done in the rehabilitation of German and Swiss post-and-beam farmhouses. However, there was little interest in, or knowledge of these and other rehabilitation techniques in Tsumago. In addition, the promoters of the preservation project were interested in restoring the houses using only traditional materials and techniques; this perpetuated the building culture

²²⁸ Aizawa Tsuguo has also found in his research at Ôuchi-juku that newly constructed houses have plans very similar to the *minka* they replace.

they saw as the core of the project and would ease future repairs by allowing easy dismantling.

Villagers who opposed the project rejected old houses on more than purely practical grounds. Residents in some of the smaller, cramped *machiya* such as in Terashita, and some of the humbler farmhouses on the outskirts of town often explicitly said that their houses represented the family's historically low social status, and therefore were a source of embarrassment. Yet even for many residents of finer homes toward the center of town such as the one discussed above, the traditional style and darkened wood of the older houses were displeasing. Equally displeasing was the idea of painting or otherwise re-finishing the aged wood to freshen its appearance. The traditional drive for material renewal was as much an aesthetic and hygienic sensibility as a sign of prosperity.

It is hard not to agree with villagers that the loss of the Meiji period house was regretful, but fifteen years after the demolition the residents of this house remained ostracized from community life. The family's own regret over their decision was palpable, not from displeasure with their new home, but from their isolation. Most of the interviews with them were spent discussing possibilities for dressing up the facade to make it look more like the older houses which surrounded it.

The situation this family finds itself in is unfortunate and important; it reveals that the destruction of fine and structurally sound *minka* is done for only minimal improvements in the standard of living. It also illustrates how self-governing villagers use the traditional strategy of ostracism, called *murahachibu*, to punish violators. The term, still used by Tsumago's

residents, refers to the "eight items of the village," the tasks and obligations that all families were expected to participate in as part of *yui*, the system of cooperative labor discussed in Chapter Two. Traditionally in cases of *murahachibu*, neighbors would attend funerals or see to other emergencies if they arose, but social contact would be severed until the family took steps to rectify their wrong.²²⁹ At Tsumago it seemed no one could devise a way to redress the wrong; it was not possible to resurrect a demolished *minka*. Some years later, another family in Tsumago violated an agreement not to construct large-scale souvenir shop on the other side of the highway, away from the Nakasendô and the center of town; they also suffered ostracism from community life.

Ostracism seems all the more effective in Tsumago because the preservation project's administration is done through a myriad of community groups which overlap with social groups in the village. In rural Japan, community interest groups form the basis of social life. In Tsumago in 1987 there were at almost fifty such groups in a town with a population of 1,200. The same people who led the preservation movement ran meetings for organizing the village festival. They also organized groups for managers of souvenir shops, managers of inns, or for studying various sorts of strategies to improve the town. There were also occasions for cooperative labor teams for village clean-up and other tasks. The same leaders organized societies for the elderly, for youths, housewives, *taiko* drum players, "early bird softball players," and players of the Taishô *koto*. The preservation project made the livelihood of residents continue to depend on community cooperation similar to the way it had in pre-war society, although the

²²⁹ See Smith 1961 for a study of *murahachibu* in rural communities.

economic base and many of the rules had changed. In surrounding villages such as Suhara and Yabuhara, and certainly larger towns such as Kiso Fukushima, people held salaried jobs and noted that the community solidarity was waning and in fact was increasingly irrelevant.²³⁰

The Introduction of Enhancement Practices: *Hozon shûkei*

The restorations during the first phase had concentrated on the oldest houses in Terashita because of their uniformity, and in Kamimachi because of their architectural quality. The work during the second phase concentrated on the northern end of town in Koino, where one of the oldest houses at Tsumago, the Kumatani residence, was located not far from the landmark Koiwa, or Carp Rock.

After complete dismantling and restoration, the Kumatani residence became the last uninhabited exhibition house created in the village, in the manner of Shimosaga-ya and Kamisaga-ya in Terashita. (Fig. 30). The Kumatani residence was surrounded by newer houses from the pre- and post-war period that departed significantly from the *debari-zukuri* style of the older buildings. They tended to be larger houses with full two stories; most were free-standing with wood-framed sliding glass windows on the upper floor, and sliding glass doors on the ground floors. In order to create an appropriate setting for the Kumatani house and increase the appeal of this

²³⁰ Interviews with members of community interest groups in Suhara, Yabuhara, Kiso Fukushima.

part of town, eventually seven of these houses underwent changes that were not restoration, but re-design.

Similar to the urban design practices of Kyôto's historic districts, the practice called *hazon shûkei* came into use at Tsumago during the second phase. *Hazon shûkei*, or enhancement, as similar practices are called in Western preservation districts, was an inexpensive alternative to restoration, because it could be limited to cosmetic treatment of facades. The Shôwa period houses of Koino and Nakamachi were redesigned through the removal of aluminum sash windows and the introduction of *amado* and *shôji*, which had never been present on the facades of these houses. Originally they had been fenestrated with wood-framed sliding glass panels. The broad expanses of glass on the ground floor of some houses was masked with *kôshi*; small ceramic tiles, a typical finishing material on the lower facade walls of houses during the Taishô and early Shôwa periods, were removed and replaced with white plastered clay. (Fig. 43)

Some of these houses were significantly taller than two-storied Meiji or even Taishô period houses. This was made possible by a modified version of the traditional roof structure, which created roofs with a steeper pitch. The *Tôsei i'inkai*, which began to exercise its discretionary judgement over the course of the second phase, suggested that these newer houses stood out too much. The room and comfort they provided was actually a source of embarrassment to their occupants, some of whom had been active in the movement. In addition to their size, these houses were not traditional *machiya* and therefore broke the visual harmony that the restorations were trying to achieve. There was serious discussion of ways in which these houses could humble themselves. It was suggested that the second stories be

demolished, and the houses reconstructed with lowered, more traditional roof lines that blended in with the rest of the village. This was another indication that social meaning was read in the physical townscape: the aspect of individual houses conveyed the attitude and position of its occupants toward the community. It was not considered neighborly to stand taller than the rest. Eventually, it was argued that the houses should not be changed; the families were not at fault, as they were living with conditions as they existed previous to designation like everyone else. (Fig. 44)

In 1969, when Meiji Centennial funds had been fully allocated, Tsumago was given a temporary designation as an "Historic Site," a landscape designation by the prefecture in an effort to extend the project and offer some measure of protection. This was possible under the 1950 law because it had consolidated the 1929 National Treasures Protection Act with the 1919 Landscape and Historic and Natural Monuments Protection Act. The statutes of this latter environmental conservation law were the only protection available at the district level. Another landscape project, the Old Shinano Highway Nature Preservation Project (*Shinano-ji shizen hodô*) continued during this period, extending a nature conservation strip along the route of the old Nakasendô northward from Magome to Tsumago and beyond. Each one of these programs provided some subsidy money to continue the project.

The town of Nagiso identified other sources of funding which allowed them to continue general improvements within the historic district during this period. This included the creation of three parking lots much-vilified by urban intellectual visitors, on the site of cultivated fields adjacent to the

national highway by-pass.²³¹ (Fig. 22) The parking lots - a necessary evil to accommodate the increasing number of visitors- became a symbol of Tsumago's growing artificiality; it was now an advertised destination and no longer a remote and undiscovered vestige of rural Japan. The illusion of a trip back in time to an Edo period *shukuba* was shattered by the sight of parked tour buses and modern cars.

Fire hydrants and other fire protection measures were increased during this time, hidden in brown wooden sheds along the road. Also during the second phase, the voluntary restriction of vehicular traffic through the town along the old Nakasendô was made into law. A service road to the rear west side of town was created along the river to provide access and parking for residents; another road was planned to follow the ridge behind the eastern row of houses to provide the same service. Chûbu Electric, the regional power company, agreed to pay for the relocation of electrical poles which lined both sides of the Nakasendô. The utility poles were relocated to the rear of the houses, and a wooden wall was built around the site of the small power plant to the south of the town, replacing the steel fence. In addition, signage controls were instituted within the historic district and in surrounding areas.²³²

During the Second Phase, the town of Nagiso shifted its focus to enhancement because of the lack of funds which could be earmarked for restoration work in Tsumago. Resourceful town officials identified other kinds of public works projects, described above, for which funding could be

²³¹ The sense of disappointment upon arriving at the parking lots of Tsumago is expressed in Fujimori 1984, p. 105.

²³² Ôta et al 1984, pp. 38-44.

made available. The shortage of funds for restoration actually created an earlier and more active involvement with landscape design issues and town planning concerns, including enhancement practices. Design decisions such as the removal of electrical poles, and the control of firebox or public toilet design to conform to a district style would not have been out of the ordinary in either a newly planned community or an historic district in the U.S. or Europe. Urban design projects in the name of aesthetics taken up by Yokohama municipal government's unique Urban Design Division of the Planning Department had earned praise from architectural critics and citizens during this same period. Japan was just beginning to develop the means to carry out public sector environmental and urban improvement programs. It was not until the 1980's that the public sector began to design funding programs for environmental quality that could be tapped for the enhancement of historic or scenic districts being created at the local level.²³³ In Tsumago, however, enhancement practices were heavily criticized by architects visiting the town, and by residents. Restricting traffic and signage compromised the needs of the "real" community, while calling into question the authenticity of the historic environment.

²³³ Most of the programs are administered by the Ministry of Construction, and include the Planning Division's *Rekishiteki chiku kankyô seibi gairô jigyo* (Program for the Environmental Design of Roads within Historic Districts) which funds traffic control and other road re-design, begun in 1982; the Housing Division's *Chiki jûtaku keikaku* or *Hôpu keikaku* (District Housing Plan or Hope Plan) which encourages the development of housing that reflects traditional regional culture, 1983; the Parks Department of the Planning Division's *Toshikeikan keisei moderu jigyo* (Model projects for Scenic Urban Design) which provides money for plantings, 1983; the Environmental Agency's *Kaiteki kankyô seibi jigyo* also known as the "Amenity Town" project of 1984; the Land Agency's *Rifureshu furusato suishin moderu jigyo* (Model Hometown Renewal Project) which funds the building of facilities in areas with losing population, with the intention of attracting tourists or 1984; and several others.

Privately-Funded Restorations

Residents who had been active in the movement and who stood to benefit directly from the tourist trade refrained from accepting any subsidies during the first phase of work. The owners of the inn Ikoma-ya located at the northern edge of Terashita, and Matsushirô-ya in Kamimachi, waited until the end of the public restorations and repaired their houses without academic supervision using their own money. The result is that although both are worthy structures dating from at least the beginning of the Meiji period, neither one had undergone dismantling and full restoration by 1988. The work done to these houses was limited to conventional piecemeal repair of aging structures: bracing and reinforcement to stabilize a leaning frame, roof repair, replacement of *dodai*, and the like. The streetside kitchen of Ikoma-ya was left intact, and the facade restoration was confined to restoring the wood *tategu* and other elements of the facade. Ikoma-ya's squeaking and rumpled interior offers the rare experience of a building materially dating to the Meiji period, which which will be lost to a comprehensive restoration in time.

In summary, the lack of public funding during the second phase seemed to help consolidate resident control and organization of the project through the Residents' Declaration and the *Tôsei i'inkai*. Private enterprise began to appear in a growing number of inns and souvenir shops as adult children returned to the homes of their parents in the village, and all villagers recognized the business opportunity that was before them. The lack

of public funding for restoration also meant more attention to environmental and landscape design by Nagiso Town officials. These actions were the cause of growing criticism of Tsumago. Neither architects, historians, nor residents were willing to judge Tsumago on aesthetic grounds. In the context of Japan in the 1970's where such action was extremely rare, these design moves were seen as artificial, a further compromising of the village's integrity.²³⁴

Phase Three: 1975-Present

At around 1971, a study was initiated in Tokyo by the Advisory Committee on Preservation of the Bureau of Cultural Affairs, to examine how provisions for district preservation could be created within the existing Cultural Properties law of 1950. This study was the result of repeated requests for assistance by the local preservationists at Tsumago to Ôta Hirotarô, a Committee member who had substantial influence at the Ministry of Education's Agency for Cultural Affairs. His intent was to facilitate continuation of the work underway at Tsumago, and much of the study was based on events which had taken place in Tsumago.

Legislation was eventually drafted for inclusion in the 1975 Amendment. Among the statutes was an important clause: the law would require at least 70% resident approval before for any district preservation

²³⁴ Interviews with residents and visiting architects to Tsumago 1986-7.

designation could be made.²³⁵ This reflected the fact that residents had taken the initiative at Tsumago, retained control of the project, and assumed the responsibility for any inconvenience or financial loss. Urban districts which had been initiated by municipal governments as discussed in the previous chapter had encountered protest and criticism from citizens as the years went by, because the property rights of individual owners had been seriously compromised. As surrounding areas were redeveloped, these urban preservation districts suffered an increasing loss in relative market value because of the restrictions on redevelopment. Mimura Hiroshi of Kyôto University has studied the difference in assessed value between designated and undesignated sites in Kyôto, and concluded it is not as severe as some residents imagine, leveling off several years after designation to a value about thirty percent lower for the designated areas.²³⁶ (This is also due to the height and other restrictions in place in most of the city.) As discussed earlier, the issue was moot for many rural districts, where inhabitants had chosen to model the Tsumago ordinances and reject the sale of land or destruction of houses altogether. Nonetheless, inhabiting a historic district could be an inconvenience and a potential financial liability. Governmental authorities felt it could not be imposed without resident approval, and after the events at Tsumago, the perception was that in order to succeed, a restoration effort needed resident cooperation.

Like many innovations in Japanese law, the 1975 Amendment was timed to coincide with an international initiative. The year 1975 was UNESCO's International Year of Preservation Awareness, and its focus was

²³⁵ Agency for Cultural Affairs 1975.

²³⁶ Research notes provided by Mimura Hiroshi 1987.

the promulgation of district-level protection. Tsumago was among the group of seven sites designated in 1976, the first year of the new program.²³⁷ A total of 3,000 acres (1,245 hectares) was designated as a *Jûyô dentôteki kenzôbutsu gun hozon chiku* (Important Traditional Building Group Preservation Zone). (Fig. 45) As a result, the reinstatement of funding allowed restoration work to continue, and this period, which continues to the present, is considered the third phase. A typical example of the restoration/repairs on houses during this phase is shown in Figure 46.

An important event soon after designation was the purchase of the former site of the *honjin*, which had belonged to the Forestry Ministry, by the town of Nagiso, which was temporarily designated as a public park for residents. A debate still continues over whether or not to reconstruct the *honjin*, which would involve enormous expense, and the creation of an entirely new building based on a speculative design. After national designation, public works projects continued, such as the creation of additional parking, restoration of footbridges, replacement of stone paving along the old road, etc.

Yorozu-ya: The New Approach to Restoration

²³⁷ Other sites included Sannenzaka and Gion Shimbashi in Kyôto; the *gasshō* of Ogimachi in Shirakawa-gō, Gifu; 2 districts of warrior class residences in Hagi City, Yamaguchi; the festival district of Takayama, Gifu; and a district of warrior class residences in Kakunodate, Akita.

Another change after the 1976 designation was the employment of an architect out of Nagoya. Hayashi Hironobu, no relation to the Hayashi family in Tsumago, was not trained as an architect conservator in the manner of those employed at cultural property restoration sites, but was a practitioner who had studied with Kodera at Nagoya University and was familiar with the town. In effect he replaced the supervision earlier carried out by Ueno Kunikazu, but the decision to hire an architect reflected a realization on the part of the Agency for Cultural Affairs that Tsumago was not "a cultural property with a parking lot," but an inhabited village with many unanswered environmental questions.²³⁸ France's landmark Malraux laws, which had created the French district preservation program beginning in 1962, were administered by their Ministry of Construction, and the program therefore had input from town planners and designers. In contrast, Japan's new law was administered by the Ministry of Education because it had been an outgrowth of cultural properties legislation rather than the planning laws. The administrators were aware of the need for town planners, but were at the same time conservative and cautious about any direct participation from the Ministry of Construction, which had a strongly pro-development legacy in its laws and projects.

Hayashi's involvement marked the new awareness of town planning concerns which had become increasingly complex as the project matured. He was responsible for designing the increasing amount of enhancement of newer structures in Nakamachi and Shimomachi. He was also responsible for the supervision and design of restoration details, and gradually expanded his activities to include the increasing amount of new construction in the

²³⁸ Interview with Architectural Division officials, Agency for Cultural Affairs 1987.

village. Ironically, the town of Nagiso reported that because of Tsumago's growing prosperity, new construction was being initiated within the historic district at a faster pace than in surrounding villages.²³⁹

The house known as Yorozu-ya is one of Hayashi's projects, and is one of the higher-quality, larger scale homes of Kamimachi. It once functioned as a general store in the village, as the literal translation of its name implies. The house dates from the end of the Edo period, and it probably also functioned as an inn. (Figs. 47, 48, and 49) With rooms along each side of the *doma*, and a facade 6.5 *ken* in width, the house's generous proportions, fine detailing, and high quality materials are evidence that Yorozu-ya was one of the *honyaku* class residences. As in many of these larger homes, there was a separate front and rear second story. Rooms to the front of the house may have functioned as guest rooms; the second floor rooms to the rear were probably used by the family. From the early Meiji period until after the Second World War, the house functioned as a residence and a general store. During the Taishō period, it was well-known as a tobacco shop. An old signpost reading *ryōgai* (exchange) under the eaves suggests that the house was also used for a currency exchange or as a type of local bank.

The house is one of the few in the village with white plastered end walls and *udatsu*, architectural features which became more common at the end of the Edo era, and became a sign of wealth during the Meiji era.²⁴⁰ (See

²³⁹ Interview with Nagiso Department of Tourism, 1987.

²⁴⁰As used here, the term *udatsu* refers to projections of the end walls above the roof and extending out under the eaves. *Udatsu* were ostensibly built as fire walls to stop the spread of fire along a line of wooden row houses, but were also a status symbol. The presence of *udatsu* often signaled independent ownership of the house as opposed to tenancy, and could be quite elaborate and decorative. The resident of this

Fig. 50) A similar house with even finer *udatsu* across the road and several doors to the north is called Kashiwa-ya. Older residents remember that the former name for Kashiwa-ya was Kamiyoro-ya, (upper Yoro-ya), and village records show that this Meiji period house once belonged to a branch of the same wealthy merchant family.

The two rows of rooms on either side of a central *doma* was a typical *honyaku* plan. An unusual feature of the house was the narrow *doma* which ran across the streetfront edge of the central *mise*. (Fig. 47, 49) This was probably created to allow customers to approach the shop floor for small, quick purchases such as tobacco without formally entering and removing their shoes. A wood-framed glass case still stands on the floor of the *mise* which is still used to display tobacco. It was designed to be used from a seated position on the floor, and is typical of the increasingly rare hybrid furniture designed during the late Meiji and Taishō periods.

The occupants of Yoro-ya during the Taishō period executed typical home improvements for the time: the dirt-floored area of the kitchen and *doma* were paved with a thin coat of cement which had cracked; a gas stove and sheet metal sink had been added to the kitchen. Until well after the war, water was drawn from a common pump down the road; a deposit toilet to the rear of the site is used to this day. Another major change of the Taishō period was the arrival of electricity in Tsumago, and Yoro-ya was wired in the same way as houses all over Japan at the time: cloth-covered electrical wires were stapled to the beams of the house, and cast-iron light bulb sockets were

house jokingly expressed worry that the presence of *udatsu* on his house might cause his fixed asset tax to be set higher than his neighbor's.

suspended for bare bulbs or milk glass globes, operated by pull-chains. This perilous wiring was not very different from work being done in the same period in the U.S. and Europe.

The living areas of the house, both upstairs and downstairs, probably functioned in the Taishô period very much as they had in the Meiji period. An unusual feature is a room off the *doma* to the rear of the house called the *kuwamuro*, which was used for sericulture from the Meiji period until the post-war years.²⁴¹ (Fig. 49) The interior wooden walls and cabinets remained unpainted, and probably had the same rich brown luster in the 1920's that they have today, a result of the repeated polishing of wood covered with soot from an open fire. Some time in the early Taishô period, a *horikotatsu* (a sunken brazier furnished with a table) was constructed over the site of the *irori*..

The family made additional changes in the layout of the house during the 1950's and 60's, modernizing the kitchen and bath areas, and remodeling the *daidokoro* to hold heat from an oil stove in the winter. The *irori* in the *daidokoro* was used until about 1955, and thereafter covered over with *tatami*, a common pattern in the village. The availability of a wood stove, then an oil stove for heating and cooking made the smoky *irori* unnecessary, as they were not designed to provide much heat. *Irori* fires were necessarily kept small; the open fires at floor level were without the protection of hoods or flues. Therefore the wood-floored *daidokoro* were typically open to the rafters, and a small smoke hole high above in the roof was used for ventilation. As a result, these windowless center spaces were dark and drafty.

²⁴¹ Ôta et al 1984, p. 117.

As in many *minka*, when Yorozu-ya's *irori* was covered over, sliding doors were installed at the perimeter of the *daidokoro* along what had been the open *doma* side, and low ceilings were hung to create an enclosed room. This reduced the drafts and dust from the open rafters above. *Tatami* were usually added to the bare board floors for extra insulation and comfort. Although cooking was no longer done at the old *irori* and *kama*, before reconstruction, Yorozu-ya's remodeled *daidokoro* retained its function as the center of family life. The plan of the house before reconstruction shows a rear room on the first floor which functioned as a grandmother's bedroom; the rear south room was the parents' bedroom, and the front of the house was still used as a tobacco shop, retaining the original Taishō period cabinets. On the rear second floor were two bedrooms which were used by children.

Yorozu-ya was a unique house within Tsumago because it reflected the family's prosperity during the Taishō period. The *tategu* in the front and back facades, and some of the interior features, showing a slight Western influence perhaps appropriate to a tobacco shop. The wooden *amado* and *shōji* had long ago been replaced with sliding wood-framed doors, with unusually thin lattice work over small panes of glass and fine brass hardware, another typical Taishō feature. The curve of the lattice slats where they joined the frame recalled the grander Art Deco-influenced architecture being built in the cities during this period. The lattice work itself was unusual. Although the difference may seem minor, the uniformity of the surrounding houses drew attention to the thinner, more widely placed members on the left side lattice, and on the right side, the very long, thin slats were interrupted only by a band of rope, laced through the bars at the center for spacing and stability.

The quality of the house merited more than the standard 1-*ken* facade reconstruction, and the family was asked to consider more extensive work. Yorozu-ya's reconstruction was delayed for several years because the size and quality of the house meant that restoration would consume a sizeable part of the annual budget of public funds; the 5% usually paid by the owner was a significant amount of additional money. The project, completed in 1986, was one of the most expensive restorations, and was interesting for a number of reasons: it was one of the few cases where the quality of the house prompted a break from the 1-*ken* rule during the this later phase of work, and therefore the issue of habitability was raised again. It was also one of the first cases where the architect working for the public sector on the restoration was also hired by the occupant to remodel parts of the interior and to design an addition for living. Lastly, it was the first instance where the restoration accommodated the special features of later, Western-influenced Taishô and Shôwa era houses, resolving a debate about the suitability of variations in style and period within the historic district.

Although the subject of the dispute at Yorozu-ya was rather minor in comparison to many other restoration debates, the destruction of an authentic Taishô period facade in favor of a speculative reconstruction of the house's Meiji period form was questioned by public officials for the first time. In addition to resurfacing the plaster walls and replacing the *dodai*, rain gutters, and repairing the roof, the lattice work on the facade had to be replaced because it had rotted. Carpenters deemed it necessary to remove the lattices and replace them with reproductions. At the same time, some of the glass doors were removed to make way for the *ôdo*, the large wooden door, to be reinstalled. In the first attempt at reconstruction, the unusual Taishô period

lattice work was removed. The Taishō legacy was considered too modern for the period reconstruction which was dated to the first year of Meiji.

A new lattice was made to mimic that of the surrounding houses, so neither of Yorozuya's unusual lattices were reproduced. The carpenters would normally have discarded original *tategu* such as this, but they had been trained to store original building components up in the rafters. Soon after the new version was completed, an official from Tokyo came to inspect the work, and took the local supervisors to task. Fresh from a year's study in Rome, the official had been exposed to European discussions of similar problems; the building's Taishō character was to be preserved, and other aspects of Taishō and western-style Meiji architecture such as the Town Hall Branch Office were also to be saved.

The difficulty of achieving this in wood construction, discussed earlier in Chapter Two, was illustrated by the unfortunate result of the second restoration attempt. Carpenters had to break from the traditional local lattice form and attempted a reproduction of these two idiosyncratic designs. The originals were so badly rotted they could not be salvaged. Unable to reproduce the intricate work of the originals, the results did not preserve the appearance of the Taishō original, nor represent the traditional lattice forms of the town which had probably graced the house during the Meiji period, nor did it serve the utilitarian needs of the occupants. The finished lattice was clumsily fashioned from thick, tightly spaced slats that blocked most of the light from the interior. No one would argue that the final result was unsatisfactory; the change in policy was puzzling to the local administrators, aesthetically distasteful to the architect, and exasperating for the job carpenters who thought that they had finally figured out what restoration was all about.

But the lattice represented a shift in thinking. If the issue of technical competence can be solved, other examples of the idiosyncratic, hybrid designs of the Taishô period may survive the uniforming forces of restoration at Tsumago and elsewhere.

A comparison of the pre- and post-restoration plans shows that the center room of the house was changed the most. With the approval of the owner, the newly hung ceiling, the enclosing *fusuma* along the *doma*, and the *tatami* covering the floor were removed. The *irori* was reconstructed, and the smoke hole re-opened. To this, Hayashi added a large covered skylight to brighten the space, not unlike the one built by Mr. Y. at Yû-ya. In Tsumago's museum houses, wooden shingles had been restored on the roofs because designated cultural properties are allowed specific exemptions from the Building Standard Law. Designated districts are also allowed exemptions from certain items in the Building Standard, City Planning Law, and National Fire Code in order to allow traditional construction to continue, but sheet metal had been used for safety on the roofs of inhabited houses in Tsumago. Hayashi noted these were uninsulated, and the metal was exposed to the interior in the same manner as a wooden shingle roof. This was the worst of both worlds; the result generated intense heat in the summer, and cold in the winter. Hayashi made the simple change of adding a layer of insulation below the metal, greatly improving the condition of the interior. This detail is now standard in the village, but its long absence during the period of postwar improvements demonstrates how unfamiliar the concept and the techniques of historic rehabilitation were in Japan: the integration of old buildings with modern comforts had been no more than a temporary patchwork awaiting the construction of a new building.

The view of the restored Yorozu-ya is striking from the road, as the facade is usually left open, revealing the "tobacco shop" with its small, almost empty cabinet from which the grandmother may sell two or three packs of cigarettes a day. The open facade allows passers-by to look past the shop, all the way through the central room with its *irori*, beyond the grandmother's room and into the garden. However, most of what the viewer actually sees turns out not to be inhabited by the family, but only the grandmother. Yorozu-ya typifies the pattern of the extensive reconstructions in that the restoration has replaced habitation.

The young couple and their children retreated from the historic structure into a two-storied addition to its rear, designed with the assistance of Hayashi. Compared with other rear additions in Tsumago, Yorozu-ya's addition makes a clean transition from old to new, and even incorporates the two rooms on the rear second floor of the historic structure with a new stairway. The exterior of the addition is covered with *itabari* so that it blends with the original house. Even with Hayashi's input, the restored area, accomplished with public funds, is physically distinct from the inhabited area, paid for by the owner. The work was done by the same architect at the same time, but the objectives of the family and the guidelines of the preservation work did not allow him to integrate the use of the restored space with the utilitarian needs of the family. Yorozu-ya is praised by residents, academics, architects, carpenters and administrators as one of the most "authentic" restorations in the village. The *Ai suru kai* singled it out as one of the most *risôteki* or ideal houses in the town in terms of the preservation effort's objectives. But the changes in Yorozu-ya did not make it a historically accurate museum house, nor improve its function as a residence. Closer

examination reveals that like many other restorations, Yorozu-ya of 1987 was only a temporary construct.

Yorozu-ya's residents chose to leave the restored interior intact, as at Kamichôji-ya. This was in great contrast to other houses, which were being increasingly altered after restoration and turned to commercial use. Other than the almost imperceptible tobacco stand which was graced by the serene presence of the kimono-clad grandmother, the restored area was empty and unused. Like the residents of Kamichôji-ya, this elderly lady was pleased and comfortable with the historic form, as it indeed reproduced the childhood home with which she was so familiar. The tobacco stand retained the appearance of the historic shop, with its small sign and minimal display of goods. Although the family was no longer engaged in the tobacco trade in any significant way, the small stand was the grandmother's diversion, an occasion to talk to visitors, while her daughter was away teaching primary school, and her son-in-law was away working for the railroad.

This younger couple planned to eventually take advantage of the large space and good location to open a souvenir shop or a restaurant. Beyond making a fire periodically for to give the new beams a protective covering, they had never considered using the the *irori* for their own amusement. Why then, had they given up their large central family room in the area now the *daidokoro* for the tiny one they had now? They disliked the old house to begin with, and hoped that the restoration, which was subsidized, would serve them as an investment in a future business; perhaps in their retirement they would open a large shop. The ideal shopfront, considered a model for the village, was like Kamichôji-ya and other ideal houses, a form which reflected the presence of an elderly resident steeped in traditional culture.

Yorozu-ya had not functionally, ideologically or economically succeeded in integrating historic form and modern life.

Terashita: Commerce and the Reversal of Restorations

Accommodating economic and physical growth within the boundaries of the historic district became one of the biggest challenges of the third phase, along with solving issues of habitability. Both issues were concerned with making sure residents remained in the village; the rate of the population decrease had slowed, but the number of inhabitants continued to drop. The historic buildings needed to be adapted functionally, structurally and economically with the demands of modern life, or the villagers would have to abandon hope of future habitation and allow the village to go further along the course of gradual museumification.

The *Ai suru kai* has stated that the preferred form of business within the historic district is the family-run inn with the capacity for fifteen to eighteen guests. Other than outside employment, the alternative was to run a souvenir shop or open a restaurant. All of these businesses were to be conducted inside of residential-scale structures; it was understood that new construction would not be approved for business purposes. Enterprises in the district were best located along the street to access the passing public, and therefore the designated portion of the historic structures were the most likely candidates for commercialization.

Although the *Ai suru kai* suggested guidelines, there were no strict rules about the size of businesses or the number of each that could be opened within the town at first. Villagers soon learned that small inns were not very profitable and not very popular. They were largely run by women who had not been invited to participate in the planning meetings and other activities of the movement; they saw all this as an expansion of their housekeeping duties with little reward. Some enterprising villagers had opened shops in the front portions of their homes and *minshuku* to the rear, the family retreating ever further toward the rear of the site with additions that now threatened to fill almost the entire rear lot of most houses. This unplanned growth produced a clogged fabric of haphazard construction that is a potential environmental, and was beginning to dwarf the scale of the original built area at places like cramped Terashita.

Social problems were arising from the fact that the physical structure of the town created unequal access to business opportunity. Central location and larger plots, which were the holdings of the families of higher status, now provided the necessary conditions to develop benefits from the tourist trade. Smaller peripheral plots, historically belonging to residents with lower socioeconomic status, now suffered from lack of space to expand and a lack of customers to support a shop or inn. Outlying areas like Ôtsumago were at particular disadvantage. Beyond the *shukuba* area, the hamlet was made up of farmhouses and it was at least a fifteen minute walk to the center of the village. Residents complained that no guests were being sent to their inns from the referral office in town, and few visitors ventured that far on their own.

The small houses of Terashita were also at a disadvantage. The Terashita area was a collection of some of the smallest units in the village, some only two rooms deep. The neighborhood presented the most accurate picture of what the town had been like one hundred years ago, and was the most popular movie set, chosen by frequently visiting film makers and photographers. The houses were of a consistent type and height, presenting a uniform facade to the street. (Not all of the units at Terashita are *nagaya*, although the image is of a continuous fabric.) All of the approximately 20 residences were built on land leased from the temple. One advantage was that the difference in status between houses built on owned land and those on rented land was reduced by the Resident's Declaration which its implicit rejection of the asset value of real property.

One of the few craftsmen in the village, a *geta* maker, maintained a shop at the edge of the Terashita area until his retirement in 1987. The *dei* of some of these houses was used to display the wares of craftsmen to travelers, so the proliferation of gift shops is not counter to the traditional function of the houses. By 1987, commercial space was no longer restricted to the raised-floor area of the *dei*, however, and a growing number of houses in this and other parts of the village had undergone reconstruction or major use changes since the completion of the historic restoration. Despite the designation of the one-*ken* area, the *Ai suru kai* found it difficult to reject applications for development of commercial space. Economic improvement was an objective of the effort, and everyone was entitled to benefit. Within the commercialized residences, the raised-floor areas of the reconstructed *dei* were usually removed to create additional concrete-covered floor space at ground level which was most appropriate for modern souvenir shops. Some

houses went as far as replacing the *shôji* with wood-framed glass doors covered with lattice work to resemble traditional *kôshi*.

In summary, the *one-ken* zone which had been the focus of restoration work was also the traditional commercial zone of the house, and the most logical space for a modern shop. During the third phase, there was a gradual increase in the reversal of interior restoration work in this zone. Most of these changes were done with the approval of the *Ai suru kai*, which was reluctant to stop villagers from developing their own businesses as long as it remained inside the residence. In 1989 only two, and seasonally four, of the 20 houses in Terashita regularly exposed a raised-floor *dei* to the street; all of these houses were inhabited by people over 65 years of age. Houses in Kamimachi showed the same trend of reversing interior restoration for commercial use.

Most of the recent commercial development in Terashita necessarily occurred on the western side of the Nakasendô. Houses on this side had long, narrow gardens to the rear, extending back to the service road along the river. In contrast, on the eastern side of the road units were backed up against a hill. The interiors of these units were darker, and they had no room to expand or develop their sites. *Yû-ya* was an exceptionally wide house, and the only *minshuku* in this eastern side of Terashita, contrasting to the three *minshuku* and five gift shops on the other side of the road. In some cases, houses on the eastern side of the road in Terashita had only enough rear site area to add a small bath and toilet. (Fig. 39) Sewage was a problem in these houses; waste had to be removed from rear toilets by suction pump via a pipe which ran under the floor of the house toward the street. There was no service road behind these houses. Since the halting of vehicular traffic on

along the main street in 1968, an eastern service road had been promised to the villagers, but its construction was delayed when it was realized that it would be visible from the historic district.

On a larger scale, the entire area of Terashita suffered because of its location on the fringe of the *shukuba*. Tourism had evolved away from the linear movement of people walking along the old highway. In the 1960's and early 70's, hikers would travel from one end of the town to the other along the highway, going as far as Magome by foot. After the new parking lots were constructed, individuals and groups arrived by car and entered the *shukuba* abruptly at mid-point where the largest houses were, and made a loop to both sides before returning to the center area to exit. Many did not take the trouble to explore even the full length of the *shukuba*, to say nothing of the more distant areas along the highway outside the village.

The preservation project unintentionally preserved and even exacerbated problems of social and economic inequity in the town, which threatened village cohesion even as it became more important. Features of the old feudal hierarchy remained in the village because the historical elite had the largest plots, and retained political control of the self-governing bodies. The contemporary hierarchy was not identical to the historical one; particularly the younger, well-educated returnees from Tokyo and other cities assumed roles of importance.

The historical structure of the village, and its restructuring through the creation of parking lots, exaggerated differences between the villagers over the years. The Residents' Declaration made it problematic or impossible for families even to change position. Yet almost all villagers were experiencing

some economic benefits, and about two thirds of the families with the historic *shukuba* had consequently expanded their houses by 1987. The amount of floor area newly constructed since 1968 in the village was about equal to the amount of previously existing area. The expansions were graphically evident if one ventured along the service roads or along the paths to the rear of the houses. Tsumago began to experience criticism from visitors, especially architects, who condemned the village as nothing more than a stage set.

Preservation Ordinances at Narai-juku

The inadequacy of the *one-ken* rule was recognized in nearby Narai-juku's 1978 ordinances, written after the town received the second district designation along the Kiso-ji. Based on the Tsumago experience, Narai's preservation plan designated and protected the basic structure of each house along with the *one-ken* area lining both sides of the Nakasendô. This provided greater protection for each house's traditional form, and provided the means to pay for structural repairs which were not officially covered at Tsumago after 1975. Residents at Narai were allowed to construct additions to the rear of their houses, but the integrity of the basic structural members had to be respected. Any alterations could theoretically be reversed in the future. In Tsumago, it seemed too late; villagers would not willingly give up more control over their homes despite the loss to the traditional fabric of the town.

The Igarashi Residence: The District Boundary and the Kiso Region

Tsumago's preservation effort received an enormous amount of media attention and was visited by more than 600,000 people annually from 1975.²⁴² It might be assumed by a European or American preservationist that the visibility and success of the project would influence surrounding townships, and that an awareness of historic preservation would cause protective measures to be taken elsewhere. If anything, the opposite was true, as is demonstrated by what happens to historic buildings outside the social and administrative barriers of the designated district.

Just before entering the historic district at Tsumago, the road leading from Nagiso Station to Tsumago takes a sharp turn. Until 1987, this turn marked the beginning of the historic district, and was the site of a square, tile-roofed wooden house called the Igarashi residence, a modest example of a *yōkan*, a nineteenth century Japanese structure designed in a Western idiom. *Yōkan*, literally “western hall,” refers to a kind of transitional architecture of the early Meiji period, devised by local Japanese carpenters to create Western-style buildings using local materials and wood-working techniques. Like other such buildings, the single-storied Igarashi Residence was built of wood with traditional Japanese joints and a post-and-beam structure, but its shape was tall and square; the solid exterior walls were faced with wood planks, and punctured by doors and windows which were decorated with attempts at Western classical details. The facade was symmetrical with a side-hinged wooden door at the center, flanked by a window on each side. Inside were four rooms separated by solid wooden walls, which created high-ceilinged

²⁴² Nagiso-chō 1986, p. 12.

rooms entered through side-hinged doors. The house was topped by a shallow tiled roof. The product of a transitional period, very few of these buildings survive. Today it is still possible to find them in smaller towns and cities that prospered during the Meiji period, but subsequently fared less well. The Igarashi Residence and the Town Hall Branch Office were two such Western-style public buildings which survived from Meiji Tsumago.

Built in 1900, the Igarashi Residence had housed the local office of the Forestry Ministry on the site of the former *honjin* in Tsumago. When the forestry office moved out of the town in the 1930's, the building was moved to a site outside of town along the river, and later converted to a residence. Since then it had been in private hands, but received a village-level designation as an Important Cultural Property during the 1970's. On its new site, the Igarashi Residence was close to the road, creating a striking gateway to the historic district.

The house was located just meters outside the border of the funded preservation district. (Fig. 45) A distant transportation planning office had proposed a new pedestrian bridge and a gas station on the site, which demanded the removal of the house; the plan was not subject to appeal, nor did transportation planner make any provisions to save the house. The occupants were offered 20 million yen in compensation, about equivalent to the cost of dismantling and reconstructing the old house. This would be about two thirds the cost of building a new conventional house, and the residents chose to build a new house on a site nearby. Nagiso town officials were able to allocate funds for the safe dismantling of the Igarashi house, but there were no funds to reconstruct it. There was no clear purpose in doing so, nor a location where it could be done. The house could not be sold because of

its designation as a cultural property, yet the borders of the funded preservation district did not extend far enough to subsidize its reconstruction closer to the *shukuba*.

During the early 1970's residents had created a private preservation foundation to deal with restoration-related problems, but its modest resources would be depleted by even this small project. The house was dismantled and put into storage, and the gateway to the historic district became a steel pedestrian bridge which is rarely used. The only proposals considered acceptable by Nagiso and the *Ai suru kai* for the re-use of the house were as a museum or archive, yet no public funds were available to make this happen. A new business or residential use was considered inappropriate inside a cultural property. The removal of the Igarashi house highlights the hard separation of the "real world" from the protected precincts of the designated district.

In other areas of Kiso, regional development projects routinely proceeded without consideration for historic buildings or districts. The mobility of individual structures makes it possible to save historic buildings, as in the case of the 35 houses moved from Shirakawa in the 1960's. Yet there is no outside demand for either the *machiya* this region, or the *honmune-zukuri* farmhouses. Certainly the latter are large enough for adaptive use, but they do not have the appeal of *gasshō* houses as symbols of rural Japan. Kon Wajirō called them "Germanic" in a 1964 essay;²⁴³ Bruno Taut had illustrated them in his *Houses and People of Japan* with Alpine look-alikes.

²⁴³ Kon 1971, p. 435.

The larger problem lies in the lack of integration of regional development and planning with environmental and architectural preservation concerns. As discussed in Chapter Three, there was a general lack of concern in the planning agencies until the 1980's with the protection of environmental quality, and planning responsibilities are split among many agencies which do not always coordinate their efforts. The designated preservation districts are under the jurisdiction of the Agency for Cultural Affairs after designation and benefit from exemptions, as discussed previously. As a result, the edge of Tsumago's designated district is a hard administrative boundary, and increasingly, a hard physical border marking dramatic contrast between inside and out.

The boundary between tightly controlled preservation districts and uncontrolled areas just adjacent to them is even more extreme in urban districts such as those in Takayama and Kyôto. By 1987, the achievements of architectural preservation districts in Japan did not spread to surrounding areas through the creation of larger districts or lighter controls such as easements or other zoning measures. The success of a particular district in gaining designation did not indicate widespread interest among the general public of a region or city in historic environments, as might be expected. In Kyôto, the designation was a means to isolate and protect the district from surrounding communities; at Tsumago, it was a means of differentiating their town from surrounding towns and ultimately served to isolate them from the rest of Kiso.

Nagano Prefecture has discussed creating looser protection for broader expanses of the Kiso Valley, to make it the equivalent to Germany's "Romantic Highway" along the Rhine. By 1987 the greatest achievement was

the preservation of a green band along the route of the old Nakasendô as a nature trail. Kiso's citizens did not seem moved by the achievements in historic preservation at Tsumago; on the contrary, many residents of Suhara and other nearby villages viewed the Resident's Declaration as a rejection of wider regional participation in, or benefit from, the tourist development effort and considered Tsumago residents self-serving. Tsumago residents similarly saw the creation of other historic towns in the area as potential competition, threatening the uniqueness of their project.

The lack of interest in regional architectural style outside Tsumago was indicated by the form of new construction outside the district. During the early 1980's, anodized aluminum window and door frames became available in Kiso, which allowed the addition of color to the metal; this small innovation enabled builders to matching the color of aluminum windows to that of stained wood, vastly reducing the contrast between old and new. These windows soon became standard in Tsumago and radically changed the appearance of the metal facade elements used in new construction there. Interest in this and other small but effective design innovations have not spread widely in new construction beyond the historic district. There appears to be little enthusiasm to create a modern version of the *honmune-zukuri* that would blend in with or resemble traditional houses. Neither has there been interest in rehabilitating *honmune-zukuri* farmhouses or the *machiya* in other villages, with the notable exception of one architect working out of Matsumoto. Outside the strict boundaries of Tsumago, such structures were routinely demolished. This is in contrast to the citizen support of design controls and broad landscape planning to protect the historic character of rural valleys in Germany, Austria, or Switzerland. These are reasonable

comparisons because the wood-framed *fachwerk* farmhouses there present similar rehabilitation problems to those in Japanese *minka*..

Bankruptcy, Death and Taxes

Several years after the designation, a resident of the historic district who had been a subcontractor in the lumber industry went bankrupt. The family's finances had to be examined, and arrangements made to pay creditors; the family considered leaving the village, perhaps to live with their relatives. However, the financial implications of the Resident's Declaration were confusing. Since there had not been any land sold in recent memory in the vicinity of the historic district, the family and their bank had to consult the national directory of land values published by the National Land Agency (*Kokudo chô*). The book value of the property was ten thousand yen per hectare, or somewhere around U.S. \$50.00 per acre by 1993 exchange rates, an impossibly low figure. This was not unusual for rural land assessment, since there were so few transactions by which to judge real market value. But the presence of thriving businesses within the historic district surely suggested a higher assessment; yet there was a question as to whether the land was viable collateral for any loan at all, given the fact that it could not be sold. Despite their wish to leave, the family felt they were not allowed to sell the property, nor could they use their land to secure a loan of any meaningful size. The legality of this was not tested since they felt bound to the resident's agreement despite their difficulties. The monetary value of their most important

remaining asset was effectively erased by the Declaration and the town ordinances.

The issue of land assessment raised by their circumstances was far from being resolved. Like other Japanese citizens, Tsumago's residents pay an annual fixed asset tax on land to the local municipality. In addition, after the death of a land owner heirs were required to pay the inheritance tax, calculated by the central government on the market value of land, as described in Chapter 3. In the absence of transactions which would allow an accurate assessment, market value could be calculated based on the development or income potential of a given property based on data available for equivalent properties. Given the growing prosperity of the historic district in Tsumago, residents, especially those not directly involved in profitable tourism-related businesses, grew concerned over the prospect of high inheritance taxes on their property. In a designated historic district, this would not result in the destruction of houses, but could displace the heirs of Tsumago's elderly and destroy the social achievements of the project in the passing of a single generation.

Yet tax rates were not the only threat to the social longevity of the preservation effort: by 1987, three houses had been abandoned within the historic district. Their owners had either passed away, or were elderly people living with their children in distant locations. No one tended to these properties, yet they were retained by absentee owners. The *Ai suru kai* noted that the owners were reluctant to sell, and selling was discouraged in any case. It was unclear if it was acceptable for individuals within the community to amass additional property through such transactions. The annual fixed asset taxes on these particular *machiya* and their sites was not public information,

but figures quoted for similar sites were as low as ten thousand yen per year, lower, as one resident put it, than his electric bill. There simply was no incentive to sell. The inheritance tax was still low, and the problem of abandoned houses threatened to grow as other elderly people passed away or moved to live with relatives. There was no plan for dealing with such vacant houses, yet new construction continued unabated and residents continued to complain about the lack of sufficient space in the historic district for housing and businesses. The Residents' Declaration had not considered the long-term financial impact it would have on the town, yet the prospect of amending it was the cause of serious debate.

The slow progress of abandonment was not halted by the town's taking control of some vacated houses. Tatebajaya was once a teahouse located at Ichikokutochi, a now remote location along an unpaved segment of the Nakasendô in the mountains toward Magome. (Fig. 51) When its elderly resident passed away, the heirs gave the isolated house to the town, and it was completely restored at great expense. The house now stands empty in the woods, its only function is to serve as a period piece along this wooded segment of the highway which is now a hiking trail. The uncertain resurrection of the Igarashi house, and the hollow state of Tatebajaya are unfortunate evidence of the lack of a comprehensive plan for the village as the project matures. The result is an unwitting trend toward museumification of the village, which pulls in an opposite direction from the trend toward commercialization favored by the average resident.

The Culture of Wood as an International Monument

During 1987, a former head of ICOMOS visited the Tsumago project. It was well before his visit that the discussion started within the Agency for Cultural Affairs over the selection of Tsumago as a candidate to become one of UNESCO's World Heritage sites. The 1972 Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage had established a system of international cooperation that would safeguard sites "of outstanding universal value" in the event of war. By the late 1980's, just under 200 such sites had been created worldwide. The Agency for Cultural Affairs was considering the nomination of the 3,000 acre preservation district at Tsumago as one of its candidates for consideration by the International Council on Monuments and Sites, the body which conducts the preliminary review of nominations.

Japan did not become a signatory to the World Heritage Convention until 1992, and the first sites finally approved for inclusion on the list were Hôryû-ji and Himeji castle. In future years, it is likely that the Agency for Cultural Affairs will present Tsumago and its surrounding forestland to the international community. Approval seems likely: another wooden district of rather humble architectural character has already been approved as a World Heritage site, the timber-framed warehouse district on the waterfront of Bergen, Norway. If the discussion in 1987 which surrounded the ICOMOS visit is any indication, Japanese preservationists will present Tsumago not only as an important architectural site as such, but as a representation of Japanese architectural culture and tradition. The surrounding mountains are now more of a natural setting for the village than a direct source of its building materials, but Tsumago's simple houses, nestled in a forested valley

and tended by dedicated residents. (Fig. 52) Despite the ambivalence of many residents and the many unsolved problems within its borders, Tsumago will embody for the international community Japan's living tradition, the "culture of wood" that was as much social process as architectural form.

Chapter Five

Tsumago in International Perspective

By virtue of its importance in Japan, Tsumago was considered by the Agency for Cultural Affairs for nomination as a Japanese site on UNESCO's World Heritage List. The nomination is yet to be made, and the international significance of Tsumago has not yet been fully understood by Japanese preservationists nor have the peculiarly Japanese aspects of the project been understood by international authorities.

This section attempts to define the international significance of the conservation effort at Tsumago, and to explore the contradictory nature of some of its objectives. Tsumago shares many of its problems with preservation sites in other parts of the world; it is hoped that this comparison will not only offer a perspective on Tsumago's successes and failures, but insight into how some of these problems might be resolved.

In recent years, both citizens and administrators agree that Tsumago has reached an economic and social crisis, at a scale which threatens the survival of the town as both a restoration site and a habitat. This study proposes that resolving Tsumago's problems will involve a clearer articulation of and agreement over the goals of the project from all the parties involved: residents, historians, preservation professionals, local entrepreneurs, and local government. Moreover, it will involve accepting the futility of isolating

the town from modernity; the preservation project can only be a partial reconstruction of the past created toward a specific end. Resolving Tsumago's problems will necessarily involve making decisions about what role the town is to have in larger, modern cultural and economic contexts.

These are some of the questions that will have to be answered: will the town be able to maintain its present social makeup and organization, and if so, will the houses be able to accommodate the rising standard of living? Will the *Tôsei i'in kai*'s role in controlling behavior as well as construction have to expand in order to reign in further development? Will all residents continue to cooperate in the operation of the project despite the unequal distribution of benefit? Or will Tsumago go the way of Williamsburg and gradually become an artifact without community, a museum village? If so, it would be tragic, as that would deny the intent of the movement that created Tsumago in its present form, and much has already been sacrificed in terms of its architectural authenticity in order to accommodate the needs of residents. Will regional planners try to make Tsumago a "historic resort" in the style of many European historic cities, where the diminutive historic center is a secondary attraction for participation in other, more profitable leisure industries which will surround and overshadow it?

The following discusses foreign precedents which were mentioned as models by the activists at Tsumago. In particular, Williamsburg, Virginia, and Rothenburg ob der Taube in Germany were repeatedly invoked to promote the execution of the project. Ôta Hirotarô was quick to say that he, for one, used these foreign examples not for a true model, but for the leverage they would provide in justifying a daring and rather expensive

undertaking.²⁴⁴ As earlier discussed in this study, his deliberate use of foreign authority and experience is not a new tactic to influence opinion and promote change in Japan. But despite the limits which Ôta wisely places on these comparisons, they do provide useful insight into the unique character of Tsumago, and pinpoints the source of some of its problems.

During the course of this field investigation, the author of this study was asked to relinquish the role of neutral observer and participate in debate. This section was written at the request of administrators at Nagiso Town Hall and the *Ai suru kai* to help identify problems, and propose some solutions which could draw on experiments in other parts of the world. This request and other study activities demonstrates the eagerness with which the *Ai suru kai* seeks to "internationalize" and learn from experiences elsewhere. Such openness to ideas in this insular community does not present a paradox or problem for its members, but does suggest the degree of urgency they feel in regard to their future. The following summarizes the main points of a report that was translated into Japanese and made available to residents and administrators.

Tsumago and Williamsburg: The Museum Village Model

When it came time to rally support for the preservation project, both locally and in Tokyo activists began to refer to Tsumago as the "Williamsburg of Japan," in order to easily communicate what they wanted to achieve, and

²⁴⁴ Interview with Ôta Hirotarô, Tokyo 1987.

sell it successfully to government officials and reluctant local residents. The comparison lent legitimacy to the project by providing a success model and a concrete image for a new and risky venture that was difficult for many to conceptualize. But the barriers of distance and language prevented any real extensive influence from Williamsburg, and in any case, the situations were quite different.

Williamsburg was begun in 1926, when the minister of a local church approached John D. Rockefeller for funding to reconstruct the Williamsburg settlement as it was 200 years ago. At that time it functioned as the capital of the new American colony. In the 1920's, a total of 88 buildings remained from that period, interspersed and surrounded by a town of largely early to late 19th century buildings.²⁴⁵ As at Tsumago, a cut-off date was decided to inform the preservation, restoration, reconstruction and demolition of buildings. The year was 1775, which was the last year that the town served as the capital of Virginia. All buildings built after that time were to be demolished, and all buildings dating to that period were to be returned to their pre-revolutionary form. Also, important buildings which had been lost were to be reconstructed based on available documentation.²⁴⁶ The project was funded by a 21 million dollar endowment from the Rockefeller family, which was used to create the non-profit Williamsburg Foundation, and additional funds continue to be solicited from a variety of public and private sources.

²⁴⁵ The history of Williamsburg and its restoration is presented in Williamsburg Foundation 1951.

²⁴⁶ Fitch 1992, pp. 95-104.

Like Tsumago, Williamsburg today is a representation of a town that never actually existed at any given point in time, although it is programmatically meant as a reconstruction to a time which represented a peak in its history. A unified setting was created, composed of original and reproduced buildings. However, Tsumago never had the patronage of a single philanthropist, and despite efforts at fund raising, has not been able to create a large endowed foundation that would ensure the future of the project. The lack of successful fund raising has not only to do with the paucity of philanthropy in Japan, but with the economic objectives of the town: unlike Williamsburg, Tsumago was never intended as a non-profit amenity for the public at large. Instead, enterprises developed within the village were to belong to residents of the village, and profits would go directly to those individual entrepreneurs. Yet the biggest contrast between the two towns is not its economic base, but the impetus to conserve and the place of the resident community in the overall plans for the town.

Tsumago was a community preservation effort initiated by well-organized residents threatened by a poor economic climate and a drop in population. The preservation effort was in part a development effort, a way of ensuring the survival of this old community in the modern world, as captured in their slogan, *Hozon kaihatsu*, or "Preservation for Development." Even before the restoration work, the existing town had enough anachronistic qualities to offer an attraction to urban visitors. On the other hand, Williamsburg was an effort at erasing the present in order to recreate a total illusion of a distant past for visitors. From the start, this erasure included the displacement of the contemporary community of Williamsburgers. Its social program was the inverse to Tsumago's, as it was

intended as a benefit to the community outside of itself; Tsumago was to benefit those on the inside.

What was it that was thought to be worthy of emulating at Williamsburg? Williamsburg was understood to be a town reconstructed as a complete whole, recreating its form in the 18th century. This notion of a "complete" reconstruction is what seems to have appealed to Tsumagoans. But perhaps more important was that the aim of Williamsburg was broader than the mere preservation of architectural form, which Japanese preservationists have seen as a superficial and inevitably doomed effort. Williamsburg's social and technological contents were to be presented as part of its "completeness," a living museum of village life; but the social content of the town had to be recreated along with many of the buildings.

The town center of Williamsburg is clearly an uninhabited exhibition site and museum, in fact not really a town at all. It is administered by and functions as a non-profit corporation. The original residents of the town were given lifetime tenure in the homes they owned, or sold their property to the Williamsburg Foundation as the reconstruction progressed. (No external sales were permitted.) There is no evidence to suggest any major protest against the gradual displacement of the community, but the creation of ordinances to gradually empty the town of its residents represented an implicit assumption that the experiment of "living history" at Williamsburg was in conflict with a true community participating in modern life. At the present time, only one elderly person remains of the original residents of the site, a sign that the project is nearing full completion.

In contrast, Tsumago's success boasts of the return of many residents who were forced away by hard times, and the curve of population loss has at least softened, if not leveled off. True, the clock was to be turned back only 100 years, as opposed to the 200 years at Williamsburg, but the sacrifice in the standard of living at Tsumago was more drastic. The houses at Williamsburg are easier to adapt to modern American life because there has not been as much fundamental physical change in our domestic culture. Houses like those found in Williamsburg are routinely renovated simply by insulating walls, and installing modern plumbing and heating. Small rooms and low ceilings are minor inconveniences in otherwise very functional plans; in fact the colors, styles and patterns used at Williamsburg's restoration were widely copied by people all over the United States after the restoration opened, and a line of furniture and other licensed reproductions remain popular half a century later. The mobility of our population allows occupants to move in and out of historic houses to accommodate changing needs, allowing physical form to remain the same without great cost to individual families.

Tsumago had a high proportion of elderly residents for whom restoration meant not a return to a remote and primitive past, but a nostalgic revival of the material culture of their younger days. As the standard of living rose and younger people returned from the city, however, the inadequacies of the historic building stock became more pressing; the lack of physical mobility within the town, a consequence of the Resident Declaration, meant that the character of particular historic houses were a liability or a benefit to particular families.

As at Williamsburg, national identity and national pride were a driving force at Tsumago, but along with this is a more muted political program to

reject the "impurities" of the post-war era's westernizing and especially Americanizing elements. Unlike Kyôto, where the preservation movement has thinly veiled links with political organizations, particularly the Communist Party, the return to a native Japanese set of values at Tsumago is an agrarian or "villagist"sensibility. The observant town hall bureaucrats call this *murashugi*, and they have first-hand experience with resident rejection of outsiders in village affairs, including bureaucrats raised and residing outside the village. However, for the Tsumago resident the source of pride in the village is not so much the feudal past which created the town, but its place in modern Japanese history as part of *Before the Dawn*. Shimazaki Tôson gave the town and the region a place in modern cultural identity through his enobled portrayal of life in southern Kiso.

However, in the eyes of Tsumagoans, strengthening the viability of the town involved fortifying it from the outside governance which has historically exploited its resources. Cooperation within a self-governing community was deemed necessary to make the project possible; maintenance of village consensus was therefore both the means and the end. It was no accident that the men who lead the preservation movement were all born in early Shôwa and were products of an pre-war education which stressed national pride and traditional values.

Quite in contrast to Tsumago, Williamsburg was conceived from the start as a museum town, with the primary purpose of public education, through a total recreation of the life and atmosphere of the 18th century. The people who staff the 100 exhibition houses include craftsmen who practice a trade on site; all are paid a salary from the Foundation, and commute to work. Unlike the struggling craftsmen of Kiso, these people can train the next

generation of craftsmen on the job without worrying about the economic viability of their craft. The craftsmen of Kiso, who make nationally famous combs and lacquerware, as well as everyday household items crafted in fine woods, are barely able to make a living unless they adapt their work for mass-production, as in the lacquerware workshops at Agematsu. Such workshops are quite different from the showcase cottage industries that are being discussed as attractions in contemporary Tsumago. Tsumago's last craftsman, a retired *geta* (wooden sandal) maker, was quick to say that his craft was not a way to make a good living. Like the comb makers at Yabuhara, and the bentwood box-maker at Narai, he did not encourage his children to follow him, nor sought any apprentices who might be willing to learn.

At this time, most of the crafts and other souvenirs sold at Tsumago are imported from overseas or factory-produced at other locations in Japan, which is the source of much criticism and debate. Yet it is clear that the days of the local craftsman are over; many of his products are no longer needed, and his activities can no longer provide even the basic necessities for a family. The reluctance of the traditionalists of Tsumago to admit, accept, and deal with this fact is their reluctance to accept a loss in their image of themselves and their culture, not a defeat of their values. Several younger residents (those in their early forties) have suggested creating admission fees for certain areas of the town, or demonstration shows of crafts at certain times, in order to subsidize and perpetuate skills. But the senior villagers respond with their directive that a Tsumagoan has an "obligation to make his living from keeping an inn, farming, and practicing a craft."

In recent years, the interpretive program at Williamsburg has come under increasing criticism for its failure to represent the true economic base

of the town, which relied on slavery. At Tsumago, the structure of the town was based not on a feudal system with built-in inequalities, and the lack of physical mobility or economic planning within the town has ironically preserved, and in some cases, recreated the inequalities of the town's past.

Whether Williamsburg is successful is debatable, but at the present time with over 20 million visitors annually, it is certainly popular. Yet it too has been criticized for the artificiality of its aims, and despite admission fees it charges to exhibits, and annual support from its endowment totaling over 7 million dollars, the Williamsburg Foundation is still deeply in debt every year and must raise additional funds in the form of donations to cover costs. Because there is no gate to the historic town, it is estimated that only 42% of the visitors actually contribute any money, while increasing the strain of maintaining the grounds and services.²⁴⁷ (The Foundation has long resisted the construction of a wall and gate which would separate the restoration from the rest of the "real" town.) In addition to maintenance and security is the cost of running the various educational programs which attract visitors, including festivals, craft demonstrations, tours and the like.

If one can judge from the Williamsburg experience, the "museum village" is a dangerous direction for even the most conservative preservationist at Tsumago to encourage, without assembling a substantial endowment and other subsidies. Yet how can donations be gathered for a non-profit effort without resolving the issue of individual ownership of land and facilities, and the for-profit nature of Tsumago's enterprises? Even if the government makes a substantial financial commitment to support an

²⁴⁷ Interview with administrators at Williamsburg, 1988.

educational museum, can villagers retain their control over their destiny, or feel adequately provided for in a museum-like setting?

At Tsumago, the preservationists were all of a generation that was close to the material culture they wished to conserve, and immersed in its values. In this sense the early district preservation movement had an almost evangelical role in preserving Japanese culture, crafts, and values, and in asserting the authority and power of this elder generation in the face of social change. This is witnessed in the ultimate triumph as expressed by Tsumago's elderly, the return of adult offspring from the city to the homes of their parents in the village. Younger residents and professionals have recently begun to challenge the social aspects of the project, advocating the preservation of the district as a purely architectural monument.

In summary, Tsumago's integrity as a "real" town causes an economic conundrum which is not easily resolved. Although the town relies on community organization and consensus to manage itself, it operates on an entrepreneurial system with profits going into private pockets; each family is left to develop its own means of creating wealth from the growing number of visitors. The community effort benefits the participating families; in a socialist economy this may present no conflict, but in the present economic structure, the result is growing inequity and therefore growing dissent among villagers. In contrast, Williamsburg is an empty shell which exists for the edification of the public, and can therefore be considered "for the public good." Even the recent inclusion of African Americans as interpreters of slaves at Williamsburg is done for its educational value, and certainly does not adversely affect the lives or the livelihood of the interpreter. It therefore

qualifies for public and philanthropic support, and need not rely on the economic efficiency of its activities.

Tsumago and Rothenburg ob der Taube: Regional Culture and Historic Towns

Rothenburg ob der Taube is another place which is often cited as a model for Tsumago, and a delegation from Tsumago's *Ai suru kai* has even visited the town and discussed "sister city" links. Rothenburg is well-known as a very early example of historic district preservation, in the reconstructionist paradigm of the 19th century. Because many of its buildings date from the 16th century, it is one of the finest medieval towns outside of Italy.

Unlike Williamsburg, Rothenburg's reconstructed town center is not a museum. The historic center is inhabited, but functions as the commercial center of a larger community, as is the case in many medieval towns in Europe. Like many 19th century projects, Rothenburg sacrificed the evidence of its continuous history through the removal and rebuilding of edifices which were not medieval in character. This was done through a directive from the city government, gradually imposed on citizens via subsidized and supervised reconstruction. Tragically, during the Second World War the historic area was bombed and damaged extensively, and the reconstruction had to be repeated.

The parallels to Tsumago are apparent: an inhabited historic town with one of the most complete assemblages of medieval architecture in its region, further reconstructed to a greater degree of consistency. Both towns rely heavily on tourism for income. Both towns have been criticized for the artificiality of their appearance. But there is a great difference in how each

town fits into the larger landscape, and a difference in the attitude of local people toward the preservation project.

In many of the towns surrounding Rothenburg, vibrant and stable communities live in what are today considered historic buildings. As in the United States, they are functional without major alterations or special preservation measures. The architecture is a familiar part of the landscape in this region of Germany, and the importance of regional cultural has engendered broad conservation of the landscape.

Strict design controls direct the form of new houses in this part of Germany, which are designed almost as replicas of traditional houses. In such a context, where historic buildings and regional culture are an important part of a community's own identity, the recreation of accurate historic forms to please tourists and academics is criticized by locals. Because of the crowds, the rising prices, and the commercialization of the buildings, many native Rothenburgers are choosing to move outside the historic district, while residents in more loosely controlled historic town centers are able to maintain their family homes for their own pleasure. To prevent the further erosion of the town's social authenticity, the municipal government of Rothenburg has begun to consider restrictions on the types of business that can be conducted in each building. Thus, for example, the corner bakery will always remain the corner bakery, regardless of market demand.²⁴⁸

The Kiso Valley has its own beauty and tradition, yet regional architecture is not an important part of people's identity. Modern house forms are favored over traditional ones, as much for what they symbolize as

²⁴⁸ Interview with the Mayor's Office, Rothenburg ob der Taube, 1988.

for the conveniences they offer. Despite a gradual resurgence of regional consciousness, local culture seems to be receding in the face of influences from Tokyo. In Germany there is no single center equivalent to Tokyo, but a number of regional centers, which represents a long history of regional autonomy. At present Japan is one of the most centralized economies in the industrialized world, so it is no surprise that regional identity and culture is weakening.

Therefore, although Tsumago is also criticized for being an artificial creation for tourists, Tsumago has greater value as a rescue effort, since little will remain of the historic landscape of Kiso fifty years from now. Japanese visitors are often disappointed to see the evidence of modern habitation at Tsumago such as paved roads and electric lights; others find the design controls which disguise fire hydrants and regulate facades a deceit. This must be seen in light of a general lack of familiarity in Japan with urban design controls which regulate even newly created communities in the U.S. and Europe.

During the course of this study, Tsumago was visited by preservation architects from Germany, Austria, and Norway. Visits by such professionals are not uncommon, and were opportune occasions to discover the way European practitioners perceive the town, with no knowledge of its history or of the social turmoil within its borders. Their most striking comment was that they felt strangely at home in Tsumago because of what they saw as the historic consciousness in the town, which they felt was lacking in other parts of Japan. They assumed the townscape was a product of the affection residents had for their own houses, and searched for the clever ways that residents adapted the houses to suit modern times. Their greatest surprise

was the ambivalence many residents felt about the beauty of the village. The only criticism these architects offered was the extent to which the appreciation of the town among residents rested on its appeal to outsiders. Yet even as these architects marveled at Tsumago's "breathtaking beauty," busloads of elderly domestic tourists were regularly heard commenting on the sadness, the dustiness, and the darkness of the townscape, echoing the opinion of most Tsumago residents. Some of the visiting architects wondered how much an antique summer home would cost in the area, which was the beginning of a long explanation about the way the town actually functioned.

Every year, Tsumago is more and more of an anomaly in the Kiso landscape, because of the growing contrast between areas inside and outside the preservation district. The Western professional might venture that the resulting "artificiality" of Tsumago's appearance does not lie within Tsumago, but with the abrupt end of environmental controls at the borders of Tsumago. The preservation district is a carefully controlled exception to a general rule of *laissez faire* in the landscape. Not every area in Kiso should be as heavily controlled as the historic preservation area, yet a great opportunity is being lost by not planning and controlling the future growth of the valley with a comprehensive vision. Kiso has an important history, a breathtaking landscape, and is easily accessed from Tokyo or Western Japan. It could very easily become the "Romantic Highway" of Japan that Nagano Prefecture seeks to model after the same in Germany. This would necessitate regional design controls for new construction, limitations put on new development, strict land use zoning, and protection of the natural landscape; yet none of these controls exist, and there are no plans to institute them.

Tsumago and Community Preservation

The deep concern for community and cultural preservation at Tsumago is poignantly captured by the repeated requests made to the author of this study, by residents and administrators alike, for information on Lancaster County's Amish districts. Images of the Amish have come to Kiso via books, magazines and television documentaries, but without much explanation. How had they managed to preserve 19th century America so well? What were the laws like, and how were they enforced? How did they engender such strong commitment to the cause?

It was difficult to convey that religious conviction had led to what amounted to cultural and technical conservatism, and not the other way around. The religious core was missing at Tsumago, and yet the fervor of the most ambitious administrators and conservative residents at Tsumago make one reflect on the separatist origins of the Amish way of life. But the fear of Tsumago's conservative element is not so much technical change as social displacement.

In Rothenburg, as in Williamsburg, social displacement is an accepted part of the preservation project. In Williamsburg, people were deliberately removed to create a museum environment, while in Rothenburg, the combination of the crowds, the rising prices, and the opportunities for commerce have gradually turned residential areas into commercial zones. More commonly in the United States, the problem of social displacement is not related to museumification or commercialization, but to income level.

In contrast to Europe and even Japan, in the United States the paucity of government funding means that historic buildings must prove their value on the open market of the modern economy. The preservationist must deliberately search for ways to infuse more capital into a building or district, often in cooperation with developers. This may involve a change of use, from residence to profit-making shop, or a change in ownership of a house, from low-income to high-income resident.

As a result, the value of real property in a preservation district almost always rises, and as a result residents and tenants are pushed out through higher real estate taxes and rents. The same is usually true in Europe, although the rate and size of increase can be more modest. In Japan, however, designated preservation sites uniformly suffer a drop in market value in urban areas, because of the restrictions on their development potential.²⁴⁹

Rural preservation sites in Japan are more difficult to judge because land changes hands so infrequently. As a consequence, any restrictions on site development are in effect, a permanent blight on the fortunes of a particular family. As younger villagers in Tsumago moved to the city in the postwar era, few houses and other landholdings were sold. This is not unique to Tsumago; the attachment of Japanese to the rural villages of their family origin seems particularly strong. Family identity revolves around place and community ties built up over generations, and ancestral burial sites are given importance in religious life.

²⁴⁹ Mimura research notes, 1987.

The attachment to the village of family origin (and land in general) is reflected in the national Japanese tax structure. The average citizen can retain abandoned houses and rural land rather painlessly through very low annual taxes on rural land, which can be as low as \$40 per year for a *machiya* site. According to Nagiso Town Hall, land is sold so infrequently that it is difficult to assess its value. (The much-discussed tax penalties for unworked agricultural land only apply to designated agricultural sites within urban planning districts.) Unlike in Europe or the United States, there is little demand from city dwellers in Japan to purchase summer houses in rural villages. There is little leisure time in which to enjoy such houses, and rural villages are seen as unwelcoming of newcomers.

Many remote farming villages in the U.S. and Europe which faced population decline have found new identities as weekend and summer retreats for affluent urbanites, with seasonal surges in population. But aside from Karuizawa in Japan, which started as a vacation spot for wealthy Western residents of Tokyo and Yokohama, development of leisure facilities in rural Japan has been very limited. Even at the ambitious theme park cum resort community called Holland Village in Kyûshû, the owners of unprofitable farmland chose to lease their land to the developer rather than sell. The difficulty of acquiring suitable rural sites for development is another reason leisure facilities have not been developed more aggressively.²⁵⁰ The insularity of old rural communities has meant that while billions of yen have been invested by a private sector consortium in a reproduction of a medieval

²⁵⁰ Interview with Long Term Credit Bank, Real Estate Division Economist 1988.

Dutch town,²⁵¹ unique and beautiful historic towns in Kyûshû such as Kitsuki are left to decay.²⁵²

The Tsumago Resident's Declaration is difficult to imagine in any other capitalist country: the famous slogan "don't sell, don't rent, don't destroy" epitomizes the attitude that makes Japanese district preservation unique. In a country which has 57% of its national wealth tied up in real property, compared to 27% in the United States, and only 2.3% in the United Kingdom, severe restrictions on real estate transactions have particular significance. For the residents of Tsumago, their commitment to their place in the village allows them to reject the market value of their property but as has been discussed this is not unusual in rural Japan. The true test of this prototype Declaration is being tested in urban sites such as Gion Shimbashi in Kyôto, and Arimatsu near Nagoya where land prices soared through the 1980's. However, even in Tsumago the bankruptcy case made the issue of asset value rear its head even without the sale of land, and underscores the importance of unresolved economic issues. Tsumago has strengthened community ties by limiting mobility. Although further exodus from the village has not been halted, it has been slowed, keeping more of the next generation in their homes. More remarkably, outsiders and corporate interests are prevented from benefiting from the achievements of the original community.

Both Tsumago and Williamsburg became monuments to their own past, and are struggling to define their role in the present. Both set an unattainable

²⁵¹ In an interview with the development consortium of Holland Village, Kyûshû, 700 *oku* yen was quoted as the initial investment.

²⁵² Part of the small castle town of Kitsuki has been designated under the 1975 amendment, but the town has not managed to benefit much from domestic tourism.

goal, the total recreation of the past, but such recreations can only be partial, an illusion put forth by a place or institution which has a function and an objective in the present. Will Tsumago be a museum town? The commercial historic center of a regional resort? Will it manage to stifle its economic growth and remain a small inhabited village?

If district preservation is to succeed at any meaningful scale in Japan, its primary function is to integrate the heritage of the past with modern life: without that integration, the effort is reduced to an outdoor museum, an educational tool, or street theater teetering uncomfortably close to an amusement park on an historic theme.

Designing Solutions to Tsumago's Problems

The following is a summary of solutions proposed to the Nagiso Town Hall at the conclusion of the field study, based on related experiments in Europe and the U.S.

Problem 1: The scenic character of the Kiso Valley is changing rapidly; in addition to overall landscape changes, valuable houses just outside the historic district are being destroyed.

This problem was underscored by the removal of the Igarashi Residence, which was located just meters from the borderline of the historic district. The house was saved through the initiative of the Nagiso Town Hall administrators.

Proposed Solution:

Prefecture-level funding should be considered for broad preservation and conservation efforts in the Kiso region to protect the overall character of the landscape. This should include signage control, design controls for new structures, and limitations on the scale of new development. A “*minka* sanctuary” should be considered either inside or adjacent to the historic district. Such a sanctuary could be a repository for historic houses facing demolition outside the district through their acquisition (usually at no cost), disassembly, and reconstruction within the protected site. A program similar to this is already in operation in Gifu prefecture, where the *gasshō* are protected as a building type, regardless of their location. In addition, a land bank tax should be considered in the manner of some conservation regions of the U.S. Revenue generated through modest taxes on land purchases accrues in a public trust (in Japan, the tax might be more effective on land development, not sale). The funds can be used to purchase land for conservation, or to subsidize building repair and redesign.

Problem 2: Growth and development are continuing within the historic district, in the form of new construction and other improvements, and take place in an ad hoc manner.

Development planning, such as the improvement of infrastructure, often conflicts with preservation planning, and is done by two separate entities.

Proposed Solution:

Comprehensive planning should replace the “overlay” practices of the present, where each authority plans independently from others. The so-called preservation plan should be replaced by an overall town plan that includes a vision of foreseen and allowable growth. This plan should include such eventualities as the use of abandoned homes for public or private enterprises, the provision of more commercial or residential space as deemed necessary, and plans for the improvement of the sewage system.

Problem 3: Habitability of historic structures is a problem for residents not considered in the preservation plan or in the design of restorations

Unrestored historic structures provide a lower standard of living in comparison with new construction. Restoration often lowers it further by destroying the airtightness of the perimeter, and removing modern improvements such as street-side kitchens or baths. Residents often compensate by building uncontrolled and unplanned additions to the rear of the historic house. The juncture between the publicly controlled zone (which ends 1 *ken* from the facade line) and the residential zone is often problematic because of condensation due to interior heat sources, or because of a poorly designed transition.

Proposed Solution:

Restoration design should not be separated from renovation work. Issues of habitability should be studied and made part of the construction work during restoration. Architect Hayashi has already taken the initiative in helping some residents plan newly constructed living space coordinated with

the restoration design and built simultaneously. Public funds should be made available to study and fund the up-grading of building interiors, particularly in regard to ceiling height, airtightness and climate control, which are affected by the restoration work.

Problem 4: The profits from tourism-related enterprises are distributed unevenly among the population.

Consensus within the village is threatened as income distribution becomes more inequitable. Those with a privileged location and large floor area are able to reap more benefits from the tourist trade.

Proposed solution:

The *Ai suru kai* might consider formulating a bylaw to limit the maximum amount of commercial floor area permitted each household within the historic district. Opportunities for participation in group enterprises should be made available for those without the necessary location or floor area for business. Alternative kinds of enterprises should be considered, in alternative locations, taking the congestion away from the main street and lengthening the stay of the average visitor. One possibility is the revival of Kiso packhorse travel on mountain trails and the abandoned segments of the Nakasendô. Other activities related to the dwindling number of Kiso horses could be tried. Local taxes should be redesigned as incentives and disincentives. Income from enterprises within the historic district could be subject to a special preservation tax. Revenue thus generated could then be recycled into public works projects or public welfare projects. Alternatively,

those houses reduced in size by the restoration and not engaged in business should be offered a tax credit.

Problem 5: Inadequate public funding for public works and other on-going preservation projects; no foreseeable prospects of private funding.

Proposed Solution:

Taxes on income from the tourist industry, as described above, could generate revenue for preservation work. Available historic structures should be used to house communally- or publicly-run enterprises, whose income can be recycled back into preservation activities. For example, the Igarashi House awaits reconstruction and does not have a defined use. It could be used for a business run by a resident's group in the manner of the restaurant run by the *Fujinkai* (Women's Association) inside a Meiji period building built as a post office. Other abandoned structures within the designated district could be appropriated through forced sale or negotiated rental for community-run enterprises. Historic structures from outside the designated district can be rebuilt within to house community-run enterprises, as described above. This would solve the present shortage of buildings to accommodate economic growth, and assuage the understandable reluctance to promote additional new construction.

Problem 6: Despite all efforts, the population continues to drop.

Although the rate of decline has slowed, Tsumago has continued to lose population. The social climate of the village is in line with the Resident's Declaration in that outsiders are not permitted nor are they welcomed by long-time residents. In particular, fear stems from the prospect of outsiders benefiting financially from the preservation project.

Proposed Solution:

Residents complain about the lack of space for living and new businesses, and yet are fearful of the continuing decline in population. Tsumago should design a target population based on the projected number of people who can reside comfortably within the historic district based on the available (or projected) built area, and projected income from local businesses. It is proposed that Tsumago would probably benefit from a slight decline in its current population, but should make plans for the abandoned property that will result. Also, as a precaution, Tsumago should design ways to accept committed new residents. Some historic sites in Europe maintain a land bank which grants homesteading sites to people who commit to at least five years of year-round residence. After that period, seasonal residence is permitted. Additional conditions could be added, such as the prohibition of commercial enterprises operated by seasonal residents or those who have resided in the town less than five years. Alternatively, new enterprises could be restricted through the creation of a commercial permit. New residents could thereby be encouraged join in the operation of group-run enterprises.

Problem 7: The restrictions outlined in the Resident's Declaration restrict the mobility of residents within the village.

As discussed in the previous chapter, there was some mobility of residents within the town, and movement in and out of the village during the period between the 1868 and 1968. Such mobility has been eliminated by the Declaration, resulting in financial hardship and inconvenience to a growing number of people.

Proposed Solution:

The growing number of economic, environmental, and social problems within the village suggests that the Declaration's prohibition of the sale or rental of houses and land needs re-evaluation. Although even the mention of a re-evaluation raises strong objections and fears among some residents, it is simply unrealistic to expect families to remain on the same site in perpetuity. Arrangements should be made for the sale of abandoned property to the public sector or a land trust; residents should have the option of negotiating parcel trades or sales within the community; new residents might purchase land with conditions such as those outlined above.

Conclusions

This study has demonstrated how the search for regional and national identity affected the priorities and methods of the preservation program, particularly in regard to vernacular houses, or *minka* and thereby affected the way the simple pre-modern houses of common people in Japan are experienced and understood. At Tsumago it was the place of the village in an important early monument of modern literature, and therefore its place in the national imagination, that gave the project the momentum and power to succeed. Yet the agenda at Tsumago was from the beginning more than the preservation of architectural form or even the protection of the landscape: preserving the town became linked with the notion of perpetuating a tradition culture which was being threatened with the changes that came with industrialization and modernity. The boundaries of that culture, even the definition of what constituted a traditional building, varied depending on the position of the participant in the larger society. This ambiguity is largely responsible for the continuing debate and conflict.

The study proposed that the primary goal of the preservationist is to present, in the words of American law, an “authenticity of historical experience,” but that experience, by definition, must be created and is therefore an act of design which is ideologically driven. Yet to acknowledge the ideological boundaries of the undertaking compromises the very authenticity the preservationists seeks. The preservation program at

Tsumago constructed conflicting versions of tradition and history which were made by or addressed to the agenda of the diverse range of participants in the project.

Fujimori Terunobu visited Kiso some years ago and mourned the commercialization of Tsumago-juku which seemed to him just like Hara-juku, crowded with trinket shops and urban teenagers.²⁵³ He also noticed with surprise the hand-lettered sign which is still posted on the wall of the resident-run restaurant, which reads: "Let us not forget the dark and lonely past." Fujimori recognized that for the residents of such districts, the preservation movement was both a resistance to change and a strategy for local economic development.

The traditional townscapes which survived in Japan into the 1960's did so largely because of isolation from the post-war economy. The preservation movement succeeded in places like Tsumago because the social cohesion of the community survived along with the built fabric. Additionally, the existence of economic activities required or were supported by traditional buildings and the immediate environment. Almost twenty years after the movement's beginnings, Tsumago can boast many successes, and success has created a new set of problems. But the experience must be understood as a social experiment, as well as an architectural movement which had national significance. The movement was organized by and for the community for its own preservation as well as for architectural preservation. The Japanese model of district preservation is therefore in contrast to many efforts in the

²⁵³ Fujimori 1984, p. 105.

U.S. and Europe, which often lead to gentrification and the displacement of large numbers of residents.

The authenticity of experience sought after by the resident-preservationist was one generated and controlled by resident interests and was preferable to any other form of authenticity, even if architecture and town form were rendered historically inaccurately as a result. The residents of Tsumago gradually reinvented their local traditions to suit their aim of economic development. Yet they preserved more of the past than they perhaps originally intended, and less than outside preservationists are content with. Ironically, it appears that the success of the project has not deterred but only slowed Tsumago's progress toward museumification and abandonment, the fate that many villagers initially feared. The designated district is straining to contain the new construction desired by residents: the population continues to drop as the wealthiest proprietors move to new homes in neighboring towns and the poorest abandon the town for employment elsewhere. Through prosperity the town risks losing both the remains of its historic fabric, and the remains of its resident community.

The community of architectural historians and their counterparts within governmental bureaucracy saw in townscape preservation something not only larger in scale but more profound and correct than the preservation of monuments alone: for this group, it was a vehicle to perpetuate the "culture of wood." Their primary interest was the perpetuation of craftsmanship, of local knowledge about the cultivation of building materials, and of construction and repair which no amount of scholarship could replace. Only by preserving the culture of wood construction could the building cycle continue, and only as part of this cycle could a building or town retain its

authentic structural and material form. For the preservationist-historian, preserving community would be meaningless if it did not also result in the perpetuation of woodworking skills. Buildings within designated districts were to be called traditional rather than historic because they were seen as dynamic systems that either did not have, or would inevitably lose, their material historicity. The preservationist's goal was not to halt this process through the unacceptable chemical intervention practiced in Western countries, but to retard it where possible, by retaining original materials that were structurally sound.

For the local carpenter, however, authenticity was located in the proper techniques and sound judgement of skilled traditional craftsmanship. The unreasonable demands to retain flawed materials rendered preservation a source of fakery. The proactive reconstruction and repair that carpenters practiced within the preservation district therefore did not compromise a town's or a building's authenticity, even though it clearly rendered the built fabric "newer" than the surrounding unprotected towns. The retention of scarred or discolored building elements in the name of tradition was an offense to the craftsman's sensibilities, a sign of the lack of means or ability, and therefore a source of embarrassment. The authenticity of experience of tradition for the carpenter was a job well-done with the appropriate materials, to the highest standard of perfection.

For the design community, the "naturalness" of the whole affair was of primary importance. The honesty of structure and function which the modernists had found in Japanese architecture had caused the traditional house and the traditional townscape to serve as models for modern Japanese design. The power of such design solutions stemmed from the persistence

and indisputable cultural integrity of a living tradition, embodied in inhabited houses and towns which supposedly survived untouched by polluting outside influences. Thus for the architectural community, design authenticity was compromised as the preservation movement succeeded, that is, as more and more interventionist legislation was put in place. For the architect and other critics of the district preservation movement in its mature phase, the very effort to perpetuate community or form was “artificial;” the buildings thereby generated would be untrue, as they would not be generated by “natural” processes. Isolation or separateness from modernity seemed to define the authenticity of experience. The moral attributes of honesty and integrity attributed to Japanese houses made preservation of this architecture difficult to accept. Architectural production within designated and controlled sites could no longer be seen as natural or authentic; it certainly could not serve as an embodiment of cultural fundamentals.²⁵⁴

Support for the preservationist cause waned among many architects and social critics as the administrative tools and practices of preservation were put in place. It was soon recognized that the preservation of a house or town was not a simple presentation of historical or cultural fact, but an act of design, requiring carefully considered design decisions. Eventually field architects like Hayashi Hidenobu were brought in to make those decisions, but they occupied an unenviable position. The role of the field architect symbolized the artificiality of the whole endeavor and would preferably be overlooked by

²⁵⁴This explains why Japanese critics of what has been called the “bureaucratization of the preservation movement” have strangely pointed to the authenticity of places like the Russian border of Rumania, which successfully preserves the atmosphere of medieval Europe, or to the Amish of Lancaster County, who have managed to preserve their lifestyle as well as their homes.

just about everyone else involved. With so many conflicting agendas and the desire of everyone to believe in their own construction of tradition, the field architect had to assume the role of *kurogo* , the man behind the curtain whose greatest contribution is to give the impression that he is not there.

This was particularly controversial because until the 1980's, Japan had very little experience with urban design controls other than those related to preservation-related restriction.²⁵⁵ The use of *koshoku* , the spreading practice of enhancement or *shûkei* , and the various camouflaged and custom-designed elements of modernity within the districts were evidence that the "tradition," the fundamentals against which the modern architect had long measured his own integrity, was being brought within the domain of the profession. Worst of all for the modernist, some of the profession's own cherished standards regarding what constituted good and honest design were violated in the name of that tradition.

²⁵⁵ A notable exception is Yokohama, a city which is recognized for its foreign influence, and is the first municipality to have created an urban design bureau within its urban planning division.

Glossary of Japanese Terms

amado

literally "rain door;" removable sliding wood doors that are used in series to close up the exterior facades of a house.

asuhi

thujopsis dolabrata a tree species which, though unrelated, closely resembles *hinoki*; one of the Five Trees of Kiso

bakufu

the military government; the shogunate.

bubun shûri

periodic partial repair of a building

bunkazai

cultural property

chanoma

literally, "tea room;" the informal family dining area of a *minka*, which might be either plank-floored without a ceiling, or *tatami*-floored with a hung ceiling

chayagumi

association of tea house owners, usually centering a particular district

chigaidana

the formal, decorative shelves usually placed in association with a *tokonoma*

chônaiikai

neighborhood or block association, usually comprised of the residents of both sides of a single street, numbering between 20-50 households

daidokoro

service area of a *minka*; includes the cooking and informal eating area; used for indoor work; usually plank-floored, includes an open hearth and is without a hung ceiling; smoke from cooking fires can thereby rise to the rafters and escape through a smoke hole, or diffuse through the roof

daimyô

literally "great name;" a feudal lord and member of the warrior class directly subject to the Tokugawa; controlled a domain with an annual revenue of 10,000*koku* more

debari-zukuri

style of *machiya* with an overhang on the street facade, formed by cantilevering the *hari* which supported the second floor; also called *dashigeta* when formed by cantilevered *keta*.

dei

regional word for *mise*; the front room or zone of a *machiya* closest to the street used for commercial purposes; word usually used in smaller houses

dodai

ground sill

doma

earthen-floored interior area of a house; in a *machiya* it usually ran from the front street side to the rear lot, and was is called *tôri niwa* or simply *niwa*

dozô-zukuri

timber-framed construction covered with thick layers of clay and finished with plaster; fire-resistant construction commonly used for storehouses.

fukkô

reconstruction of a destroyed building

fukugen

generic term for reconstruction; also used for re-assembly of dismantled structure

gasshō-zukuri

literally "praying hands style;" *gasshō* was once a generic term for a Japanese bound truss; since the 1930's refers to the steeply pitched gabled roof *minka* found in parts of Gifu and Tōyama prefectures

genjō hozon

literally, "preservation of the existing state"

genkan

formal entrance area of a *shoin-zukuri* residence

giyōfu

a style of architecture devised by Japanese carpenters in the early Meiji period which reproduces some of the forms and decorative elements of Western architecture combining them with Japanese forms and wood-working techniques

haibutu kishaku

literally "abolish the Buddha and destroy the Sakyamuni," refers to the wave of public violence against the Buddhist establishment in the early Meiji period

hankaitai shûri

literally "half dismantling and repair;" refers to a method of repair and preservation involving partial dismantling of a building, usually leaving the primary structure in place

harima

length of span of a *hari*, or beam, measured in structural bays of a standard size, of 6 *shaku* or approximately 6 ft.

hinoki

chamaecyparis obtusa, Japanese cypress; a costly, straight-grained wood found in abundance in the Kiso region; one of the Five Trees of Kiso

hisashi no ma

term used in temple, shrine, and *shinden* style residences to describe the space under the pent roof and outside the main structural frame (cf. *omoya*).

hogo

to protect

honjin

literally "field headquarter;" a term of military origin referring to the building which housed the highest ranking traveler along an official highway; also referred to the officer in charge of that section of the highway

honmume-zukuri

style of *minka* characterized by shallow gabled roof and square plan; found in southern Nagano prefecture.

honyaku

an officer with full-time responsibilities within a post town (cf. *mizuyaku*)

hozon

general term for preservation

hozon shûkei

building and environmental enhancement within a historic district

irori

shallow sunken hearth

ishioki yane

literally, roof of "placed stones;" roofing style in the Kiso region which fixes shingles on a shallow pitched gabled roof by weighting them with field stones

itabari

literally "wood plank covered;" used to describe exterior wall or interior floor covering

kabuki mon

a type of gate formed by a lintel passing through two thick posts

kaitai shûri

a method for building repair and preservation which involves dismantling the structure, analysis, treatment, and re-assembly.

kamado

clay structured cooking hearth with at least two flues

kaya

miscanthus, thatch

ken

unit of linear measure based on standard column span, equivalent to 6 *shaku* or approximately 6 feet

keta

longitudinal beam or purlin parallel to the ridge beam

keyaki

zelkova accuminata, zelkova; a wood valued for its toughness and decorative grain

kiri

pauwlonia tometosa; a wood species valued for its water-resistance

Kiso Gomoku

the Five Trees of Kiso whose harvesting was controlled by the Tokugawa and forbidden to commoners; *hinoki*, *sawara*, *asuhi*, *nezuko*, *kôya maki*

kokugaku

literally "national learning," an intellectual movement which arose in the Tokugawa period, which sought to recover the pristine state of Japanese culture before the polluting influences of Buddhism and Confucianism; it advocated the philological study of classical texts and the re-examination of ancient history; sought to revive Shintô and found a place in the ideology of the Meiji Restoration as well as pre-World War II militaristic nationalism

kôshi

wooden lattice

koshoku

literally "old color;" stain used to camouflage the new wood used to repair historic buildings

kôya maki

sciadopitys verticillata; umbrella pine, one of the Five Trees of Kiso

kura

timber framed, earthen walled storehouse used for rice, inventory and household valuables

kyôdôkan

local history museum

machiya

literally "town house;" refers to houses with relatively narrow street frontage which are closely spaced, but usually have independent side walls; line the streets of planned Japanese towns and villages

machizukuri

literally "town or community building," closest English equivalent is community development, with all the dimensions that term; place-making, community forging, economic development

masugata

in a castle town, castle, or post town, a jog in the street or actual physical enclosure which forces a change in direction and thereby slows and controls entering and exiting traffic

minka

houses of the common classes, sometimes used as a translation of folk house or vernacular house; further discussed in Chapter Two

minshuku

a simple bed and breakfast-type inn often run inside a *minka*

mise

front room of a *machiya* used for commercial purposes

mizuyaku

a lower-ranking official with part time responsibilities in a post town (cf. *honyaku*)

momi

abies firma; a wood species valued for its water-resistance; used for storage chests, the inside of storehouses, and floor boards under *tatami*.

munafuda

literally "ridge plaque;" dated and signed strip of wood attached to ridge beam or nearby post at the time of construction, major repair or rebuilding of a structure; usually contains prayers for the well-being of the house, name of the owner, and name of the carpenter

Murahachibu

village ostracism as punishment for a wrong ; not all aspects of community participation were severed; the term means literally "the eight parts of the village,"and refers to eight of the activities and duties of a normal relationship that are severed

nagaya

literally "long house;" refers to rowhouse-type structures with contiguous unit walls; served as housing for low-ranking warriors; also served as housing for workers and servants; could be sited with unit entrances along a street in the manner of a *machiya* or with entrances facing away from the street forming the perimeter wall of a warrior's residence

nakanoma

literally "center room;" the middle in a sequence of three or more rooms of a *machiya*, usually windowless

nando

informal family room or support space for *daidokoro*; can be *tatami*-floored or plank-floored

nezuko

Thuja Standishii; the Japanese arbor vitae, one of the Five Trees of Kiso

niwa

rear lot or back garden of a house; could also refer to the interior *doma* of a *minka*

nôka

farmhouse

nôson jûtaku

agricultural housing

oheya

formal room; sometimes used instead of *zashiki* in *minka*

okuzashiki

inner *zashiki*;, most formal and distant *zashiki* from the entrance

omote zashiki

the front or forward reception room

omoya

in temple, shrine, or *shinden* style residences, the space enclosed by the primary structure; (cf. *hisashi no ma*)

saiken

to building again or reconstruct; refers to periodic reconstruction as in the case of Ise shrine

sawara

chamaecyparis pisifera; wood species related to and resembling *hinoki*; one of the Five Trees of Kiso

sekishô

official check point facility along a road in the Tokugawa highway system

shitomi do

top-hinged swinging doors which pre-date *amado*, used to close the facade of *minka* and other kinds of structures

shinden-zukuri

shôji

wood-framed sliding screen covered with translucent paper used on the perimeter walls of a house

shôin-zukuri

type of residence associated with the warrior class which matured in the 16th century; interior elements include a formal room with a study alcove or *shôin*, alcove or *tokonoma*, and decorative shelves or *chigaidana*; comprised of asymmetrical, free-standing structure with surrounding wall and formal gateway

shukuba

a planned post town along a road in the Tokugawa highway system, comprised of a cluster of buildings lining both sides of the road; each house was assigned duties and an appropriate rank

shûkei

word broadly used to mean landscape design or activities related to urban design

shûri

generic term for repair

shûzen

term for repair and maintenance

sukiya-zukuri

a style of building which combines *shôin-zukuri* elements with the rusticity and refined aesthetics associated with the tea ceremony

suzume odori

literally "dancing swallow;" refers to a gable decoration found on finer *honmune zukuri* houses

suyama

protected nesting forest for hawks used by warriors and aristocrats in the hunt

tansu

storage chest

tatami

thick floor mat consisting of a rice straw core wrapped with an outer cover of thin reed

tategu

removable sliding fixtures such as *shôji fusuma*

tokonoma

display alcove associated with *shoin* style residences

tomeki

tree species whose harvesting was controlled by feudal authorities, and which were forbidden to commoners

tomeyama

forested mountain where harvesting of trees was forbidden to commoners

tonarigumi

neighborhood associations, smaller than *chônaiikai*, organized by the government during the Second World War as self-policing bodies

tonya or *toiya*

official in charge of moving freight along a stretch of road under the Tokugawa highway system; also refers to the building in which his duties were carried out

tsubo

unit of area measurement equivalent to the size of two *tatami* mats side by side, 6 x 6 *shaku*, or approximately 36 sq. ft.

tsushi nikai

half second story

udatsu

in *machiya* refers to projecting end walls of *machiya* which originated as firewalls and became decorative elements; in farmhouses can also refer to a post which reaches from the foundation stone to the ridge beam

wakihonjin

literally, the "side *honjin*;" official inn just below the *honjin* in rank and usually located nearby; larger post towns had two such inns; Tsumago and other Kiso post towns had one

yôkan

Western-style wooden building of the Meiji period

yui

system of reciprocal cooperative labor in a village for construction, roof repair, rice cultivation, and other tasks

zashiki

formal reception room which usually includes elements of *shôin* style architecture: *tokonoma*, *shôin*, *chigaidana*

Bibliography

Agency for Cultural Affairs. "Model Ordinances for District Preservation."
Tôkyô: Provisional translation manuscript, 1987.

_____. *Kenzôbutsu yôran*. (A Survey of Architecture)
Tokyo: Bunkachô bunkazai hogo-bu, 1985.

_____. *Shinshitei Jûyô Bunkazai, Kenzôbutsu 2: Minka*
(Newly Designated Important Cultural Properties, Architecture 2,
Vernacular Architecture) Vol 12: Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 1982.

_____. "National Cultural Properties Law of 1975."
Tôkyô: Provisional translation in manuscript, 1981.

_____. *Kokuhô, jûyô bunkazai shitei kenzôbutsu*
mokuroku. (Inventory of Architectural National Treasures and
Important Cultural Properties). Tokyo: Bunkachô, 1978.

_____. *Mukei bunkazai yôran*. (Survey of Intangible
Cultural Properties) Tôkyô: Unsôdô, 1977.

Aizawa Tsuguo. *Ôuchi-juku hozon no keii*. (The Preservation of Ouchi-
juku). Manuscripts, 1968-1987.

_____. "*Ôuchi-juku*," *Toshi jûtaku* (Urban Housing) Tôkyô: No.
20, December 1969, pp. 28-52.

Akai Tatsurô, ed. *Nakasendô*. Vol. 11 of *Edo jidai zushi*, Tôkyô: Chikuma
Shobô. 1976.

Allison, Gary D.. "Japanese Cities in the Industrial Era," *Journal of Urban*
History, vol. 4, no. 4, pp. 443-76.

Amasaki Hiromasa. *Ueji no niwa: Ogawa Jihei no sekai*. Tôkyô: Tanbunsha,
1989.

Andô Kunihiro. "*Yui: kyôdôtai ni yoru rôdô teikyô no hôhô*," (*Yui* : The
System of Cooperative Labor) *Jûkyo no seisan to tekiô no gijutsu* (The
Technology of Housing Production and Adaptability). Tokyo: 1981.

Aoki Keichirô. *Shiryô: Kiso goryôrin jiken*. Tôkyô: Shinseisha, 1968.

- Apter, David E. and Nagaya Sawa. *Against the State: Politics and Social Protest in Japan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984.
- Aoyagi, Kiyotaka. "Viable Traditions in Urban Japan: Matsuri and Chōnaikai," in G. Ansari and P. Nas, eds.. *Town Talk*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1983, pp. 96-111.
- Beardsley, Richard K., Hall, John W., and Ward, Robert E. *Village Japan*. Chicago: Pantheon Books, University of Chicago Press, 1959.
- Bendix, Reinhard. "Tradition and Modernity Reconsidered," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. April 1967, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 292-346.
- Bestor, Theodore. *Neighborhood Tokyo*.
- Braibanti, Ralph J.D. "Neighborhood Associations in Japan and their Democratic Potentialities," *Far Eastern Quarterly*. 1948, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 136-64.
- Brandywine Conservancy. *Protecting Historic Properties*. Chadds Ford, 1984.
- Bunkazai Hogo Iinkai (Committee for the Protection of Cultural Properties). *Bunkazai Hogo no Ayumi*. Tokyo: Ôkurashô (Ministry of Finance), 1960.
- Bunkazai Kenzôbutsu Hozon Gijutsu Kyôkai. *Shiryô: kyû kokuhô kenzôbutsu shitei setsumei* (Material Explaining the Designation of Former National Cultural Treasures), Tokyo: 1981.
- Cary, Otis. "Atomic Bomb Targeting: Myths and Realities," *Japan Quarterly*. vol. 26, no. 4, 1979, pp. 506-516.
- Coaldrake, William. *The Way of the Carpenter: Tools and Japanese Architecture*. New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1990.
- _____. "The Architecture of Tôdai-ji," *The Great Eastern Temple*. Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1986.
- _____. "Gateways of Power." Harvard University, Ph.D. Dissertation, 1983.
- Collcutt, Martin. "Buddhism: The Threat of Eradication," in Jansen, Marius and Gilbert Rozman. *Japan in Transition from Tokugawa to Meiji* Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1986, pp. 143-167.

- Council of Europe. *A Future for Our Past: European Architectural Heritage*. The Hague: Government Printing Office, 1976.
- Dobby, Alan. *Conservation and Planning*. London: Hutchinson 1978.
- Dore, Ronald. *Land Reform in Japan*. London: Oxford University Press, 1959.
- Economic Planning Agency of Japan. *Comparative Statistics on the Japanese Economy*. Tôkyô: Economic Planning Agency, 1988.
- Ehrentraut, Adolf W. "The Visual Definition of Heritage: The Restoration of Domestic Rural Architecture in Japan," *Visual Anthropology*. Vol. 2, 1989, pp.135-161.
- Eisenstadt, S.N. "Post-Traditional Societies and the Continuity and Reconstruction of Tradition," *Daedalus*. Winter 1973, pp. 1-27.
- Falconeri, G. Ralph. "The Impact of Rapid Urban Change on Neighborhood Solidarity," in J.W. White and F. Munger, eds.. *Social Change and Community Politics in Urban Japan*. Chapel Hill: Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, 1976. pp. 31-59.
- Fitch, James Marston. *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World*. Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1990.
- Ford, Larry. "Continuity and Change in Historic Cities: Bath, Chester, and Norwich," *Geographic Review* No. 68, July 1978, pp. 253-273.
- Frampton, Kenneth. *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*. New York: Thames and Hudson, third edition, 1992.
- Fukukawa Yûichi and Hirabayashi Yoshikatsu. "*Kiso Magome ni miru machinami hozon no kadai*" (Conservation of a Small Historic Town: The Case of Magome, Kiso), *Nihon toshikeikaku gakkai gakujitsu kenkyû ronbunshû*. Tokyo: Nihon Toshikeikaku Gakkai, 1988, pp. 445-450.
- Fukutake Tadashi. *Rural Society in Japan*. University of Tokyo Press, Tokyo 1978.
- Fushinchô kenkyûkai. "*Kindai-ka: kenchiku, kagu, kenzai*," (Modernization: Architecture, Furniture, Building Materials) *Fushin Kenkyû*.(Vernacular Architecture) no. 6, Tokyo: Fushinchô kenkyûkai, 1983.

Fujimori Terunobu. "Architecture as Ephemera," *Japan Foundation Newsletter*.

_____. "Tsumago-juku wa Harajuku ka? Machinami hozon no konwaku" (Is Tsumago-juku Harajuku? Puzzlement about district preservation) *Shinkenchiku*. Tokyo: no. 10, 1984, p. 105.

_____. "Kon Wajirô to Barakku sôshokusha: shinsai fukkôki no kenchiku" (Kon Wajirô and the Barrack Decorating Company: The Architecture of the Kantô Earthquake Reconstruction Period). *Karamu*. April 1988, no. 88, pp. 59-64.

Gazzola, Piero. "Restoring monuments: historical background," *Museums and Monuments XIV: Preserving and Restoring Monuments and Historic Buildings*. Paris: UNESCO, 1972, pp. 15-30.

_____. "Training architect restorers," *Museums and Monuments XIV: Preserving and Restoring Monuments and Historic Buildings*. Paris: UNESCO, 1972, pp. 253-261.

Gluck, Carol. *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.

Gluck, Carol, and Graubard, Stephen, eds. *Showa: The Japan of Hirohito*. New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1992.

Gomi Yuji. *Guide to Japanese Taxes*. Tokyo: Zaikei Shôhōsha, 1985-86

Goto, Junko and Arnold R. Alan. "The Conservation of Historic and Cultural Resources in Rural Japan," *Landscape Journal*. Madison: Univ. Wisconsin Press, Vol. 6, No. 1, Spring 1987, pp. 42-61.

Government of Japan. *Agency for Cultural Affairs*, Tokyo 1981.

Graburn, Nelson. *To Pray, Pay, and Play: The Cultural Structure of Japanese Domestic Tourism*. Aix-en-Provence: Centre des Hautes Etudes Touristiques, 1983.

Guth, Christine. *Art, Tea, and Industry: Matsuda Takashi and the Mitsui Circle*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993

_____. "A Tale of Two Collectors," *Asian Art*. Fall 1991, pp. 29-49.

- Harootunian, H.D. "The Consciousness of Archaic Form in the New Realism of Kokugaku," in T. Najita and I. Schneider, eds.. *Japanese Thought in the Tokugawa Period: 1600-1868*. Chicago: 1978.
- Hayashiya, T., Makamura M., and Hayashiya S., eds. *Japanese arts and the tea ceremony*. New York and Tôkyô: Weatherhill/Heibonsha, 1974.
- Hearn, M.F., ed. *The Architectural Theory of Viollet-le-Duc: Readings and Commentary*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990.
- Hobsbawn, Eric and Ranger, Terence, eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Hongo Tameo. "Japan," *Preservation of Cultural Heritage*. Seoul: Cultural and Social Centre for the Asian and Pacific Region, ca. 1971, pp. 109-129.
- Hozumi, Shigetoh. "The Tonari-gumi of Japan," *Contemporary Japan*. 1943, vol. 12, no. 8, pp. 984-90.
- Hunter, Michael. "The Preconditions of Preservation: A Historical Perspective," in David Lowenthal and Marcus Binney, eds.. *Our Past Before Us: Why Do We Save It?* London: Temple Smith, 1981.
- Ikoma Kanshichi. *Nakasendo Kiso-ji jûichi shuku: sono rekishi to bunka*. (The Eleven Stations of the Nakasendo Highway in the Kiso Valley: History and Culture) Matsumoto: Kyôdo Shuppansha, 1980.
- Inagaki Eizô. *Bunka isan o dô iketsuguno ka?* (How Can We Pass on Our Cultural Heritage?). Tôkyô: Sanshôdô, 1984.
- _____. "Shikinen sengû no kenchikuteki kôsatsu" (Architectural Observations on the Periodic Rebuilding of Shrines) *Nihon kenchiku no tokushitsu: Ôta Hirotarô hakase kanreki kinen rombunshû*, Tôkyô: Chûôkôron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1976, pp. 189-212.
- Ishikawa Tadaomi. "Machinami hozon no jûmin undô," (Resident movements to preserve townscapes) in Nishiyama Uzô, ed.. *Rekishiteki machinami jiten*. (The Encyclopedic of Historic Townscapes) Tôkyô: Kashiwa Shôbô, 1981, pp. 23-30.
- _____. "Machinami hozon undô no genten," (The Basics of the Townscape Preservation Movement) *Rekishiteki machinami no subete: Kankyôbunka* No. 31-32, Tokyo: Kankyôbunka kenkyûjô, 1978, pp. 51-58.

- Itô Chûta. "*Hôryûji kenchiku ron*,"(The Architecture of Hôryû-ji) *Kenchiku zasshi*, (Architectural Journal) Tôkyô: November, 1893.
- Itô Teiji. "Historical Review of the Cultural Conservation in Japan," *Proceedings of the Symposium on Preservation and Development of Historic Quarters in Urban Programmes in Kyoto and Nara*, Kyôto: Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, 1971, pp. 46-50.
- Itô Teiji, ed. *Nihon no toshi kûkan* (Japanese Urban Space), Tokyo: Shôkokusha, 1968.
- Jansen, Marius and Gilbert Rozman, eds. *Japan in Transition: From Tokugawa to Meiji*. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1986.
- Japanese National Commission for UNESCO. *Proceedings of the Symposium on Preservation and Development of Historic Quarters in Urban Programmes in Kyoto and Nara*. Kyoto: Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, 1971.
- Kamei Nobuo. "*Shirakawa no gasshō zukuri*," (The *gasshō* houses of Shirakawa) *Nihon no machinami: Chûbu*. (Townscapes of Japan). Tôkyô: Dai'ichi Hôki, 1982, pp.145-156.
- Kankyôbunka Kenkyûjô, ed. "*Rekishiteki machinami no subete*," (All about historic townscape conservation) *Kankyôbunka* (Environmental Culture). Tokyo: Kankyôbunka kenkyûjô, 1978.
- "*Rekishiteki machinami no sôtenken*," *Kankyôbunka* (Environmental Culture) Tokyo: Kankyôbunka kenkyûjô, 1981.
- Kariya Yûga. "*Kyôto shi no kankyô hozon keikaku shi*," (A History of Landscape Conservation Planning in the City of Kyoto) Kyoto: manuscript, 1987.
- _____. "*Hozon shûkei no gihô to tenkai*,"(The Use and Development of Preservation Enhancement), Nishiyama Uzô, ed.. *Rekishiteki machinami jiten*. (The Encyclopedic of Historic Townscapes) Tôkyô: Kashiwa Shobô, 1981, pp. 82-96.
- Kawashima Shuji. *Horobiyuku Minka*. (Decaying folk houses) Tokyo: Shûfu to Seikatsu-sha, vol. 1-3.
- Kawazoe Noboru. *Kon Wajirô: sono kôgengaku*. (Kon Wajirô: His Modernology) Tokyo: Libropôto, 1987.

Kelly, William. "Regional Japan: The Price of Prosperity and the Benefits of Dependency," in Carol Gluck and Stephen Graubard. *Showa: The Japan of Hirohito*. New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1992.

Kenchiku Daijiten. Tôkyô: Shôkokusha, 1976.

Kimura Masami, "Japanese Interest in Ruskin: Some Historical Trends," in Robert Rhodes and Del Ivan Janik, eds. *Studies in Ruskin: Essays in Honor of Van Akin Burd*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1982.

Kobayashi Toshihiko with Miyazawa Tomoko. "Kobayashi Toshihiko to sono sekai," *Fushin kenkyû*. (Vernacular Architecture, Technology and Community) Tokyo: Fushinchô kenkyûkai, no. 21, June 1987.

Kobayashi Toshihiko. "Shiseki hozon no jittairei: sono mondaiten to jûmin sankai" (The Preservation of an Historic site: Problems and Citizen Participation), *Chiiki kaihatsu* (Regional Development) March, 1971.

----- . "Yama ai no ikizuku Tsumago no machi," in Ôta Hirotarô, Kodama Kôta, eds. *Nihon no machinami: Chûbu*, Vol. 5. Tôkyô: Dai'ichi Hôki, 1982, pp. 29-38.

Kodama Kôta. "Shirakawa mura no omoide," (Memories of Shirakawa) *Nihon no machinami: Chûbu*. (Townscapes of Japan: Chûbu Region) Tokyo: Dai'ichi Hôki, 1982, pp. 141-144.

Kodera Takehisa. "Koshûraku to shizen kankyô o mamoru," (The Protection of an Historic District and its Natural Environs) *Kankyô bunka*. Tokyo: Kankyô bunka kenkyûjô, no. 43, July 1972.

----- . "Chiiki kara no repôto: sono ato no Tsumago ni tsuite," *Chiiki kaihatsu* (Regional Development) Tôkyô: 1972.

----- . "Machinami hozon no genjô to kadai," (The Present State of District Preservation and the Task Ahead) *Jûristo*. no. 710: *Bunkazai no hozon to saisei*, (Preservation and Revitalization of Cultural Properties) February 15, 1980.

----- . "Tsumago ga hozon subeki mono," *Fushin Kenkyû*, (Vernacular Architecture) no. 14, Tokyo: Fushinchô Kenkyûkai, December 1985.

Koizumi Keisakatsu. *Monosashi: mono to ningen no bunkashi*. (Measurement: A Cultural History of Objects and People) vol. 22. Tôkyô: Hôsei Daigaku Shuppankai, 1977.

- Kojiro Yuichiro. *Nihon no komyûnitî*. Tokyo: Kajima Shuppankai, vol. 1 &2, 1975.
- Kon Wajiro. *Minka ron: Kon Wajiro shû no. 2*. Tôkyô: Domesu Shuppan, 1971
- _____. *Nihon no minka*, First edition 1922; revised 1954, reprinted in *Minka ron: Kon Wajiro shû no. 2*. Tôkyô: Domesu Shuppan, 1971, pp. 123-200.
- _____. *Nagano-ken Suwa chihô no minka* First edition 1941; reprinted in *Minka ron: Kon Wajiro shû no. 2*. Tôkyô: Domesu Shuppan, 1971 pp. 268-281.
- _____. "Minka kenkyûsha no taido," *Kokusai kenchiku.*, vol. 10, no. 7, 1934, pp. 240-243
- Kraft, Stephanie. "The Nonfiction World of Writers," *Historic Preservation*. April-June 1977.
- Kyôto-shi. *Kyôto no toshi keikaku*. Kyoto: Kyoto City Planning Department, 1986.
- Larsen, Knut Einar. "The Nordic Wooden Towns," manuscript 1987.
- MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Schocken, 1976.
- Machida Masami. *Kiso goryôrin*. Nagano: Ginga Shobô, 1982. pp. 607-614.
- Masland, John W. "Neighborhood Associations in Japan," *Far Eastern Survey*. vol. 15, no. 23, 1946, pp. 355-58.
- McClellan, Edwin. *Two Japanese Novelists: Sôseki and Tôson*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.
- McKean, Margaret A. *Environmental Protest and Citizen Politics in Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981.
- Ministry of Construction. *Uruoi no aru machizukuri*. (Handbook for Sensitive Community Development) Tokyo: Taisei Shuppansha, 1984.
- _____. *The Building Standard Law: Law No. 201, May 24, 1950*, (English translation of Kenchiku Kijun-ho) Tokyo: EHS Law Bulletin Series, Vol 3.

- . *Wakariyasui kenchiku kijun hô*. (Simplified Building Code of Japan) Tokyo: 1987.
- . "City Planning Law of Japan." Tokyo: provisional translation manuscript, 1986.
- . *Mokuzô jûtaku no tame no irasuto kenchiku kijun-hô*. (Illustrated Building Code for Wood-frame Houses) Tokyo: 1986.
- Ministry of Education. *Meiji Tennô seiseki Tôkyô*: Monbushô, 1935-36.
- Miyawaki Mayumi. "Toshi no dezain sâbei." in Nishiyama Uzô. *Rekishiteki machinami jiten*. Tôkyô: Kashiwa Shobô, 1981, pp. 49-51.
- Miyazawa Satoshi, et al. *Machinami hozon no nettowaku*. (A Guide to the Preservation of Historic Districts in Japan), Tokyo: Zenkoku dentôteki kenzôbutsu-gun hozonchiku kyôgikai, Dai'ichi hôki, 1987.
- Morse, Ronald A. "The Search for Japan's National Character and Distinctiveness: Yanagida Kunio (1875-1962) and the Folklore Movement" Princeton: Ph.D. diss. Princeton University, 1975.
- Murakami Sensei, Tsuji Zennosuke, Washio Junkei, eds. *Meiji ishin shinbutsu bunri shiryô*. Tôkyô: Tôhô Shôin, 1925-29.
- Nagiso-chô. "Tsumago-juku jûdenken shitei jûnen no ayumi," (An outline of the ten years since the designation of Tsumago-juku as a historic district) Nagiso: Nagiso-chô 1986.
- Nagiso-chô kankô-ka (Nagiso Town Department of Tourism), "Jûdenken hozon shûri kôji jisshi: Shôwa 51 kara" (Village records of preservation-related repair and reconstruction from 1976) Nagiso Municipal Government: 1987.
- Nagiso-chô kyoiku i'inkai. "Tsumago-juku hozonchiku kankei hôreishû." (Collection of laws and ordinances related to the preservation of Tsumago-juku) Nagiso-chô, 1984.
- . "Tsumago o kangaenaosô zeminaru." (Seminar to re-consider Tsumago) Nagiso: February 16, 1986.
- Najita Tetsuo and J. Victor Koschmann, eds. *Conflict in Modern Japanese History: The Neglected Tradition*. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1982.

Najita Tetsuo and H.D. Harootunian. "Japanese Revolt Against the West: Political and Cultural Criticism in the 20th Century," in John W. Hall et al eds.. *The Cambridge History of Japan*; vol. 6 of Peter Duus, ed.. *The Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, pp. 771-74.

Nihon Gakushi-in Nihon Gakushi Shinkôkai, ed. *Meiji izen Nihon kenchiku gijutsushi*. (A History of Japanese Architectural Technology Before the Meiji Period) Tôkyô: 1961, reprinted 1984.

Nishijû Takayuki. "Mokuzôkenchiku wa dô moeta ka?" *Fushin Kenkyû*. Tôkyô: Fushinchô kenkyûkai, no. 8, 1984, pp. 37-55.

Nishikawa Kôji, ed. *Rekishiteki machinami jiten*. Tôkyô: Kashiwa Shobô, 1981.

_____. "Historical Background for the Preservation of Kyôto." *Proceedings of the Symposium on Preservation and Development of Historic Quarters in Urban Programmes in Kyoto and Nara*. Kyôto: Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, 1971, pp. 63-66.

Nishimura Yukio. "Rekishiteki kankyo ni kansuru kenkyû: Nippon ni okeru sono rekishiteki tenkai to gendankai," (Study on Historic Environments: Their Development and Current Status in Japan) Tokyo: Ph.D. dissertation, Tokyo University, 1984.

_____. "Kenzôbutsu no hozon itaru Meiji zenki bunkazai hogo gyôsei no tenkai," (Architectural preservation and administrative movements in the protection of cultural properties during the early Meiji period) *Nihon kenchiku gakkai ronbun hôkokushû*, no. 340, June 1984, pp. 101-110.

_____. "Meiji chûki ikô senzen ni okeru kenzôbutsu o chûshin to suru bunkazai hogo gyôsei no hatten," (The development of governmental protection of cultural property from mid-Meiji to World War II, focussing on architecture) *Nihon kenchiku gakkai ronbun hôkokushû*, no. 351, May 1985, pp. 38-47.

_____. "Tochi ni matsuwaru Meiji zenki no bunkazai hogohô gyôsei no hatten," (The development of governmental protection of cultural properties in the early Meiji period, focussing on sites.) *Nihon kenchiku gakkai ronbun hôkokushû*, no. 358, Dec. 1985, pp. 65-74.

- Nishimura Yukio and Watanabe Sadao. "History and Current Problems of Urban Conservation Planning in Japan," Tokyo University, manuscript 1989.
- Nishioka Tsunekazu. *Hôryûji o sasaeta ki*. Tôkyô: Nippon Hôsô Shuppankai, 1978.
- Nishiyama Uzô, ed. *Rekishiteki machinami jiten*. (Dictionary of Historic Townscapes) Tokyo: Kankô shigen hogo zaidan (Japan National Trust), 1981.
- Ôe Shintaro and Ohara Jirô. "Hôbutsu hozon to kura no chishiki," *Kenchiku zasshi*. no. 603, September 1935.
- Okakura Kakuzô. *The Hô-o-den(Phoenix Hall): An Illustrated Description of the Buildings Erected by the Japanese Government at the World's Columbian Exposition*. Jackson Park, Chicago, Tokyo: 1893.
- Ôsakaya Yoshiyuki. "Nihon no toshi keikan seibi hosaku no gaiyô" (Summary of Institutional Methods of Townscape Beautification Methods in Japan), Tokyo: Kensetsu-shô Kenchiku Kenkyûjô (Ministry of Construction Architectural Research Center), 1986.
- Ôta Hirotarô. *Kenchikushi no sendatsutachi*. Tokyo: Shôkokusha, 1983.
- _____. *Minka no mikata shirabekata*. (How to Look at and Study Folk Houses) Tokyo: Daiichi Hôki, 1967.
- _____. *Nihon kenchikushi josetsu*. (An Introduction to Japanese Architecture) Tokyo: Shôkokusha, 1966
- _____. *Rekishiteki Fudô no Hozon*. (The conservation of historic landscapes) Tokyo: Shôkokusha, 1981.
- Ôta Hirotarô, Kodama Kôta et al. *Nihon no machinami: Chûbu*. Vol. 5. Tôkyô: Dai'ichi Hôki, 1982.
- Ôta Hirotaro, Kodera Takehisa, et al. *Tsumago-juku: hozon saisei no ayumi*. (Tsumago-juku: The History of Preservation and Revitalization) Nagiso-chô: 1984.
- Perrin, Richard W.E. *Outdoor Museums*. Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Museum Publications in Museology, no. 4, 1975.

- Philippot, Paul. "Historic Preservation: Philosophy, Criteria, Guidelines," in Sharon Timmons, ed. *Preservation and Conservation: Principles and Practices*. Washington, D.C.: Preservation Press, 1976.
- Pyle, Kenneth. *The New Generation in Meiji Japan: Problems of Cultural Identity, 1885-1895*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969.
- Ramsey, S. Robert. "Language Change in Japan and the Odyssey of a *Teisetsu*." *Journal of Japanese Studies*. vol. 8, no. 1, Winter 1982, pp. 97-131.
- Reischauer, Edwin O. *My Life Between Japan and America*. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1986.
- Rekishiteki Keikan Toshi Kyôkai. (Annual Meeting of the Association of Historic Cities in Japan.) Conference Proceedings, 1987
- Reynolds, Jonathan. "Maekawa Kunio and the Emergence of Modernism in Japanese Architecture," Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, June 1991.
- Robertson, Jennifer. *Native and Newcomer: Making and Remaking a Japanese City*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.
- Roden, Donald. "Taishô Culture and the Problem of Gender Ambivalence," in J. Thomas Rimer, ed. *Culture and Identity: Japanese Intellectuals During the Interwar Years*. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1990, pp. 37-55.
- Rykwert, Joseph. *On Adam's House in Paradise*. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1972.
- Sadler, A.W. "The Form and Meaning of the Festival," *Asian Folklore Studies*, vol. 28, no. 1, 1969, pp. 1-16.
- Sanpaolesi, Piero. "General Principles," in *Museums and Monuments XIV: Preserving and Restoring Monuments and Historic Buildings*. Paris: UNESCO, 1972, pp. 49-62.
- Sekino Masaru. "The Preservation and restoration of wooden monuments in Japan." *Museums and Monuments XIV*. Paris: UNESCO, 1972, pp. 207-230.
- _____. "Principles of Conservation and Restoration Regarding Wooden Buildings in Japan, in *Proceedings, International Symposium on the Conservation and Restoration of Cultural Property*:

Conservation of Wood. Tôkyô, Tôkyô National Research Institute of Cultural Properties, 1978, pp. 127-142.

Shimazaki Tôson. *Before the Dawn*. Originally published as *Yoake mae*. Tôkyô: Shinchôsha 1932. Translated by William Naff. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987.

Shirakawa mura kyôiku i'inkai. *Shirakawa mura no gasshō zukuri shûraku*. Shirakawa: Shirakawa mura, 1987.

Shiraki Kosaburô, *Sumai no rekishi* (A History of the Dwelling) Osaka: 1980

Shively, Donald H., ed. *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971.

Shively, Donald. "Sumptuary Regulations and Status in Early Tokugawa Japan," *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, no. 25, 1965.

Silverberg, Miriam. "Constructing the Japanese Ethnography of Modernity," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol 51, no. 1, Feb. 1992, pp. 30-54.

Smith, Henry. "The Edo Tôkyô Transition: In Search of Common Ground," Jansen, Marius and Gilbert Rozman. *Japan in Transition: From Tokugawa to Meiji*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986, pp. 347-374.

Smith, Robert. "The Japanese Rural Community: Norms, Sanctions, and Ostracism," *American Anthropologist*, June 1961.

_____. *Kurusu: The Price of Progress in a Japanese Village*. Stanford University Press 1978.

Smith, Thomas C. *The Agrarian Origins of Modern Japan*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959.

Steiner, K., E.S. Krauss, and S.C. Flanagan, eds. *Political Opposition and Local Politics in Japan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Stewart, David. *The Making of a Modern Japanese Architecture*. Tokyo: Kôdansha International, 1987.

Suzuki Kakichi. "Restoration of Wooden Buildings," *Proc. ISCRP Wood Conservation*, ICCROM 1983, pp. 156-171.

- Tada Michitarô. "Japanese Sensibility: An 'Imitation of Yanagita,'" in J. Victor Koschmann, Ôiwa Keibô, and Yamashita Shinji, eds. *International Perspectives on Yanagita Kunio and Japanese Folklore Studies* Ithaca: Cornell University East Asia Papers, no. 37:97-120.
- Tahara T. "The Kokugaku Thought," *Acta Asiatica* , vol. 25, 1973.
- Takahashi Masao. "The Development and Training Programme for Conservators of Wooden Architectural Monuments in Japan," *Proc. ISCRP Wood Preservation, ICCROM 1983*, pp. 231-240.
- Takeuchi Yoshitarô. *Nenrin no ki: aru kenchikuka no jigazô*. (Self Portrait of an Architect) Tokyo: Sagami Shobô, 1978.
- _____. "Kaisetsu," (Commentary) *Minka ron: Kon Wajiro shû*. (Studies of the Folkhouse, Collected Works of Kon Wajiro), Domesu Shuppan 1971, vol 2, pp. 473-488.
- Taut, Bruno. *Houses and People of Japan*. Tôkyô: Sanseidô, 1958.
- Tsuji Zennosuke, *Nihon bunka shi*. Vol. 7. Tôkyô: Shunjûsha, 1951.
- Tsukahira, T.G. *Feudal Control in Tokugawa Japan: The Sankin Kôtai System*. Cambridge: Harvard East Asian Monographs, Harvard University Press, 1966.
- Tsumago o ai suru kai. (Love Tsumago Association) Records of building permit applications from 1968-1988.
- Tsurumi K. *Yanagita Kunio's Work as a Model of Endogenous Development*. Tokyo 1975
- Ueda Atsushi. "Social and Economic Change and the Preservation Problem in the last Twenty-five Years." *Proceedings of the Symposium on Preservation and Development of Historic Quarters in Urban Programmes in Kyoto and Nara*. Kyôto: Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, 1971.
- Ueno Kunikazu. "Nihon no machinami." manuscript 1987.
- _____. "Machinami hozon e no kin to machinami no ruikai" (Becoming Familiar with Townscape Preservation and Townscape types) in Nishiyama Uzo et al, ed., *Rekishiteki machinami jiten*. (The Encyclopedic of Historic Townscapes) Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobô, 1981, pp.

- _____. "Tsumago no minka," in Ota Hirotarō, Kodera Takehisa, et al, *Tsumago-juku: hozon saisei no ayumi* . (Tsumago-juku: The History of Preservation and Revitalization) Nagiso-chō: 1984.
- Umegaki, Michio. "From Domain to Prefecture," in Marius B. Jansen and Gilbert Rozman, eds.. *Japan in Transition: From Tokugawa to Meiji*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986, pp. 91-110.
- UNESCO. "Preserving and Restoring Monuments and Historic Buildings," *Museums and Monuments XIV*, Paris: UNESCO, 1972.
- _____. "The Conservation of Cultural Property," *Museums and Monuments XI*. Paris: UNESCO, 1968.
- _____. "Decisions and Resolutions of the International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, Venice, May 31, 1964 Document No. 1: The International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Site." Venice: Second International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, 1964.
- Vaporis, Constantine N. "Post Station and Assisting Villages: Corvee Labor and Peasant Contention," *Monumenta Nipponica* ,vol. 41, no. 4, pp. 377-414.
- Walter, J. Jackson. *The Farmhouse*. New York: Chippy Irvine, Bantam, 1987.
- Watanabe Sadao and Nishimura Yukio. "Zenkoku ni bunpu suru rekishiteki kankyō no jittai to sono mondaiten," (Distribution of Historic Towns in Japan and Their Current Problems) *Kenchiku gakkai*, no. 313, 1982, pp. 104-114.
- Watanabe Sadao. "Distribution of Historical Districts in Japan and their Current Problems," *Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Traditional Dwellings and Lifestyles*. Tianjin: Tianjin University, China 1987, pp. 345-354.
- Watanabe Yatsuda. *Shinto Art: Ise and Izumo Shrines*. New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill/Heibonsha, 1976.
- Wigen, Karen. "The Geographic Imagination in Early Modern Japanese History: Retrospect and Prospect," *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 51, no. 1 February 1992.

- Williamsburg Foundation, *Official Guidebook of Colonial Williamsburg*,
Williamsburg: Dietz Printing Co., 1951.
- Wimberly, Howard. "On Living with Your Past: Style and Structure Among
Contemporary Japanese Merchant Families," *Economic Development
and Cultural Change*, vol. 21, no. 3, 1973, pp. 423-28.
- Woodward, Edward. *The Allied Occupation of Japan and Japanese Religions*.
Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972.
- Yanagi Sôetsu. *The Unknown Craftsman: A Japanese Insight into Beauty*.
Tokyo: Kôdansha 1972.
- Yanagida Kunio. *About Our Ancestors: The Japanese Family System*. tr. by
F.H. Mayer and Y. Ishiwara, Tokyo: 1970.
- Yoneyama Toshinao. *Gion matsuri: toshi jinruigaku koto hajime*. (The Gion
Festival: An Introduction to Urban Anthropology) Chûkôshinshô 363,
Tokyo: Chûôkôronsha, 1974.
- Yoshino Seiji. *Minka o tsukutta daikutachi*, (The carpenters that built the folk
houses of Japan). Tokyo: Gakugei Shuppansha, 1986.
- Yûji Gomi. *A Guide to Japanese Taxes: 1985-86*, Tokyo: Zaikei Shôhō, 1986.
- _____. *Toshi to Matsuri no Jinruigaku*. (The Anthropology of
City and Festival) Tokyo: Shoboshinsha, 1986.
- Zairai kôhō kenkyūkai. *Mokuzô zairai kôhō bunken mokuroku*.
(Bibliography on Conventional Wood Construction in Japan), Tokyo:
1982.
- Zenkoku machinami hozon renmei, ed. "Tsumago-juku hozon renmei no
ayumi," in *Machinami hozon undô no hatten*. vol. 1. Tokyo:
Zenokoku machinami hozon renmei, 1986.
- _____. *Machinami hozon undô no hatten to
zenkoku machinami hozon renmei no yakuwari*, vol. 1, (The
Development of the National Preservation Movement and the Role of
the National Association for District Preservation), Tokyo: 1985.
- _____. *Machinami kawaraban*, (periodic
newsletter of the National Association for Townscape Conservation
and Regeneration) Vol.1-15, Tokyo 1980-87.

-----."Zenoku Machinami Hozon Renmei
no jûnen ayumi" (A ten-year review of the National Association for
District Preservation) Tokyo 1985.

Interviews in 1986-88 with:

Aizawa Tsuguo, Musashi Institute of Fine Arts, Tokyo

Hayashi Hironobu, Architect, Nagoya

Inagaki Eizo, Department of Architecture, Tokyo University

Itô Nobuo, Former Director, Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties

Itô Teiji, Kôgakuin University, Tokyo

Ishikawa Tadaomi, formerly of Asahi News, Tokyo.

Jinnai Hidenobu, Hôsei University, Tokyo

Kariya Yûga, Planning Department, Kyoto City Hall

Knut Einar Larsen, Department of Architecture, Norwegian Institute of Technology, Trondheim, Norway

Masuda Kanefusa, Architectural Division, Agency for Cultural Affairs

Mimura Hiroshi, Department of Architecture, Kyoto University

Miyazawa Satoshi, Division of Architecture, Agency for Cultural Affairs, Tokyo

Nishimura Yukio, Department of Planning, Tokyo University

Ônishi Kunitaro, Planning Department, Kyoto Municipal Government

Ôka Minoru, Former Director, Architectural Division, Agency for Cultural Affairs, Tokyo

Ôta Hirotarô, Prof. Emeritus Tôkyô University

Tachi'iri Shinzô, Planning Department, Kyôto Municipal Government

Tanaka Fumio, Maki Kensetsu, Tokyo

Ueno Kunikazu, Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Nara.

Watanabe Sadao, Department of Urban Planning, Tokyo University

Residents and administrators in:

Arimatsu-chô, Nagoya; Tsumago-juku, Nagano; Shirakawa-gô, Gifu; Ôuchi-juku, Fukushima; Gion Shimbashi, Kyôto; Hanami-koji, Kyôto; the Shijô-Imadegawa area known as Hôkaboko-chô Kyôto; Imai-chô, Nara; Suhara-mura, Nagano; Narai-juku, Nagano;

Periodicals:

Mokuzô Kenchiku Kenkyû Fuoramu. *Ki no kenchiku* (The Architecture of Wood), Tokyo: Research Forum for Wood Architecture (*Mokuzô kenchiku kenkyû fuoramu*) Sakamoto Laboratory *Ki no Kenchiku*, Sakamoto Kenkyûshitsu Tôkyô University.

Fushinchô kenkyûkai. *Fushin Kenkyû* (Traditional Construction Studies) Tokyo, 1980-.

Nihon Keizai Shimbun (Japan Economic News) various articles 1985-87, Special series on rising land cost problems in Japan.

Illustrations

Erratum:

There are no pages 329 and 330 due to an error in pagination.

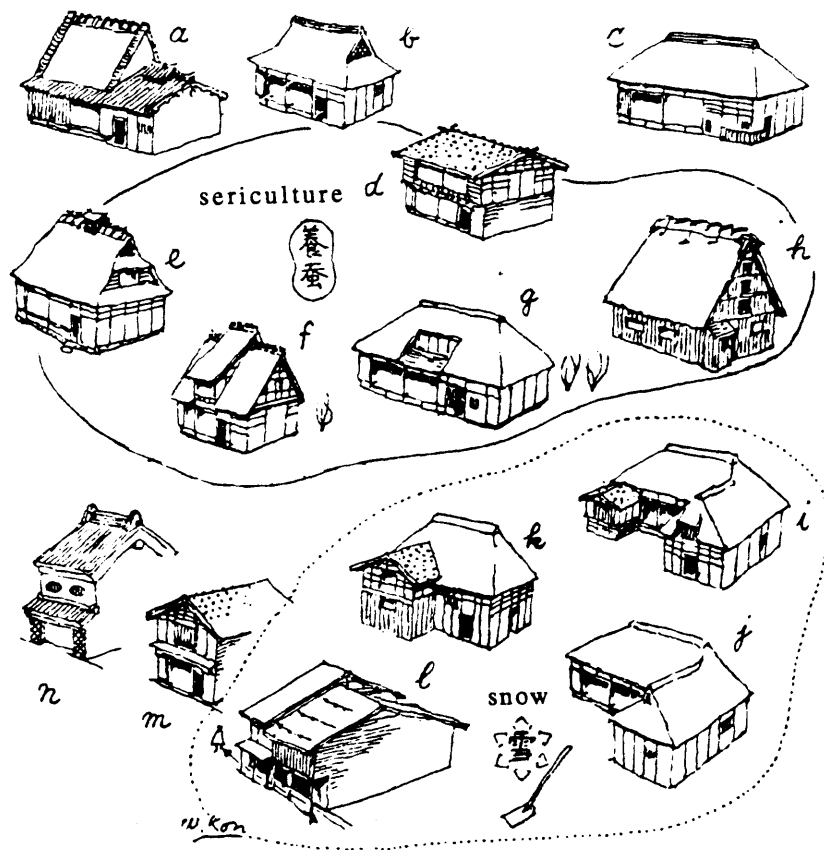


Figure 1: Kon Wajiro's sketches of farmhouse types
 (Kiso's *honmune-zukuri* is marked d)



Figure 2: Gifu Prefecture Municipalities



Figure 3: Gasshō houses at Shirakawa

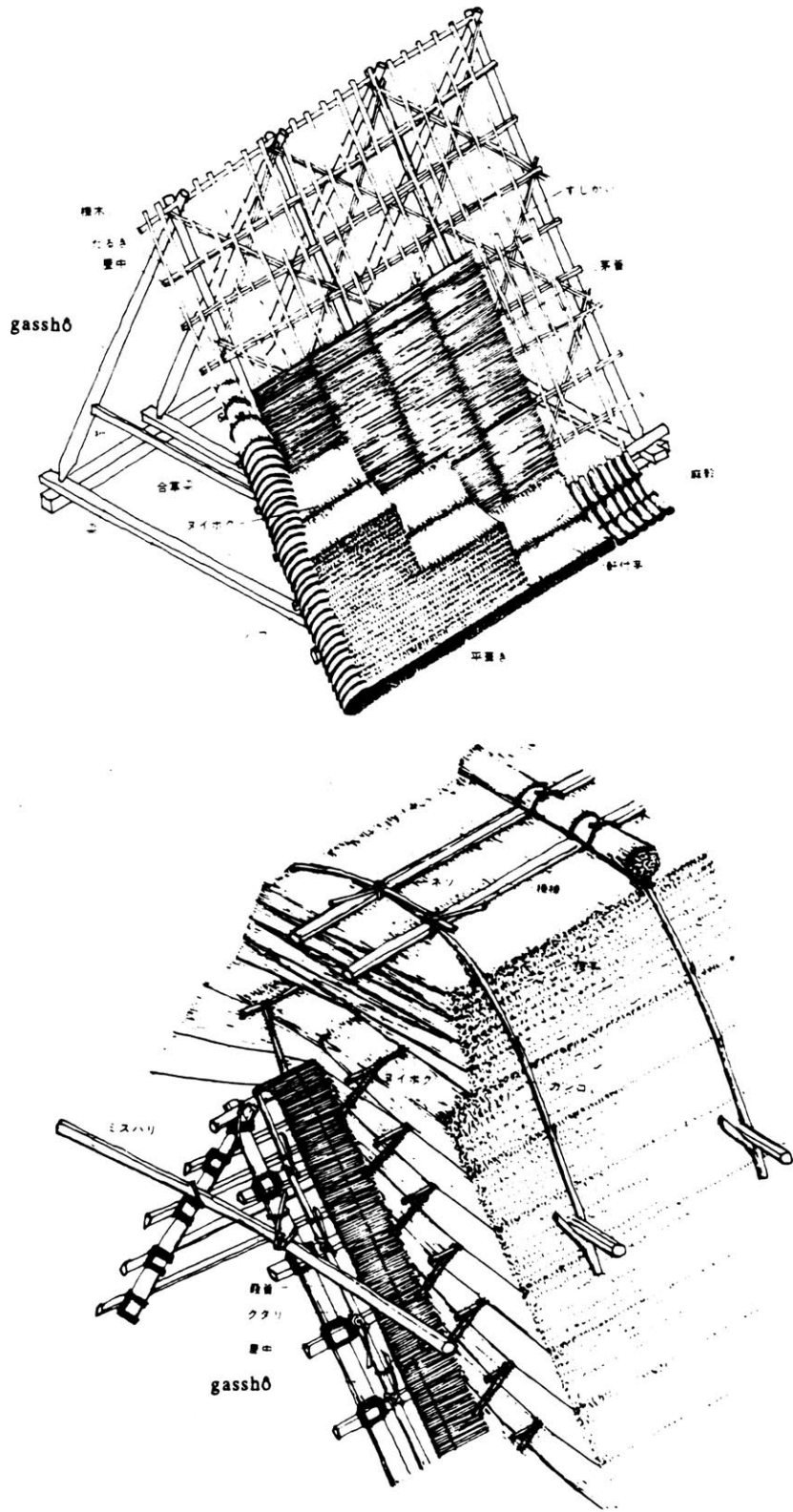


Figure 4: Roof structure of *gasshō* house, Shirakawa



Figure 5: Preservation District at Shirakawa's Ogimachi

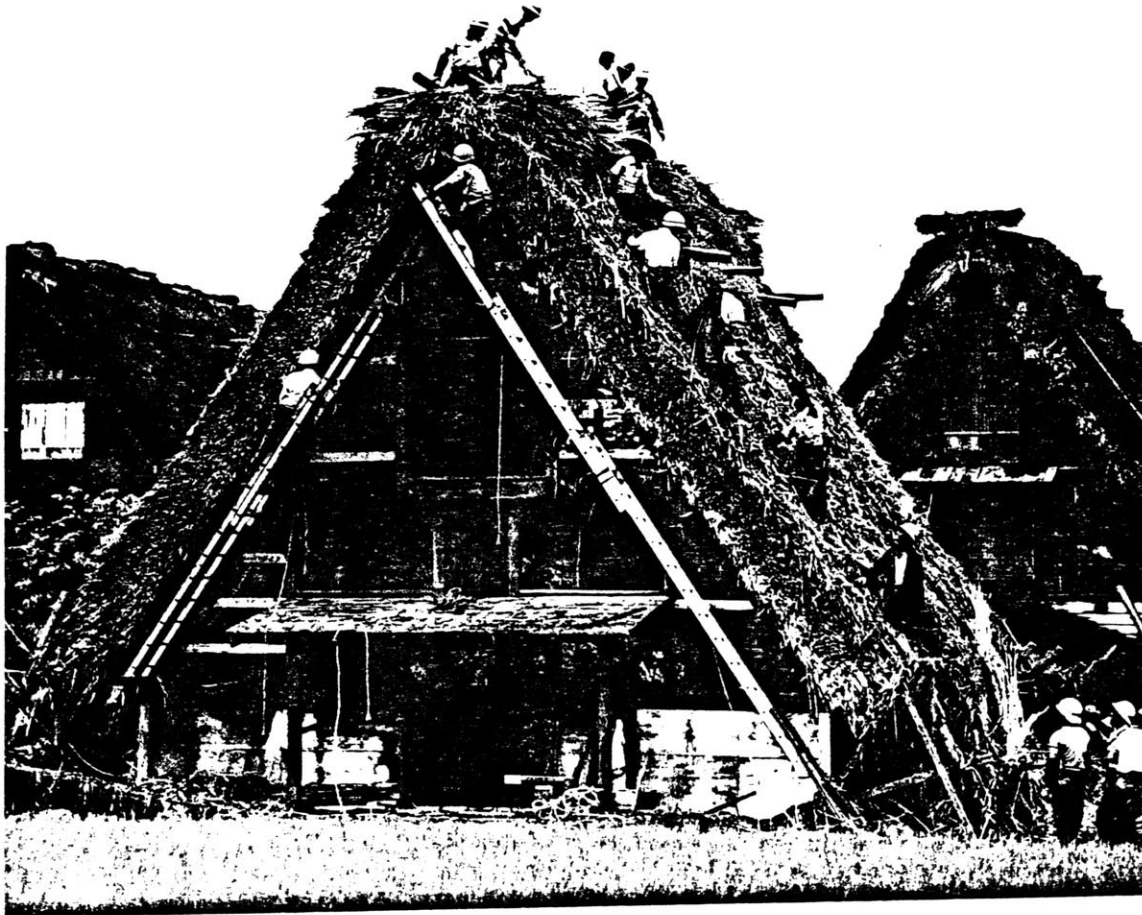


Figure 6: *Gasshō* house at Shirakawa undergoing roof repairs

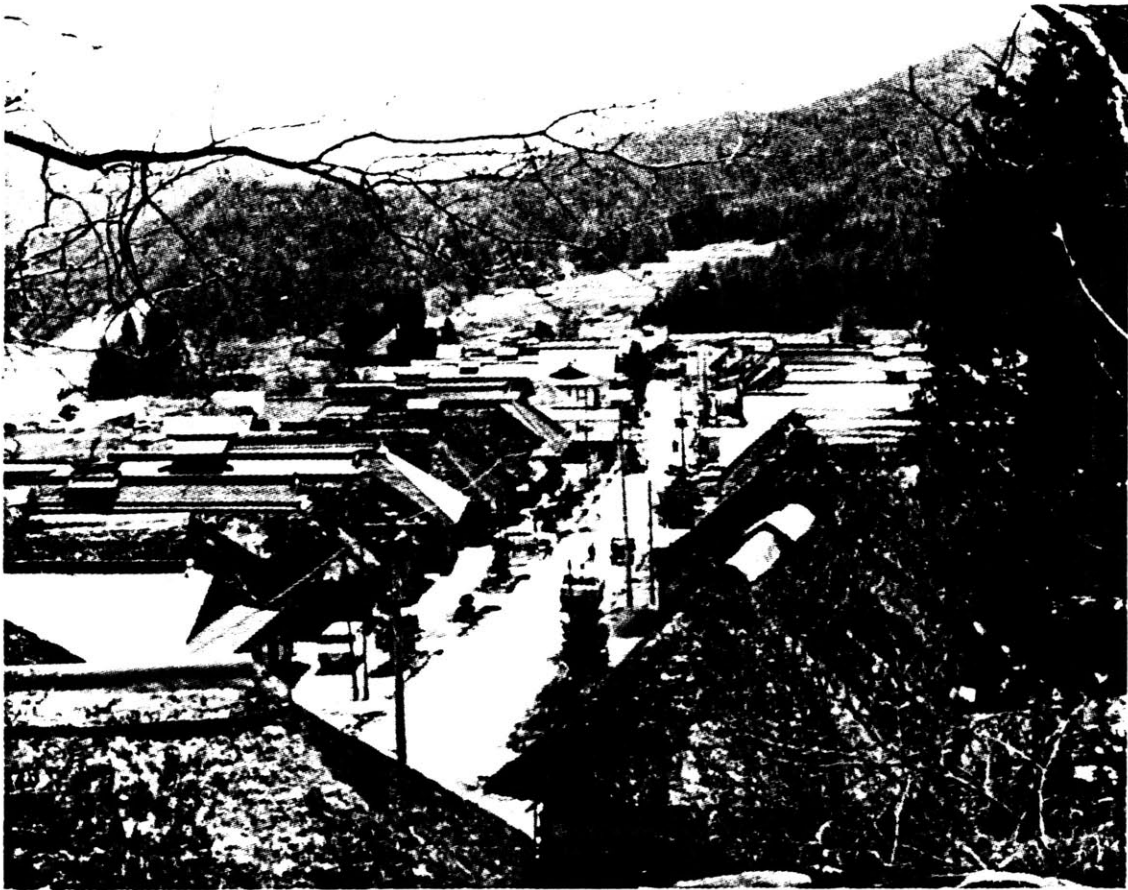


Figure 7: View of Ôuchi-juku, Fukushima Prefecture

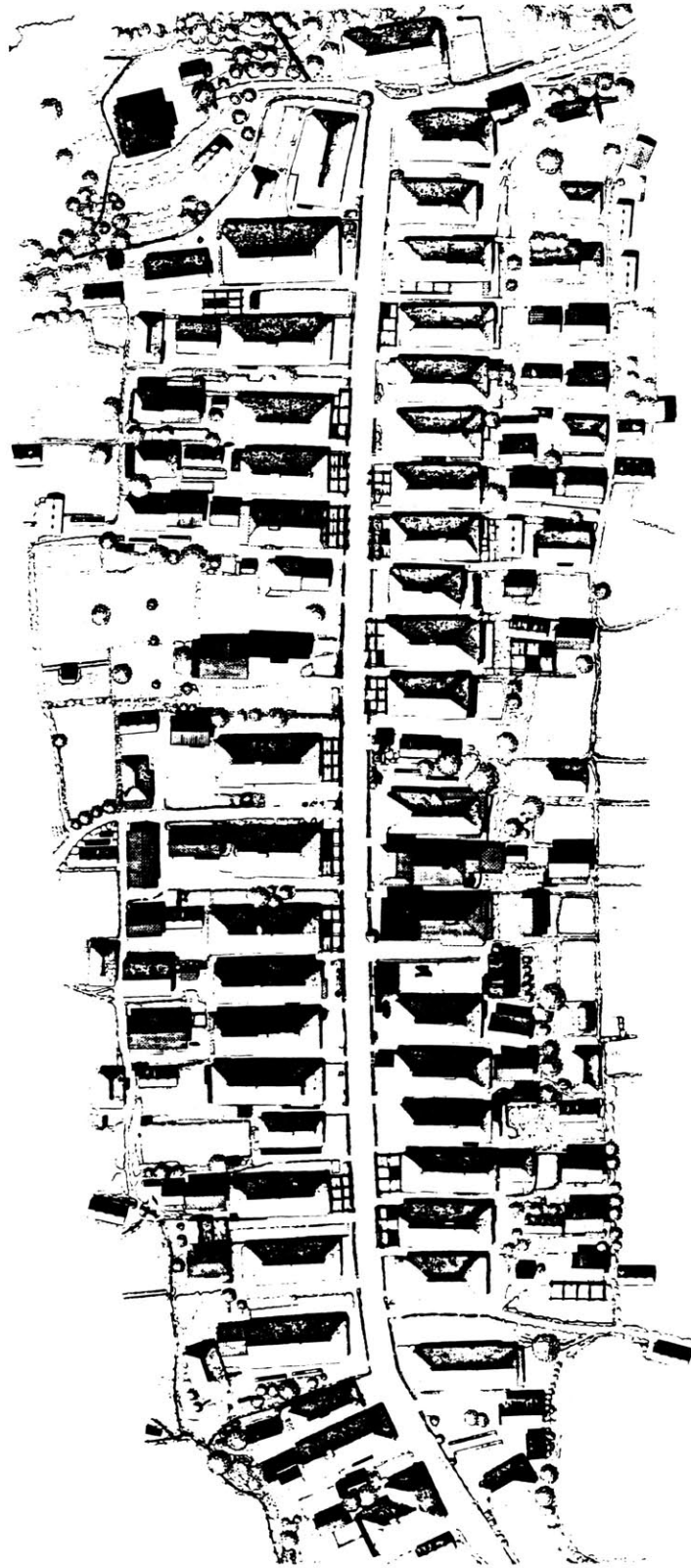


Figure 8: Village Plan: Ôuchi-juku, Fukushima Prefecture

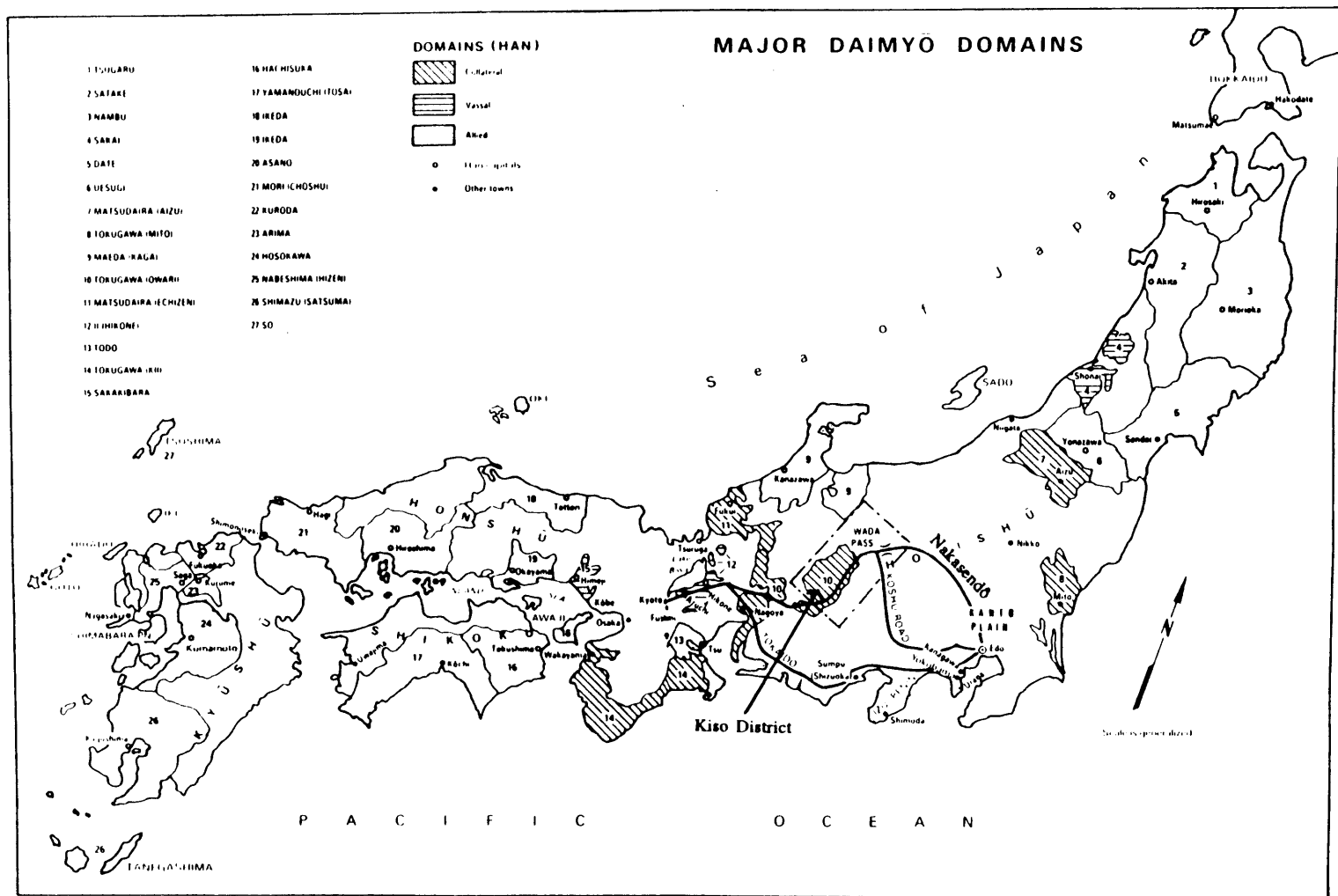


Figure 9: Major Daimyō Domains: Kiso is marked #10, Owari Tokugawa Domain

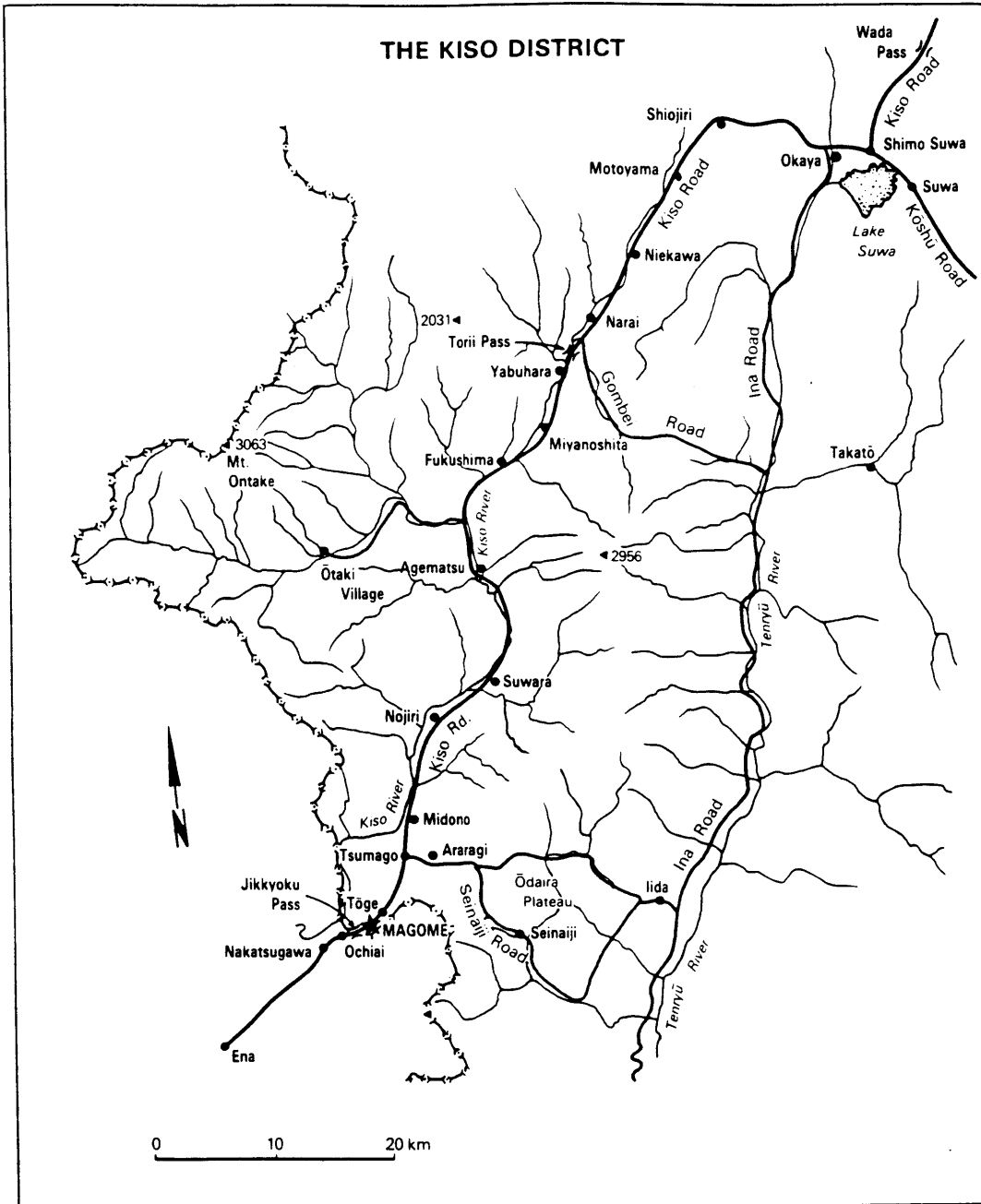


Figure 10: Kiso District map showing highways and towns of the Edo Period

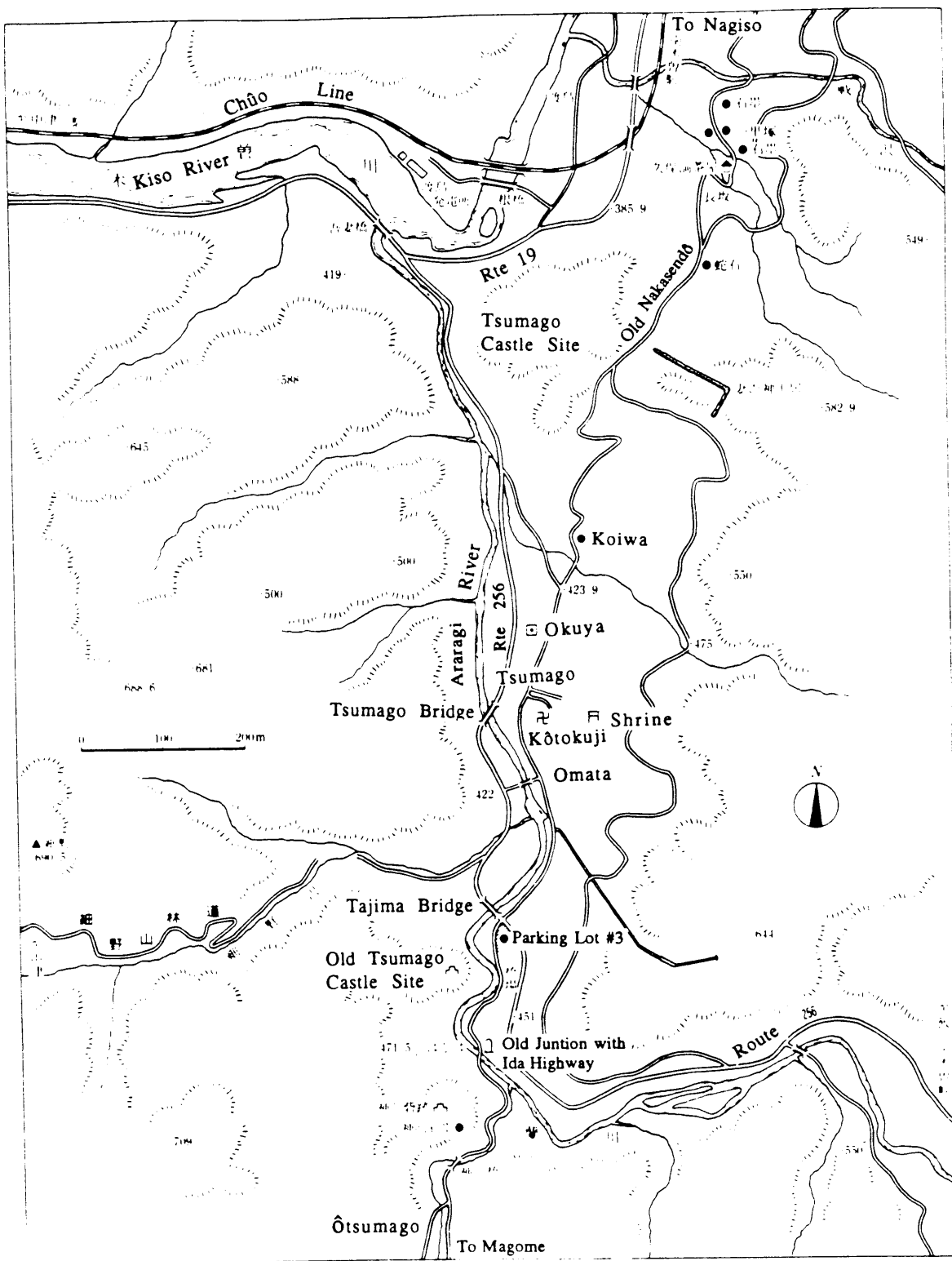


Figure 11: Tsumago Area Map

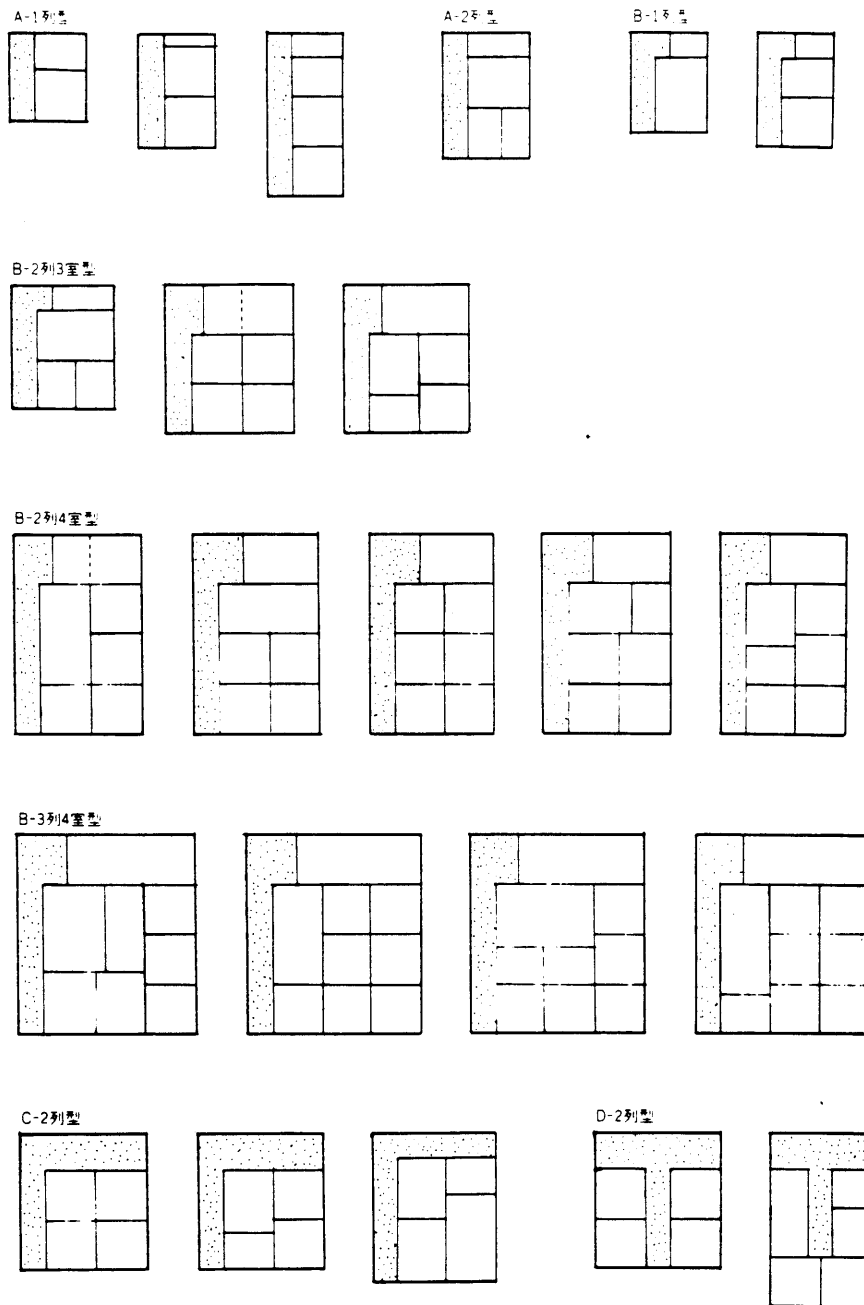


Figure 12: Range of *machiya* plans from Tsumago

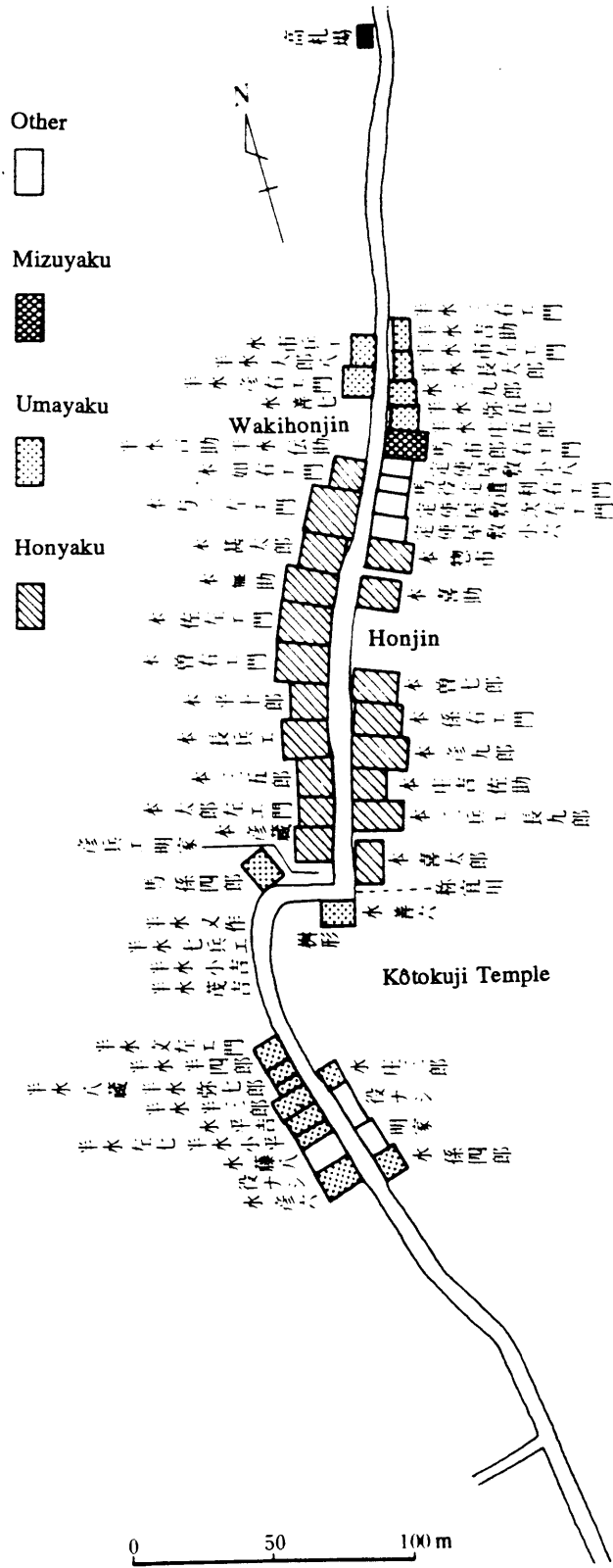


Figure 13: Diagram of Tsumago: Recorded Edo House Sites and Ranks



広重 木曾街道六十九次 福島

Figure 14: Sixty-nine stations of the Kiso Highway: Fukushima
Woodblock print by Andō Hiroshige

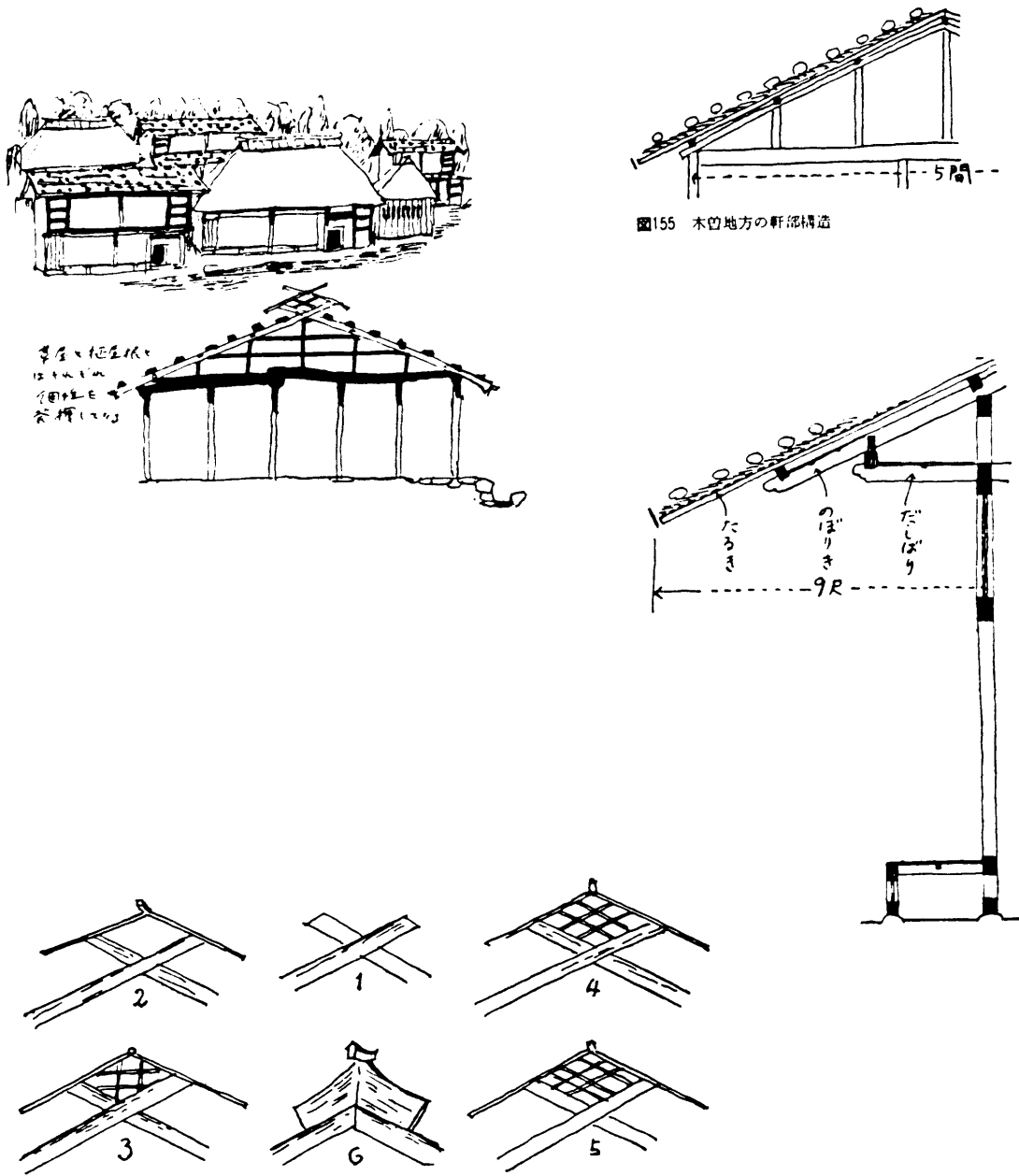


図155 木曾地方の軒部構造

Figure 15: Kon Wajirô's sketches of houses in Kiso region

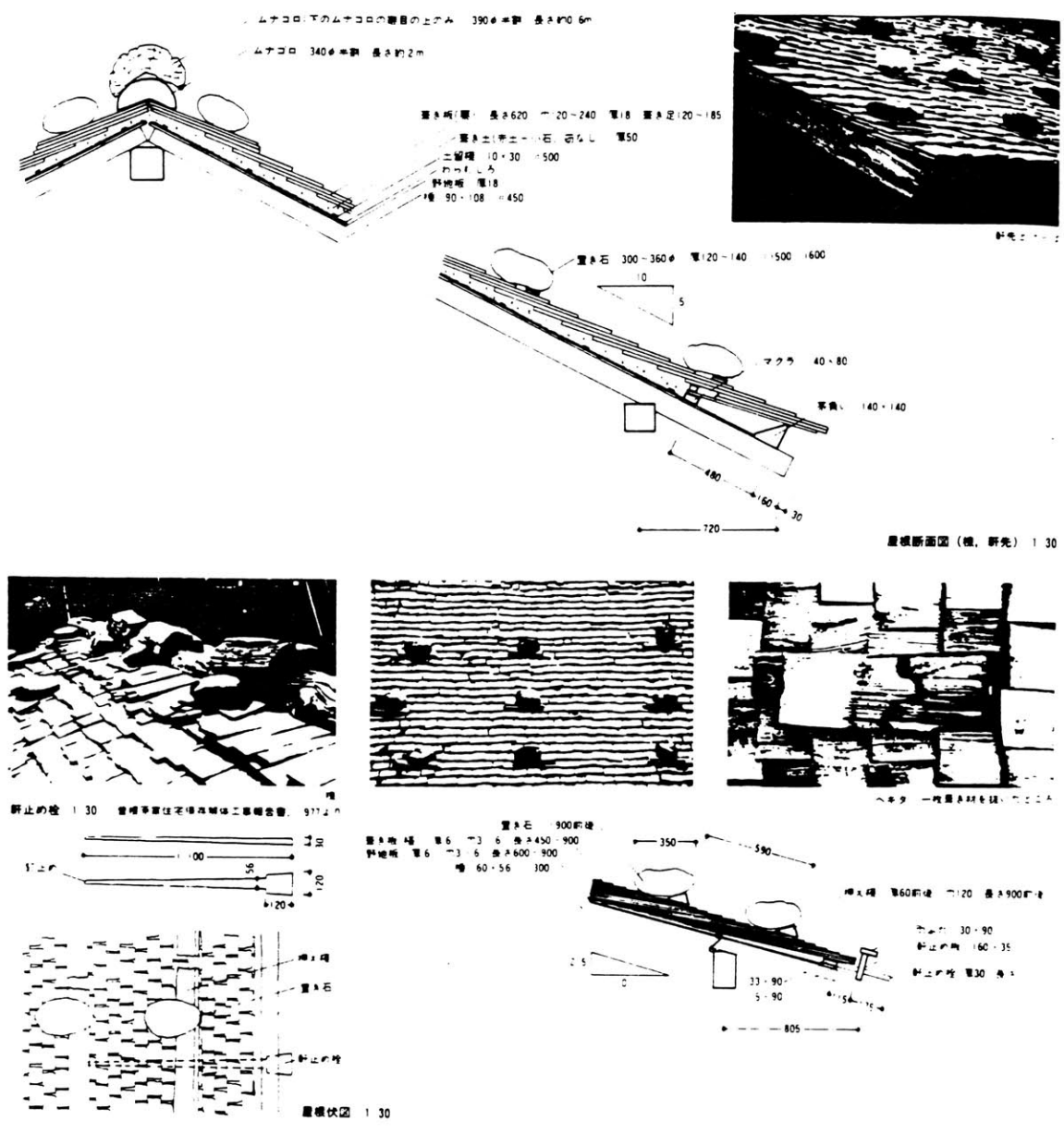


Figure 16: Ishiki roof detail drawings

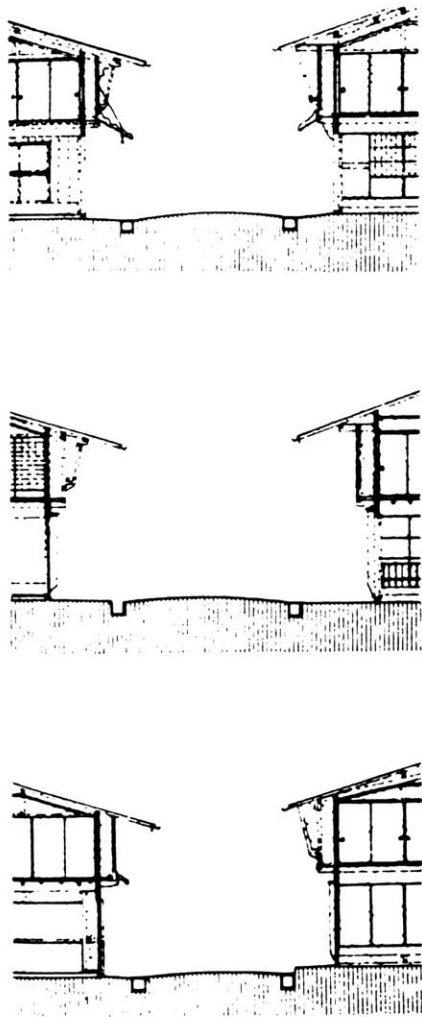


Figure 17:
Relationship of Houses to Street

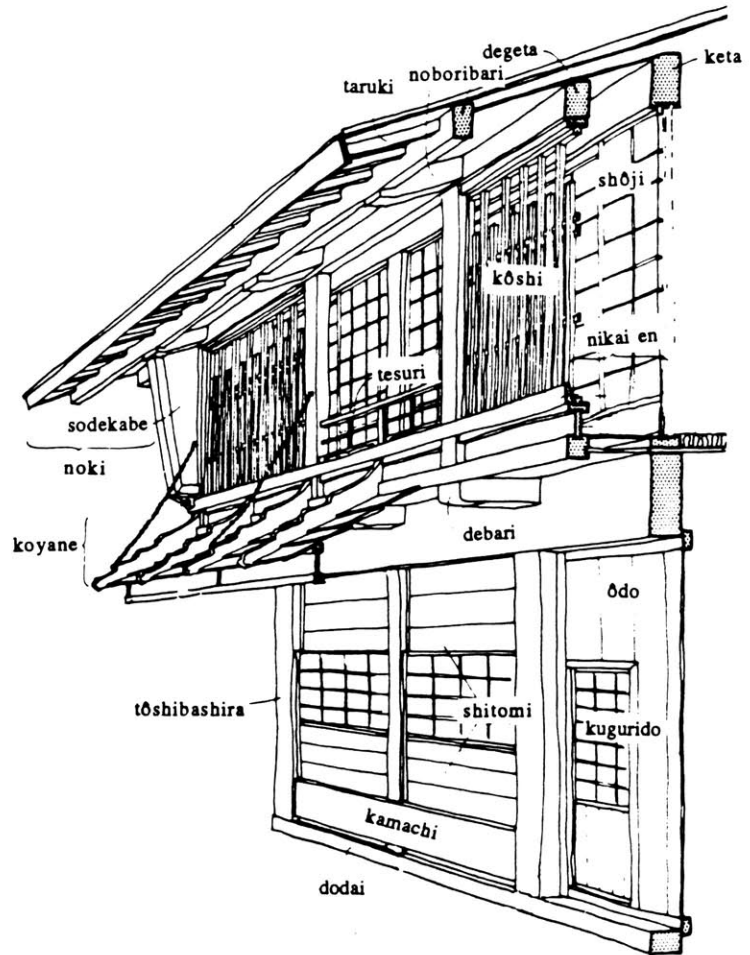


Figure 18:
Structural Elements of Kiso Machiya:
Example from Narai-juku

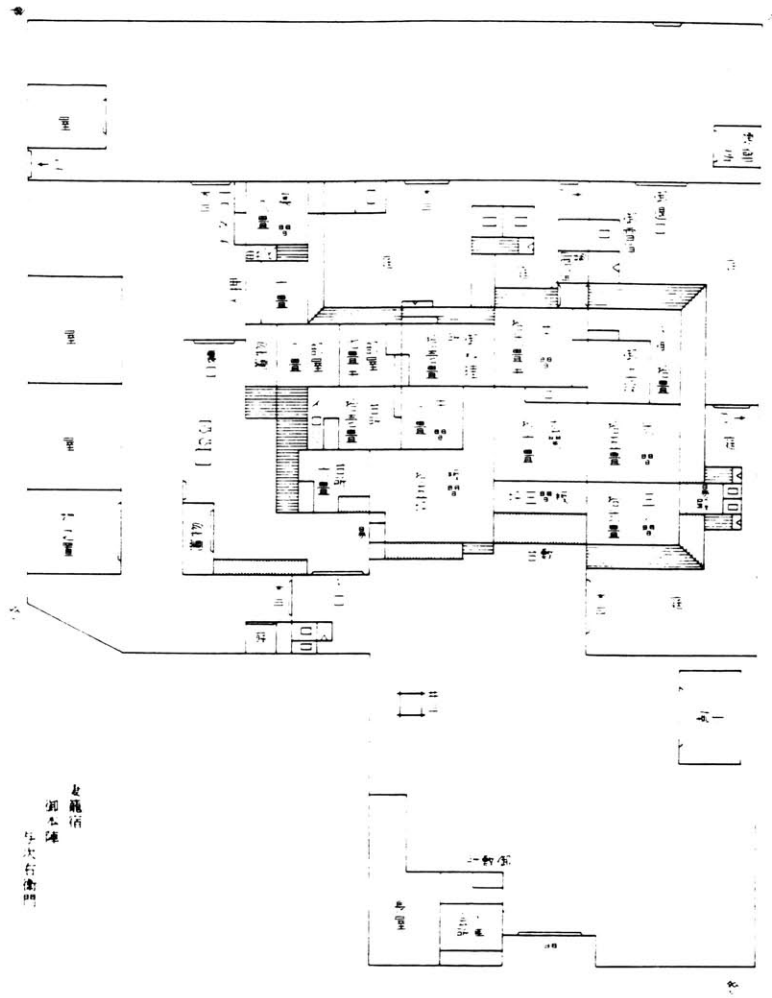


Figure 19: Reconstruction plan of Tsumago honjin

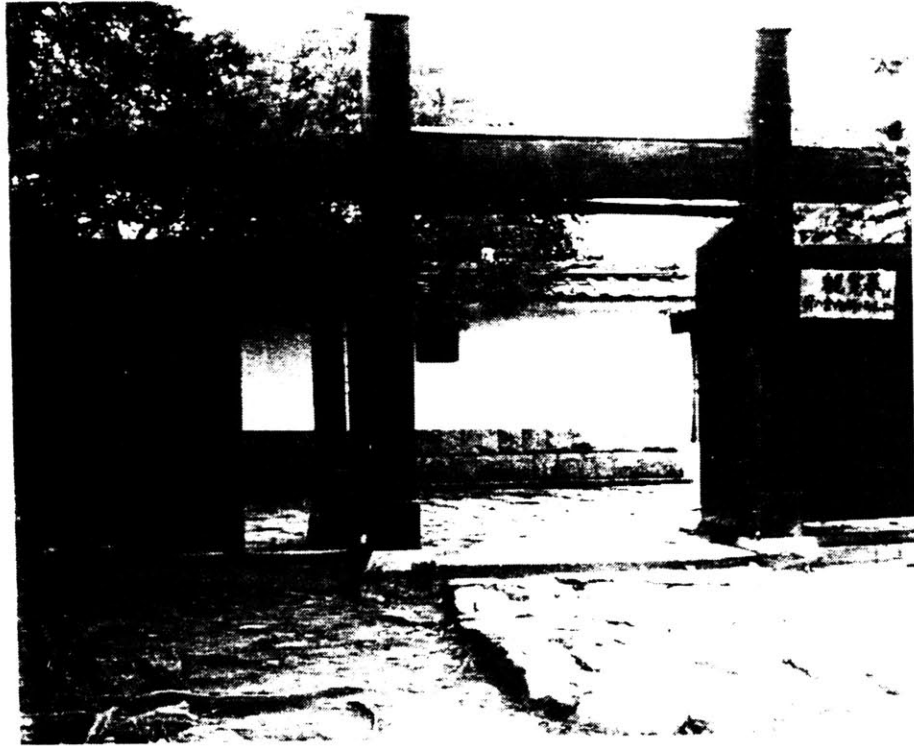


Figure 20: *Kabuki-mon* reconstructed at the Shimazaki Museum in Magome



Figure 21: Kiso Fukushima Summer Horse Market
Anonymous Screen Painting, 19th century

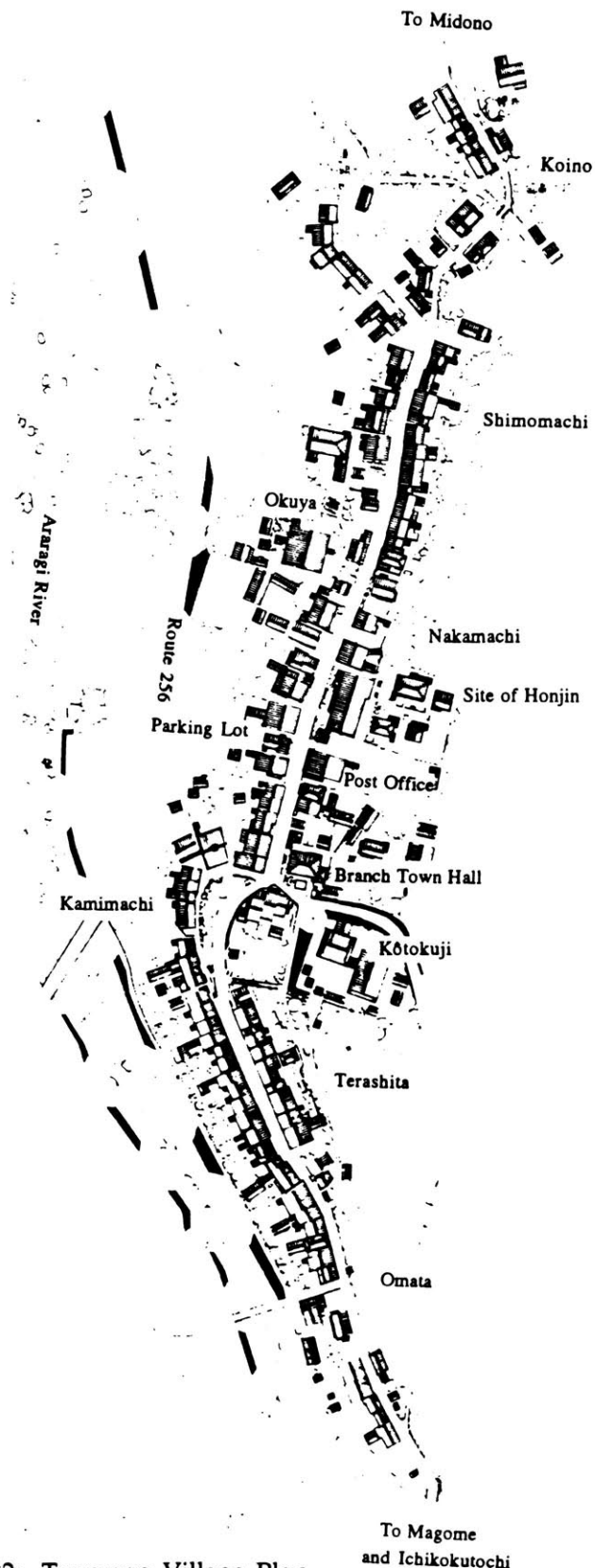


Figure 22: Tsumago Village Plan

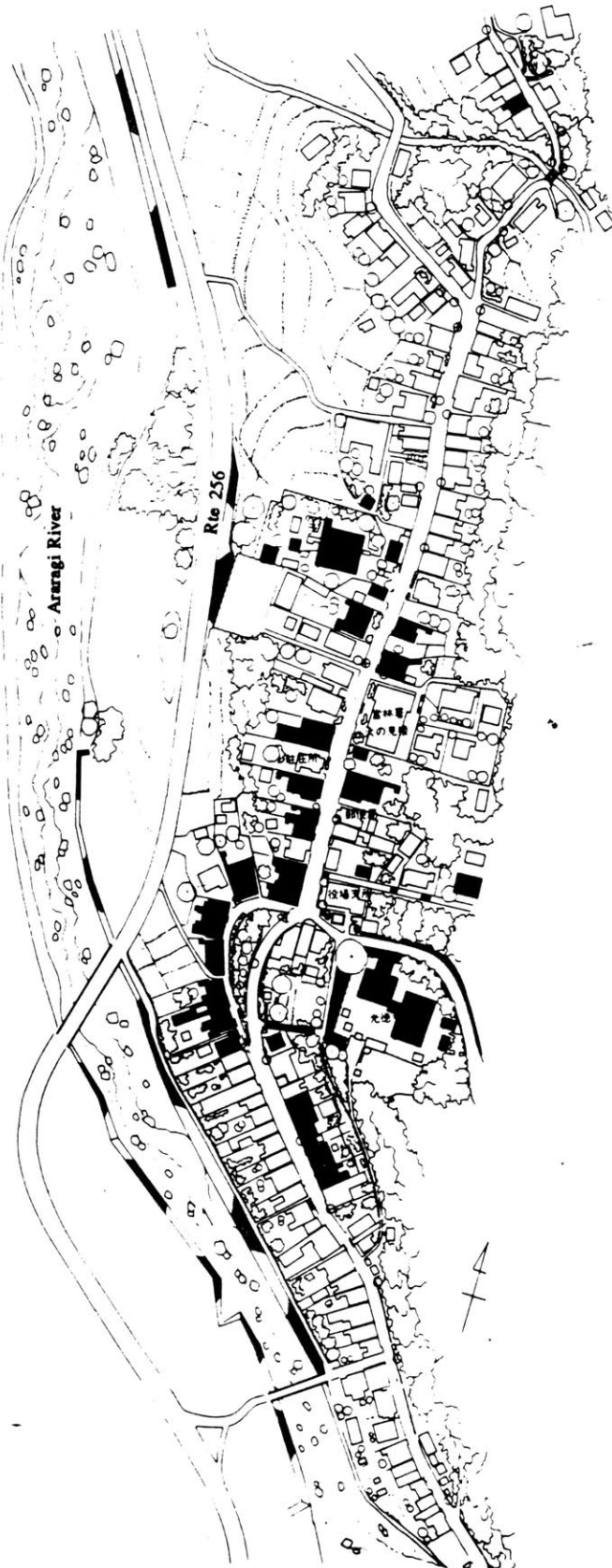


Figure 23: Tsumago: Structures dating from Edo to Early Meiji

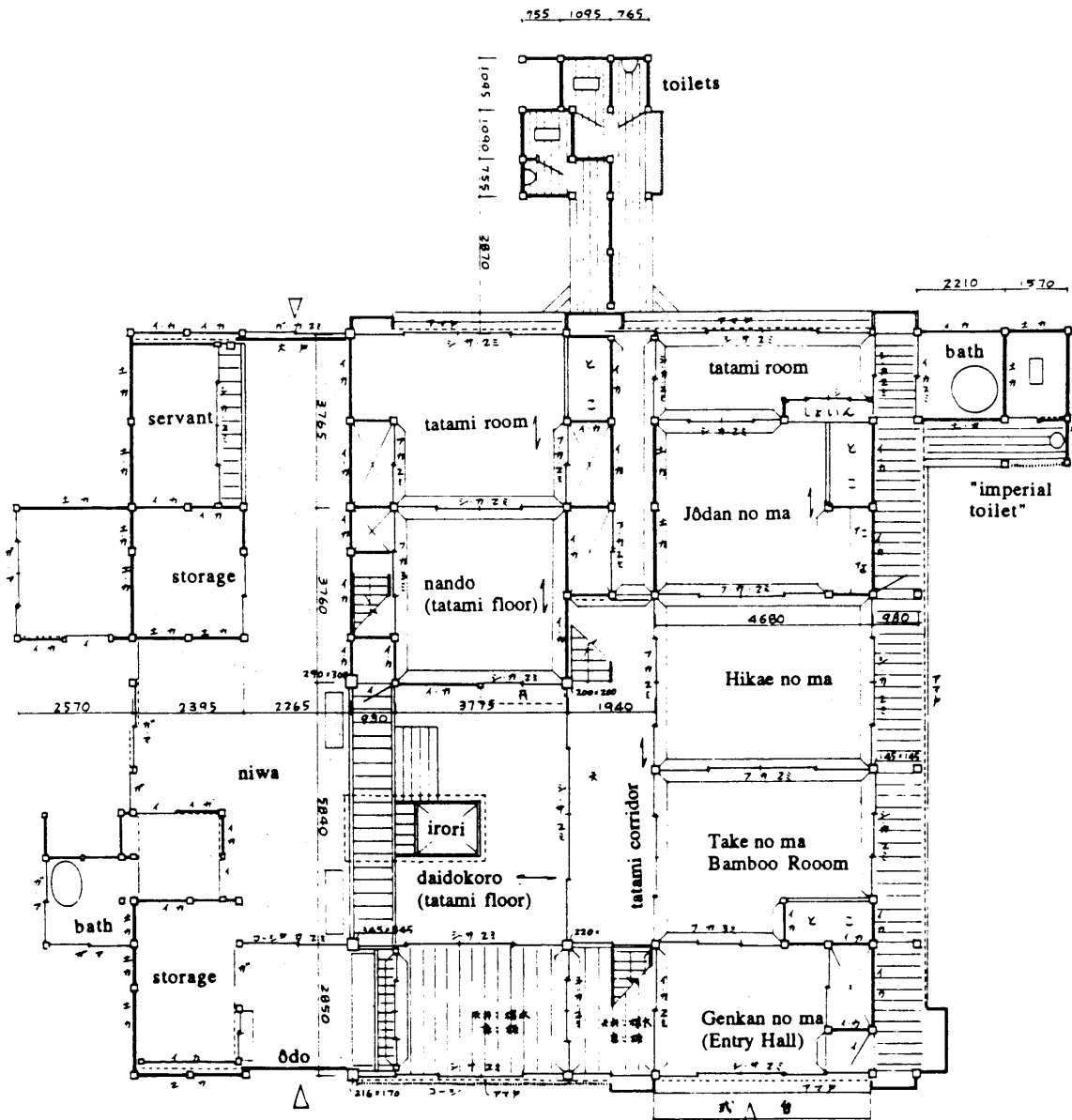
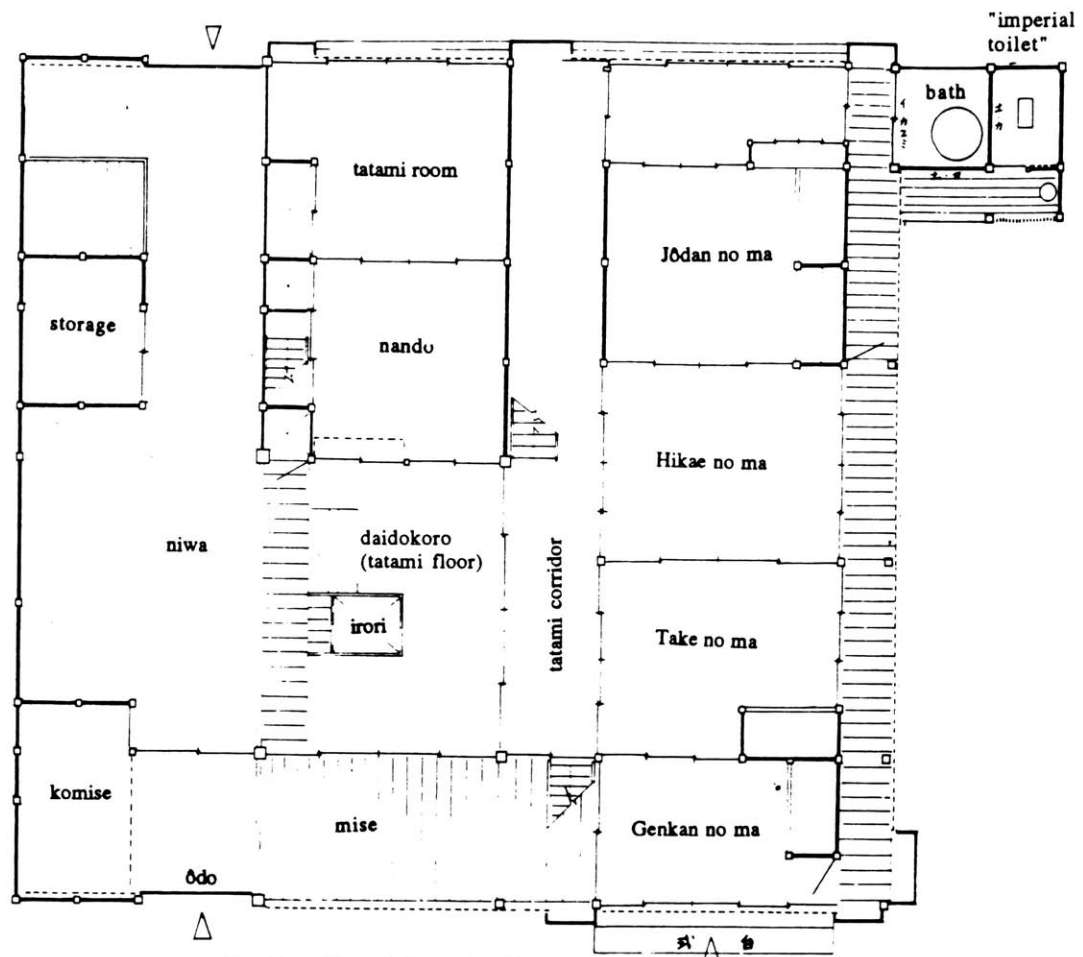
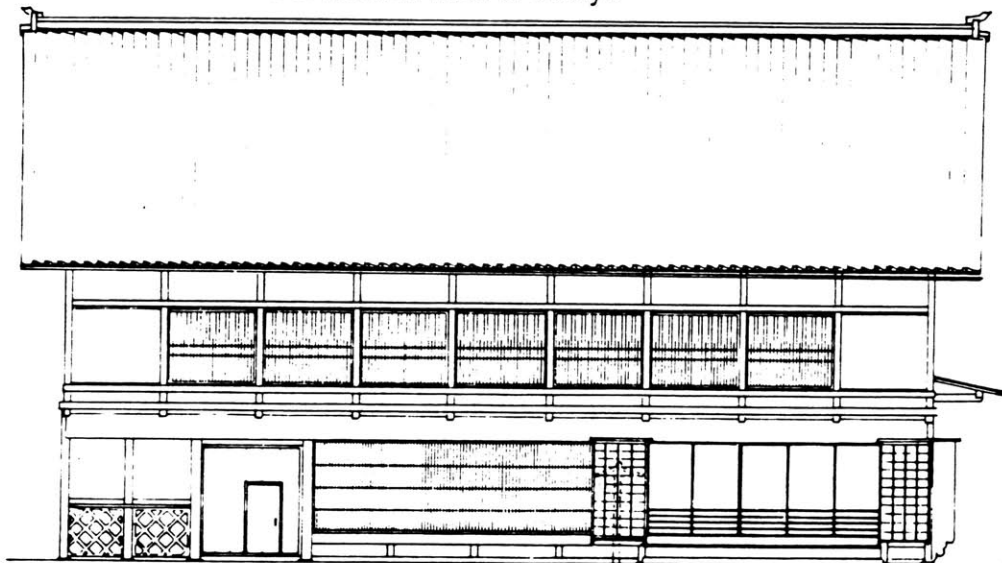


Figure 24: First Floor Plan of Okuya Before Restoration

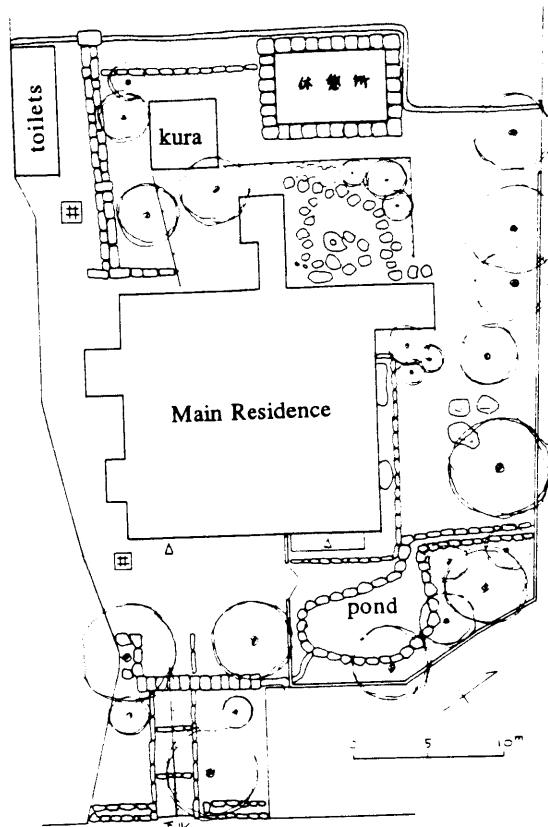


Restoration Plan of Okuya

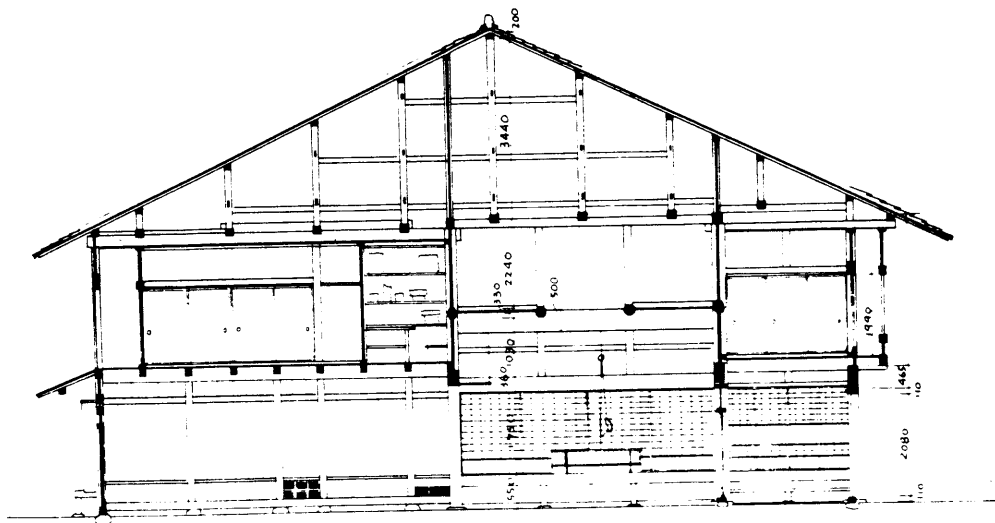


Facade Elevation of Restored Okuya

Figure 25: Restoration drawings of Okuya



Site Plan



Section

Figure 26: Site Plan and Section of Okuya

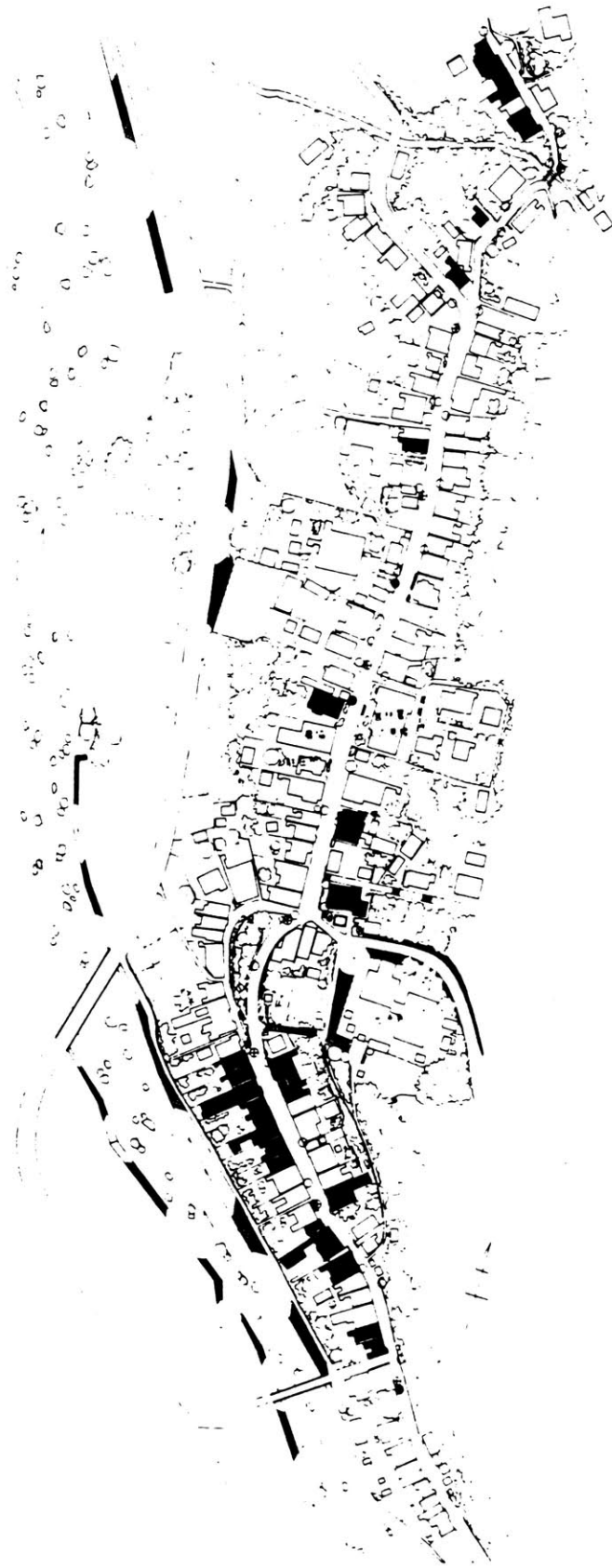


Figure 27: Tsumago: Structures dating from late Meiji to early Taishō

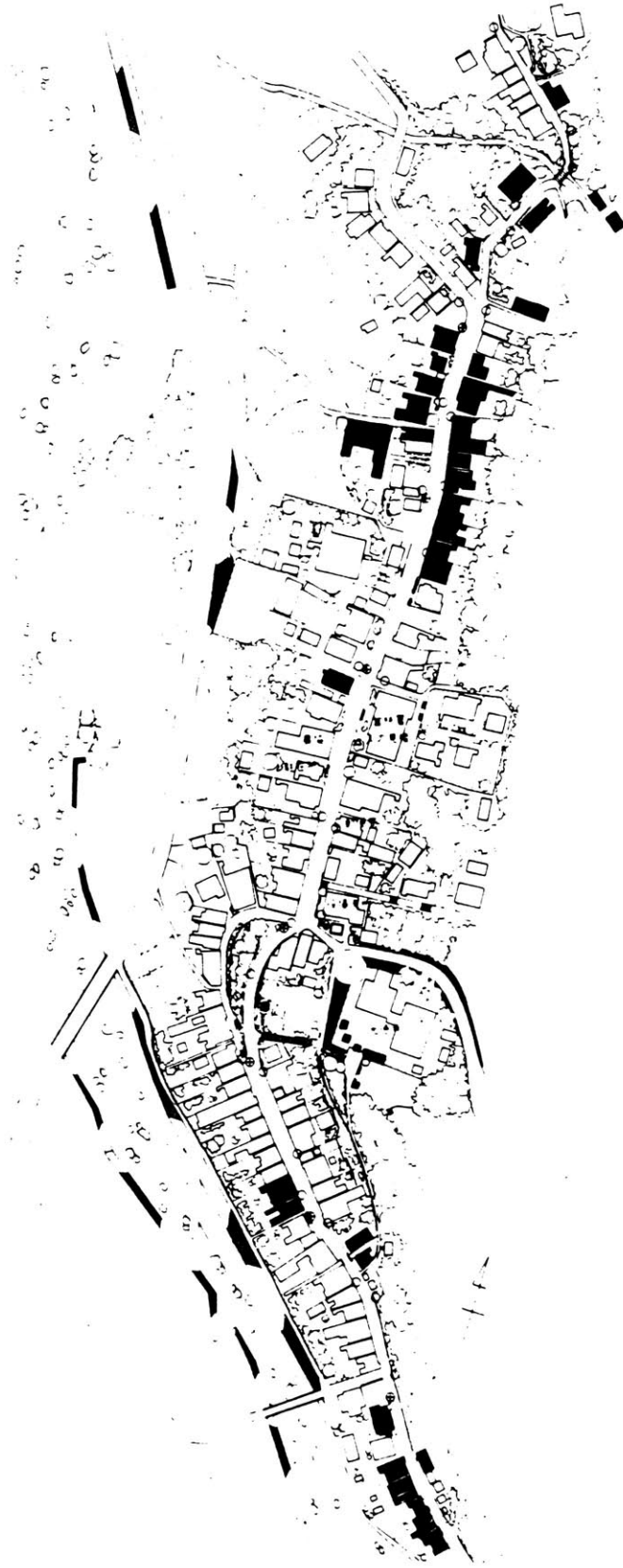


Figure 28: Tsumago: Structures dating from mid-Taishō to before WW2

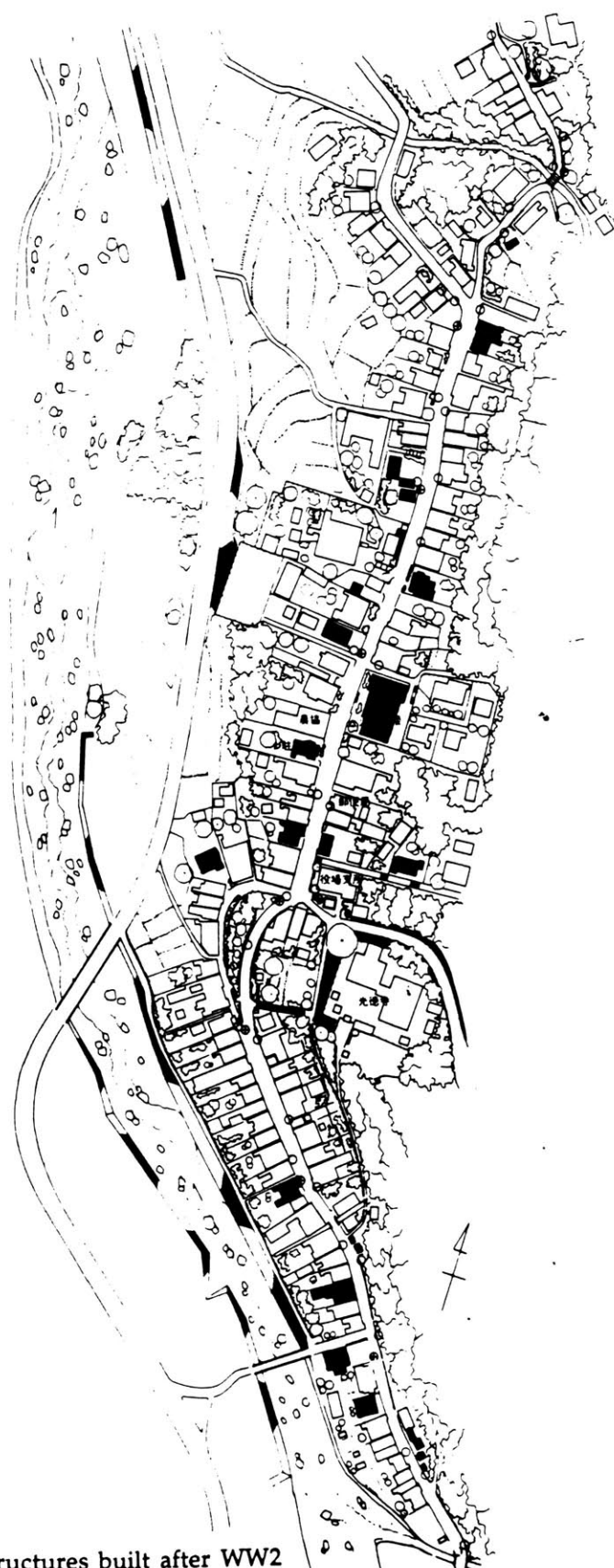


Figure 29: Tsumago: Structures built after WW2



Figure 30: Tsumago village plan: Koino area
(Drawing does not include new construction or additions after 1968)

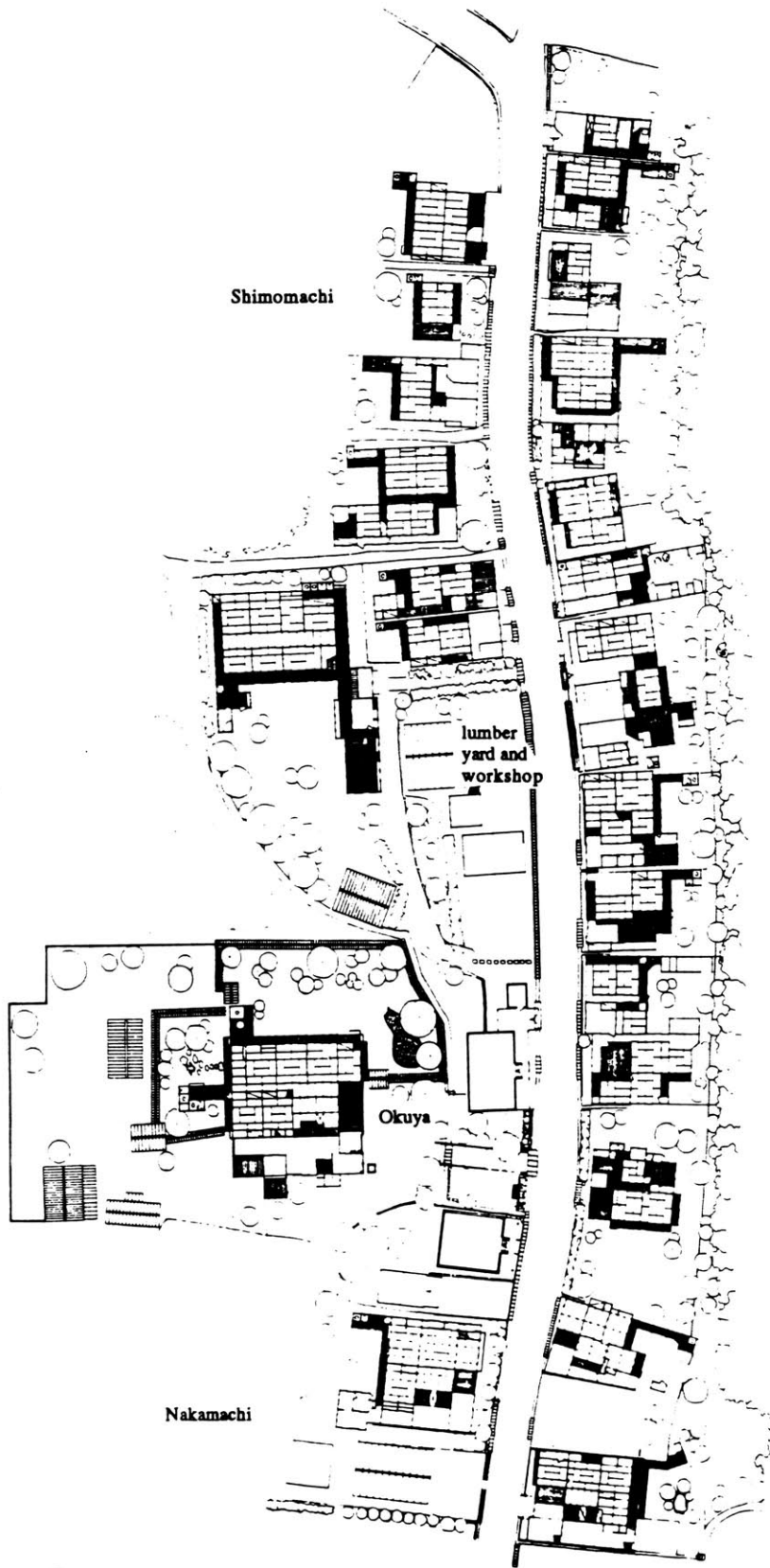


Figure 31: Tsumago village plan: Shimomachi area
(Drawing does not include new construction or additions after 1968)

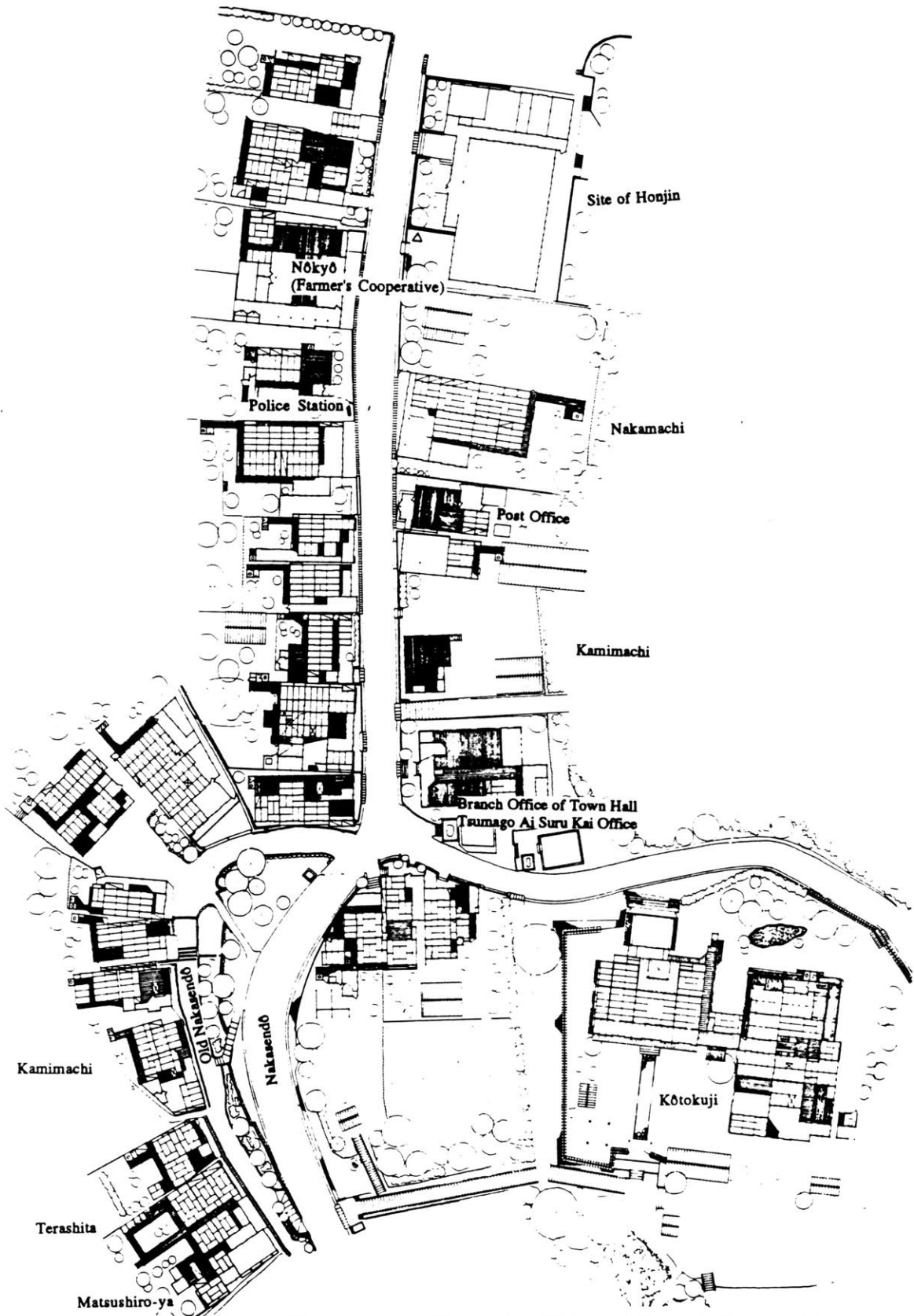


Figure 32: Tsumago village plan: N. Terashita and Kamimachi areas
 (Drawing does not include new construction or additions after 1968)

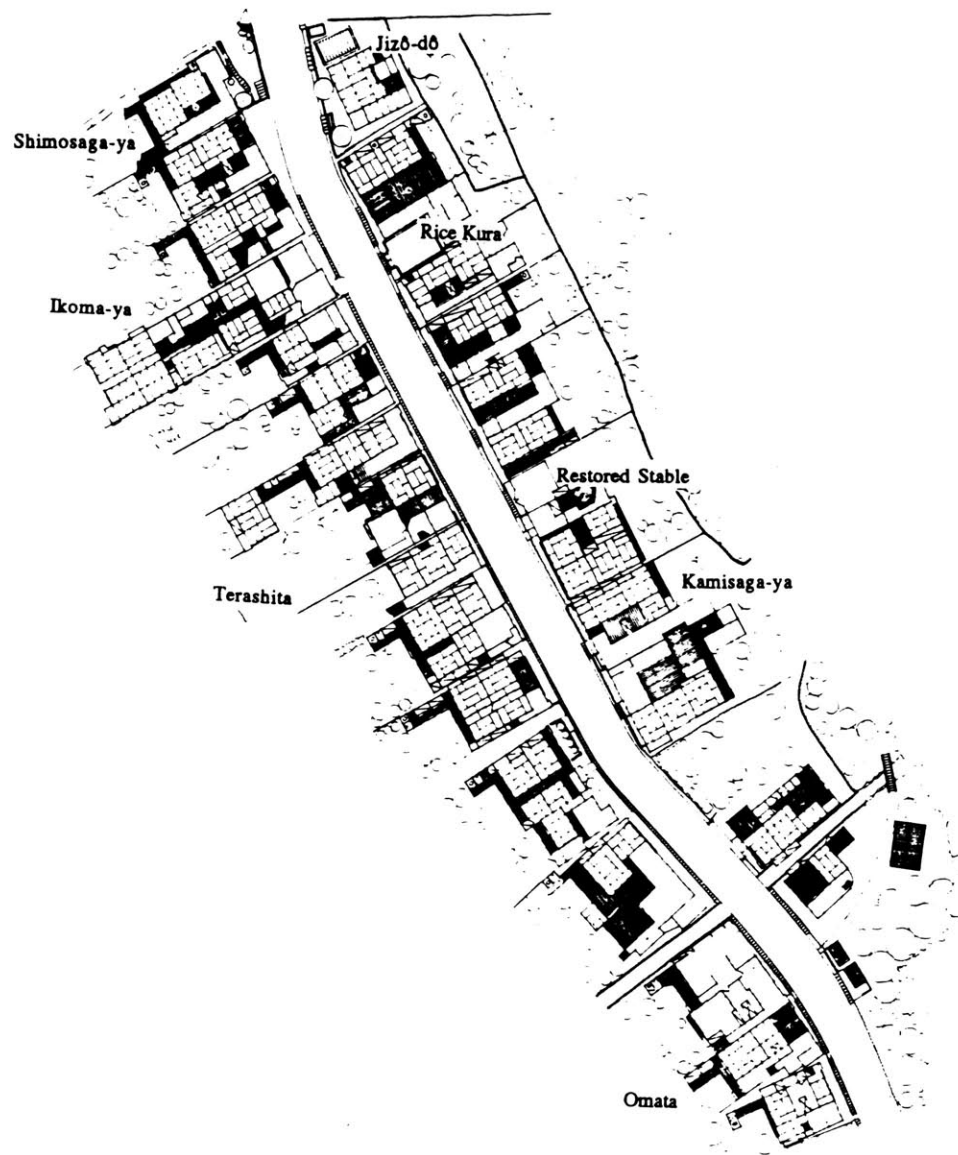


Figure 33: Tsumago village plan: Terashita area
(Drawing does not include new construction or additions after 1968)

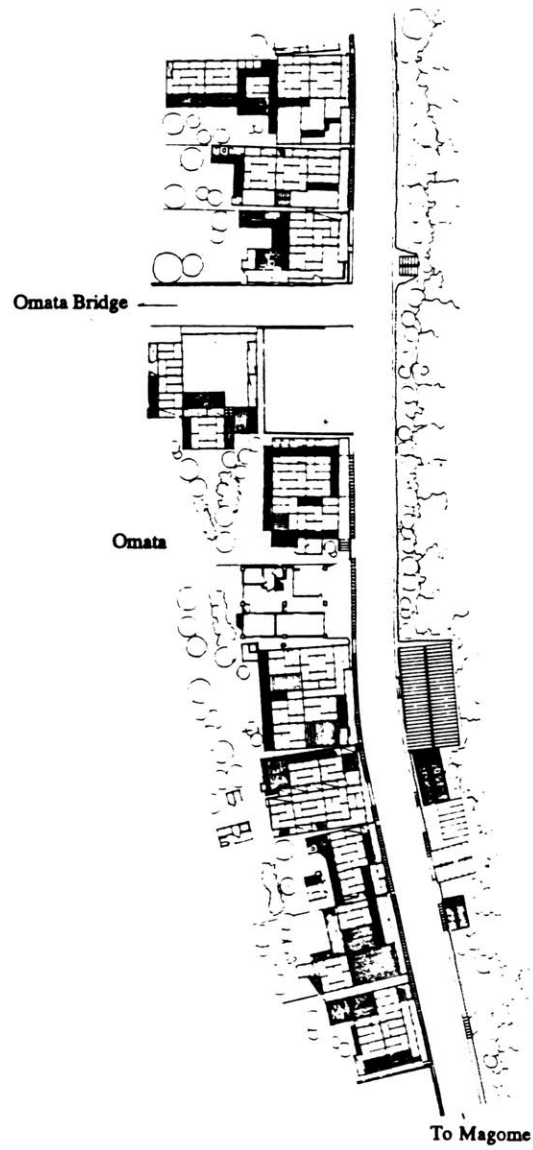


Figure 34: Tsumago village plan: Omata area
(Drawing does not include new construction or additions after 1968)

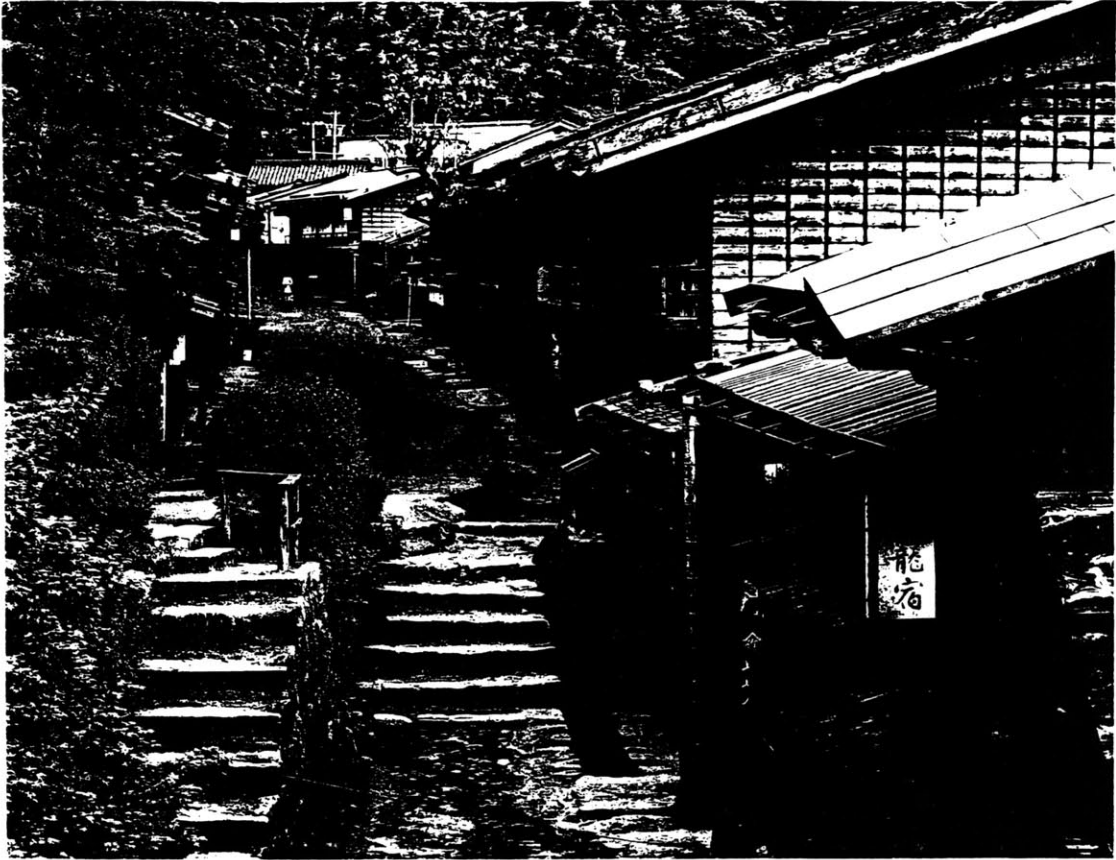


Figure 35: View south to Terashita from lower road in Kamimachi



Figure 36: View south to Terashita

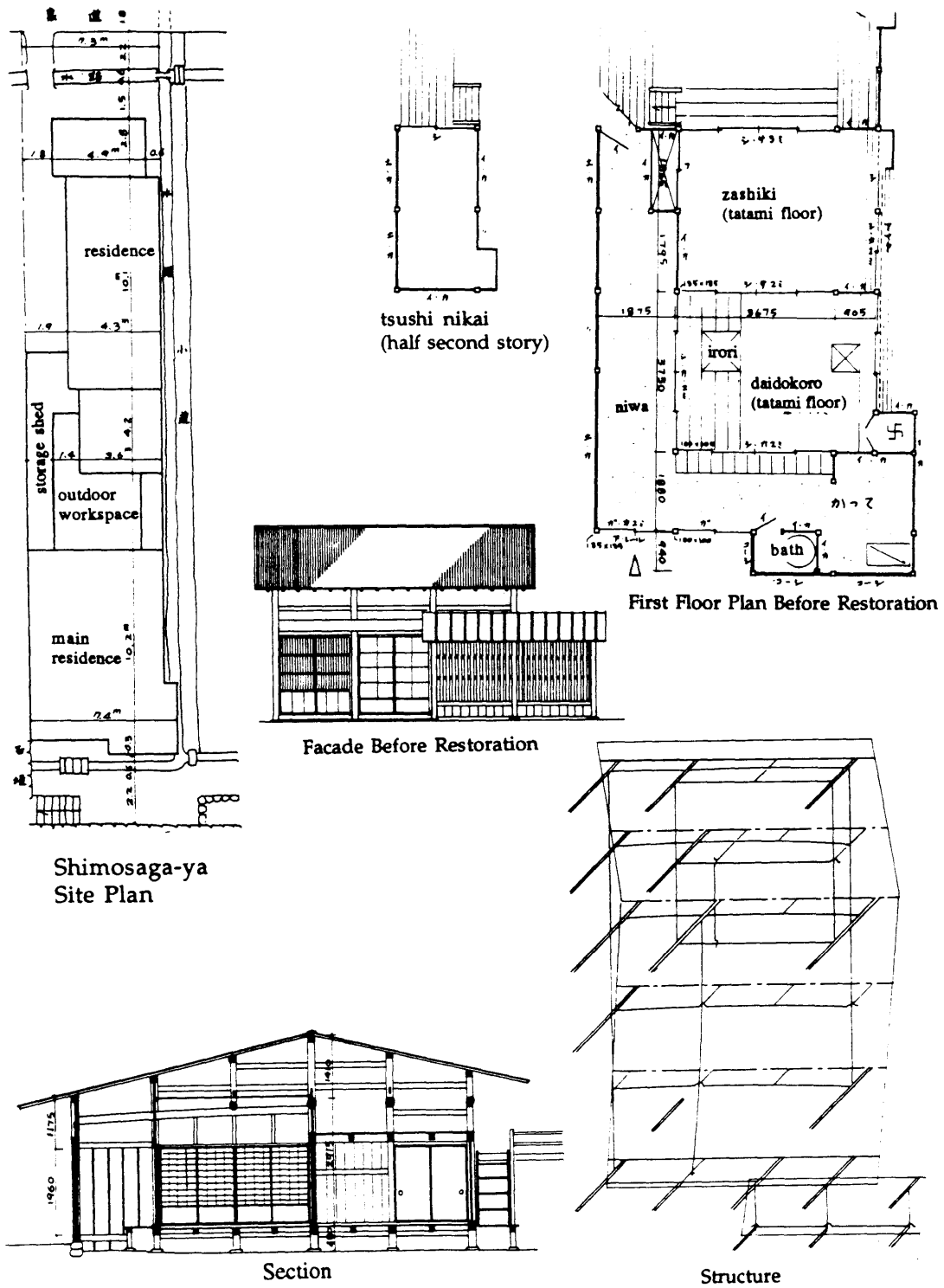


Figure 37: Survey Drawings of Shimosaga-ya

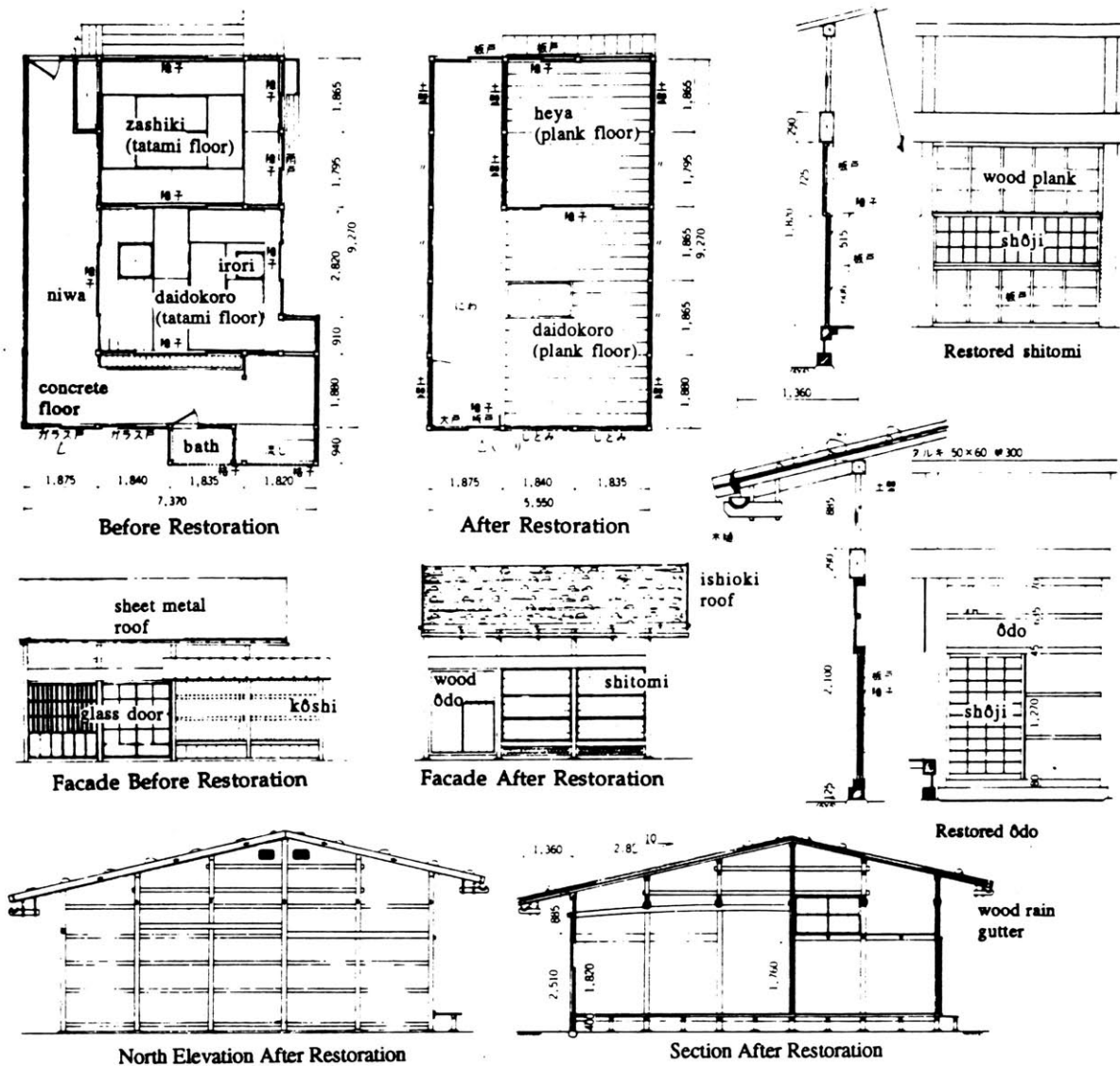


Figure 38: Restoration Drawings of Shimosaga-ya

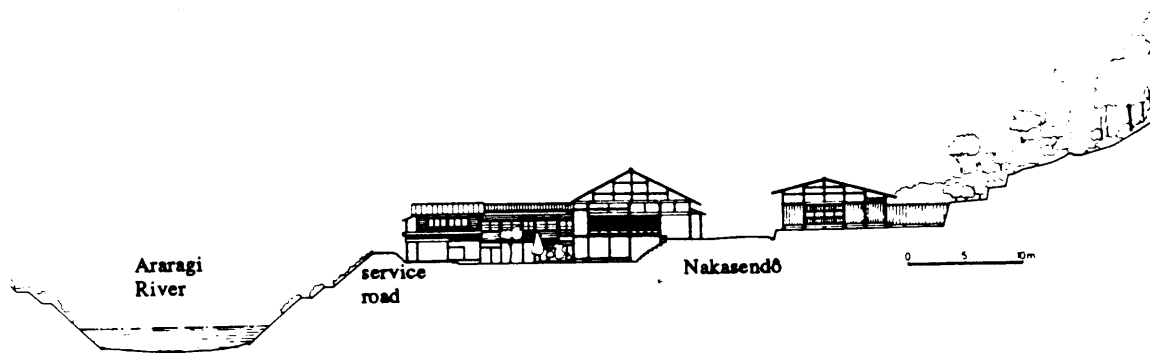


Figure 39: Site Section at Terashita

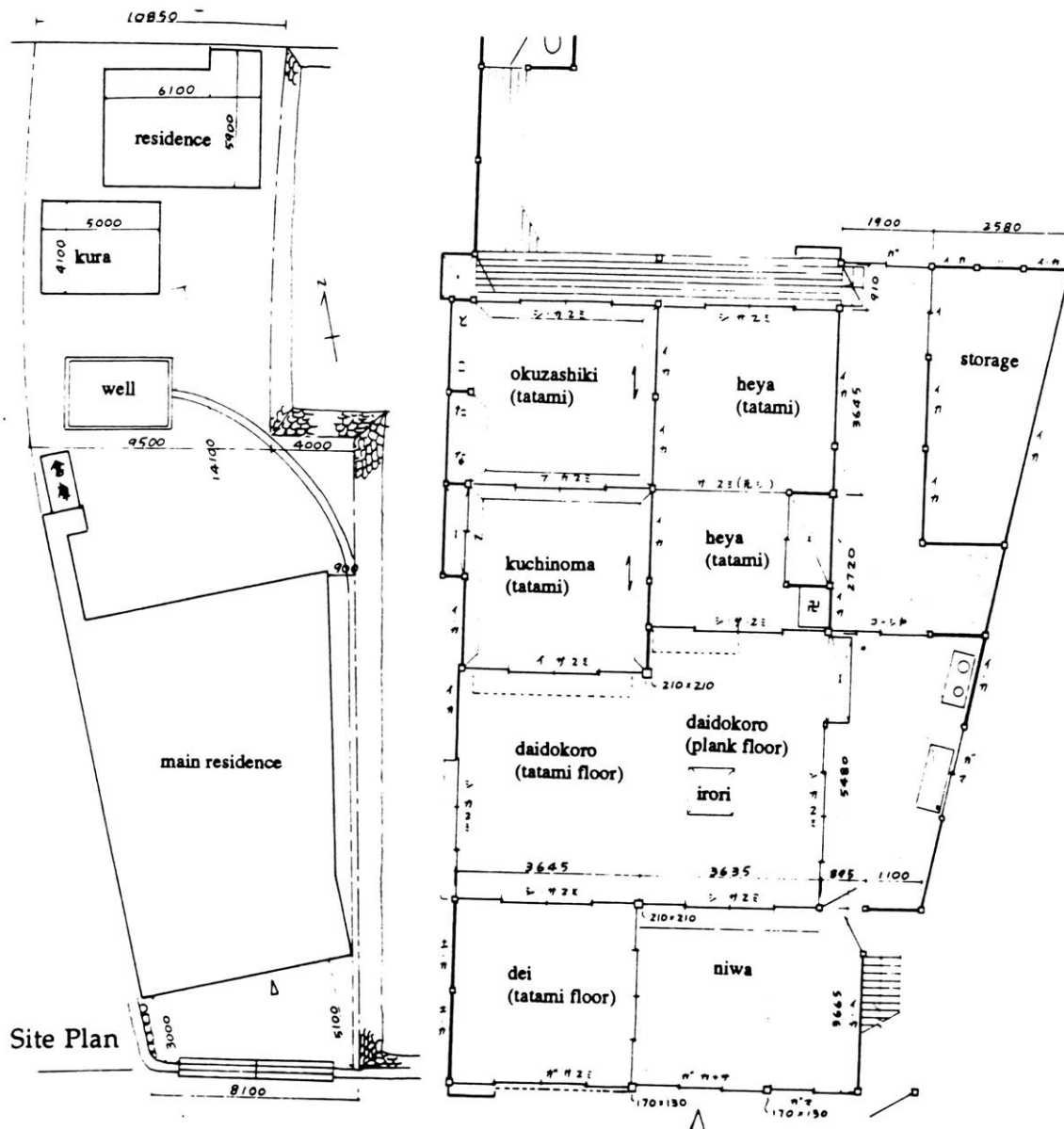
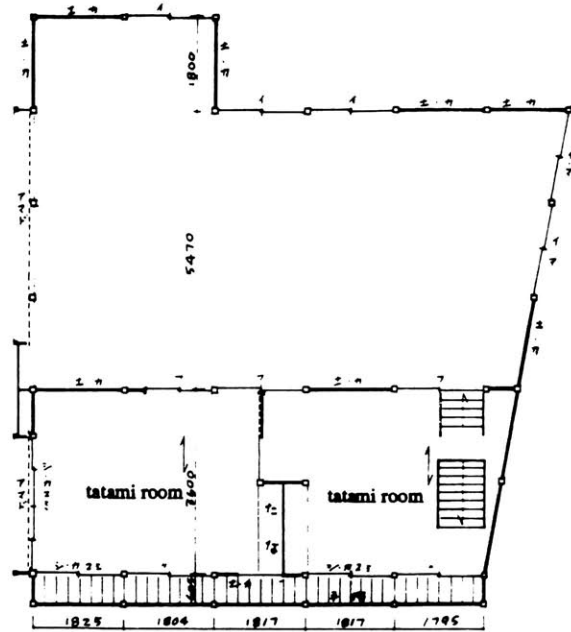


Figure 40: First Floor Plan of Kamichôji-ya Before Restoration



Second floor before restoration

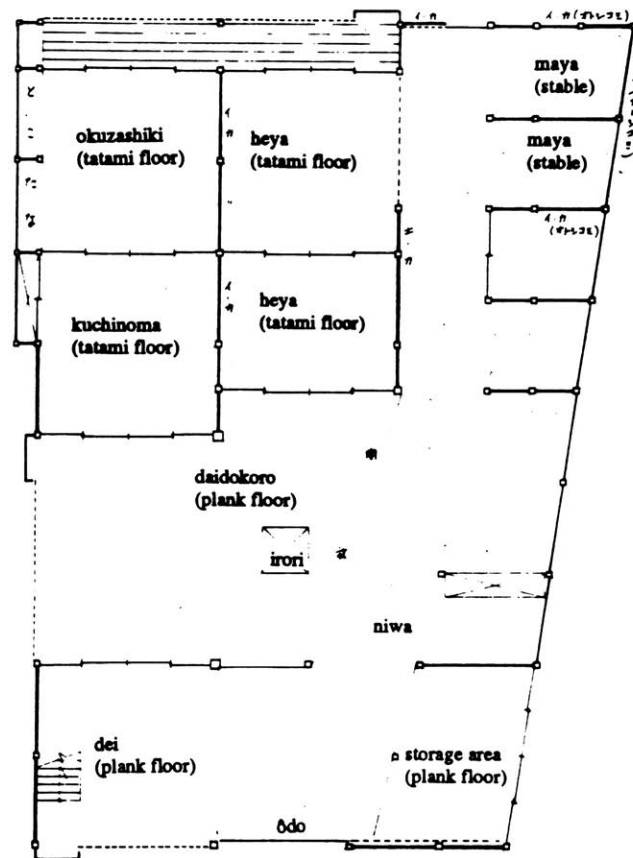


Figure 41: Restoration Plan of Kamichôji-ya



Figure 42: Tsumago during the Bunka-Bunsei Fûzoku Emaki Gyôretsu

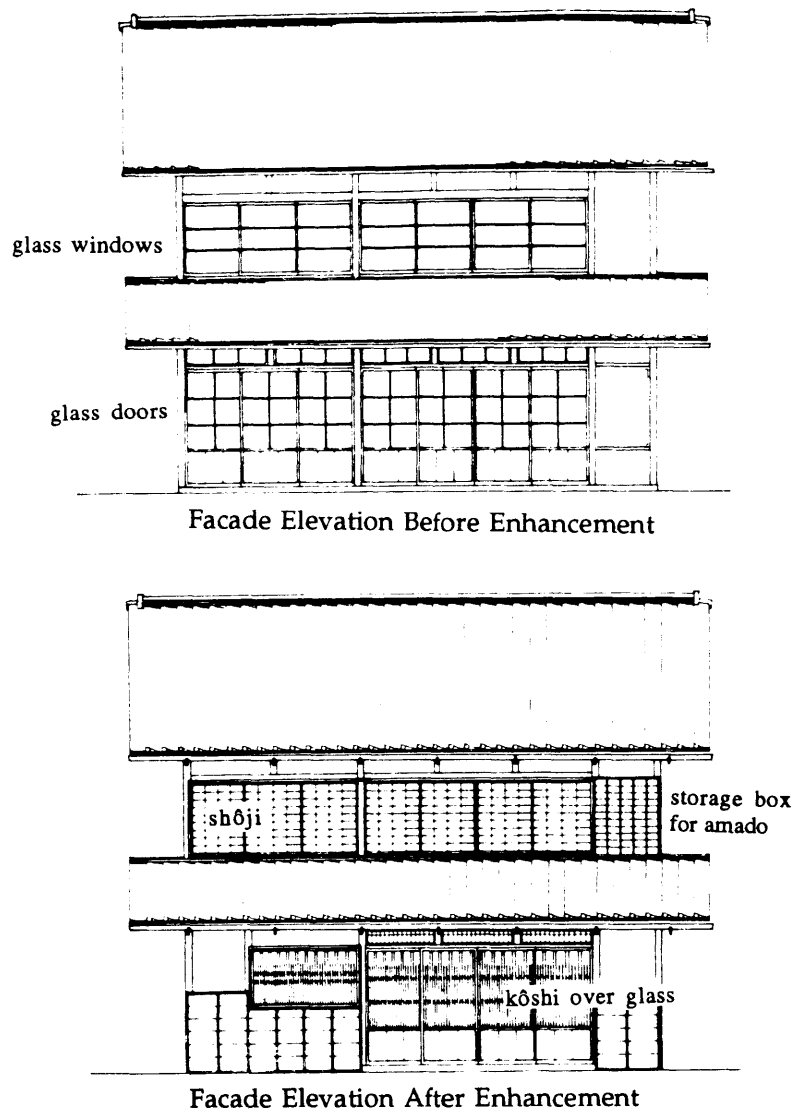


Figure 43: Example of enhancement (*shūkei*) on a house built circa 1930

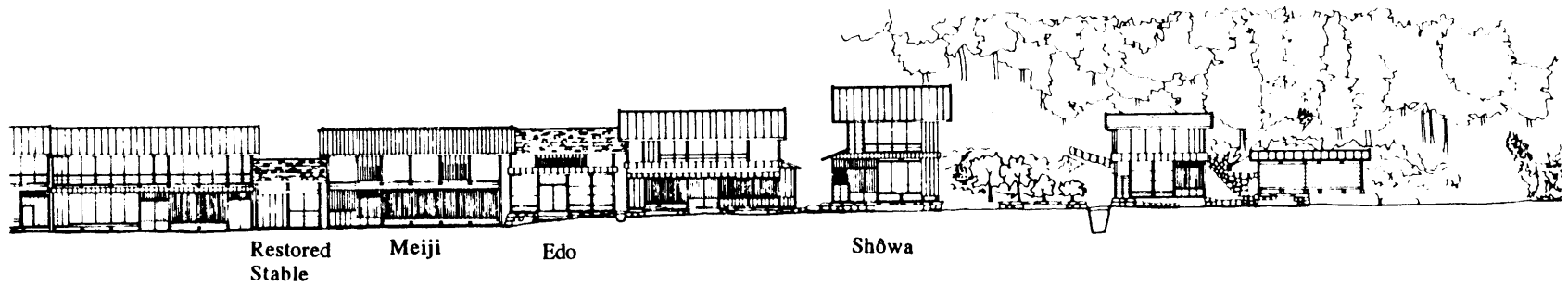


Figure 44: Terashita Area: East elevation showing differences in building height

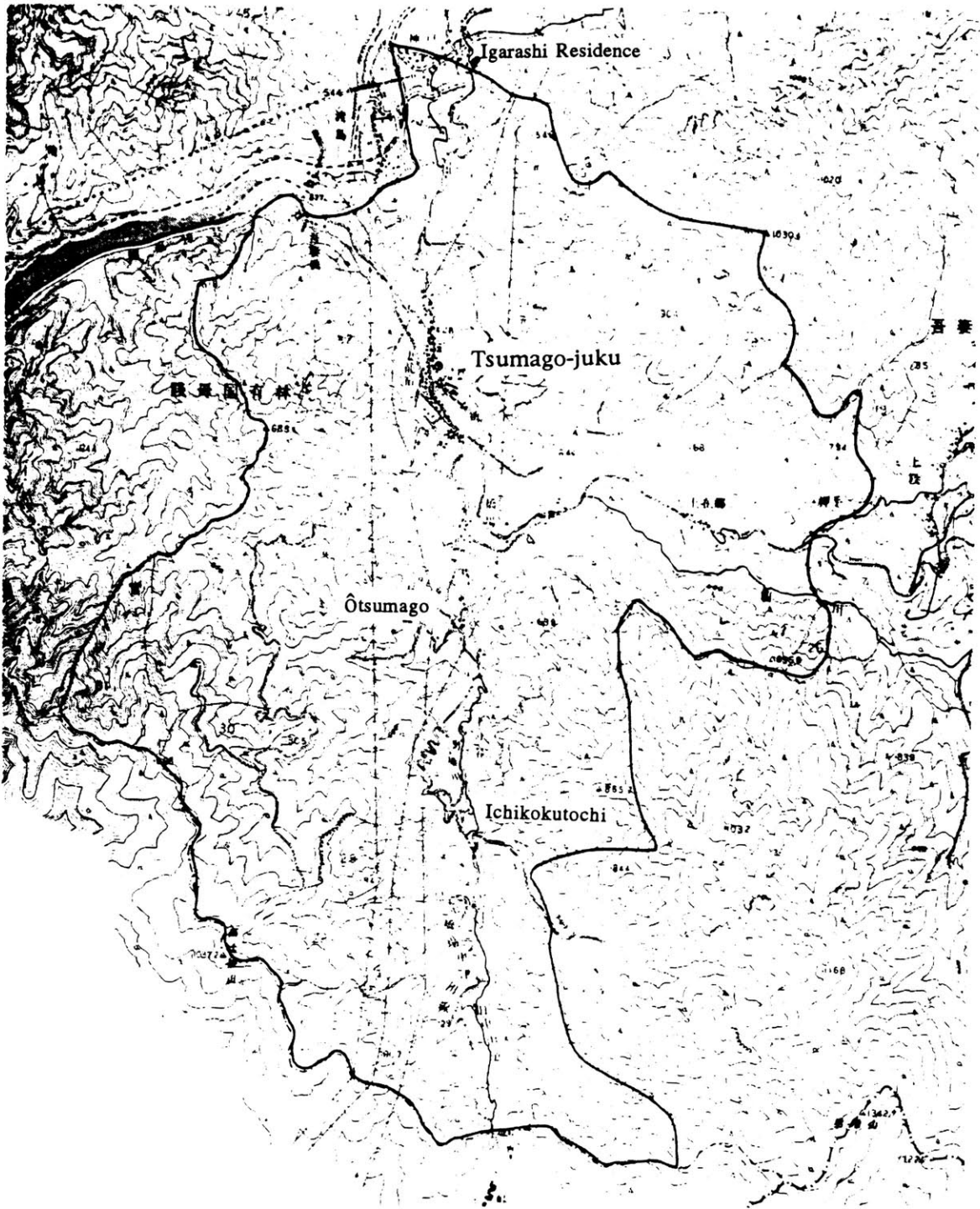


Figure 45: Tsumago Preservation District (outlined in black)



House in Nakamachi before restoration

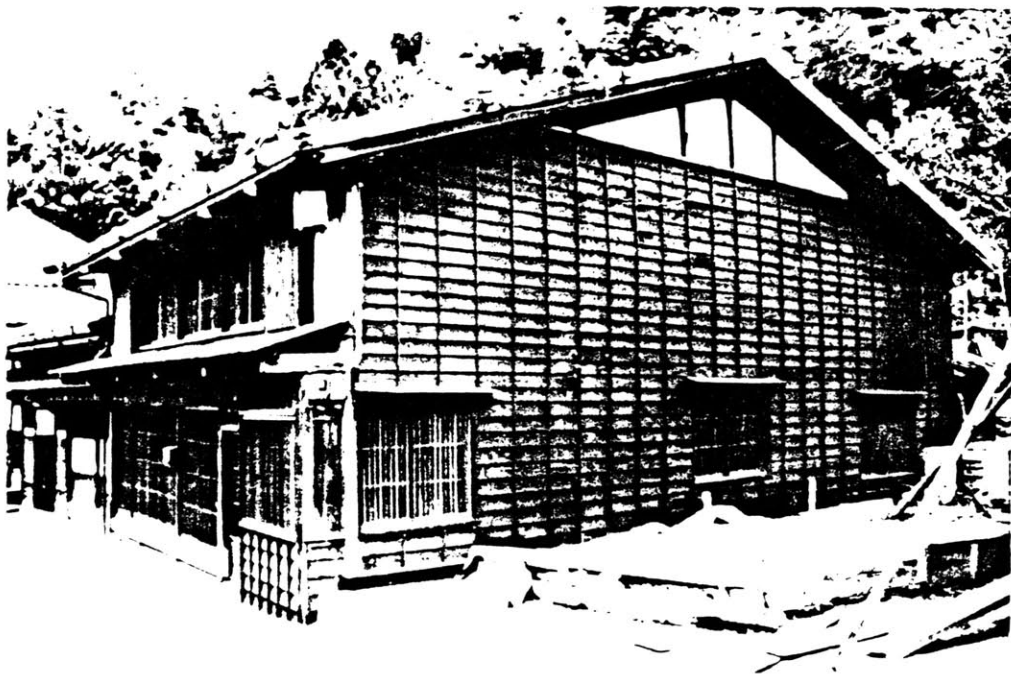


Figure 46: House in Nakamachi after restoration

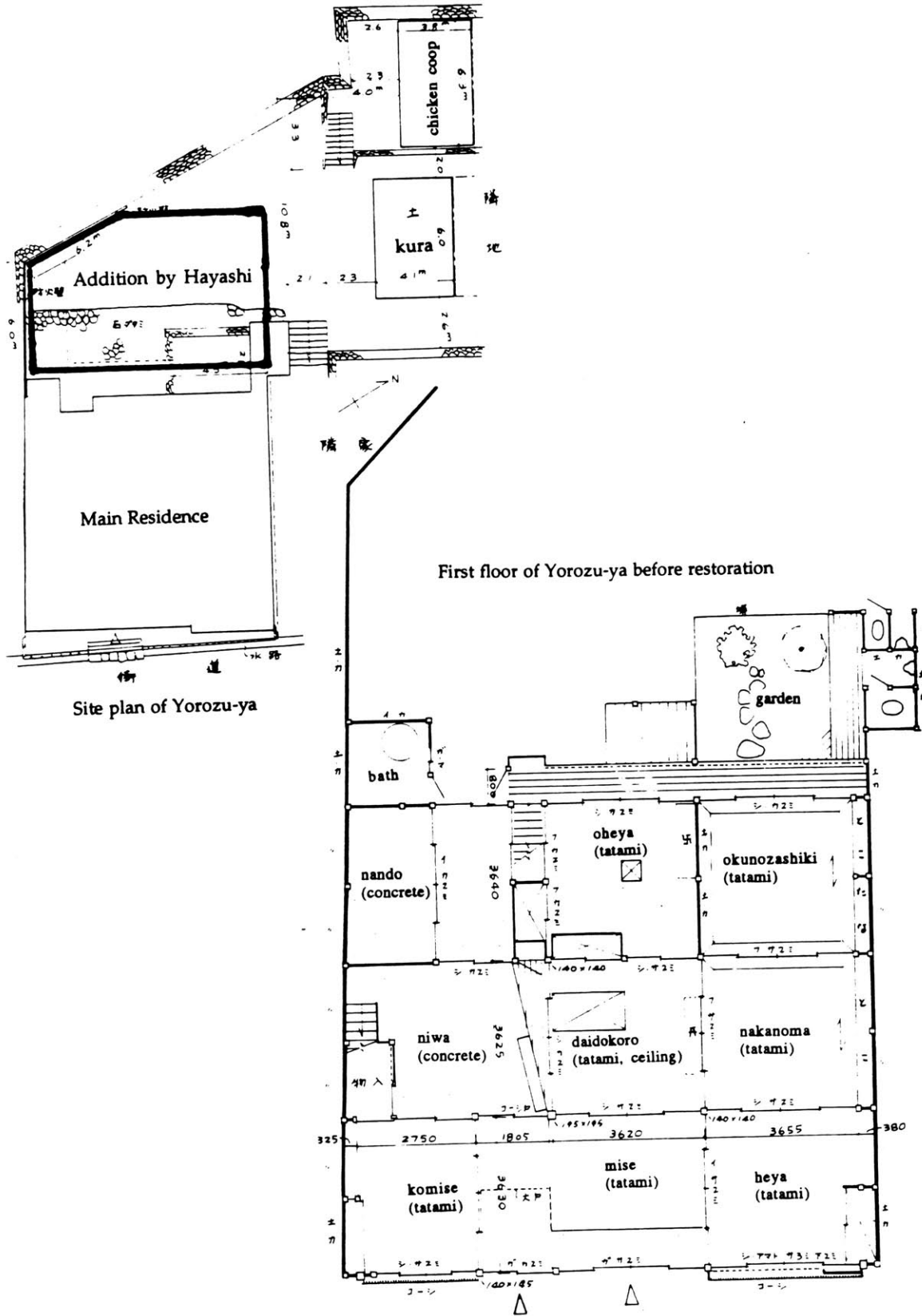
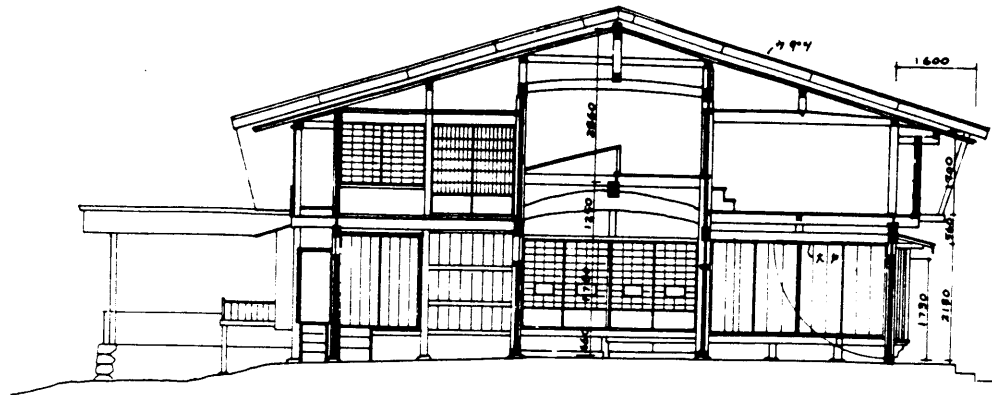
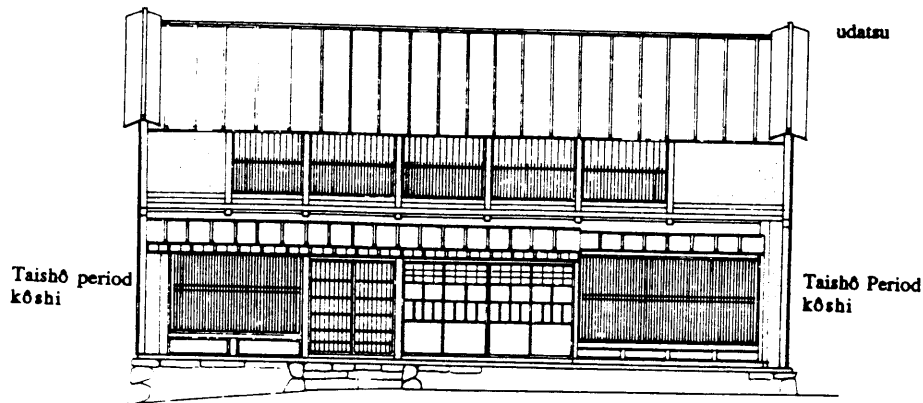


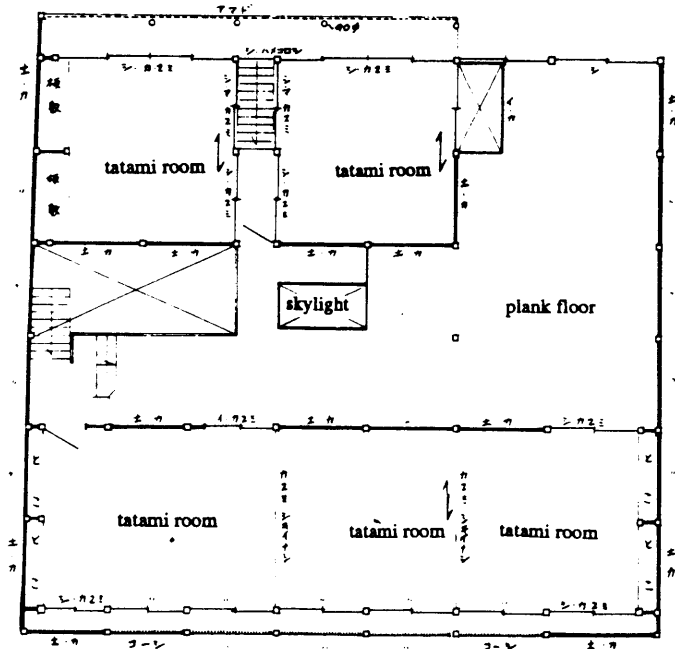
Figure 47: Survey Drawings of Yorozu-ya (before restoration)



Section

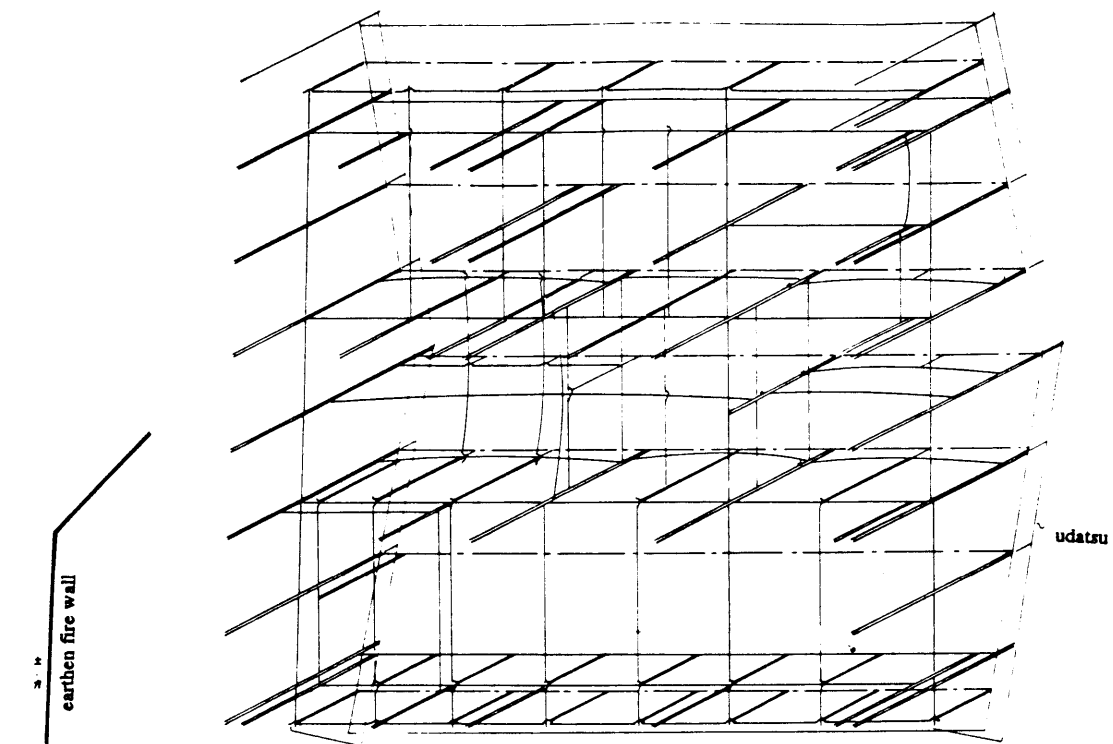


Facade



Second Floor Plan of Yorozu-ya Before Restoration

Figure 48: Survey Drawings of Yorozu-ya



Structure of Yorozu-ya

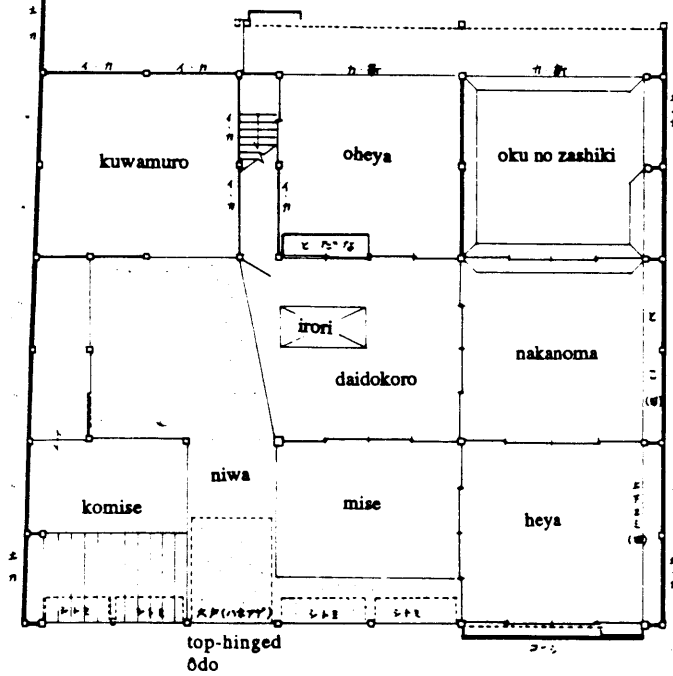


Figure 49: Restoration Plan of Yorozu-ya

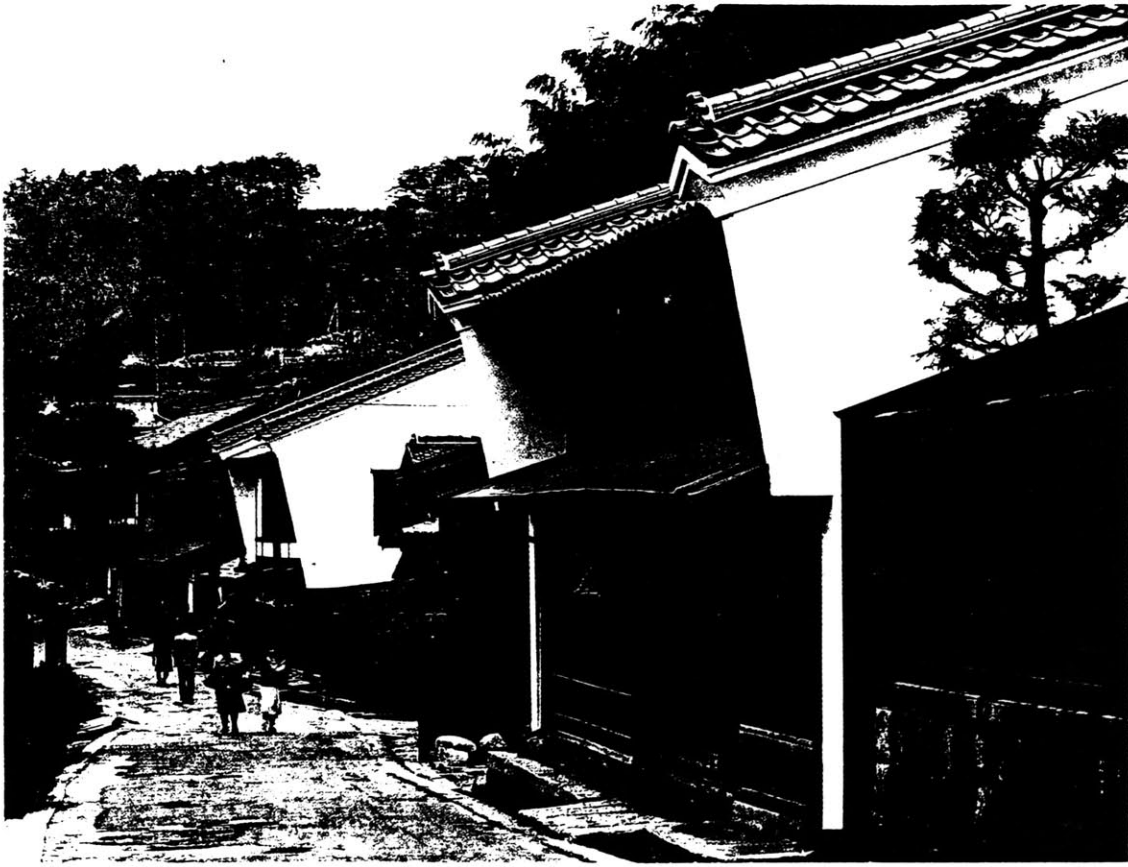


Figure 50: Houses with *udatsu* in Nakamachi, Tsumago



Figure 51: Tatebajaya at Ichikokutochi



Figure 52: View south to Tsumago-juku from site of Tsumago Castle